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On the cover: Photograph of a group of members of Princeton's class of 1859 playing cards, Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Photograph used with permission of the Princeton University Library.

**“UNDER THESE CLASSIC SHADES
TOGETHER”: INTIMATE MALE FRIENDSHIPS
AT THE ANTEBELLUM COLLEGE OF
NEW JERSEY**

Thomas J. Balcerski

*A*cross American colleges and universities during the late antebellum period, young men associated outside the classroom in literary, social, and fraternal clubs, all-male spaces highly conducive to the formation of strong friendships. Strong male relationships developed in which such terms as “intimacy,” “fraternal love,” and the “after life” were fundamental tenets of a shared experience. Unlike the collective world found in the public sphere of adult men, the antebellum college setting differed precisely because the young men quite frequently lived and dined together in dormitories, boarding and rooming houses, and fraternities, often secretly organized, in the towns and cities in which their colleges were located. Their lives were marked by dynamic uncertainty: not yet fully independent adults, but no longer completely dependent for support on their families.¹

Since at least the 1970s, historians have debated the possibilities of same-sex intimacy among women, the terms of which have often centered on their timing and their prevalence in early American society.² Only recently, however, have men as gendered subjects

become an area for scholarly inquiry, with the so-called New Men's History.³ Historians have demonstrated numerous instances of same-sex intimacy among males, including among college students, though the challenge of finding concrete sources for such intimacy has made definitive assessment difficult in all cases.⁴ Some historians have concluded that college friendships were mostly platonic products of early manhood and highly dependent on the environment in which they were formed.⁵ Other scholars have argued persuasively that same-sex attractions and intimacies, and not simply intimate friendships, were also distinct possibilities for college men.⁶ This article argues that the students themselves defined the boundaries of intimate friendships in an uncertain period prior to full adulthood. In the antebellum college, for the first and perhaps only time in their lives, young men formed strong friendships in an individual, intimate, and perhaps homoerotic world, one unregulated by parents, kinsmen, or neighbors. Inherently a fragile and temporary world—rife with the tensions created by sectional conflict, the responsibilities of impending adulthood, and societal expectations to marry—young men grappled to make meaning of the fleeting nature of their intimate friendships formed with fellow classmates, even as they hoped to maintain them beyond college.

Of all the institutions of higher learning in late antebellum America, the College of New Jersey (officially renamed Princeton University in 1896) was unique in its near equal mix of young white men, from North and South and from middling and elite backgrounds.⁷ While most young men initially sought friendships with those from similar cultural backgrounds, over time friendships formed that integrated competing ideas about manhood, northern and southern, into a new collegiate form. For southerners, a new kind of emotional language was made available to them, one not easily accessed at southern colleges. For northerners, further contact with others from their region, as well as those from farther afield, served to widen the scope and increase the variety of possibility in the construction of their young manhood. Much as in other contexts where the bonds of party trumped those of section, at the College of New Jersey the bonds formed by young northern and southern men seem to have overcome the anxieties and dichotomies of a fraught nation, forming what one historian has called "a distinctive social regime."⁸ For these young men, their friendships reflected their conceptions of manhood, coalesced around the shared experiences of living and studying together, and aimed toward an elite national education and, by extension, future in the citizenry.⁹

To understand male friendship, the possibilities of same-sex intimacy, and the composite nature of student culture at the College of New Jersey, this

article proceeds along two different paths. The first section will consider how students constructed friendships with each other in fraternities, literary societies (notably the American Whig Society and the Cliosophic Society), and on campus more broadly, through an examination of their college autograph books. If the particularities of section and class had animated their lives before college, in the crucible of the college environment the intimate friendships formed with their classmates prevailed and often superseded their previously held predilections. The second section will explore the students' relationships to parents, surrogates, and siblings through family letters, arguing that intimate friendships, along with the vicissitudes of college life itself, helped to reshape the nature of their relationship to family members at home. No longer were these young men fully dependent on their parents for the emotional and affectionate bonds that had previously sustained them. New friendships and experiences also meant changing conceptions of family and, by extension, a growing awareness of the lives expected and required of them in the future.

“A Period of Greater Interest than Any Other in Our Lives”

Students' hopes for the future were never clearer than in their words to one another, and the records of those words are most numerous in the period immediately preceding graduation. In the spring of 1852, students at the College of New Jersey prepared to graduate with the usual mixture of heady elation and heartfelt despondence that characterize seniors on the eve of commencement. They also carefully prepared to write farewell words to one another that would reflect the significance of the past four years of college life.

One such student, Pennsylvanian Benjamin Chase Dorrance, anxiously wrote to Charles Colcock Jones Jr., a Georgian and a fellow member of the Cliosophic Society (Clio) in the class of 1852:

When once we have left these “Classic Shades,” circumstances must determine whether we shall ever meet again. Should these be adverse . . . may this page serve to remind you of one whose heart will ever cherish with emotions of delight the remembrance of the many pleasant hours we have spent together here.

Most likely, the two men did not meet again after graduation. Charles Colcock Jones Jr., son of one Princeton graduate and brother to another, became the mayor of Savannah in 1860, a Confederate officer, and a noted

historian of the South. His publications numbered more than one hundred, but at this moment in 1852 all that was in the future, one made uncertain by the impending change brought by graduation. Indeed, no one knew what the future held. As it turned out, circumstances for Benjamin Dorrance were less kind: he died in 1859, not having yet reached age thirty.¹⁰

Two years earlier and under similar circumstances, another Pennsylvanian, Edward Payson Heberton, also used the occasion of graduation to write to his classmates. Heberton, a member of Clio, reflected on the meaning of his college experience and the special friendship he had formed with one such young man, Robert Bolling, a Whig and a fellow member of the class of 1850:

Here we have been companions together for two years—lying side by side under these classic shades together, dipping from these sparkling fountains, the brimming cup of science. In lazy ease, we have leaned back [in] good easy chairs and puffed away in contentedness—in a perfect cloud of smoke, which always appeared to make one's head a little softer—the tongue a little more glib—and us a good deal happier. Yes, Bob, we have realized the joys of college life—but now it's all over for us.

The joys of college life may have ended, but both Heberton and Bolling sought postgraduate degrees from Princeton, the former in the seminary. For his part, Heberton completed his degree, married, and served as an assistant paymaster in the U.S. Navy during the Civil War; about Bolling less is known.¹¹

Significantly, Heberton, Dorrance, and dozens more like them wrote in their classmates' autograph books, bound volumes that allowed each member of the class to sign his name and to write a short departing note. From the 1850s onward, autograph books were typically "gold-stamped or blind-stamped brown, dark blue, or red imitation leather over hard covers with approximately 125 gilt-edged leaves of white or light paper."¹² The imitation leather of the book's cover reflected students' pecuniary limitations, while the gilt-edged leaves and gold stamping on the book's cover conveyed the importance of the contents, both to those who inscribed inside the book and to those who might read the entries later in life. Although better constructed than the unbound scrapbooks, autograph books lacked the elegant construction of society guest books or family registers. The students' intense efforts in filling autograph books belied their poor construction. Some of the title pages, for instance, are beautifully lettered with illustrations and poetry.¹³

In the 1850s autograph books were "all the rage," and the students of Nassau Hall used their autograph books to "collect not only the autographs of classmates, but also good wishes, bits of favorite verse, letters of farewell, or reminiscences of shared events during undergraduate years."¹⁴ By the middle 1850s, some autograph writers included ambrotypes or tintypes with their entries. Compared to diaries, autograph books were by no means private, as they circulated widely among classmates. Yet, autograph writing was itself an intimate experience, in which the writer possessed in his hands the compiled memories of a shared friendship. In their messages to each other, young men transformed their "college days" into "the happiest days" of their lives. They are at once an admixture of shared personal reminiscences and a public statement about the meaning of friendships at a particular moment in their lives.¹⁵

For many students, the words written in autograph books marked the deepest intimate emotional experience in their lives to date. Another student in

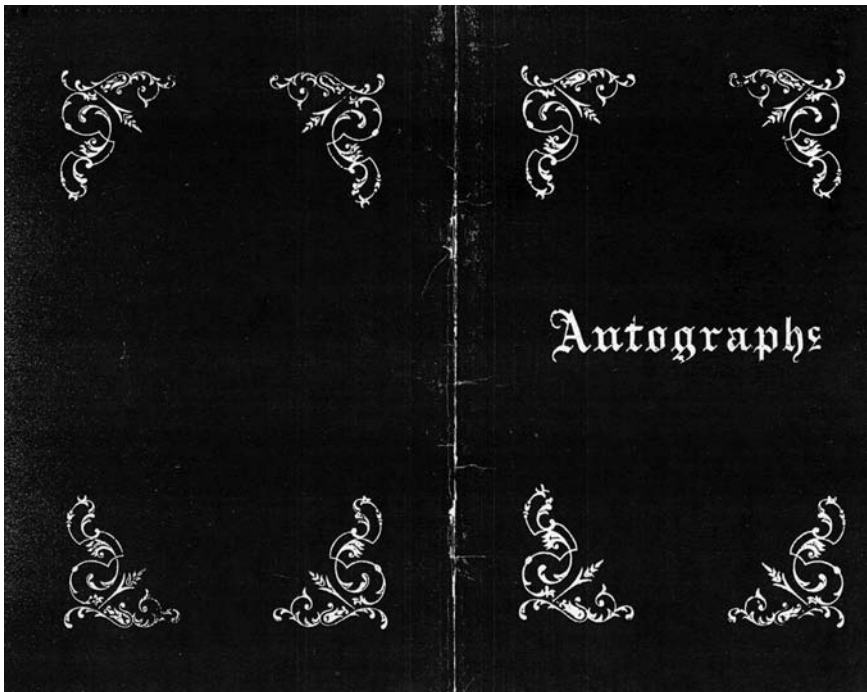


FIGURE 1: Reproduction cover of autograph book of Ewing Graham McClure, 1861. Courtesy Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

the class of 1850 and a member of Clio, the New Jersey native William Henry Canfield, composed an entry in Robert Bolling's autograph book in the days before graduation, describing his feelings for their shared friendship:

Never, no never shall the recollection of the spring of 1850 depart from my memory—its glorious opportunities—its happy hours and blessed reunions—its inestimable results—these distinguish the close of our collegiate career as a period of greater interest than any other in our lives.

Canfield, who would later become a seminarian and tutor at Princeton, continued his recollection of his friendship with Bolling, resorting to emotional and florid language. "The scenes in which we have been permitted to engage," he wrote, "the events which we have witnessed in all their stages—are not only of a character infinitely beyond human estimate, but of such a nature that they surely cannot be recalled to mind without exciting emotions which language would fail to express."¹⁶

The Canfield autograph, even more so than those of Heberton and Dorrance, reveals how college students found emotional intimacy with other men and formed different conceptions of manhood in the process. Canfield's autograph underscored the notion that the young men themselves understood the transitory nature of their experience together and nevertheless found it the most formative part of their lives. In recalling the scenes of past intimacy, Canfield failed to find the words to capture the "exciting emotions" of those shared moments. This failure of language perhaps reflected the unspeakable nature of homoerotic intimacy itself, and, at the very least, such a failure complicates the meanings and possibilities of close relationships between two men.

The construction of intimacy through shared experiences and emotions was a treasured aspect of these young men's lives. In the autograph books, despite limitations on privacy, students found ways to reveal the memory of the intimacy that they shared with each other. "I believe it is a much harder task to write in the autograph book of a very intimate friend," James Addison Henry of New Jersey declared to fellow Whig and member of the class of 1857, the Pennsylvania native Wallace DeWitt, "than in the book of one to whom you are not so warmly attached. In the case of the former you are anxious to refer to some little scene or incident which you may suppose will give him much pleasure to remember in after years. In the case of the latter however we are apt to write the first-thing that comes into our heads."¹⁷ As Henry suggested,

the autographs composed with a "little scene or incident" in mind were tied to long walks, social occasions, and the details of conversation—the intimacy of shared encounters together. Both men hoped to remember such "incidents" for many years to come, and indeed both men maintained strong connections to Princeton in the years after graduation.¹⁸

Autograph books were not only records of intimate experiences; they were also meant to be reminders, almost memorials, of the past. For New Jerseyan John Thurman Gilchrist Jr. of the class of 1855, the impending departure of his friend and fellow Clio Frederick Cox Roberts, a North Carolinian who later became a notable lawyer and served as a Confederate cavalry captain in the Civil War, was most lamentable because of the intimacy the two had shared as friends while boarding at the "room of Mrs. Moore." "The friendship formed at first has gradually ripened into intimacy," Gilchrist wrote, "[a]nd now when we are in its full enjoyment, we are called upon to part." But Gilchrist also hoped to be remembered by his friend. Employing the trope of advice-giving common to autograph books, Gilchrist composed a bit of original verse by which to be remembered:

Far away 'neath a warmer sky
Has fortune cast your lot—
Still as of'n as your thoughts may fly,
Or memory turn a moistened eye,
To dwell on scenes long since gone by,
Or think of friends that Northward lie,
May I not be forgot—

Like many of the other autograph writers, Gilchrist understood intimacy to be possible between two men. He hoped to memorialize the intimacy of their friendship, if only in the autograph book of his departing southern friend.¹⁹

Intimacy and another concept, fraternal bonds, were often closely associated and enabled through newly formed social fraternities.²⁰ By recasting each other as brothers in an extended family, students formed friendships that gained a sense of permanency, perhaps even more so than the relationship of biological brothers. The bonds of fraternity also corresponded, in large part, to sectional identities, a fact worrisome to faculty observers. Class of 1850 graduates William Canfield and Robert Bolling joined with other northerners in Sigma Chi Fraternity, while southerners were more likely to solidify fraternal bonds at Delta Kappa Epsilon. The sectional alignment was

also the case with literary society membership. Whig Club members had a higher prevalence of southerners than its rival, the Cliosophic Society, though friendships were possible both across section and literary society.²¹ While debate and rhetoric claimed nominal significance at literary societies and fraternities, as one historian has written, “the real concern of each fraternity was to create within the larger college a small group of compatible fellows for friendship, mutual protection, and good times.”²² The compatibility of such groups often depended, not surprisingly, on shared cultural backgrounds.

Departing students often wrote of the “after life,” referring to the future after Princeton as if it were equivalent to the Christian afterlife. Virginian George William Ford wrote his fellow Delta Kappa Epsilon Fraternity brother, Frederick Cox Roberts: “In after-life when looking over these small mementos of your college friends, if your eye should ever rest on this page let it recall to your memory one of your best friends and one who will ever remember you with affection.”²³ Georgia native George Mercer likewise revealed his feelings of sadness parting with fellow fraternity brother and southerner George Ford. “I cannot tell you how sad my heart is at the thought of our separation,” Mercer averred, adding, “I have known you long and well—have shared with you my feelings—have told you of my hopes and prospects—have always made you my intimate friend.” In 1851 Charles Phillips, who never graduated, hoped that Frederick Henry Quitman, a Mississippian from a prominent family, would be able to enjoy a happy married life. Neither Phillips nor Quitman wished for a continuation of the college living arrangement. Instead, Phillips’s autograph and those like it acknowledged the perceived inevitability of future marriage and wished their fellow classmates the best.²⁴

For some young men, the friendships formed at college included intensely passionate emotions and experiences. George Mercer recalled for George Ford many such moments spent together:

I can never forget our pleasant rambles in the woods—our sittings round the stove, and the many tales of the woods and streams that used to take us back to the loved solitudes of our Southern homes. If I live till my head is white and my frame feeble, the recollection of those stirring talks will send the blood coursing through my veins.²⁵

The visceral image of blood coursing through veins evokes the erotic passion of sexual life. One may question if those “pleasant rambles in the woods” with his fellow fraternity brother Ford included a homoerotic element as

well. At the very least, George Mercer was sharing the intimacy of past events and, in so doing, also invoked a connection to their shared southern heritage. Likewise, Mercer, along with John Gilchrist and many others, hoped the memories—if not the physicality of the friendship itself—with George Ford would continue long past graduation.

Women were undoubtedly a regular topic of discussion among college students, yet the autograph books were largely devoid of any mention of them. In his autograph to William Krebs Falls, the irascible William Alexander Henry, son of a Princeton professor, joked, "Now my dear boy, all that I have to say is take care of yourself, and Mrs. Falls (i.e., of course when she is about)."²⁶ Henry's acknowledgment that a "Mrs." was an inevitable and desirable part of young men's futures hinted at the importance of marriage, but most autograph books have little else to say about women. Experiences with women, romantic or platonic, were not relevant to saying farewell to those students with whom had been created the greatest intimacy of their lives.

While most students likely expected to marry women, they participated in a marriage of a different sort at college. In their unpublished book, *College as It Is: Or, the Collegian's Manual in 1853*, James Buchanan Henry and Christian Henry Scharff noted the students' custom "to have their Daguerreotypes taken for the College Picture Gallery," which featured portraits of classmates, one seated next to the other, and hung in framed composites inside Nassau Hall. "We think this a very pretty and interesting custom for an alumnus returning on a visit to Princeton years after graduation," the authors opined, "[and] has the satisfaction of once more seeing the familiar faces of all his classmates, and of perhaps showing to his pretty wife how he himself used to look when a collegian."

Henry and Scharff's *Manual* transformed the student daguerreotype composites from a memento of an all-male past into a quaint relic to show the "pretty wife" of the future. In doing so, the authors diminished the significance of the college friendships themselves, viewing them as a mere idle curiosity along the path toward traditional marriage. Yet, this "very pretty and interesting custom" can also be seen as a kind of fraternal, college marriage, and one that unsettles traditional marriage more generally. In seating one man next to the other, rather than picturing each student individually as was done with faculty portraits, the student daguerreotype replaced the union of man and woman with that of man and man. The daguerreotypes of dozens of young men paired next to their

classmates, when combined and framed into a composite, becomes a visual representation of life without women and an ambiguous remnant of past same-sex relationships for future viewers.²⁷

As even Henry and Scharff's reading of the daguerreotype composites suggest, womanly companionship was mainly a matter for the future. Without women as an everyday part of their lives, young men struggled to delineate the limits of fraternal affection within the all-male college environment. The process was further complicated by the necessity of southern students to leave the College of New Jersey to serve in the Civil War, and the growing sectional tensions were reflected in the autograph book entries. Florida native Andrew Anderson focused his autograph to New Jerseyean John Runkel Emery on the lack of intimacy in their friendship. "Although I have never been intimate with you," Anderson admitted, "yet had circumstances thrown us together I've no doubt we would have been very good friends."²⁸ John Peter Jackson Jr., another New Jerseyan, confessed to Frederick Cox Roberts, "I have always regretted



FIGURE 2: Composite portrait of the Class of 1852 (1852). Whole plate daguerreotype. Photographer, Henry E. Insley and Frederick DeBourg Richards. Courtesy Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

[we] could not have been more intimate,” which was perhaps unsurprising given that the two men did not share similar fraternity or literary society connections. While entries such as Jackson’s were more likely to come from northerners than southerners, young men from both sections still shared a great deal of camaraderie over cards, drinking, or both, through the start of the war.²⁹

The approach of the war also brought southern students closer together. Hugh Martin Coffin, a Tennessean with roots in New England, wrote a touching note to his friend Ewing Graham McClure, another Tennessean in the class of 1862. Both Coffin and McClure were leaving college to fight in the Civil War, and even though McClure was not graduating in the spring of 1861, he still chose to circulate an autograph book to his classmates. In his autograph to McClure, Coffin hinted that the nature of their friendship had been quite intimate: “Let me assure you, my dear fellow,” he wrote, “that my friendship for you has almost ripened into affection; if such a thing is possible between male and male, it has quite done so.” Five months later,



FIGURE 3: Northerners and southerners at Princeton from the class of 1859 playing cards and drinking port. Courtesy Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

while on campaign near Centreville, Virginia, Coffin wrote his mother a poignant letter. In it he described meeting a “classmate of mine,” who was “a N. Carolinian and belongs [to] the Regt. of cavalry from that sight. Of course it does me good to meet up with those who were my friends and classmates.” The bonds of affection formed at college between Hugh Martin Coffin and his classmates proved to be most intimate of his short life—he died on December 5, 1861, in service of the Confederate army.³⁰

Like so many of the autographers, Coffin was testing his feelings with McClure and revealing unusual emotions for another man. Richard S. Van Dyke, a Tennessean who served as a Confederate cavalry officer, also wrote to McClure about his deep affection for him: “Mac, there is no use trying to get around it, I ‘like’ (I won’t say love for that belongs to the tender sex) you.” Perhaps in recognition of the peculiarity of his confession, Van Dyke felt compelled to add, “To lay all joking aside and no flattery either, I can assure you, Dear Mac, that no one occupies a nearer place in my heart than yourself.” Van Dyke was killed near Darksville, Virginia, in 1863, not yet past twenty-five. Much like his fellow southerner Hugh Coffin, the most intimate relationship of Van Dyke’s life may very well have been the friendship he formed in college with Ewing Graham McClure.³¹

The possibility of continuing friendships beyond college was a very real one for many students. In 1862, Samuel Stanhope Stryker, who would later serve as a medical aide during the Civil War and become a noted physician, lamented the impending parting from his friend John Tyler Haight, even as he hoped for future intimacy. Stryker and Haight had prepared together at the Lawrenceville Classical and Commercial High School in New Jersey before entering Princeton, where their friendship grew even stronger. “We came to Princeton,” Stryker recalled, “and here again our old friendship revived until it culminated in those bonds of fraternal love which under no consideration should be severed.”³² Stryker, a member of Whig, acknowledged the time for parting had come from Haight, a Clio, but he offered his hope that their friendship would continue past college: “There always is a time when the best of friends must part, when the strong ties of friendships must be broken, but John I feel far differently in parting with you situated as we are than I would under ordinary circumstances, there are stronger bonds between us than those of mere friendship and on these I put my reliance that you will ever remember your old friend.”³³ Stryker’s invocation of fraternal love lent credibility to his desire for a continued relationship, one “beyond mere friendship,” and offered the possibility that instead of mere play-acting, he hoped to solidify their friendship further than it had developed at college.

Even in the midst of the Civil War, the possibilities for intimate friendships did not diminish. Both New Jerseyans, both Clios, and both of the class of 1862, John Cochran and John Tyler Haight had a relationship that evinced one such example: "For three years we have been classmates and firm, strong friends. We have lived and loved together during this time. We entertain similar opinions on a great many things." In his autograph to Cochran, Samuel Stryker likewise recalled the intimate connections shared with his fellow classmate. "Those Jack were halcyon days," Stryker reminisced, "the only time when mortal man can truly enjoy himself is just between the years of fifteen and twenty, and as that period of my life has been in a great measure associated with you (and you being a jolly good fellow as we all know), of course I must have in a great degree received my highest enjoyment at your hand."³⁴ The friendships of young men like Cochran, Haight, and Stryker relied to a great deal on being jolly fellows, which implied a good deal of drinking, carousing, and practical joking. Perhaps, as some autographs suggest, they include a measure of superficiality that the young men could not recognize for themselves.³⁵

Most students espoused fond memories of Princeton and recognized that their friendships would not have been possible without their "alma mater." Yet in his autograph to Wallace DeWitt, the Tennessean Calvin Morgan Christy revealed ambivalence about his college experience. Christy, who was a member of Delta Phi Fraternity and the Cliosophic Society, nevertheless did not find the strong connections that so many of his classmates had enjoyed. While "very anxious to leave this place . . . [to] be with my relations and entirely free from restraint," Christy admitted, "yet there are cords which bind me to our common 'alma mater' and at times make me loath to go."

Even Christy, eager to part ways with Princeton, could not resist, in retrospect, the value of his experience there. He cited his friendships with much fondness: "Among her children are my much intimate—and devoted friends. . . . To leave these—for whom I have the highest regard, is a painful but unavoidable duty. Though I cannot always be with them, still, I can think of them as the companions of my early days." For his part, Christy acknowledged the end of his daily contact with Wallace DeWitt, but not the end of their emotional relationship. "And Wallace," he continued with a final effusive outpouring, "if we separate for aye, never, for one moment, believe that I can forget you—Oh no! We have been too much together and know one another too well to fear such a result. Often shall I call you to mind in reviving college pleasures and college friends."³⁶ In later life, Christy achieved success as a business executive in the Christy Fire Clay Company of St. Louis, and

perhaps because of this distance from the middle Atlantic states, he does not seem to have stayed connected to the college that restrained him. Whether he ever saw Wallace DeWitt again is not known.³⁷

What did the intimate language used in autograph books by young men such as Payson Heberton, Richard Van Dyke, Samuel Stryker, and Calvin Christy mean in the context of nineteenth-century America? In one sense, their autograph book entries were not particularly unusual. The description of their friendships, with their many shared experiences together, and the lamentation at parting can be read as a fairly typical, if nostalgic, evocation of an idyllic past, common to autograph books of the period (and of later such entries in high school and college yearbooks). Yet, the entries were unusual for young men in the antebellum period in three distinct ways. First, young men reflected on the common set of shared experiences, formed through their several years together, which had come to inform their notions of the nature of close male friendship, a relationship that they had never before known. As their futures remained uncertain, the fluidity of domestic arrangements in the college environment represented a fleeting moment, destined for the most part to be replaced by more traditional family settings, often undergirded by the bonds of marriage. The autograph book entries helped to quell those future anxieties through the backward glances taken together in friendship.

Second, the language of autograph books formed part of a discourse of intimate and perhaps homoerotic friendships, one that has been widely observed among women but was unusual for men. While the importance of close male friendships has only been recently acknowledged, historians of the college experience have long understood its critical role in the lives of young men. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, an early Princeton historian, noted the importance of friendships: "Before the first session was over [the freshman male] had made friendships which remained firm not only during his stay at Princeton but throughout life. With his chums he talked over his ambitions, his ideas of life; during vacation he often visited those who lived near Princeton; with them he corresponded after leaving college."³⁸ While Wertenbaker perhaps overly romanticized the college experience, he accurately captured the nature of friendships formed and the hopes of many young men for their continuation beyond college.

Related to this notion, the romantic style of autograph-book writing may be understood as part of the concomitant and widespread growth of sentimental literary culture. The possibility that male college students engaged in the discourse of sentiment supports the claim of scholars that

nineteenth-century "men did in fact participate in sentimental discourse." The language used by students like Heberton marked the shared intimacy of independence found for the first time in their lives. Graduation had become a time for students to reflect on their experiences with one another and look forward to the future. Autograph books likewise had become synonymous with graduation and such future-looking activity. The arrival of the first autograph book reminded the anxious student that graduation was not far away, and with it separation from those who had been his closest friends. In their construction and in their words, autograph books were symbolic representations of the student phase of their lives, one in which intimate friendships and scholarly pursuits were inexorably tied.³⁹

Finally, the autograph books are among the most important sources historians possess to understand the nature of the college experience from the student perspective. Because Princeton students kept the albums long after graduation, they can even say quite a lot about their lives after graduation. The New Jerseyan Charles Preston Stratton, Princeton class of 1848, periodically updated his autograph book as the years passed by. News that classmate Arthur Whitely had died produced a caustic response: "Dead! Dead! 'He should have died' before," whereas another entry, this one about John Ebenezer Nottingham, revealed fond if whimsical memories: "A hard drinker at college, but sowed his full crop of wild oats there and has become, I am told, a steady-going useful Virginia country gentleman: enjoyed his diem though let it alone 1877." Stratton left Princeton and pursued a degree in law, ultimately becoming involved in various business concerns in Camden, New Jersey, but his decision to annotate his autograph book suggests that his college classmates remained significant all his life.⁴⁰

Another Princeton student, Frederick Henry Quitman, also returned to his autograph book in later life, in 1865 at the conclusion of the Civil War. At the front of his book, an eager classmate had written: "Remember that you are a Mississippian [and] always act as becomes one who is a citizen of such a state." Now, Quitman authored a new entry, on the last page of his own autograph book. "Memorandum of articles taken by F.H.Q. from Residence on Live Oaks, Nov. 1, 1865," it began, followed by a list of various home furnishings, tools, and clothing. Quitman was in the process of abandoning his family's Mississippi plantation after the war, and so he turned to his autograph book, the one book he knew that he would always carry with him, to record his inventory. In so doing, this son of a former congressman unwittingly participated in a double process of reunification, not only of his

autograph book with his real property, but also in the realm of emotional feeling. The best wishes of his classmates, as recorded in the autograph book of his college years, would aid Quitman in the process of rebuilding his life after the Civil War.⁴¹

Ultimately, the autograph book may be read as an attempt to capture the memories of shared intimacy and even to continue them past the college years. For many students, when they signed their classmates' autograph books, they did so with deeply felt sentiment, intense longing, and a passionate desire for sustained future relationships. For some of them, the special intimacy of close male friendships had ended, and the need to accept the reality of future occupations, responsibility, and, eventually, family had arrived. When they signed their names, they left behind more than words in a gilt-edged book. A reflection of the semi-permanent nature of college life and their aspirations for the future, the autograph book was a memorial to the shared, if fleeting, lives spent "under these classic shades together."

Correspondence with My Son

The antebellum college in its role as alma mater, Latin for "nourishing mother," also modified the traditional family structure in distinctly gendered ways. Biological mothers and fathers played relatively minor roles in the supervision and care of their sons; instead, male professors and administrators became surrogate fathers—supervising the intellectual and spiritual growth of students—and female boarding and lodging operators functioned as surrogate mothers—feeding, sheltering, and providing for basic necessities and comforts. Instead of biological brothers and sisters, the students had each other, which for the antebellum college meant a surplus of brothers and few, if any, sisters. In this temporary, alternate brotherhood, the bonds of fraternal affection formed, flourished, and sustained the young men, much to their surprise, in ways they had never known before.

The students themselves understood how the college environment, with its many surrogates, had replaced aspects of their former lives. Letters written by students to family members at home often deemed this new family structure to be an imperfect replacement for their biological kin. Others students expressed excitement at the prospects of friendships formed at college, hinting at a level of intimacy with their classmates that transcended those provided by family. Intimate friendships did not necessitate a complete

rejection of the intimacy of the family; in fact, college friendships combined one kind of familial intimacy, that of the home, for another world of familial intimacy, that of college life.⁴²

For a variety of reasons, family relations at home could not be ignored. Most students relied upon fathers and mothers to provide the necessary funds to support them through college. Also, the proximity of many students to home, especially those from the middle Atlantic, meant that visits from parents were a regular part of their lives. Another, less practical reason compelled students to keep connections with their families. Through family letters, students were reminded that their new college families did not, and could not, replace the family at home. Mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, wrote to one another, sometimes regularly, sometimes irregularly, but always with physical separation as a continued reality. The way in which students handled the physical separation reveals aspects of how the fraternal love of college friendships both sustained them and left them unsatisfied. For the family members back home the family unit was often in a weakened state.

The relationship between father and son was often the primary one affected by college. In some cases, fathers continued to enjoy full control of their sons' affairs at college. The future Mississippi congressman John A. Quitman, father of Frederick Henry Quitman, went so far as to visit the College of New Jersey for himself in 1848 to ensure its acceptability for his son. He was suitably impressed by the school, and the elder Mississippian arranged a boarding house for his son's initial term. Eight years earlier, Quitman had been offered honorary membership into the Cliosophic Society, an encomium that he accepted only when his son was about to enroll at Princeton. Frederick Henry naturally joined Clio as a student. Later, when his son's peers willfully appropriated his room for a religious meeting, the elder Quitman considered, but never enacted, a transfer to the University of Mississippi.⁴³

Other parents were less particular about their sons' lodging, though equally keen to offer advice on comportment. The Georgia merchant and planter Charles Colcock Jones Sr. and his wife, Mary, advised their two Princeton sons, Charles Colcock Jones Jr. and Joseph Jones, in detailed letters. For the "first time in your lives," the Joneses started a long letter of June 1850, "you are about to leave your home and the society of your parents to be absent for a length of time, and at great distance, among strangers." They then outlined fifteen "rules upon which you may frame your character and regulate your lives," which included, notably, "Frequent no eating or

drinking houses.”⁴⁴ The junior Charles Colcock Jones wrote dutifully to his parents upon arrival at Nassau Hall. He reviewed in great detail the particulars of his entrance exams and the “very good room” in which he was lodged. Jones was likewise observant of the racial dynamics at work at the college, observing that the many Irish “servants” were “respectful and attentive in the general, and are treated just as we do ours at home; and the only difference between them apparently is that in the one case they are white and in the other black.”⁴⁵

In other letters, Jones shared news and insights about his college experience, with an emphasis on his classes, faculty, and books read. At the end of his first year at Princeton, the younger Jones asked his father for more money, outlining his expenses in great detail. In letters sent separately by his mother, Mary Jones admonished Charles to seek forgiveness from the Lord. As he grew older, the tone of the letters shifted somewhat. In a May 1852 letter, the younger Charles Colcock Jones advised his unwell parent: “Father, your system requires rest.”⁴⁶

Charles Colcock Jones attempted to distinguish himself from the antics of other college students and to show how he avoided the pitfalls of others, but he aligned himself with his classmates in other ways. Jones did not participate in the effort to overturn the “holy car of Juggernaut” of P. T. Barnum’s Museum, or a “horn spree,” noting, “In neither of these were your boys engaged.”⁴⁷ While in a letter of September 1850 Jones recited “an established fact that Southerners are more remarkable for their oratorical powers than Northerners, though the latter may be more ‘plodding’ than the former,” all the students agreed that a greater common enemy was the “snobs,” those “town boys” of Princeton who were enemies to the “courageous sons of Nassau Hall.”⁴⁸ In another letter during a period of robbery, Jones reported, “Several students have been requested by families of ladies to serve as bodyguards . . . during the night until these unwelcome guests shall have left these peaceful domains.”⁴⁹ Perhaps to spare his mother the pain of the story, Jones wrote only to his father about his encounter with a besotted classmate. “Have been for some time attending to a sick young man from Georgia (Oscar Lewis), formerly of my class,” he wrote. “His indisposition was caused solely by excess. For the last eight days he has been drunk, having during that time taken about four hundred drinks, or about fifty quarts.”⁵⁰

In the dozens of letters exchanged between Charles Colcock Jones Jr. and his parents, the younger scion rarely mentioned his classmates, either by name or indirect reference. “We have formed but few acquaintances,” he admitted,

but believed that "[o]ne in particular—Mr. Lee, of Georgia—is a noble fellow, and is a man who will, I hope, be a true friend."⁵¹ Theirs was one of the few friendships which Jones mentioned in later letters.⁵² The young men with whom Charles Colcock Jones Jr. formed friendships at Princeton were hardly "strangers" for long, though the process toward intimacy was slow-paced. Jones complained of the other students at the college, comparing them unfavorably to students at his former institution: "As a general thing the boys here are not so free in conduct as they are at Columbia [South Carolina College], but are rather reserved and stiff." Jones did not approve of juvenile pranks or childish behavior from some students, such as younger classmate James Hunter Berrien, whom he thought deserved a "good paddling." Nevertheless, Berrien was one of the five Georgians with whom Jones boarded regularly. "We have established a Georgia table in the refectory," he reported, "and enjoy a sociable meal among ourselves . . . spiced with Georgia interchange of feeling."⁵³

When the time for commencement approached, the younger Jones became more reflective of his place in the world. "The period of graduation forms an important and solemn era in the life of a young man," he said. New responsibilities greeted Jones, which "savor of manhood." In the same letter, Jones reflected on the nature of his friendships: "College attachments are very strong, and the recollections of them often prove in after life sources of much enjoyment."⁵⁴ Not long after this letter, Jones signed the autograph books of his classmates and, in return, received autographs from them. The words that Jones shared with his fellow classmates were of a character entirely different from the letters he had been exchanging with his parents during his two years at Nassau Hall.

The experience of Charles Colcock Jones Jr. was hardly an exclusive product of his southern upbringing. One notable Princeton student, the Pennsylvanian James Buchanan Henry, was the orphaned ward of James Buchanan, the former secretary of state and future president. In his last year at Princeton, Henry was still receiving his fair share of paternal advice from Buchanan. "I hope that hereafter," the elder Buchanan wrote from his country estate at Wheatland, "we shall often receive equally agreeable information of your progress towards future usefulness & distinction." The young Henry had much to learn yet in the elder statesman's eyes. "You have mis-spelled three words in your letter," Buchanan chastised, "& I must note every thing which may be for your advantage." A primer in spelling followed, a sure sign of Henry's inferior status in society (not one to be discouraged, he coauthored, though never published, the *Collegian's Manual* with Christian Henry Scharff

in the following year). The tense relationship continued through graduation, when Buchanan plainly warned, "I shall certainly attend your commencement, should your position in the Class be such as I fondly hope & expect."⁵⁵

Another Pennsylvania native, John Beatty Kyle, a member of Clio and the class of 1852, also wrote letters to his family, and the extant correspondence shows that Charles Colcock Jones Jr. and Kyle had somewhat similar experiences. Both young men struggled to cope with the challenges of college life, while still maintaining connections to their families at home. Kyle's experience differed from Jones, in that the Pennsylvanian roomed and boarded off campus rather than in a college dormitory. The proximity to the town offered Kyle different contacts with men and women in a variety of professional and domestic settings. The daughters and wives of the faculty and townspeople operated boarding houses, such as the one run by Mrs. Moore where many Princeton students dined, and rooming houses, such as the one operated by Mrs. Van Dyke, where Kyle lodged for his years at Princeton. To his younger sister, Clementine, Kyle complained, "Though I get very good boarding yet I have not a very pleasant place to board, there being no person in the family but an old man and woman without any children, the man doting and the woman so inquisitive as to be disagreeable." Kyle's resistance to an imposed surrogate family structure suggests that he would rather be boarding with his peers.⁵⁶

In another letter to his sister Clementine, Kyle related his experience of taking ill. His self-diagnosed "bilious fever" and the unpleasant thought of confinement to a "room 10 feet long and 4 feet wide for 3 or 4 weeks" were not his only concerns. After noting that his "roommate was very attentive to me as also were my other acquaintances," Kyle equivocated about the usefulness of his landlady, Mrs. Van Dyke. "[She] was very kind," he reported, "but she don't know how to do things as well as mother; I sent to her for some chicken soup, which the Doctor told me would be good for me, but she sent me rice soup. However I have got well again, thanks Providence, and can eat almost anything."⁵⁷ Kyle relied on his "very attentive" roommate and "other acquaintances," presumably all of whom were male, for succor, while he distrusted the care of women. While Kyle's male friends provided some support, the network of male friends created at college could not completely fill the roles of his mother, necessitating the unwelcome presence, however "kind," of Mrs. Van Dyke.

For his part, Kyle disliked all the townspeople universally: "I don't like the people in Princeton much. They don't appear to care for any person

but themselves, and even among themselves there doesn't appear to be any sociability." Since Kyle could not find "any sociability" in the town environment, he turned to male friendship to find the companionship necessary for his emotional survival. In another letter to his sister, Kyle wrote:

I suppose I may without presumption say that I know what college life is by this time. I am very well pleased so far and expect to continue so. . . . I don't require more than 2 or 3 hours per day to get our lessons and the rest of the time we spend talking to our neighbors (students). This suits my disposition very well but not so well my interests.⁵⁸

With only a few hours devoted each to study, Kyle spent a good portion of his day talking with other young men, at the expense of further time spent in study.

The letters exchanged between Kyle and his mother, Mary Beatty Kyle, show a young man struggling to find independence outside of the family structure in which he been raised. With his father deceased, money was tight for the Kyle family, and John Beatty often wrote home of the need for money. Yet, he also resisted the temptation for the fineries of life, even relishing in his hardships. Kyle strived for the independence brought by impecunious conditions, but he recognized that he was better off than most: "If I were at home I would like to have some new clothes, but I feel independent here. A fellow never feels so independent as when his elbows are out. Mine are not out yet, though."⁵⁹

In other areas, notably his attitudes toward African Americans, Kyle proved himself to be a product of his south-central Pennsylvania upbringing, though hardly unique in his point of view. James W. Alexander, member of the Princeton class of 1860, notably remembered, "The famous negroes of Princeton cannot be forgotten by Princeton men."⁶⁰ Kyle was less sanguine in his recollections of African Americans in town. When a smallpox epidemic struck the town, Kyle reported to his mother: "There were 6 deaths, principally colored folks. There are more niggers here than ever I saw in one town before. They have more impudence, too, than Size Gales used to have. The lower class of white folks make equals of them." Kyle disdained the respect afforded African Americans by lower-class whites—most likely the same Irish servants observed by Charles Colcock Jones Jr.—but he nevertheless relied on them in other ways. When he was sick, Kyle admitted that despite his very attentive roommate, "I had a Black man to do the particular jobs," namely those needs related to sanitation and hygiene.⁶¹

Almost certainly, John Beatty Kyle prepared an autograph book and signed entries in those of his classmates, but if he did, the book has not been preserved. Whether or not he kept an autograph book, his connections to Princeton continued in unexpected ways, even as he did not live to see them. In 1865, John Beatty Kyle died at age thirty-nine, most likely from illness. Two years later, his sister Margaret was married to a widower, Jeremiah Smith Gordon, who was himself a Pennsylvania native and a class of 1853 graduate from Princeton. Together Jeremiah and Margaret Gordon had six children, including one born in 1877 whom they named John Kyle. In 1899, John Kyle Gordon graduated from Princeton, the son of one Princetonian and the namesake of another.⁶²

In other cases, sons enabled by the relationships they had formed at school asserted a modicum of independence from their fathers. The short life of Henry Kirke White Muse, affectionately known as Kirke, provides a compelling example of the contested exchange of intimacy found in family letters. In the fall of 1855, the seventeen-year-old Kirke Muse left his father's prosperous cotton plantation in East Feliciana, Louisiana, to attend Princeton. Three years later, Kirke was suddenly killed during an engine explosion on board a steamboat. His father, James Henry Muse, collected their letters and published them under the didactic title, *Correspondence with my Son, Henry Kirke White Muse: Embracing Some Brief Memorials of his Character, and Essays from his Pen, While a Student at Princeton College, New Jersey*. While James Muse compiled the letters with his son as a memorial, the father also wished to "preserve a faithful record of the means which have been employed, in connection with the excellent educational and other advantages which he enjoyed at the institution of his choice."⁶³ Muse hoped his son's life would stand as an example to others.

James Muse composed letters to his son primarily to offer advice on topics of national and moral import. In his introduction, the elder Muse declared his intention to promote an "affectionate, familiar, and miscellaneous correspondence, to keep his heart and mind, as much as possible, under the salutary influence of the endearments of 'home.'" The elder Muse also made clear his effort to make a "moral improvement of my son," to prepare him for his future life as a planter. For example, Muse the father summarized one of his earliest letters as a means to "encourage him to the performance of the task before him by pointing out the advantages of a thorough education."⁶⁴

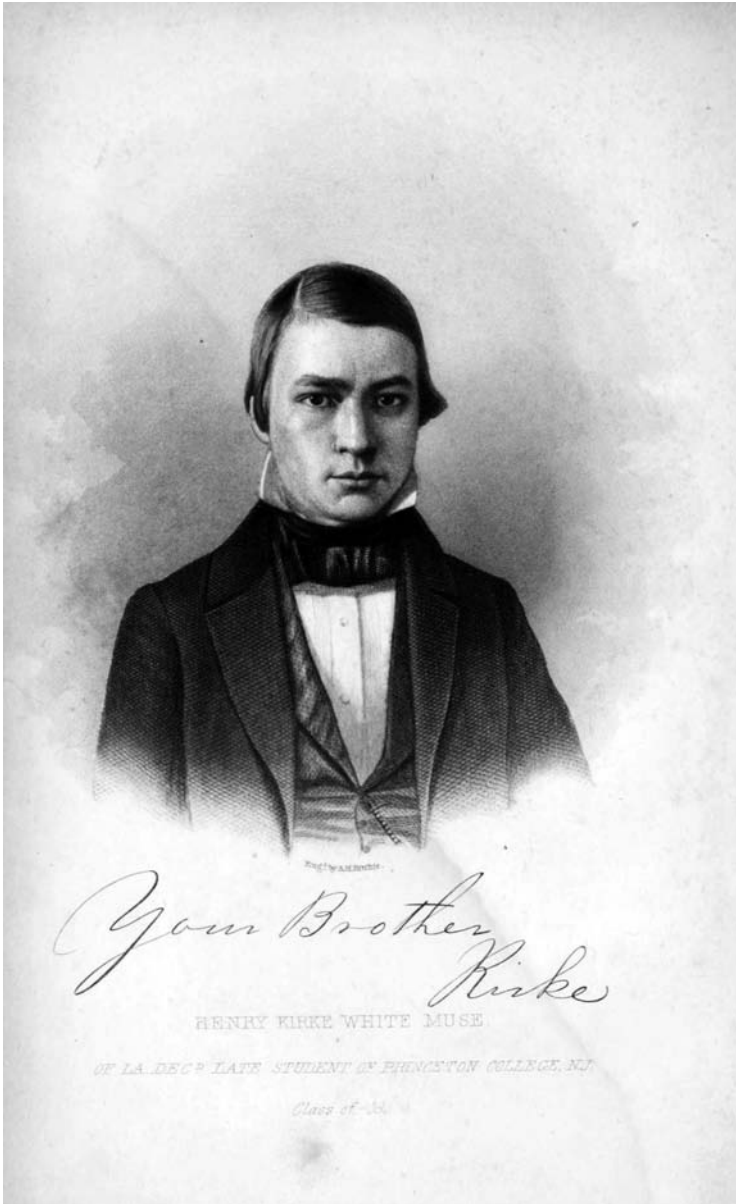


FIGURE 4: "Your Brother Kirke," from James Henry Muse, *Correspondence with My Son, Henry Kirke White Muse: Embracing Some Brief Memorials of his Character, and Essays from his Pen, While a Student at Princeton College, New Jersey* (New York: J. A. Gray, 1858). Courtesy Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

Typical of young men away from home, Kirke Muse found himself wishing to explore the freedoms of college, while longing for the family he left at home. At Princeton he joined the Delta Kappa Epsilon Fraternity and the American Whig Society, both organizations primarily composed of southerners. At first, Kirke made sure to assuage his father that he would not enjoy college too much: "I greatly miss the conveniences of home, and the pleasure of kindred and friends, and though I hope to make friends here, be assured that they will in no wise weaken my love of home." As the semester went on, the younger Muse began to branch out and make friends. In addition to chess playing, fraternity meetings, and debate, Kirke often would "play at ball about an hour and a half each day when the weather is good." At one point, Kirke chose to spend time with his roommate rather than write his family: "But I must close," Kirke ended one letter, "as A_____ has come in." At another point, Kirke ignored his father's advice and flatly announced his own intentions. Previously, James Muse had advised his son to avoid card games and chess, but Kirke reported without hesitation, "I play nothing but chess." While James hoped that the letters from home would "strengthen rather than weaken" his son's "collegiate exile," Kirke's many activities and close friendships suggest his life was marked by anything but exile.⁶⁵

The line between giving and receiving advice was often blurred in these letters. James Muse, who was a widower, at times seemed to rely on his son for emotional support. Kirke consoled his father with the thought that his letter might comfort his family. "Bless the children," he declared, "I would give something for a kiss around. However, I deputize you to do so for me, and tell them that not a day passes that I do not think of them and hope they are well."⁶⁶ Rather than filling the "emotional space" left by being away from home, Kirke acknowledged the hardship his absence caused his family. In another letter, Kirke consoled his father and expressed his sense of empathy: "I suppose as you all are sitting around the fire these cold nights—you with O_____ on your knee and G_____ by your side, you look at my vacant seat and feel rather sad; yet you must console yourself with the thought that I am well and am getting on finely." Perhaps Kirke was homesick and projected his feelings onto his family, or perhaps he understood his absence to be a true burden to his family.

In compiling the book of letters, James Muse included several essays found among his son's "private papers." The topics ranged from Socrates to Napoleon and were generally related to the younger Muse's

school assignments. The final essay, however, underscored the unsettled dynamic between James Muse and his son. This last essay, titled "American Literature," was an elegiac musing about the importance of literature to the endurance of civilizations. Starting with the Greeks and continuing to the Romans, the younger Muse concluded his essay with a critique of the state of American literature. "Young Americans!" he exclaimed, "cherish this literature; it alone can perpetuate the existence of your country." While his prose was ordinary, if melancholy, the father-turned-editor could not help but add the rather extreme editorial note to the preface of the essay:

The following essay, which was found among the papers of the deceased Henry Kirke White Muse, was probably written by him during a period of ill-health, at Princeton, and in anticipation of approaching death.⁶⁷

Even after his son's death, the elder Muse spoke on behalf of his son, editing and annotating the details of his life for the candid world to read. While no other letters suggested that the younger Muse was near death at Princeton—indeed he seemed to practice a rigorous exercise regimen—James assumed with ultimate finality his role as father and patriarch.

With little surprise, then, the correspondence concluded on a somber note. Titled the "author's farewell to his son," James Muse, suffering from grief, assumed an ecclesiastical tone:

Farewell, farewell, my son, my son, my beloved son! I neither sought nor desired greater bliss on earth than I found in thee! It will increase the joys of heaven to meet thee there, and spend an eternity with thee in the holy society of "the spirits of just men made perfect," in the abodes of the blest above. Farewell! Farewell "for a season!"⁶⁸

The farewell to his son, and the book as a whole, became more than an example to others. It also served to strengthen posthumously the connection between father and son, one that had measurably diminished during Kirke's absence at school. As editor and eulogist to Kirke, James Muse rewrote the father-son relationship as the primary one of his son's life.

The letters exchanged between students and their families generally show patriarchs and matriarchs anxious to impress strong moral values upon their

absent sons. They have also revealed young men immersed in the intimate friendships and new freedoms offered by the college environment, increasingly aware of the new roles expected of them in their families and society at large. For the students writing back home, the letters tended to “discuss a wide range of phenomena, events, and experiences in the same text,” a sign that students were taking in many new faces, places, and things in a short period of time.⁶⁹

Whether from loneliness, financial need, or a sense of familial obligation, family letters were a necessary and constant part of college life. Letters also reveal young men growing apart from their families, trying on, as it were, new and different social roles. Formed in the crucible of academic trials, the students’ friendships helped to promote these new roles. A second family, one of the young men’s choosing, helped to loosen the connections, however briefly, during their college years. Some students, like the pious Charles Colcock Jones Jr., would hardly acknowledge the effects of his classmates upon him until the very end of his time at Princeton, while others, such as Henry Kirke White Muse, did not live long enough to reflect fully upon them. The letters offer a record of families in crisis, of sons absent from worried fathers and mothers, and of young American men becoming, for the first time, versions of their future selves.

Conclusion

The Civil War brought an end to the pleasant sociality that had marked the lives of students at the College of New Jersey. For the most part, the students who departed to fight in the war left on good terms. “Prior to the exodus the best of feelings prevailed,” Henry A. Boardman, class of 1864, recalled.⁷⁰ Others witnessed less-pleasant encounters. William E. Potter, class of 1861, recorded in his diary: “Tonight there came near being severe fights between Secessionists and loyal men . . . [a] knife was drawn by [a] fellow from Baltimore but [the] approach of [the] President prevented serious consequences. Thus only, I believe, was bloodshed averted.” What struck Theodore W. Hunt of the class of 1865 most was “the fine, generous spirit that existed among the northern and southern students in their college friendships and intercourse.” Edwin Norris, in his history of Princeton, largely concurred, noting that “the friendships formed beneath

the elms became even more closely cemented, and it was with genuine sadness that these intimate ties were severed."⁷¹

For most students at the College of New Jersey, intimate male friendships had characterized antebellum college life, but even before the war their four years of college life were not always blissful. For some, the annoyance of a life without access to the pleasures of home resounded as a constant complaint. For most, however, the college years, as remembered in autograph books, photographs, and journals, and as recorded in letters exchanged among family members, marked the high-water moment of their lives. Through these recorded reminiscences of the past, one may glimpse a bit of the private lives of students and explore more broadly the meaning of friendship and intimacy, the socialization of the future leaders in business, religion, and law, and, in so doing, learn something of a different kind of nineteenth-century manhood.

The language of intimacy promised to add permanence and meaning to the friendships formed during college, the independence desired by students from family and future obligations, and the expression of sadness at the departure of close friends. By writing in the language of intimacy, students such as Charles Colcock Jones Jr., Samuel Stanhope Stryker, and Henry Kirke White Muse, projected the comfort they felt from their close friendships into uncertain futures. In so doing, young men struggled to define the meaning of the social bonds they had formed with each other. They longed for intimacy with classmates; they wrote passionately and with great emotional effusion about the longing they felt for one another; and they sometimes shared close physical connections as well.

The antebellum college fostered such friendships soaked in the language of fraternal love, often through shared living arrangements, in students from all parts of a nation growing apart. The college also promoted the development of dependent children into independent adults, a process recorded in the changing nature of intimacy, first exclusively found in the family at home and then in strong same-sex friendships. For those who did not remain bachelors, the bonds of marriage provided the next step in developing intimacy with others, now with women. But for others, those who chose not to marry, or perhaps those who died young, or even those men who never felt great intimacy with their wives, the college friendship served as a reminder of a moment in their lives in which fraternal love had been paramount for the first time.

NOTES

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1. On nineteenth-century college life, especially the role of fraternities and student societies, see Thomas S. Harding, *College Literary Societies: Their Contribution to Higher Education in the United States, 1815–1876* (New York: Pageant Press, 1971); James McLachlan, “The Choice of Hercules: American Student Societies in the Early 19th Century,” in *The University in Society*, vol. 2, *Europe, Scotland, and the United States from the 16th to the 20th Century*, ed. Lawrence Stone (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), 449–94; Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Roger L. Geiger, ed., *The American College in the Nineteenth Century* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000); Nicholas Syrett, *The Company He Keeps: A History of White College Fraternities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Daniel A. Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890–1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010).
2. The earliest scholarship on same-sex intimacy emerged from women’s history; see especially Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relationships between Women in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Signs* 1 (1975): 1–29; Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: William Morrow, 1981); Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778–1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).
3. On the new men’s history, see especially Toby Ditz, “What’s Love Got to Do with It?: The History of Men, The History of Gender in the 1990s,” *Reviews in American History* 28 (2000): 167–80; Ditz, “The New Men’s History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered Power: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History,” *Gender and History* 16 (2004): 1–35; and Bryan C. Rindfleisch, “‘What It Means to Be a Man’: Contested Masculinity in the Early Republic and Antebellum America,” *History Compass* 10/11 (2012): 852–65. Important general studies of nineteenth-century manhood include Elliott J. Gorn, *Manly Art: Bare-knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986); E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Amy Greenberg, *Cause for Alarm: The Volunteer Fire Department in the Nineteenth-Century City* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998); Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Brian P. Luskey, *On the Make: Clerks and the Quest for Capital in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 2010); and Tom Foster, ed., *New Men: Manliness in Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).

4. Research in the areas of same-sex attractions and relationships in America has been the work of historians of sexuality and homosexuality, who have been variously categorized as "essentialist" or "social constructionist." Important works in this area include, among many others, Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.: A Documentary* (New York: Crowell, 1976); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1980); Leonard Ellis, "Men among Men: An Exploration of All-Male Relationships in Victorian America" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1982); Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983); Eve Kosofsky Sedwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, eds., *Hidden from the History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Penguin, 1989); Martin Duberman, *About Time: Exploring the Gay Past*, rev. and expanded ed. (New York: Penguin, 1991); John D'Emilio, *Making Trouble: Essays on Gay History, Politics, and the University* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Jonathan Ned Katz, *Love Stories: Sex between Men before Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Graham Robb, *Strangers: Homosexual Love in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Norton, 2003); Douglass Shand-Tucci, *The Crimson Letter: Harvard, Homosexuality, and the Shaping of American Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003); William Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America: Beyond Romantic Friendships* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2006); Tom Foster, *Sex and the Eighteenth-Century Man: Massachusetts and the History of Sexuality in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006); and Tom Foster, ed., *Long Before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).
5. In a pioneering study of northern manhood, one that still informs much of the present scholarship, historian E. Anthony Rotundo found a "special culture" among young New Englanders, who formed strong bonds in "homosocial environments." Rotundo, *American Manhood*, esp. 62, 75–77, 78, and 86. See also E. Anthony Rotundo, "Boy Culture," in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, ed. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 15–36. Although primarily about manhood in the eighteenth century, Anne Lombard concludes with an epilogue that echoes Rotundo's findings for the nineteenth century, Anne S. Lombard's *Making Manhood: Growing Up Male in Colonial New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 170–79. In her study of southern college students, Lorri Glover also noted the "romantic prose style fashionable in the era," but dismissed the possibility of "homeroetic and even homosexual" friendships, arguing that young southerners "relied on friendships for emotional and social needs, while keeping an eye on the long-term political and reputational benefits of boyhood attachments." Lorri Glover, *Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 72–73. See also Lorri Glover, "'Let Us Manufacture Men': Educating Elite Boys in the Early National South," in *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*, ed. Craig Thomas Friend and Lorri Glover (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 22–48; Robert F. Pace, *Halls of Honor: College Men in the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004); and E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1928).

6. Donald Yacovone has argued for the importance of “the language of fraternal love,” which was “no mere passing phase of youth,” but rather “represented a pervasive cultural ideal.” Richard Godbeer has likewise suggested a “range of possibilities for relating to other men that included intensely physical yet non-sexual relationships,” taking as one of his examples the late eighteenth-century triangular romance among three men who adopted the names Leander, Lorenzo, and Castalio, one of whom was a student at the College of New Jersey. Donald Yacovone, “Abolitionists and the ‘Language of Fraternal Love,’” in *Meanings for Manhood*, ed. Carnes and Griffen, 86; Donald Yacovone, “‘Surpassing the Love of Women’: Victorian Manhood and the Language of Fraternal Love,” in *A Shared Experience: Men, Women, and the History of Gender*, ed. Laura McCall and Donald Yacovone (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 197; and Richard Godbeer, *The Overflowing of Friendship: Love Between Men and the Creation of the American Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 5. Other works that argue for lifelong male intimacy among men include Drew Gilpin Faust, *A Sacred Circle: The Dilemma of the Intellectual in the Old South, 1840–1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), esp. 1–6, 15–17, 42–44; Karen Hansen, “‘Our Eyes Beheld Each Other’: Masculinity and Intimate Friendships in Antebellum New England,” in *Men’s Friendships*, ed. Peter Nardi (London: Sage, 1992), 35–58; Caleb Crain, *American Sympathy: Men, Friendship, and Literature in the New Nation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), esp. 16–52; and Anya Jabour, “Male Friendship and Masculinity in the Early National South: William Wirt and His Friends,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 20 (2000): 83–111.
7. Through the late antebellum period, the graduating classes were roughly two-thirds men from the northeastern and mid-Atlantic states and one-third from the southern and western states, though the numbers could be nearly equal at times. Jacob N. Beam, *The American Whig Society of Princeton University* (Princeton, NJ: American Whig Society, 1933), 163; and Lance Varnum Collins, *Princeton* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1914), 408. A multitude of scholarly treatments of Princeton have aided my research; general treatments include Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746–1896* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946), and Donald Oberdorfer, *Princeton University* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995). A specific study of nineteenth-century Princeton was also useful; see Ronald Kerridge, “Answering ‘The Trumpet of Discord’: Southerners at the College of New Jersey, 1820–1860, and Their Careers” (Senior honors thesis, Princeton University, 1984); Roy D. Oppenheim, “The House Divided: Princeton University during the Civil War” (Senior honors thesis, Princeton University, 1980). The College of New Jersey was quite often referred to as Princeton College or Nassau Hall as early as the middle-eighteenth century. “College of New Jersey,” in *A Princeton Companion*, ed. Alexander Leitch (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978).
8. Roger L. Geiger, “College as It Was in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” in *The American College in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Geiger, 82. For an argument for the primacy of political party loyalties over sectional ones in the election of 1848, see Joel Silbey, *Party Over Section: The Rough and Ready Presidential Election of 1848* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2009).
9. Originally founded as a school to train ministers of the New Light Presbyterian persuasion, the College of New Jersey continued to promote and largely produced a particular form of manhood, similar to what Amy Greenberg has identified as “restrained manhood.” Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 11.

10. “Autograph Book,” Charles Colcock Jones Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University. On Jones, see also “Charles C. Jones Jr.,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org> (accessed November 26, 2012); about Jones’s college years, Robert Manson Myers, ed., *A Georgian at Princeton* (New York: Harcourt, 1976); and about the Jones’s life from 1854 to his death, *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War*, ed. Robert Manson Myers (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972). On the death of Bittance, see *General Catalogue, Princeton University* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1875), 75. For a list of members in the American Whig and Cliosophic societies, see Paul Biery Parham, ed., *General Catalogue of the American Whig-Cliosophic Society of Princeton University* (Princeton, NJ: American Whig-Cliosophic Society, 1954).
11. Robert Bolling Autograph Book, 1850, Autograph Book Collection, Box 2, Princeton University Archives, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Hereafter, autograph books from this collection are cited by name, graduating year, PUL. The Princeton University Library holds 196 such autograph books from 170 members of the classes that graduated between 1825 and 1884; for a complete list, see “Autograph Book Collection, 1825–1884 (bulk 1848–1882): Finding Aid,” PUL (hereafter “Finding Aid”), for specifics on individual items. On Heberton, see the *General Catalogue of Princeton University, 1746–1906* (hereafter *General Catalogue, 1746–1906*) (Princeton, NJ, 1908), 179; and Douglas H. Lusher, “Western Pennsylvania Genealogy: Family Group Record: Rev. Edward Payson Heberton and Caroline Vogdes,” <http://west-penn-families.com/Venango/f59313.htm> (accessed November 26, 2012).
12. “Finding Aid.” Most of the books in the collection were donated by the original owners’ descendants.
13. On the various forms of mass-market books and opportunities for authorship available to antebellum college students, see Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, *Literary Dollars and Social Sense: A People’s History of the Mass Market Book* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
14. As the Princeton historian J. Jefferson Looney described it: “Another feature of our College life was the rage for Autograph books.” James Buchanan Henry and Christian Henry Scharff, *College as It Is. Or, the Collegian’s Manual in 1853*, ed. Looney (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 248. See also “Finding Aid.” Other exclusively male schools, notably Bowdoin, Dartmouth, Harvard, Brown, and Yale, followed similar patterns, as did the all-female Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts. On autograph books at Princeton, see especially Alexander P. Clark, “‘Princeton Memories with a Golden Sheen’: Student Autograph Albums of the Nineteenth Century,” *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 47 (1986): 301–16; and for a different interpretation of autograph books, see Looney, ed., *College as It Is*, 248–49 n. 15.
15. What little scholarship exists on autograph books has emphasized its roots in European folklore. William K. McNeil traced the history of the autograph book to fifteenth-century Europe, when students felt the need to “procure not only the signatures and sentiments of intimate friends, but also those of their patrons, protectors, companions, and comrades.” William K. McNeil, “The Autograph Book Custom: A Tradition and Its Scholarly Treatment,” *Keystone Folklore Quarterly* 13 (1968): 29–44. On albums featuring only signatures, see Alice L. Bates, “Autograph Albums of the 1860s,” *Manuscripts* 50 (1998): 269–79. Recent scholarship about friendship albums provides

- useful insights on the importance of the textual medium; for a gendered analysis of a friendship album of a Chinese youth at the Cornwall School in the early 1820s, see Karen Sánchez-Eppler, "Copying and Conversion: An 1824 Friendship Album 'from a Chinese Youth,'" *American Quarterly* 59 (2007): 301–39. The autograph book tradition on the college campus likewise began in the 1820s, though it did not gain widespread popularity until the late 1840s.
16. Robert Bolling Autograph Book, 1850, PUL; *General Catalogue*, 1746–1906, 179.
 17. DeWitt Wallace Autograph Book, 1857, PUL.
 18. Wallace obtained a master's degree from Princeton in 1860, while Henry attended the seminary, later directed it, and served as trustee of the college for over twenty years. *General Catalogue*, 1746–1906, 196.
 19. Frederick Cox Roberts Autograph Book, 1855, PUL; *General Catalogue*, 1746–1906, 191; Samuel A'Court Ashe, *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas of the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Madison, WI: Brant and Fuller, 1892), 2:127–28.
 20. The first social fraternities arrived at Princeton in 1843, and twelve chapters organized by the end of the decade. Their presence was not long established, however; the faculty voted to ban all fraternities in 1853. Wertenbaker, *Princeton*, 281–82.
 21. Beam, *American Whig Society*, 163.
 22. Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 29.
 23. Frederick Cox Roberts Autograph Book, 1855, PUL.
 24. Frederick Henry Quitman Autograph Book, 1851, PUL.
 25. George William Ford Autograph Book, 1856, PUL.
 26. William Krebs Falls Autograph Book, 1853, PUL.
 27. Henry and Scharff, *College as It Is*, 247. Charles Colcock Jones Jr. also reported on the photographic tradition in a letter to his parents: "The senior class are sitting for their daguerreotypes, to be placed in the picture gallery. We sit two by two. As yet mine has not been taken." Charles Colcock Jones Jr. to Charles Colcock Jones and Mary Jones (hereafter CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ), August 13, 1850, in *A Georgian at Princeton*, ed. Myers, 72. On photography and male intimacy, see David Deitcher, *Dear Friends: American Photographs of Men Together, 1840–1918* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001); and John Ibson, *Picturing Men: A Century of Male Relationships in Everyday American Photography* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002).
 28. John Emery Autograph Book, 1861, PUL.
 29. Frederick Roberts Autograph Book, 1855, PUL; on the late antebellum classes at Princeton, see Edith James Blendon, "Patriotism and Friendship: The Princeton Men of 1859," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 35, no. 3 (Spring 1974): 309–13.
 30. Ewing Graham McClure Autograph Book, 1861, PUL; Ewing Graham McClure, Undergraduate Alumni Records, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library; Hugh Martin Coffin to Margaret Martin Coffin, November 16, 1861, BMS Am 2046 (24), Houghton Library, Harvard University. See also "Re: Hugh Coffin, Princeton University Class of 1861," August 9, 2003, <http://genforum.genealogy.com/coffin/messages/2086.html> (accessed November 26, 2012); Virginia Sanders Mylius, "McClure Family," <http://oursoutherncousins.com/mcclure3.html> (accessed November 26, 2012). The McClure autograph book has been reproduced in Jeanne Barkley, ed., *Autographs: A Selection of*

“UNDER THESE CLASSIC SHADES TOGETHER”

Writings from Friends to Ewing Graham McClure, Captain in the Confederate Army, Student at Princeton University, Teacher and Trustee of Washington College (Washington College, TN: Pioneer Printers, 1980).

31. Ewing Graham McClure Autograph Book, 1861, PUL; on Richard S. Van Dyke, see Joe Guy, “The Van Dyke Legacy of McMinn County,” <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~tnmcm2/GuyVanDyke.htm> (accessed November 26, 2012); and National Parks Service, “Order of Battle—Confederate,” <http://www.nps.gov/vick/historyculture/order-of-battle-confederate.htm> (accessed November 26, 2012).
32. Samuel Stanhope Stryker Autograph Book, 1863, PUL.
33. John Tyler Haight Autograph Book, 1862, PUL.
34. The “halcyon days” included a good deal of tomfoolery and gallivanting about town, often involving alcohol; see especially, Michael Hevel, “‘Betwixt Brewings’: A History of College Students and Alcohol, 1820–1933” (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2011): 14–65; Richard Stott, *Jolly Fellows: Male Milieus in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Elaine Frantz Parsons, *Manhood Lost: Fallen Drunkards and Redeeming Women in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); William A. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic, an American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).
35. Certainly, both young men were highly intelligent and performed well as students. At the Honorary Orations of the Junior Class, Samuel Stryker delivered an address titled, “The Precariousness of Popular Favor,” while at the commencement exercises the next day John Cochran delivered an address titled, “Fanaticism, an Evil.” John Tyler Haight Scrapbook, 1862, Scrapbook Collection, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
36. Wallace DeWitt Autograph Book, 1857, PUL.
37. On Christy, see *General Catalogue*, 1746–1906, 195; “Descendants of Julius Christy,” <http://familytree maker.genealogy.com/users/n/o/r/Julie-Morris-North/ODT1-0001.html> (accessed November 26, 2012); Arthur G. Freeland, ed., *Delta Phi Catalogue, 1827–1907* (New York, 1908), 344.
38. Wertenbaker, *Princeton*, 211.
39. Mary Chapman and Glenn Hendler, “Introduction,” in *Sentimental Men: Masculinity and the Politics of Affect in American Culture*, ed. Chapman and Hendler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 8.
40. Charles P. Stratton Autograph Book, 1848, PUL; Harriet Russell Stratton, *A Book of Strattons*, 2 vols. (New York: Grafton Press, 1918), 2:246.
41. Frederick Henry Quitman Autograph Book, 1851, PUL.
42. On early American letter writing, see Konstantin Dierks, *In My Power: Letter Writing and Communications in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); and William Merrill Decker, *Epistolary Practices: Letter Writing in America before Telecommunications* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).
43. Robert E. May, *John A. Quitman: Old South Crusader* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 211, 235.
44. CCJ and MJ to CCJ Jr. and Joseph Jones, July 26, 1850, in *A Georgian at Princeton*, ed. Myers, 55–57.

45. CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, August 13, 1850, in *ibid.*, 73.
46. CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, May 22, 1852, in *ibid.*, 351.
47. CCJ Jr. to MJ, May 26, 1851, in *ibid.*, 154–55. P.T. Barnum touted that the “car of Juggernaut,” a moving contraption part of his traveling museum, housed a mystical object worthy of veneration inside it. According to the history of Princeton by Edwin Norris, “The old-time ‘horn spree’ originated in the spirit of fun-making and had no more serious object than the worrying of the faculty. Groups of fancifully dressed revelers would sally forth at night, armed with tin horns, whose raucous blasts awoke the faculty and the citizens. This was the signal for the issuing forth of the chief disciplinarian ‘Johnny’ Maclean, who, to the delight of the students would pursue them until by circuitous routes they scampered to their rooms.” See Edwin M. Norris, *The Story of Princeton* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1917), 182.
48. CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, September 9, 1850, and August 26, 1850, in *ibid.*, 83–84, and 79 respectively.
49. CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, August 13, 1850, in *ibid.*, 262.
50. CCJ Jr. to CCJ, September 17, 1851, in *ibid.*, 227.
51. CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, August 9, 1850, in *ibid.*, 67–69. The “Lee” referred to was most likely Joel Winfrey Lee, a member of the class of 1852 who did not graduate.
52. See, for example, CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, December 6, 1851, and August 28, 1851, in *ibid.*, 218–21 and 222–24 respectively.
53. All in *ibid.*: CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, December 6, 1851, 337; November 27, 1851, 258; August 9, 1851, 214–15.
54. CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, May 18, 1852, in *ibid.*, 347–48.
55. James Buchanan Henry to James Henry Buchanan, September 17 and November 16, 1852, James Buchanan Papers, Archives and Special Collection, Dickinson College.
56. James Beatty Kyle to Clementine Kyle (hereafter JBK to CK), March 8, 1851, James Beatty Kyle Letters, Bulk Manuscripts Collection, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
57. JBK to CK, March 8, 1851, in *ibid.*
58. JBK to CK, November 26, 1850, in *ibid.*
59. JBK to Mary Beatty Kyle, January 22, 1851, in *ibid.*
60. James W. Alexander, *Princeton—Old and New: Recognitions of Undergraduate Life* (New York: Scribner’s, 1898), 85.
61. JBK to Mary Beatty Kyle, February 12 and March 8, 1851, in Kyle Letters, PUL.
62. On the Gordon and Kyle families, see also the Gordon-Kyle family papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. John Beatty Kyle is not on the list of those Princeton men who died in the Civil War; see the “Civil War List in Memorial Hall,” University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
63. There is some inconsistency in the spelling of Muse’s second given name (it is variously spelled Kirk and Kirke). I have chosen to follow the spelling of Muse’s father, James Muse, and use Kirke. James Henry Muse, *Correspondence with My Son, Henry Kirkee White Muse: Embracing Some Brief Memorials of his Character, and Essays from his Pen, While a Student at Princeton College, New Jersey* (New York: J. A. Gray, 1858), 7.

64. Ibid., vii.
65. Ibid., 7; James Muse to Henry Kirke White Muse, October 14, 1855 (hereafter JM and KM); KM to JM, October 27, November 7, and November 24, 1855; in *ibid.*, 37, 41, 45, and 54.
66. KM to JM, November 7 and 24, 1844, in *ibid.*, 47 and 55.
67. Ibid., 330 and 332.
68. Ibid., 333.
69. Although very different from college students, in their shared quality of being far from home, immigrants' letters provide a useful comparison; see David A. Gerber, *Authors of Their Lives: The Personal Correspondence of British Immigrants to North America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 6.
70. Cited in Kerridge, "Answering 'The Trumpet of Discord,'" 82–83.
71. Entry of September 16, 1860, William E. Potter Diary, 1859–1862, Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library; Theodore W. Hunt, "College and Civil War Reminiscences," *Princeton Alumni Weekly* 17 (May 23, 1917): 760–61; Norris, *The Story of Princeton*, 186.

PENNSYLVANIA'S REVOLUTIONARY MILITIA
LAW: THE STATUTE THAT TRANSFORMED
THE STATE

Francis S. Fox

For nearly a hundred years inhabitants of the proprietary owned by William Penn and his descendants argued among themselves over who would take up arms and defend the land. This impasse ended on March 17, 1777, when legislators of the newly proclaimed Commonwealth of Pennsylvania enacted a law that compelled all men between the ages of eighteen and fifty-three to enroll in the militia, attend stipulated exercise days, and muster for active duty, or pay a fine for each and every neglect of duty.¹ To enforce this statute the House installed a lieutenant and five sub-lieutenants in each of eleven counties and the city of Philadelphia. The rise of seventy-two unheralded men to serve the state as high-ranking civil officials brought an end to a system of patronage that had long been the exclusive domain of the well-born and prosperous. Briefly put, in March 1777 the Revolution in Pennsylvania “got legs.”²

Lieutenants had many responsibilities, the most important of which was the collection and disbursement of proceeds from fines paid by persons whose religious principles, opposition to the Revolution, or simple refusal to endure the hardships of

soldiering led them to disobey the militia law. In the period 1777–1783, income from militia fines surpassed £6,000,000. Half of this money provided Pennsylvania with one-sixth of its revenues in those revolutionary years.³ Lieutenants spent the balance for goods and services provided to the militia by thousands of inhabitants, many of whom earned cash for the first time.

The militia law also gave thousands of newly commissioned and noncommissioned officers an opportunity to lead their fellow countrymen.⁴ By the end of 1777 lieutenants enrolled 40,000 inhabitants in the militia, organized them in classes, companies, and battalions, all the while supervising the election of officers. From colonels to corporals, men elected and appointed by their peers learned the art of delegating responsibility and exercising authority. As a result, a new cadre of leaders entered public service, won posts in local and state government, and changed the thrust of Pennsylvania politics forever.

Money and authority. The torrent of new and unencumbered cash awakened an appetite for financial gain on the part of many inhabitants who had never enjoyed it.⁵ Many of the state's inhabitants began to imagine a different and better life, and many of them began to achieve it.

The £6,000,000 in militia fines collected from some 50,000 delinquent militiamen documents a downward redistribution of wealth that not only buttressed the idea of revolution but also ignited seams of rebellion throughout the state. More than any battlefield victory, more than any patriotic manifesto or political promise, this massive reallocation of cash and a rash of new leaders contributed as much to the rise of democracy in Pennsylvania as the policies of the revolutionary government. Indeed, the reach and ambition of the militia law transformed the state. There is no evidence that lawmakers planned it that way, but neither can it be ruled out. After all, a revolution was underway.

The First General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania convened in Philadelphia on November 28, 1776. Even as members gathered on the second floor of the State House to present their credentials and elect officers—the Continental Congress occupied the ground floor—the British army marched on Philadelphia. Despite the desperate need for fighting men, many of the state's voluntary militias, known as associators, quit the front line. Pennsylvania had encouraged volunteer militia associations since 1747, when Spanish privateers threatened commerce on the Delaware River during King George's War. Volunteers also defended a Quaker colony that refused to mobilize troops during the French and Indian War and Pontiac's Rebellion.

In the wake of the Coercive (known in the colonies as the Intolerable) Acts passed by Parliament in 1774, volunteer companies began organizing throughout Pennsylvania to prepare for the impending crisis. These men refused to risk their lives while nonassociators remained at home. "*All shall go, or none will go,*" they vowed.⁶

To reverse this tide of discontent, legislators immediately resolved to collect the one-time tax (as opposed to a fine) of £3.10 levied by the provincial assembly on nonassociators, and to enact a militia law that put the defense of the state on a just and equal footing. The House appointed two committees to convert these resolutions into bills, but then, unable to muster a quorum because some members took leave to command militia battalions, the Assembly adjourned on December 14.

Inspired by General George Washington's victory at the Battle of Trenton, the Assembly reconvened in Philadelphia on January 13, 1777. Legislators first enacted a law to ensure collection of the £3.10 tax.⁷ They then turned their attention to the militia bill, which became law on March 17, 1777.

Pennsylvania's militia law drew on laws enacted in colonial America and in England. However, unlike its precursors, the Pennsylvania law empowered county lieutenants to collect and disburse cash paid for fines, a strategic move that thrust lieutenants into the center of the transformation of Pennsylvania. Thus, the renegades who won in the charged fall elections of 1776 took over the State House and promptly bet *their* state on *their* militia law—and *their* lieutenants.

When angry associators shouted, "All or none," legislators promised the volunteers that the revolutionary government would compel all men to defend the land. However, the prospect of a prolonged debate on the state's cornerstone legislation forced lawmakers to break this promise and permit militia summoned to active duty to provide a substitute.

Implementation of Pennsylvania's militia law began with more than 300 local constables. Lieutenants directed these officers of the law to return to them, under oath, the names of every white male in their jurisdiction between the ages of eighteen and fifty-three capable of bearing arms, and to make new lists annually. As a result, from 1777 to 1783 the total number of men enrolled by constables for possible militia duty reached 300,000, and probably the same men appeared on these lists year after year. Similarly, of the 300,000 enrollees, 50,000 paid a fine, of which an estimated 10 to 15 percent paid more than one fine.⁸

All men enrolled in the militia were obliged to perform two months active duty, or find and pay a substitute. However, if any man failed to send a substitute, the law authorized lieutenants to hire one and charge the cost to the delinquent. Well and good; but when the president mobilized thousands of militia in the spring of 1777 to prepare for a threatened British invasion, half of the men called to active duty refused to march and had to be replaced with substitutes. Militia not yet called for active duty eagerly hired out as substitutes, even though this deed did not release them from their obligation to muster when their own class was called up. But—and here is the rub—men who failed to appear for active duty also failed to pay in advance for their stand-ins. As a result, the state was forced to pay the substitutes. The law of supply and demand quickly drove the price of a substitute for two months active duty from \$20 to \$100. (Continental army soldiers drew about \$6 a month.) Because income from fines in the early stages of the war was insufficient to offset the heavy outflow of cash for substitutes, the balance in the state treasury in June 1776 plunged to £8,500.⁹

When the British army captured Philadelphia, the state's lawmakers fled to Lancaster where, by an act of the legislature, the administration of state government was temporarily assigned to a Council of Safety. Within days of its investment, the council issued two ordinances. The first punished traitors; the second ordered delinquents to reimburse the state for money advanced on their behalf to substitutes. In addition, the second ordinance stipulated that the account of any person who failed to pay money owed to the state (for a substitute and/or failure to attend militia exercises) would be turned over to a collector chosen by the lieutenant and given authority to levy the sum due by the seizure and sale of the person's goods and chattels, and, when necessary, to call in the militia for support.¹⁰

Taking a long view of history, "An Ordinance for the more effectual levying the Monies advanced for Substitutes in the Militia . . ." should be framed. With the probity of the militia law on the line, the council spelled out for all citizens its reason for issuing this "pay or else" decree. "Some people in this [commonwealth] entertained a notion that these advances to substitutes would never be levied," said the council. "This weakened the earlier classes of militia; and substitutes, in great numbers, became necessary. These dreamers have since been awaked out of their dream by an active execution of the capital article of the militia law."¹¹ Thus, the council not only sharpened the teeth of the militia law but also hammered home the revolutionary government's unwavering commitment to fines paid on the spot in cash as a means

of securing obedience to this law. As it turned out, in the period 1777–1783 fines paid by delinquents for nonperformance of active duty amounted to 75 percent of the £6,000,000 in militia fines.

The accounts of the county lieutenants document not only the names of 50,000 delinquents—a number that includes repeat offenders—and the fines paid by each of them, but also goods and services provided to the militia, the price paid for each item or service, and often the name of the provider. Persons who served the militia received payment for each day worked. In addition to lieutenants and clerks, those paid by the day with money collected from fines included militia officers, militia on guard duty, substitutes, quartermasters, adjutants, sergeant majors, drum majors, drummers, fifers, trumpeters (for troops of light horse), couriers (warning militia to march and express messages), recruiters (for Pennsylvania regiments of the Continental army), almoners, magistrates (for services at courts of appeal), and physicians (for examining appellants for exemption). Services purchased for a negotiated fee included victualing, and the use of teams and wagons, boats, and ferries. Collectors of unpaid fines received a standard commission of 5 percent of the cash recovered and/or the market value of seized property. Wounded soldiers, former prisoners of war, and widows of soldiers killed in battle received compensation in amounts determined by the courts. Many persons put cash in their pockets by selling, renting, collecting, hauling, mending, and cleaning thousands of blankets, purchased singly and by the hundreds. (The number of blanket entries in the accounts exceeds all other items.) Others profited from the sale of meat, salt, bread, whiskey, shoes, stockings, stationery, ink, and quills.

When demand for war materiel outstripped the ability of entrenched monopolies to deliver it, unheralded men stepped up to claim their piece of a business never before open to them. The scope of the state's new "military industrial" enterprise is suggested by the following entry in the accounts of the lieutenant of the city of Philadelphia.

Paid sundry persons for 332 muskets, 278 bayonets, 532 cartridge boxes, 1530 bayonet belts, 2479 bayonet scabbards, 100 wooden bayonet tips, 44 sides and 178½ lb. harness leather for making bayonet scabbards, belts, and slings, 14 lb. shoe thread, and 18 lb. flax and hemp, with spinning for same, one wood horse for the saddlery, 19½ lb. tent ropes, cutlass, 1 pair horse pistols, 1193 gun slings, 51½ doz. brushes and wires, 18 rifle guns, 5 powder horns, 1 pouch,

15 knapsacks, 5 canteens, 2 halberds (axe-like blade and steel spike mounted on end of long staff), 48 hammers, 1 crowbar and 1 side of leather delivered for artillery, repair of ordinance store house, collecting, hauling, inspecting, repairing and storage of arms, lading and unlading when the enemy approached the city in 1777, and for hauling ordinance per accounts and receipts—£9,500.¹²

But the business of “military stores”—as auditors classed these expenditures—extended well beyond the city of Philadelphia. In Bucks County, lieutenants paid sundry persons £185 for 38 muskets, 1 bayonet, 1 rifle gun, 1 cartouch boxes, 1 pouch, and the repair of cartridge boxes, and £155 for collecting, hauling, and repairing arms and axes. In Chester County one family earned £340 for producing 31 yards of gunnysack and converting it into knapsacks. In Cumberland County sundry persons received £1,080 for 40 muskets, 21 bayonets, 1 belt, 1 canteens, and 31 rifle guns. Up and down the back-country, Pennsylvania's inhabitants earned cash by selling flints, gunpowder, scabbards and other military goods and services to county lieutenants.

Categories like those above are useful in organizing quantities of diverse information. But categories are one-dimensional, whereas actual ledger entries—of which there are thousands—provide a tantalizing hint of people in action, people on the move: John Sheek (Philadelphia) sold one blanket for £1.15. Mrs. Herron (Philadelphia County), widow of John Herron, who died of wounds received in battle, received £26.5 by order of Orphan's Court. David Carson (Chester County) pocketed £112 for two bushels of salt. Benjamin Morgan (Berks County) earned £336 for 336 days service as the county lieutenant's clerk. John Gregory (Northampton County) took in £4 for guarding disaffected persons. George Reinolt (Lancaster County) received £3.15 for making three handcuffs. George Sharp (Cumberland County) earned £3.7.6 for apprehending three deserters, while Brian Noth sold a bag for £0.7.6. Across the Susquehanna River in York County George Stauffer pocketed £89 for renting his team and hauling baggage. Farther west, Adam Young (Bedford County) received £16.17.6 for 135 pounds of bacon. And on the frontier, Peter Gabriel (Northumberland County) garnered £33.15 for baking three hundredweight of biscuits for a secret expedition against the Indians, while Thomas Campbell (Westmoreland County) earned £25 for riding express to Philadelphia. Few of those who provided goods and services to the militia earned large sums of money. But for the first time many men and women earned a little cash. And it was this

steady ripple of new and unencumbered cash that drove the transformation of Pennsylvania.

The militia law required county lieutenants to account every six months to the Assembly for money received and expended. To facilitate the collection and documentation of the required information, lawmakers ordered lieutenants and the captains of each militia company to employ a clerk.¹³ However, because it was extremely difficult to produce the desired accounts in the field—a ship's manifest, familiar to many legislators, was, by comparison, child's play—nearly all of the lieutenants failed to comply with the letter of the law.¹⁴ Nonetheless, lieutenants managed to forward cash from militia fines in excess of expenses to county treasurers, who delivered it to the state treasurer.

This process was more complicated than it appears. Company captains collected the cash paid for fines and sent it on to sub-lieutenants, who forwarded it to the county lieutenant.

At each step the officer in charge deducted militia expenses from the cash before personally carrying the balance up the line or forwarding it through trusted friends—a favored means of transporting money from point to point in the eighteenth century. From beginning to end, the process of collecting fines, deducting expenses, and forwarding cash invited petty theft and robbery. Still, audited accounts submitted by lieutenants reveal that these unheralded men collected some £6,000,000 cash in fines during the war years, paid out half of this sum for costs related to raising the militia, and forwarded the balance to the state treasurer.

Meanwhile, the state also contended with prothonotaries, clerks of quarter-session court, collectors of excise, and even the secretary of the Supreme Executive Council who failed to submit timely and accurate accounts of their activities. In fact, in the early years the true fiscal status of the state was unknowable. Finally, in 1782, the House resolved to end the government's systemic accounting crisis and created the office of comptroller-general (hereafter: controller), and warned all state officials that no account tendered by *any* department would be deemed settled until it was "audited, liquidated, and closed by the controller."¹⁵

To lead the new department lawmakers chose twenty-five-year-old John Nicholson, a state auditor who had traveled the hinterland to settle the accounts of men who served in the Pennsylvania Line of the Continental Army.¹⁶ Aware that most lieutenants and the clerks who served them lacked schooling in the formalities of accounting, Nicholson ordered county lieutenants to

bring their papers to Philadelphia and promised that his auditors would help them prepare their accounts. The strategy worked. County lieutenants and other officials hurried to settle their accounts with the state.

But settling old scores with the public proved a bit more difficult. Petitions that cited irregularities in the assessment and collection of fines reached the Assembly.¹⁷ John Nicholson stepped in and suggested to lawmakers that he print “copies of the list of fines received by the lieutenants and sub-lieutenants, for the use of the counties, which will detect (supposing any unfair returns should be made) the persons making them, and will be a perfect check on all accounts furnished by [the lieutenants].”¹⁸ Lawmakers seized the opportunity to clear the air with constituents and directed Nicholson to “immediately and hereafter once every year to print for the use of each [of 60] battalion districts copies of the fines received from delinquents for the inspection of the inhabitants of the different battalion districts, to be read by the captains at the head of their companies, and then posted in the most public places within their districts.” Because the list of names and fines consumed two-thirds of the pages in the lieutenants’ accounts, Nicholson—doubtless with the blessing of the House—published the accounts in full. Thus, the printed accounts of the county lieutenants are found in 54 pamphlets and books comprising more than 1,500 pages that present gross income, operating expenses, and the names of delinquents and the fine paid by each of them displayed in 141 audited accounts submitted by 112 county lieutenants, of which 29 served more than one tour of duty and thereby submitted more than one account.¹⁹ As a result, information of intense interest to the public—who paid what and who got the cash—was placed within reach of every inhabitant in the state!²⁰

The Constitution of 1776 sets forth the right of citizens to participate in the work of their government by declaring that doors must remain open for all citizens when the House is in session, and that bills must be printed for the consideration of the people before final passage.²¹ The House later expanded this mandate by authorizing the publication of vital state papers, including a report on the state of the public accounts (1779), the acts of the General Assembly (1781), journals of the House of Representatives (1782), and the accounts of the state treasury from the Revolution to the first of October 1782 (1784).²² But the publication and distribution of the lieutenants’ accounts, yet another consequences of the militia act, carried transparency in government to a degree undreamed of by the men who wrote Pennsylvania’s constitution.

The militia bill arrived on the floor of the House on February 12, 1777. Members debated the measure on the greater part of thirteen ensuing days until March 11, when the speaker declared cloture and ordered the bill printed. A week later, on March 17, 1777, the most important legislation enacted by the state's revolutionary government became law.

Money and authority. From 1777 to 1783 county lieutenants collected £6,000,000 in militia fines, half of which went to mobilize, train, and maintain the militia. Thousands of inhabitants eagerly provided the militia with goods and services. Pennsylvania became a kind of bustling grand bazaar. And when the multitude spent "militia money" to improve their lives and the lives of those close to them, the economic bounce that only cash provides also inspired other inhabitants to move up. Indeed, the militia law transformed Pennsylvania by triggering an upward movement of people who provided the human collateral for a rising state.

NOTES

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1. James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders, comps., *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1809* (hereafter *Statutes*) (Harrisburg, PA, 1896–1915), "An Act to Regulate the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 9:75–93. This law follows the general design of British militia statutes. Danby Pickering, ed., *The Statutes at Large from the 30th to the 33rd Year of King George II* (Cambridge: Printed by Joseph Benthham for Charles Bathhurst, London, 1766), "An Act for the Better Ordering of Militia," 57 Geo.II.c.xxv, 1757, 129–59.
2. Unless otherwise noted, "lieutenants" means all county lieutenants and sub-lieutenants.
3. In eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, books of account were kept in pounds—£.s.p. As a result, clerks converted *transaction* currencies to the Pennsylvania pound, the major currency of the Revolution, the value of which was rated at 2.6 Spanish silver dollars, or the equivalent in other currencies. Therefore, as the value of *transaction* currencies—i.e., the continental dollar, state money, and specie—inflated, the amount of inflated currency required to purchase one Pennsylvania pound increased. Militia clerks recorded fines in the following currencies: £3,156,00 continental currency, £5,741 state currency, £37,217 specie. With state money and specie converted at 1 to 75 continental currency—the exchange rate set by the Supreme Executive Council on January 2, 1781—the total of fines collected is equivalent to £6,377,850 in continental money. (Accounts for Berks and Philadelphia counties for the period 1780–1783 are missing.) Lemuel Molinsky calculates that militia fines forwarded to the state treasurer—about £3,000,000—amounted to one-sixth of state revenue for the period under study. Lemuel David Molinsky, "Pennsylvania's Legislative Efforts to Finance the War for Independence: A Study of the Continuity of Colonial Finance, 1775–83" (PhD diss., Temple University, 1975), 76.

PENNSYLVANIA'S REVOLUTIONARY MILITIA LAW

4. By the end of 1777 Pennsylvania's lieutenants organized militiamen in 72 battalions, with 288 elected field officers, and 576 companies, each with 4 elected commissioned officers and appointed noncommissioned officers. For this mobilization see www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/revolutionary_war_militia_overview/4125; www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/revolutionary-war/1852.
5. William Graham Sumner, *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution* (New York, 1891; rpt., B. Franklin, 1970), 2:172.
6. William Atlee (Chairman of the Lancaster Committee) to President Wharton, January 13, 1777, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 119 vols. (hereafter *Pa. Arch.*) (Philadelphia and Harrisburg, 1852–1933), 2nd ser., 13:537. “Col. Henry Hill to . . ., Roxborough, 6th December, 1776.” *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., 5:94.
7. Through 1781, collectors commissioned under this law recovered £25,000 in taxes. “A Brief View of the Accounts of the Treasury of Pennsylvania, 1775–1781,” *Pa. Arch.*, 3rd ser., 5:1–237. That collectors pursued men to recover such a small sum speaks to the important and relentless business of collecting all kinds of taxes and fines in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania.
8. *The Accounts of the County Lieutenants* are found in *Pa. Arch.*, 3rd ser., 5, 6, 7, and in Charles Evans, *Early American Imprints, Series I* (hereafter Evans), electronic resource. Search: “County Lieutenants.” Many volumes of these accounts are found at the Library Company of Philadelphia.
9. D. Rittenhouse to Timothy Matlack, June 10, 1777, *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., 5:357.
10. “An Ordinance for the more effectual levying the Monies advanced for Substitutes for the Militia, and fines due the Publick, for disobedience to the Militia Law,” *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 16 vols. (hereafter *Col. Records*) (Philadelphia and Harrisburg, 1851–53), 11:332–33.
11. “Hints and Instructions concerning the Collecting and Levying of the money paid to substitutes in the Militia of Pennsylvania,” Evans, 15518. The author of this broadside is not identified, but the thundering prose points to George Bryan, vice president of the council.
12. *State of the Accounts of the lieutenant and sub-lieutenants of the city of Philadelphia and Liberties . . .*, 17–18. Evans, 18707.
13. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Division of Archives and Manuscripts, Records of the Comptroller-General (Record Group 4), “Revolutionary War Associators, Line, Militia, and Navy Accounts, and Miscellaneous Records Relating to Military Service, 1775–1809,” microfilm, rolls #142–207. These sixty-five films contain approximately 75,000 images of paper generated by militia company clerks, which provided the raw data submitted by lieutenants to state auditors, who assembled the accounts and then presented them for review by Controller John Nicholson.
14. Two accounts submitted on time by lieutenants are found in the “Report of the Committee of the Assembly, on the state of the Public Accounts, 1777 and 1778.” These accounts, which simply provide a running daily tabulation of cash in and cash out, were unacceptable to the Assembly's committee of accounts.
15. “An Act for Methodizing the Department of Accounts of this Commonwealth and for the more Effectual Settlement of the Same.” *Statutes*, 10:448–57, April 13, 1782.
16. *Col. Records*, 12:546.
17. For example, see Adam Hubley to Pres. Moore, December 1, 1781; John Gloninger to V.P. Potter, October 24, 1782, *Pa. Arch.*, 9:456–57, 654–55.

18. *Minutes of the First Session of the Seventh General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, November 26, 1782, 755–56. Evans, 17663.
19. The number of county lieutenants who served from 1777 to 1783 exceeds 112, but an accurate number, which is probably closer to 130, includes men who accepted a commission and served briefly, died, or moved.
20. Nicholson also published the accounts of the collectors of excise tax.
21. Constitution of 1777, *Statutes*, 9: Appendix XXXIV, chap. 1, secs. 13 and 15
22. “Report of the Committee of the Assembly, on the State of Public Accounts, 1777 and 1778.” Evans, 16449. “The acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, carefully compared with the originals. And an appendix containing laws now in force, passed between the 30th day of September 1775, and the Revolution. Together with the Declaration of Independence; the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania; and the articles of Confederation of the United States of America.” Evans, 44029. “Journal of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Beginning the twenty-eighth day of November, 1776, and ending the second day of October, 1781. With the proceedings of the several committees and conventions, before and at the commencement of the American Revolution.” Evans, 17658. “State of the accounts of the Treasury of Pennsylvania, from the time of the commencement of the Revolution to the first of October, 1781; extracted from the books of the comptroller general. . . . Also, the accounts of the state treasurer, continued from the said first of October, 1781, to the first of October, 1782; likewise, the accounts for the several counties for their taxes to October, 1782. . . . Together with the state of the outstanding debts, due by the counties for their deficiencies in payment of taxes.” Evans, 18679.

**“LONG IN THE HAND AND ALTOGETHER
FRUITLESS”: THE PENNSYLVANIA SALT
WORKS AND SALT-MAKING ON THE
NEW JERSEY SHORE DURING THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

Michael S. Adelberg

The American Revolution brought about shortages of important commodities in the rebelling colonies. The British empire was built on mercantile principles: colonies were plantations expected to produce a small number of goods desired by the mother country—that is, Caribbean sugar, Indian tea—and serve as captive markets for the mother country’s shipping and artisans. While the maturing Thirteen Colonies did not perfectly conform to the mercantile model, they were still dependent on a variety of imports on the eve of the American Revolution. The British blockade that accompanied the rebellion created severe shortages of needed commodities in the rebelling colonies. As documented by economic historians such as John McCusker, Russell Menard, and Richard Buel, salt was primary among those commodities most missed by Americans at the start of the Revolution.¹

This article reminds readers of the importance of the salt shortage to Revolutionary-generation Americans, and discusses

the energies that Americans and their state governments put into remedying this shortage through domestic salt-making. The article particularly focuses on the ill-fated Pennsylvania Salt Works, a project in which the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania hoped to ease the salt shortage by investing considerable funds in a large-scale salt works on the New Jersey shore. In so doing, the article also reminds readers of the amateur side of Revolutionary era governance and the insufficient processes in place to force accountability from individuals trusted with the public's money.

Background

Salt was used in colonial America for more than seasoning food. It was the critically important food preservative prior to refrigeration. Material culture historians Dorothy and James Volo determined that the amount of salt needed to preserve meat "was staggering, often equaling the weight of the meat itself." Without salt, winter food stores were compromised and starvation nearly inevitable. Salt was also central to producing favorite colonial American meats—ham, bacon, and dried fish. It was needed to cure animal skins for clothing and shoes. It was also used in medicines, fertilizers, and a host of other items. Although Americans had contemplated domestic salt production since the 1600s, there was no substantial domestic salt-making in the Thirteen Colonies on the eve of the American Revolution. In Great Britain, salt-making had grown with the expanding empire. By the mid-1700s, the forests were depleted near Cheshire, one of Britain's first salt-making centers, due to the large and near-constant wood fires needed to boil large amounts of salt brine into usable salt.²

Even before the British instituted a naval blockade of the rebelling colonies, leading Americans were aware of vulnerability created by their dependence on imported salt. On July 31, 1775, the Continental Congress took up the issue, forming a committee "to inquire into the cheapest and easiest methods of making salt in these colonies." The accomplishments of this committee are hard to discern from surviving records but the Continental Congress returned to the issue toward the end of the year. On December 29, the Congress adopted a resolution in which it "earnestly recommended" that each colony "immediately promote, by sufficient public encouragement, the making of salt."³

In the capital city of Philadelphia, interest in salt-making was piqued in early 1776. Robert Treat Paine, a Massachusetts delegate to the Continental

Congress, published *The Art of Making Common Salt*, an exhortation for American salt production and a primer on salt-making. Paine noted: “The making of salt in America . . . has been too long neglected from a prevailing disposition in the Americans to manufacture nothing for themselves which could be imported from abroad.” The salt-making process, as Paine laid it out, was simple enough: (1) At high tide, trap salt water behind gated earth works; (2) pump that water into large drying pans; (3) scoop the resulting brine into kettles; and (4) boil the brine into usable salt. He also advised on finding the right piece of land for constructing a salt works:

Choose a low plot of land of ground adjoining to the sea, distant from the mouths of large rivers, but nigh a convenient harbor for boats or larger vessels. This ground must be free from springs of fresh water and no ways subject to land floods, and, if possible, should have a clayey bottom; it should also be defended from the sea either by banks of rising ground or by an artificial mote raised for that purpose.⁴

In March and April 1776, at least four colonies—New Jersey, Maryland, North Carolina, and Connecticut—all passed acts to encourage domestic salt-making. The Continental Congress followed by establishing a bounty for domestic salt on April 17; it also called on local Committees of Observation to be vigilant in monitoring salt prices and pressuring price gougers. Soon after, Congress passed a resolution encouraging the provincial conventions and congresses to grant militia exemptions to domestic salt-makers.⁵

However, salt shortages and price gouging worsened. On May 15 and 16, the New Jersey Council of Safety heard a variety of complaints on the subject. It warned those people in possession of salt to “consider the poor people at this time of calamity, and not [charge] extravagant prices on such that has been procured at low rates, particularly salt.” In Philadelphia salt prices rose rapidly. On May 28 Reverend Henry Muhlenberg noted that the price of a bushel of salt had risen from £2 to £7 and that “the people push and jostle each other whenever there is a small quantity of salt to be found.”⁶

On May 30, 1776, the Continental Congress decried the “avaricious and ill-designing men” that charge “a most exorbitant price for salt.” It called on each state to “regulate the price of salt as to prevent unreasonable exactions on the part of the seller.” The Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, meeting in Philadelphia, followed a precedent already set in North Carolina by establishing salt prices and promising to punish hoarders and price gougers. That same

week, the Pennsylvania *Ledger* printed instructions on how to make salt “from the water of our bays.” Only weeks later, Marylanders in Dorchester County rioted over the lack of salt, plundering the stores of alleged hoarders. Before the Declaration of Independence was signed on July 4, at least three salt works were operating—at Long Island, New York; Beaufort, North Carolina; and Quivet Neck, Massachusetts. But for Philadelphians lacking access to their own saltwater, the nearest land well situated for salt-making was on the Jersey shore.⁷

The Pennsylvania Salt Works

The interest in Philadelphia over salt—proven by the resolves of the Continental Congress and rising salt prices—prompted the Pennsylvania government into action. On June 10 the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety endorsed a plan proposed by a Philadelphia merchant, Thomas Savadge, “for making annually on the seacoast about sixty thousand bushels of salt.” In retrospect, the claim should have struck the committee as extravagant. Thomas Savadge had already failed in an attempt to establish “iron mongering” in southern New Jersey a few years earlier. In 1776 Savadge was living modestly; his entire estate was valued at £62. Despite his lackluster business history, the board was impressed by Savadge’s proposal, which included such grandiose innovations as windmills and “sun pans” for the proposed works, rather than the more common boiling pans. The committee concluded that “[We are] of the opinion that the necessary works may be completed in a short time, at an expense not exceeding two thousand five hundred pounds.” They bankrolled Savadge’s salt-making venture with an initial advance of £400 to Savadge on June 24.⁸

It appears that Savadge was already on the Jersey shore, at Toms River, by the time committee officially endorsed his plan. On June 25 he purchased 500 acres of salt meadow from Joseph Salter for £450. In so doing, he had already overspent his initial advance from the Committee of Safety. In July and again in September, Savadge purchased or leased more land from Salter for £150 and £600. Concurrently, Savadge made dozens more purchases from numerous people in the area—food, building supplies, horses and oxen, rafts, and several purchases of spirits. He hired eleven laborers by August, and eventually employed twenty by October. But only a few laborers stayed with Savadge for more than a few months. The wages were modest—£6 a month

for a common laborer—and the long days of hard labor in the salt marshes were, no doubt, unpleasant. Up and down the shore, salt-works owners complained that their laborers were prone to desertion or sickness. Savadge’s labor problems were compounded by his inability to pay laborers in New York money, the preferred currency on the New Jersey shore. One early laborer, Benjamin White, later recalled his disappointment that Savadge paid him “with but little money of value, it being Continental and old Jersey money.”⁹

In Philadelphia, the salt shortage continued. On August 24, for example, Robert Morris, on behalf of the Pennsylvania Convention, wrote a letter printed in the Philadelphia newspapers that scolded merchants for price gouging. He particularly mentioned salt as “most dear” and subject to some of the worst price gouging.¹⁰ The worsening salt shortage pushed the New Jersey Convention toward sponsoring salt-making. It loaned Samuel Bard of Shrewsbury £500 “for the term of two years without interest” in exchange for Bard selling the resulting salt back to the New Jersey government for \$1 a bushel. The New Jersey government also promised to absorb half the losses “if any of the works shall be destroyed by the enemy.” It issued Bard militia exemptions for up to ten laborers. A month later, the New Jersey Assembly offered similar terms to three more Shrewsbury residents eager to start a salt works—William Parker, William Corlies, and Richard Lippincott—with the further inducement that the loan would convert to a grant if the salt works were producing ten bushels of salt a day within ninety days. Meanwhile, in nearby Delaware, the state assembly loaned Colonel John Jones the money to start up a state-supported salt works in Sussex County.¹¹ The Pennsylvania Salt Works would have to compete for supplies and laborers with many other salt works.

The militia exemptions granted to the New Jersey salt-works owners immediately drew the attention of the Pennsylvania government, which requested similar exemptions for laborers at the Pennsylvania Salt Works on August 26 and again on August 29. John Hart, the Speaker of the New Jersey Assembly, informed the Pennsylvania government a few days later that his state would not grant militia exemptions for New Jersey citizens employed at the Pennsylvania Salt Works. He suggested that wages at the Pennsylvania Salt Works be raised to a level where laborers could afford the fines for militia delinquency out of their pay and continue at the works.¹² Though polite in its tone, Hart’s rebuff showed that the State of New Jersey was more concerned with protecting its salt-work loans than supporting Pennsylvania’s large scale salt-making experiment.

Despite the lack of support from the New Jersey government, progress was being made at the Pennsylvania Salt Works. On October 12 Savadge reported to the Council of Safety that "I have nearly completed a boiling house, two drying houses, [and] a mill for the pumps." He asked the Pennsylvania government for additional funds to construct a log fort to protect the works in the event of an attack. The war was going badly for the Continental army, and fears were high the British might attack the port of Toms River and the nearby Pennsylvania Salt Works. Two weeks later, October 26, Savadge reported completing a 169-foot boiling house, two drying houses, a kitchen, a lime house, and mill. But he was less than upbeat: he was £600 in debt to Joseph Salter and in need of funds and supplies. The lack of militia exemptions for his laborers remained a problem: "Many inconveniences arise from ye times, my people being drafted [into the militia] every month & not a sufficient number to be got; [this] has thrown me much behind my expectations of getting these works erected." Savadge also noted the recent appearance of a four-ship British flotilla off Toms River. "I expected a visit from them and believe nothing prevented it but a very low tide." Savadge reminded the committee that both his men and the local militia were "in want of arms."¹³

Savadge's letter and the course of the war (including the expected advance of the British army into New Jersey) raised new concerns for the safety of Pennsylvania Salt Works. On November 2 the Pennsylvania Council of Safety ordered "a guard of twenty-five soldiers, properly armed, and supported by two howitzers . . . be sent to the salt-works at Toms River." The council also wrote the Continental Congress to request that it pressure the governor of New Jersey, William Livingston, to assign "two companies of militia to guard the salt-works near Toms River." Congress responded three days later by writing Governor Livingston and requesting militia to guard the Pennsylvania Salt Works—although Congress, eager to appear even-handed, also noted the need to protect the salt works near Shrewsbury.¹⁴

However, it is not clear that any troops or militia made it to Toms River. As a stopgap measure, Robert Morris of the Pennsylvania Council of Safety ordered Captain Rice's row galley to leave Philadelphia for Toms River where "she would not only save the salt works until a proper land force can be appointed, but would also be very useful in retaking some of the prizes the [British] men of war sent along shoar [*sic*]." Finally, on November 19, Governor Livingston complied with requests from the Pennsylvania government and Continental Congress and ordered two companies of Hunterdon County

militia to Shrewsbury and two companies of Burlington militia to Toms River to protect the salt works at those places.¹⁵

In early December, the British army pushed into New Jersey and the Continental army retreated into Pennsylvania. Central New Jersey fell under British control. Loyalists rose up and seized the horses, wagons, and guns of rebels (they called themselves Whigs). Prominent Whigs were arrested. Armed Loyalist groups were organized into the New Jersey Volunteers, a Loyalist corps of the British army. They spread out across the countryside to enforce the counterrevolution. Any militia at the Pennsylvania Salt Works melted away.¹⁶

The counterrevolutionaries reached the Pennsylvania Salt Works on December 23, 1776. Savadge had heard rumors that the salt works were to be destroyed by an advancing column of Loyalists, so he rode out to meet Lieutenant Colonel John Morris of the New Jersey Volunteers. Savadge reported success in persuading Morris to save the salt works: “By informing him that ye works were not altogether public property, he politely told me he would not destroy them.” A few days later, Savadge reported, “Two noted Tories, Joseph Allen and John Williams, came with orders from General Skinner [Morris’s senior officer] to seize the works for the King’s use, and accordingly put an R [for Royal] on each building.” Savadge was turned out but apparently not harassed beyond that. He stayed in the Toms River area, likely observing his salt works from a distance. There is no evidence to suggest that the Loyalists harmed the salt works. They departed in early January following the retreat of the British army after the battles of Trenton and Princeton.¹⁷

However, momentum on the Pennsylvania Salt Works was not easily restored. The laborers were now gone. A frustrated Savadge wrote on January 18, 1777: “I have not been able to collect them together for reason of not having but Continental money to pay them. . . . They are chiefly poor men from large families, they cannot get provisions for their families with Continental money.” Savadge also remained concerned about the safety the salt works, writing: “Lord Howe has a galley near complete that carries a brass 18 pounder in her bow and a 12 pounder in her stern . . . that will destroy the works if not prevented by some vessels of the same force.”¹⁸

The security of the Pennsylvania Salt Works remained a concern for the next several weeks. On January 27 Savadge recorded that “a small sloop or tender came into the inlet, manned chiefly by Tories.” It carried off a vessel owned by local Whig James Randolph. On February 3 the Tories returned

and took the rigging and equipment for the stolen vessel. There was no military response to either of these incursions. Alarmed by Savadge's reports, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety again provided men for the defense of the salt works. On the fifth it resolved: "that a Captain and a company of the Pennsylvania regiment, with two pieces of cannon, be sent into New Jersey for protection of the salt works erected there at the expense of this State." But finding troops for this assignment proved challenging, and there is no evidence to suggest the troops were sent. Two weeks later, Robert Morris, for the Pennsylvania Board of War, counter-proposed sending a galley to defend the salt works instead. But through a series of miscommunications and delays, it appears that the galley did not actually depart for Toms River until March 27.¹⁹

The local New Jersey militia also provided some security for the Pennsylvania Salt Work and the nearby village of Toms River, but Savadge was not impressed:

The militia in this part of the country is by no means calculated for the defense thereof; for half of them are Tories and the rest but little better. I am of the belief that if this part of the country is to be defended, it must be by Continental troops who know their duty, or militia of another state.

Savadge also reported on a rumor that the armed Loyalists of Colonel John Morris were expected to return soon, and warned "if this is true, [then] the works are gone." Just a few days after this report, the security of the work worsened further. On February 15 Savadge reported, "Col. [David] Forman has ordered the militia from this place to Freehold," leaving the area totally unprotected.²⁰ The reformed Monmouth militia aggravated the already difficult task of securing laborers. Savadge reported, "I find it very difficult getting my people together; some are gone to the regulars, and some are hid and run away, others joined their respective militia companies on duty."²¹

In March 1777 the New Jersey government implemented plans to make it easier for salt works to retain laborers. The Legislature granted Colonel David Forman ten militia exemptions for laborers at the salt works he co-owned near Barnegat. Three days later, comparable militia exemptions were granted to all other salt works that would be "serviceable to the State" of New Jersey. It appears that this phrase excluded the Pennsylvania Salt Works

from the exemptions, which existed to perform a service to a different state. On March 21 James Mott, a New Jersey assemblyman and leading citizen from Toms River, wrote to Governor Livingston, to call attention to the disparate treatment. Mott wrote:

Mr. Thomas Savadge of the Pennsylvania Salt Works hath not been able to complete the same by reason of his workmen being frequently called out for the militia . . . if he cannot keep his workmen, he must be obliged to drop the whole project, to the great loss of the owners and public in general.

Mott predicted that the Pennsylvania Salt Works might produce 100 bushels of salt a day in short order if the militia exemptions were granted, and concluded, “As salt is so much wanted, I make no doubt that your Excellency will grant him such power as in your indulgence.” When Mott’s letter went unanswered, Mott sent a follow-up ten days later.²²

The Pennsylvania government also sought to change the New Jersey government’s position. On April 4 Clement Biddle of the Pennsylvania Board of War complained to John Hancock, president of the Continental Congress, that “His Excellency, Governor Livingston, refuses to grant any exemptions unless it be recommended by Congress. We therefore recommend that you give a few lines to the Governor for that purpose.” The Pennsylvania Council of Safety then wrote Governor Livingston requesting forty militia exemptions for salt-work laborers. That same day, the Continental Congress debated whether or not to intervene on Pennsylvania’s behalf, recording:

Motion from Pennsylvania for recommendation to the Governor of New Jersey to excuse 40 persons employed by Pennsylvania at the salt works in the Jerseys, proposed by North Carolina to amend by adding “if not inconsistent with their laws.” After much debate the amendment was agreed.

The watered-down recommendation from Congress gave Governor Livingston an easy way to deflect Congress’s request. He wrote back to Congress on April 12, “The exemptions above recommended are inconsistent with the militia laws of this State.” He also noted that if Pennsylvania wanted to send its own citizens to labor at the salt works, “care shall be taken to have them exempted.”²³

Months later, Savadge was still complaining about the lack of militia exemptions. In July he reported on “the tediousness and delay of erecting the works arises from not getting an exemption for my people for military duty in the militia & having no guard for their defense.” He further described, “It takes half of my time riding through the country looking for fresh hands, and when I have had them for two weeks, the militia takes them away.” Account books for the salt works confirm that Savadge had few laborers throughout 1777, and sickness was common among those who were there. Captain John Nice of Pennsylvania, a galley commander guarding the salt works, worried over the men’s health: “The water is bad, it will be necessary for the men to have spirits or I fear they will get sick, and we have no doctor nor any medicines for the men’s health, nor vegetables of any kind; there is none to be got here.” Nearby, at the competing Union Salt Works, Colonel David Forman lodged a similar complaint: “the troops on this station are very sickly.”²⁴

As the summer of 1777 dragged on, progress at the Pennsylvania Salt Works continued, but slowly. On August 22 Savadge reported, “My millwrights have nearly completed the mill and pumpworks, it shall go to work with two or three pans in a few days.” But Savadge was again out of funds and requested another £500 of money.²⁵

The salt shortage in the middle colonies remained. Captain Francis Wade, a Continental commissary officer stationed at Allentown, complained of the “extravagant price” of salt. Colonel David Forman also complained of the “exorbitant price of salt and the great probability of its further rise.” In August 1777 John Adams wrote to Abigail from Philadelphia, complaining that salt prices had risen to \$27 a bushel despite all of the “salt water boiling all around the coast” of New Jersey. He joked that Philadelphia was near empty, “all the old women & young children are gone down to the Jersey shore to make salt.” George Washington believed the domestic salt works so important that he excused the New Jersey militia from joining his army in October 1777, writing two militia leaders that “these works are so valuable to the public that they are certainly worth your attention.”²⁶

In New Jersey Governor Livingston reminded his state’s Assembly that “The scarcity of salt is a serious consideration.” He called for the New Jersey government to support a new public salt works and “to appoint proper persons necessary to distribute the commodity.” But there were limits to how far the Revolutionary governments would go to support salt-making. That September, the Continental Congress received “a memorial from David

Forman and his partners praying for a guard of one hundred men to protect a salt works, which, on obtaining such a guard, they plan to erect.” The petition was dismissed the same day. Assemblyman James Mott introduced two bills in the New Jersey Assembly on September 24 to grant ten militia exemptions to laborers at the Pennsylvania Salt Works and another Pennsylvanian-owned salt works, the Independent Works at Little Egg Harbor. The Assembly tabled the bill on the Pennsylvania Salt Works and rejected the bill for the Independent Salt Works. New Jersey and other states fixed salt prices, though there is little reason to think these government-imposed price schedules were enforced.²⁷

Discussion continued through 1777 between New Jersey and Pennsylvania leaders about militia exemptions for the workers at the Pennsylvania Salt Works. By September 13 Governor Livingston was more sympathetic, admitting to Thomas Wharton of the Pennsylvania Board of War that “the frequent calls of the workmen employed [at the Pennsylvania Salt Works] to serve in the militia is extremely vexatious.” He expressed support for a bill that would allow for militia exemptions of the salt-works laborers provided they were formed into a militia company and prepared to fight on an alarm. On October 7, 1777, the New Jersey legislature passed “An Act to Encourage the Making of Salt.” The bill was explicitly for the benefit of “the works near Toms River” and permitted militia exemptions for any number of laborers at the works, as long as the salt-works manager (Savadge) drew up a list of men and informed the local militia captains. But the laborers would need to be armed by Pennsylvania, drilled as a militia unit, and responsive to militia alarms. A few weeks later, the New Jersey Legislature granted all New Jersey salt works the same exemptions.²⁸

With the militia exemptions finally secured, the Pennsylvania government now expected results. On October 26 William Crispin of the Council of Safety wrote of Thomas Savadge, “He informs me that he has salt by him & is daily making more . . . desires that I send him a cooper for that business.”²⁹ But ten days later, Thomas Wharton of the Council responded skeptically:

The Council proposes to send a prudent man to the salt works to send forward to the State what salt is made. . . . I therefore hope and expect that Mr. Savadge has a considerable amount made and will exert himself in all respects to serve the public, who expect a great measure from the large amount of public money already expended.

The council then sent James Davison toward Toms River to provide “a distinct account of the matters there.” Perhaps fearing Davison would be deceived, the council alerted militia colonel John Cox of Davison’s mission and encouraged him to be helpful to Davison.³⁰

An unhappy Thomas Savadge wrote back to Thomas Wharton on November 11. He acknowledged the passage of the law granting militia exemptions but explained that it did not solve all of his labor problems. Specifically, he was still short: six carpenters, a smith, a bricklayer, a wheelwright, three cart men, and two guards. He was also short on wood (salt works used large amounts of wood to fuel the fires that boiled salt brine into usable salt). He reported entering into an agreement to harvest wood from the land of James Mott for \$3,500 and sent James Griggs of Toms River to Philadelphia to collect the money. Savadge also requested permission to keep the arms of the Pennsylvania sailors assigned as guards when they left.³¹

A week later, on the nineteenth, Davison left for the Pennsylvania Salt Works with instructions from Council of Safety to keep the purpose of his mission confidential, “lest the forestallers get notice of it.” The orders also noted the continued need for salt in Philadelphia and instructed Davison to ship all the salt presently at the works to Philadelphia. If the works were still not productive, he should “purchase [salt] from other salt works as will make up the deficiency.” Davison was also given a letter from Thomas Wharton, which would explain his mission to Savadge. Wharton’s letter bluntly informed Savadge of Council’s disappointment:

We had reason to believe you would have furnished this State long since with considerable quantities of salt, we have been most egregiously disappointed and are almost induced to give up the matter and pursue some of other method to furnish this State with that necessary article.

The letter further informed Savadge that Davison “has directions from the Council to inspect the books and papers relating to the works.”³² Davison apparently reached Toms River, inspected the salt works, and reported back to the council. Unfortunately, the contents of his report are unknown.

Even after dispatching Davison, the Pennsylvania government was not prepared to abandon the works—the sunk costs were probably too high. On January 16 it detached Commodore Hazelwood of the state navy with thirty men to serve as the next guard at Toms River. By coincidence, on that same

day, Savadge wrote the Council of Safety a conciliatory letter. He admitted to “unaccountable delays” in getting the works operational and promised that “if it is not the design of the Board to sell the works” he could produce 30,000 bushels of salt in the next year. Savadge claimed to have been helpful and supportive of Davison; “he is empowered and instructed to do everything effectual in attaining that so much desired end.” But a skeptical council had lost confidence in Savadge. It reminded Davison that the salt works “have not produced any salt, tho’ a very considerable sum has been invested.” Davison was then instructed: “Take up the direction of them as fully as the Council would do were they present.”³³

Not surprisingly, Savadge’s next letter to the Council of Safety was hostile. On February 5 Savadge expressed anger that Commodore Hazelwood’s guard had not yet arrived, and further noted that “such men as Commodore Hazelwood could furnish are not the men I want, neither will I pretend to carry on the works with such men.” Savadge was equally blunt about Davison’s usurpation of control:

The appointment of Mr. Davison as an agent here can be of no use to me or the works, it will be an additional expense to them, and there is no use for such a person here; furnish me with proper men and I will take care of the rest.

Savadge also challenged the board’s appointment of Davison on legal grounds: “I think, agreeable to my contract, I can have no superintendent over me but the Council themselves.” Though Savadge promised that the works could be producing salt in just two weeks, he was ready to quit: “I cannot think of carrying them [the works] on any longer, for it is only deceiving the publick, myself and my family, and getting me an ill name for what I have not deserved.”³⁴

Despite the threatened resignation, Thomas Savadge stayed on. In April, the long-feared attack against the salt works materialized, but the attack took place against the rival Union Salt Works near Manasquan, ten miles north. On April 1 a raiding party of 135 Loyalists and forty British regulars landed at Manasquan Inlet, “burnt the salt works, broke the kettles, stripped the beds of the people there. . . . The next day, they landed at Shark River and set fire to two salt works there.” The local militia raised only fifteen men to oppose the raiders. After this event, Savadge sent two letters to the Pennsylvania government. First, he described the raid and warned that the

raiders “intend these works a visit very soon.” Then Savadge offered a litany of worries. He complained about lack of laborers: “I have but a few men at the works, and them going to leave me because of the above account.” He fretted over his lack of money: “I am without cash to pay the people or provision of any kind.” And he took a subtle dig at James Davison: “I have heard nothing of Mr. Davison since he left.” In his second letter, Savadge again requested a guard and laborers: “Am not able to make any salt for want of hands . . . in all likelihood they [the Loyalists] will attempt to destroy them [the works] in a few days.”³⁵

Savadge’s letter drew a prompt and terse reply from the Council of Safety. The council stated that it refused to send a guard “as there does not appear to be any propriety from the many considerations, these works have been long in the hand and hither been altogether fruitless.” The council noted the continued lack of salt from the works, which “greatly discourages the Council from pursuing the business any further until they are satisfied that there is a reasonable prospect of something effectual being done.” The council further demanded, “You are hereby directed to lay your accounts before the Council as soon as may be.”³⁶

After this, correspondence between Savadge and the council discontinued until the end of the year, when Savadge, now in Philadelphia, penned four evasive and angry letters in short order. On November 25, 1778, Savadge wrote to the council apparently in response to inquiries made days earlier. Savadge claimed to have lost certain salt-works accounts, saying they disappeared with a courier who brought the records from Toms River. Savadge offered little assistance in finding this mysterious courier, writing, “I cannot recollect his name.” Savadge also requested funds to cover continued expenses at the salt works, including feed for sixteen pigs, two cows, and a horse. On December 7 Savadge wrote to again request money: “the sum of five hundred pounds should be sufficient to complete the five pans and carry them on so far as to satisfy your Honor and Honorable Council of the propriety and consequence of the works.” Savadge asked to settle accounts and get his investments paid out if the council would not support the works any longer. The next day, Savadge apologized for a bookkeeping error: “I must confess shame . . . by inadvertently imposing a falsehood” and being unable to produce his final agreement with James Mott. Savadge requested that the council appoint “a committee of judicious men” to consider his conduct as manager of the salt works and insisted, “I have done everything in my power

to carry the works into execution, agreeable to any instructions I have ever received." On the twelfth, Savadge wrote his final letter to the council:

I beg your pardon for interrupting you so often, but necessity has no law. I have family in town, and I have not one stick of wood for them to burn nor money to buy any; I have been here for almost seven weeks waiting to know when I am able to settle the ration bill and sundry other matters.

He concluded, "I beg to know when I am to settle . . . for my family cannot be wanting for the necessities of life."³⁷

Savadge apparently returned to the salt works in January. He continued making obligations: These included paying Samuel Cooper, a fellow Philadelphian and owner of a salt works to the south, £35 for boarding his horse, and correcting previous accounting errors by obligating £15 and £22 to local merchants James Randolph and Daniel Wilson. It appears that all routine business at the Pennsylvania Salt Works stopped, at least to the degree this can be gleaned from the surviving account books of a disaffected owner. Recognizing that his favorable business relationship with Savadge was at a close, James Mott advertised the sale of 300 acres of land at Toms River, noting the Pennsylvania Salt Works as one of its boundaries, and suggesting of the land "the situation is most advantageous for erecting a salt works." A month later, Joseph Salter, another large landholder who had leased land and goods to the Pennsylvania Salt Works, advertised the sale of 1,300 acres of land near Toms River, calling his plot "as well situated for making salt as any in New Jersey." Savvy locals understood that the patronage of the Pennsylvania government was over and they were now selling off adjacent land for whatever it might be worth.³⁸

Finally, on November 5, 1779, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety resolved to sell the Pennsylvania Salt Works, two years after the council first expressed doubts about the project. The council noted, "That the salt works belonging to this State in New Jersey have been attended with great expense and no advantage to the public, and the manager being dead." Savadge's passing did not generate an obituary in the Philadelphia newspapers—suggesting he died impoverished and in disgrace. The Council of Safety instructed Colonel Hagner to oversee the sale.

The Pennsylvania government's salt-making experiment lasted over three years. It appears that the salt works produced a grand total of twenty bushels of salt in that time, one-thirtieth of what Savadge originally projected the salt works would produce one year. The sale of the Pennsylvania Salt Works was advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on November 11, 1779. The advertisement made no mention of the works' failure, and instead made virtue of their grandiosity by noting the "extensive plan" that was "calculated to produce a great quantity of salt." On December 31, 1779, the Pennsylvania Salt Works were purchased by John Thompson of Burlington County, New Jersey. Over the next two years, they produced 15,000 bushels of salt—far less than Savadge had predicted, but a respectable output nonetheless. On March 24, 1782, Loyalists attacked Toms River and destroyed the works. They were never rebuilt.³⁹

Other Salt Works on the Jersey Shore

Thomas Savadge was not the only the Pennsylvanian to stake his reputation and fortune on salt-making along the Jersey shore. South of Toms River, at Little Egg Harbor, Philadelphians John Little and Samuel Cooper also owned a salt works. Little was a blacksmith who made his own kettles and lived at the works; Cooper was apparently the financier who traveled back and forth to Philadelphia. In January 1778 Cooper was so optimistic about the success of his works that he purchased a large tract of land nearby for £10,000. Like Savadge, Cooper worried about the safety of his investment. On news of a British incursion against Little Egg Harbor in October 1778, he told Little to move all items of value inland "for depend on it, the works will be destroyed and there should no time lost." Indeed, Captain Henry Collins of the Royal Navy reported that his men razed three salt works during that incursion, but it is impossible to know if this included the Copper-Little works. After the attack, the *New Jersey Gazette* speculated that other salt works would soon fall: "They have, it is said, bent their course towards Toms River, in order to destroy the salt works there." As late as 1782, indigenous Loyalist bands of Pine Robbers attacked privateers and businesses owned by men associated with the Continental cause. Poor documentation makes it impossible to know if Pennsylvanian salt-work owners were more likely to face attack than New Jerseyians, but it seems likely.⁴⁰

Further south, at Great Egg Harbor, Thomas Hopkins of Philadelphia established the Friendship Salt Works in 1780. Like Thomas Savadge, Hopkins endured a litany of labor problems, writing on different occasions: “the wood cutters refused to cut,” “3 wood cutters eloped the day before & stole an axe,” “no wood cutters at work this day,” and “the wood cutters said they would work no more as the weather is so hot & the mosquitoes so thick.” Hopkins was also plagued by shortages of provisions. Despite these difficulties, the Friendship Salt Works did manage to produce ten to twelve baskets of salt on most days, enough to send two wagons to Philadelphia every six weeks.⁴¹

New Jersey historians have profiled different salt works on the Jersey shore during the American Revolution. Aggregating the work of these different historians is difficult, as is separating out duplicative and nonverifiable information in their writings. Nonetheless, it appears there were at least seventeen salt works started on the Jersey shore at one point or another during the war (see table 1). At least nine of these salt works—including each one north of Toms River—were destroyed by British/Loyalist raiding parties.⁴²

Only one of these salt works rivaled the Pennsylvania Salt Works in scale and expectation. The Union Salt Works at Manasquan (present-day Brielle) were founded by Colonel David Forman in late 1777 amid a flurry of correspondence with Governor Livingston and George Washington. Originally Forman requested a massive £20,000 advance from the Continental Congress in exchange for selling salt exclusively for the support of the Continental army. Although Congress never approved, the project was begun. Forman was already under censure from the New Jersey Assembly for using his Continental army regiment as laborers at a salt works he co-owned near Barnegat, where the men harvested wood from the neighboring land of Trevor Newland, also a salt-works owner. In January, Forman moved his soldiers to the Union Salt Works where, presumably, they were put to work building the works. By late March Washington had no choice but to remove the men and transfer the command of Forman’s regiment away from Forman “to avoid the imputation of partiality and cause of censure.” Just a week later, the Union Salt Works and the nearby salt works at Shark River were razed by a British/Loyalist raiding party. The ruined salt works were advertised for sale March 1779. They were sold, partially rebuilt, and operated at a reduced capacity afterward.⁴³

TABLE 1. The Jersey Shore's Revolutionary War Salt Works

Name	Owner/Manager	Location	Comments
River Works	Samuel Bard ^a	Shrewsbury River	Destroyed 1777
Unknown	David Knott ^a	Shark River	Destroyed 1778
Union Salt Works	David Forman and others	Manasquan	Destroyed 1778; sold and repaired
Unknown	James Parker and others ^a	Manasquan Inlet	Destroyed 1778
Randolph's	James Randolph	Mosquito Cove	
Pennsylvania Salt Works	Thomas Savadge	Toms River	Sold 1779, destroyed 1782
Unknown	Samuel Brown	Forked River	Destroyed 1782
Unknown	Trevor Newland	Waretown	Destroyed 1782
Congress Works	David Forman and others	Barneгат	
Unknown	Unknown	Tuckerton	
Bartlett's Works	Josiah Bartlett ^a	Little Egg Harbor	Destroyed 1778
Falkinburg Island Works	Unknown	Little Egg Harbor	Destroyed 1778
Independent Salt Works	Nathaniel Petit	Absecon Island	
Friendship Salt Works	Samuel Cooper	Great Egg Harbor	
Unknown	Unknown	Townsend's Inlet	
Unknown	Unknown	Turtle Gut Inlet	
Unknown	Unknown	Cold Spring Inlet	
Unknown	Unknown	Seven Mile Beach	

^aOwner is presumed

Despite the risks, salt works attracted investment from across New Jersey. Colonel John Neilson of Middlesex County invested \$2,800 in a salt works near Toms River that appears to have been managed at least some of the time by Major John Van Emburgh, also from Middlesex County. These works were plagued by labor shortages and mosquitoes but did produce salt. By November 1782 they were being manned by local residents who gave one-third of the proceeds to Neilson and Van Emburgh. Colonel Joseph Ball of Gloucester County reportedly became one of New Jersey's wealthiest men based on his privateering and salt-making investments during the war.

General Nathanael Greene of the Continental Army was a co-investor in Ball's ventures.⁴⁴

The Need for Salt Works Later in the War

The character of the American Revolution changed markedly in 1778. The entry of France into the war weakened the British naval blockade by placing a rival fleet in American waters and by forcing the British to divert ships to protect other parts of the empire. McCusker and Menard suggest that a “fairly successful” British blockade through 1777 gave way to a period of “flourishing commerce” in America starting in mid-1778. Along the Jersey shore, privateer and merchant vessels multiplied. A survey of New Jersey and Pennsylvania newspapers, starting in summer 1778, shows several imported salt advertisements, where few had existed before. Indeed, McCusker and Menard suggest that salt prices started falling in 1778.⁴⁵

Despite the improving conditions, it appears that there was still a market for domestic salt into 1778 and beyond. In an October 1778 letter, Philadelphia merchant and salt-works co-owner Samuel Cooper noted an incredible markup for salt between the Jersey shore, where it sold for £8 a bushel and the Philadelphia price of £35. Another source suggested that \$15 of salt at Toms River sold for \$35 at Morristown. There are other examples of significant price differences between the Jersey shore and inland markets.⁴⁶ Despite this, the New Jersey Assembly defeated a bill in October 1779 to extend militia exemptions for salt workers. While salt supplies improved, drought periods remained. In November 1779 Colonel John Cox wrote Nathanael Greene from Egg Harbor complaining that salt prices had spiked again, reaching \$100 a bushel, and further noting, “and little to be had even at that.”⁴⁷

Conclusion

By any measure, the Pennsylvania Salt Works were a failure. Thomas Savadge dreamed of a grand salt works without realistically considering the supply chain, labor, or capital needed to support the project. The other large-scale salt works on the Jersey shore, the Union Salt Works near Manasquan, were also a failure. Meanwhile, the smaller salt works up and down the shore

produced steady, if modest, amounts of salt. There is no reason to think that these small salt works eased the national salt shortage. The reopening of the sea lanes in late 1778 likely changed the salt supply more than domestic salt production. The New Jersey Legislature's decision to let the salt-making militia exemptions expire in 1779 certainly suggests as much.

Nevertheless, the combination of salt-making and privateering brought large numbers of people and capital to the Jersey shore for the first time. Before the war, much of the land along the Monmouth/Ocean County shore was held by the Board of East New Jersey Proprietors—but large tracts land were sold off to private salt-works investors in 1777 and 1778. Shallow harbors like Toms River had no more than a few dozen residents and no large vessels in 1776, but these ports ended the war with warehouses, merchant vessels, and channel markings and pilots for navigating their tricky inlets. Previously low-value salt marshlands were now “improved” with buildings and industry that would keep people on the shore forever afterward. And New Jerseyans continued investing in domestic salt works after the war.⁴⁸

While Savadge's plans were impractical and his projections fanciful, the problems he faced were real and common. Labor shortages plagued not just him, but salt works up and down the shore. Further, Savadge's worries about the safety of the Pennsylvania Salt Works were well founded. Monmouth County hosted over 100 battles and skirmishes during the war, the large majority along the shore. Local militia attempted to provide security, but they were undermanned against well-armed raiding parties. In January 1778 an anonymous New Jersey Loyalist reminded a British official in New York of the salt works and their vulnerability, “You know that these works stand near the waterside [and] that 200 men might destroy them all.”⁴⁹

The failed experiment at the Pennsylvania Salt Works reminds us of the amateur nature of government during the Revolutionary War. Faced with a legitimate problem—the scarcity of salt—the government of Pennsylvania chose to remedy the problem by entrusting large amounts of money to a man with a dicey prewar history and no experience in salt-making. The oversight of the works was negligible for eighteen months, and then the government's largesse and support for the works evaporated suddenly. While Savadge was clearly irresponsible in managing the salt works, the Pennsylvania government was just as negligent in its oversight role. The New Jersey government, more interested in supporting its own salt-making investments than seeing another state's experiment succeed, acted almost peevishly toward the Pennsylvania Salt Works.

To this day, narratives on government during the American Revolution most often focus on the political philosophy of the Founders and the critical moments that ultimately brought forward independence. However, as demonstrated so ably by E. Wayne Carp, the fledgling national and state governments also had a propensity for entrusting large sums of public money to men who were corrupt, incompetent, or both. Thomas Savadge’s failure as a custodian of public funds was not unique.⁵⁰ The ill-conceived Pennsylvania Salt Works are a good reminder that the Founders—for all of their intellectual gifts—had naïve and amateur moments as administrators of the public’s money.

NOTES

1. There are a few macrohistories of the Revolutionary period that specifically discuss the salt shortage in America during the Revolution. For example, John McCusker and Russell Menard document the dependence of the American colonies on imported salt, suggesting that they imported about 750,000 bushels of salt from Britain in 1770 alone. Among foodstuffs, salt trailed only sugar among imported foods. See *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 185n, 284–86. Richard Buel noted that salt was often excused from the colonial embargo of British goods at the war’s start, noting that colonial leaders regarded it as “strategically comparable to gunpowder.” At another point, Buel suggests that salt, gunpowder and arms were co-equal import needs for the rebelling American colonies in the early years of the Revolution. See Richard Buel, *In Irons: Britain’s Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 35, 96. In addition, a handful of historians have studied the salt shortage at the start of the American Revolution and the American responses to the resulting shortages. Particularly recommended is Larry Bowman, “The Scarcity of Salt in Virginia during the American Revolution,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 77 (1969): 464–72, and R. L. Hilldrup, “The Salt Supply of North Carolina during the Revolutionary War,” *North Carolina Historical Review* 22 (1945): 393–417. More recently, Anne Ousterhout’s “Controlling the Opposition in Pennsylvania during the American Revolution,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105 (1981): 3–34, and Ira Berlin’s “Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America,” *American Historical Review* 85 (1980): 44–78, have discussed the need for domestic salt manufacture within broader studies. There are a number of more general studies that look at shortages of supplies and the immature structures for dealing with these shortages in the new republic. Particularly recommended is E. Wayne Carp, *To Starve an Army at Pleasure* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).
2. Dorothy and James Volo, *Daily Life during the American Revolution* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2003), 180. As early as 1647, the Dutch governor-general of New Amsterdam (New York), Peter Stuyvesant, proposed awarding monopolies on key domestic manufactures: “one to establish an ashery, one to make tiles and bricks, and the third to put up a salt works.” His plan was overruled by

- the colony's directors in the mother country. See Michael Kammen's *Colonial New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 57. A century later, in 1754, Samuel Warden established a salt works at Forked River, New Jersey, but there is no reason to believe that the resulting salt works lasted long. See Arthur Pierce, *Smugglers' Woods* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1960), 229, and Harold Wilson, *The Jersey Shore*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Publishing, 1953), 1:166. The destruction of the forests of Cheshire in the 1700s is noted by the Salt Manufacturers Association (of the United Kingdom) on their website, <http://www.saltsense.co.uk/history08.php>.
3. *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–89*, 34 vols. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904–37), July 31, 1775, and December 29, 1775. Online by date at www.ammem/amlaw/lwdg.html (hereafter JCC).
 4. Robert Treat Paine, *The Art of Making Common Salt* (Philadelphia: R. Aiken, 1776). New Jersey historian William MacMahon notes the suitability of the Jersey shore to eighteenth-century salt-making technique in *South Jersey Towns* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1973), 304. Pierce offers similar observations in *Smuggler's Woods*, 229. See also K. Braddock-Rogers, "Saltworks of New Jersey during the American Revolution," *Journal of Chemical Education* 15, no. 12 (1938): 586–92, for an overview of salt-making as practiced in the Revolutionary War salt works.
 5. C. C. Smith, "Scarcity of Salt during the Revolutionary War," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 15 (1856): 221–27; JCC, April 17, 1776; Pierce's, *Smugglers' Woods*, 225–26. Additional information on early salt-making experiments is found in Bowman, "Scarcity of Salt in Virginia during the American Revolution"; Barry Neville's "For God, King, and Country: Loyalism on the Eastern Shore of Maryland during the American Revolution," *International Social Science Review* 84 (2009): 3–4; Hilldrup's "Salt Supply of North Carolina during the Revolutionary War"; and William Quinn's *The Salt Works of Historic Cape Cod* (Barnstable, MA: Parnassus: 1993).
 6. The New Jersey Council of Safety's deliberations are recorded in *Minutes of the New Jersey Council of Safety* (Jersey City, NJ: John H. Lyon, 1872). See also Peter Force's *American Archives*, 9 vols. (New York: Johnson Reprint Co., 1972), 6:1947–48; Pierce, *Smuggler's Woods*, 225–26; and the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, June 1, 1776.
 7. JCC, May 30, 1776; the quotation from the Pennsylvania Council of Safety is printed in the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, June 1, 1776. A report on the Long Island salt works appears in *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, May 27, 1776. A good summary of the Dorchester County (Maryland) Salt Riots is in Neville's "For God, King, and Country."

For information on the first salt works in Massachusetts, see Smith's "Scarcity of Salt during the Revolutionary War." Hilldrup discusses the early salt works at Beaufort, North Carolina in "Salt Supply of North Carolina," 385.
 8. Documentation on the June 10, 1776, meeting of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety is in *The Pennsylvania Archives: Colonial Records, First Series*, 16 vols. (Harrisburg: Samuel Hazard, 1837–53), 4:771. Information on Savadge's prewar activities is scattered and incomplete, but see the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 8, 1786, and January 10, 1771. Information on the grandiose plan for the Pennsylvania Salt Works is in Wilson, *The Jersey Shore*, 1:171–72. Also see the Philadelphia tax lists, reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Archives: Transcript of the Provincial Tax, County of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: John Stevens, 1859), 396. See also William McMahon, *South Jersey Towns* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1973), 304.

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9. For extensive information on the financial obligations of the Pennsylvania Salt Works, see Account Books of the Pennsylvania Salt Works, MS Collection 994, History Society of Pennsylvania. The antiquarian historian William Fischer noted the presence of the Pennsylvania Salt Works along the north bank of the Toms River in his article, “The Toms River Block House Fight,” *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 14, n.s. (1929): 419–20. Benjamin White’s comments are in his autobiography, printed in Judith Olson, *Lippincott: Five Generations of Descendants of Richard and Abigail* (Woodbury, NJ: Gloucester Historical Society, 1982), 159–61. Currency inflation and disaffection for Continental money was so great that some salt works paid their laborers in salt by war’s end. See Harry Weiss, *The Revolutionary War Salt Works of the New Jersey Coast* (Trenton: Past and Present, 1959), 45–48.
10. Robert Morris’s letter is printed in the *Pennsylvania Ledger* on August 31, 1776. Also see Hezekiah Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1876), 431.
11. For information on Bard’s salt works, see Smith, “Scarcity of Salt during the Revolutionary War,” 224. The funding for Bard’s salt works was delayed for a few weeks. It was finally released on September 11, 1776. See manuscript box 11, item 23, Manuscript Collection, New Jersey State Archives Bureau of Archives and History, and *The New Jersey Votes of the Assembly*, September 11, 1776, 8, at the Library Company, Philadelphia. Bard became a Loyalist and never repaid the loan, prompting the New Jersey Legislature to instruct the attorney general to attempt to recover the money in June 1783. (See *New Jersey Votes of the Assembly*, June 4, 1783, 117.) For information on the Parker-Corlies-Lippincott salt-works, see *The Journals of the Legislative Council of the State of New Jersey*, October 3, 1776 (Isaac Collins, State of New Jersey: 1776), 29–30; see also, *New Jersey Votes of the Assembly*, September 20, 1776, 17; September 27, 1776, 23; *Acts of the General Assembly of New Jersey*, 6–7, 47, at the Library Company, Philadelphia. Other salt-works owners who experienced labor problems included David Forman, who complained of sickly laborers at his salt works. His letter is in the Emmitt Collection, New York Public Library, reel 7:7830. Thomas Hopkins’s journal includes numerous complaints about labor problems. It is printed in “Journal of Thomas Hopkins of the Friendship Salt Company, New Jersey 1780,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 42 (1918): 46–61. The travails of both Forman and Hopkins are discussed later in this paper. On November 22, 1776, the New Jersey General Assembly read a petition from Samuel Bard regarding subsidizing a proposed salt works at Manasquan, but there is no evidence that the legislature acted on this or any other later requests to publicly underwrite salt works. See *New Jersey Votes of the Assembly*, November 22, 1776, 42. *Proceedings of the Assembly of the Lower Counties on the Delaware*, 1776, and *the House of Assembly of the Delaware State, 1776–1781* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 1986) 265, 299.
12. The exemption requests from the State of Pennsylvania and the New Jersey Assembly’s reply are in the John Hart Papers, John Turner Collection, Library of Congress; *New Jersey Votes of the Assembly*, September 2, 1776, 3.
13. Savadge’s October letters are in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser. (Philadelphia: Joseph Stevens, 1853), 5:55, and also discussed in Pierce’s *Smugglers’ Woods*, 235.
14. For information on the requests of the Council of Safety, the letter from the Continental Congress and action of Governor Livingston, see Edwin Salter’s *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne: E. Gardner and Sons, 1890), 419, entries; Peter Force, *The American Archives*, 4th ser.,

- 3:182–83; Carl Prince et al., eds., *The Papers of William Livingston*, 5 vols. (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Society, 1979), 173, 182–84; and JCC, November 5, 1776.
15. For information on the decision to send Captain Rice's galley to Toms River, see Robert Morris to Benjamin Rush, February 17, 1777, *Letters to the Delegates of Congress*, website for Papers of Continental Congress, memory.loc.gov > American Memory > Lawmaking Home http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:1::/temp/~ammem_kGm3:: (hereafter Letters Delegates); also November 19, 1776, William Livingston Papers, at the New Jersey State Archives, Trenton.
16. The most complete account of central New Jersey's Loyalist insurrection of December 1776 is in the author's *The American Revolution in Monmouth County* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2010). Good overviews of New Jersey during this time period are offered by Mark Lender, "The Cockpit Reconsidered," in *New Jersey in the American Revolution*, ed. Barbara Mitnick (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), and David Hackett Fischer, *Washington's Crossing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
17. Savadge's account of the seizure of the Pennsylvania Salt Works is in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 4:194–95. The sparing of the salt works is also discussed in Fischer's "The Toms River Block House Fight," 420, and McMahon, *South Jersey Towns*, 304. See also William Stryker's *The New Jersey Volunteers in the American Revolution* (Trenton: Naar, Day and Naar, 1887) 53; and Lorenzo Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (Westport, CT: Meckler, 1984), 2:596.
18. *Pennsylvania Archives*, 4:194–95.
19. Savadge's reports on the Loyalist incursions are in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5:216. The resolve of the Council of Safety is in the *Minutes of the Pennsylvania Council of Safety*, 2:114, 126, 191. Morris's counterproposal is in Letters Delegates, February 17, 1777. Arthur Pierce also narrates this difficult time at the Pennsylvania Salt Works in *Smuggler's Woods*, 236–37. See also *Pennsylvania Archives*, *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania: Minutes of the Supreme Executive, First Series* (Harrisburg: Theo Fenn and Co., 1853), 11:126, 191.
20. Savadge's observations about the local militia are in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5:216, 228. Colonel David Forman was concurrently a colonel in the Continental Army charged with command of an "Additional Regiment" raised for the defense of Monmouth County and a brigadier general of the New Jersey Militia, commanding the militia of three central New Jersey counties. Forman was also a co-owner of salt works at Manasquan and near Forked River. In 1777 he claimed martial law powers and exercised broad discretion in making military and civil government decisions, at least until the New Jersey Assembly intervened toward the end of the year. Given Forman's long history of intermingling personal and public agendas, it is certainly possible that he may have been happy to see the rival Pennsylvania Salt Works left unprotected. The fullest discussion of Forman's controversial career is in Adelberg's *The American Revolution in Monmouth County*.
21. Adelberg, *American Revolution in Monmouth County*.
22. The Acts of the New Jersey Legislature are in *Journals of the Legislative Council of Jersey* (Trenton, NJ: Isaac Collins: 1777), 69, 73. Also see the John Turner Papers within the John Hart Collection, Library of Congress; *Acts of the General Assembly of New Jersey*, 1777, 6–7, 47; Francis Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and State*, 4 vols. (New York: Publishing Society of New Jersey, 1902), 2:73. Mott's letters are in Box 1, nos. 55 and 58, Manuscript Collection, Bureau of Archives and History, New Jersey State Archives, Bureau of Archives and History, Trenton, and Prince et al., eds., *Papers of William Livingston*, 1:303.

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23. Biddle's letter to the Continental Congress is in the Papers of the Continental Congress, microfilm reel 83, item 69, 1:355. The debate is found in Paul Smith et al., eds., *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, 14 vols. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1976–2000), 6:554. The Pennsylvania Council of Safety's request to Governor Livingston and the governor's response are in Salter's *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, 92, 193–94; Prince et al., eds., *Papers of William Livingston*, 1:303.
24. Savadge's letter is in the *Pennsylvania Archives* 5:418–19. Nice's letter is in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5:427–28. Forman's letter is on reel 7, p. 7830, in the Emmitt Collection, New York Public Library.
25. Savadge's letter to the Board of War is in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5:540.
26. Wade's complaint is in series 4, reel 39, January 29, 1777, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Forman's quote are in reel 13, item 13, 162 and reel 49, item 41, 188, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, National Archives. Information on New Jersey's salt price-fixing is in Rogers, "Saltworks of New Jersey during the American Revolution," 591; Wilson, *The Jersey Shore*, 1:171; and Weiss, *The Revolutionary War Salt Works of the New Jersey Coast*, 44–45. Washington's letter is in Box 1, Neilson Family Papers, Rutgers University Special Collections, New Brunswick.
27. John Adams's letter is in Smith, "Scarcity of Salt during the American Revolution," 226. Livingston's proposal to the New Jersey Assembly is in Prince et al., eds., *Papers of William Livingston*, 2:52. Forman's memorial is in the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, September 11, 1777; Mott's bills are in *New Jersey Votes of the Assembly*, September 24, 1777, 190–93.
28. Livingston's letter to Wharton is in Prince et al., eds., *Papers of William Livingston*, 2:69–70. The act granting militia exemptions to the Pennsylvania Salt Works is printed in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5:745. The New Jersey law passed on December 11 granted one militia exemption per 500 gallons of "boiling vessels" at each salt work. The law had a one-year duration. See Prince et al., eds., *Papers of William Livingston*, 2:126, and Weiss's *Revolutionary Salt Works of New Jersey*, 39.
29. Savadge's letter is in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5:763–64.
30. Crispin and Wharton's correspondence is in William Morgan, ed., *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, 11 vols. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963–) 10:306, 419. The letter to Col. John Cox is excerpted in Pierce's *Smuggler's Woods*, 237. The New Jersey Legislature denied petitions for militia exemptions at particular salt works from Nathaniel Scudder, a friend of the governor and eventual member of the Continental Congress, and David Knott. Instead, the Legislature granted militia exemptions at all salt works. See *New Jersey Votes of the Assembly*, November 13, 1777, 117, and November 28, 1777, 33–34.
31. Savadge's letter is in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5:763–64.
32. Wharton's letters to Davison and Savadge are in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 6:16–18.
33. Hazelwood's orders, Savadge's letter to the Council of Safety, and the Council's orders to Davison are in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 6:181–82, 236.
34. Savadge's letter is in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 6:236.
35. There are several accounts of the April 1 raid against Manasquan and Shark River. See *New Jersey Gazette*, April 5, 1778, *New York Royal Gazette*, April 8, 1778, *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, April 13, 1778, and *Pennsylvania Ledger*, April 25, 1778. The commander of the expedition, Captain Boyd Potterfield, reported on the raid to General Henry Clinton. See the Henry Clinton Papers at the Clements Library, University of Michigan, vol. 33, item 15. Savadge's letters to the Council are in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 6:398, 400.

36. The Council's letter to Savadge is in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 6:417.
37. Savadges letters to the Council are in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 7:96–116.
38. See the Pennsylvania Salt Works Account Books at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Mott's and Saltar's advertisements appeared in *New Jersey Gazette* on January 6, 1779, and February 10, 1779, as well as subsequent editions. Mott also sold an additional thousand acres in August (see *New Jersey Gazette*, August 25, 1779).
39. See Pierce's *Smuggler's Woods*, 237. The resolve of the Council of Safety to sell the Pennsylvania Salt Works is in *Pennsylvania Archives: Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, Minutes of the Supreme Executive*, 12:160 and *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 1:76, 101, 108. For information on John Thompson's purchase of the Pennsylvania Salt Works and his eventual success at the works, see Pierce, *Smuggler's Woods*, 238. The destruction of the Pennsylvania Salt Works is also noted in Weiss's *Revolutionary Salt Works of New Jersey*, 44.
40. The letters between Little and Cooper are in Weiss's *Revolutionary Salt Works of New Jersey*, 28–37. There are several good accounts of the British incursion against Little Egg Harbor and Chestnut Neck, including Franklin Kemp's *Nest of Rebel Pirates* (Egg Harbor, NJ: Batsto Citizens Committee, 1966), which excerpts Capt. Henry Collins's account of burning three salt works on 34–35. See also the *New Jersey Gazette*, October 14, 1778. In a letter dated October 11, Governor Livingston expressed his worry about the safety of the New Jersey salt works to Lord Stirling: "they have given out instructions to destroy all the salt works on the shore" and already destroyed two works in Little Egg Harbor, those on Osborn's Island and at the Faulkner's Island bridge. The defining work on the Pine Robbers of the Jersey shore is David J. Fowler, "Egregious Villains, Wood Rangers, and London Traders: The Pine Robber Phenomenon in New Jersey during the Revolutionary War," PhD diss., Rutgers University, 1987.
41. Thomas Hopkins's journal is printed in "Journal of Thomas Hopkins of the Friendship Salt Company, New Jersey 1780," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 42 (1918): 46–61.
42. The information in the table is pulled from many sources, particularly Pierce's *Smuggler's Woods*; Braddock's "Salt Works of New Jersey during the American Revolution," 586–87, 591; Richard Koke's "War, Profits, and Privateers along the Jersey Shore," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 41 (1957): 281; and Jeffrey Dorwart's *Cape May County, New Jersey: The Making of an American Resort* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 55; Weiss's *The Revolutionary Salt Works of New Jersey*, 27; *The New Jersey Archives, Extracts from Revolutionary War Newspapers* (Bayonne: State of New Jersey, 1880), 1:485.
43. The sordid story of David Forman and his salt-works scandals is told in pieces of several works, including Pierce's *Smuggler's Woods*, Leonard Lundin's *Cockpit of the Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1940), the author's own *The American Revolution in Monmouth County*, and various antiquarian works. For a good summary of Forman's Additional Regiment, see Fred Berg, *The Encyclopedia of the Continental Army* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1968). Washington's decision to take Forman's troops away from his salt works is in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, 31 vols. (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931–44), 11:148–49. Information on the sale of salt works is contained in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, March 19, 1779. See also Weiss's *The Revolutionary Salt Works of New Jersey*, 18, 20.

44. Information on the Neilson–Van Embugh salt works at Toms River is in Weiss’s *Revolutionary Salt Works of New Jersey*, 26–28 and Pierce’s *Smuggler’s Woods*, 238 and 250. Information on Joseph Ball and General Greene is in Pierce’s *Smuggler’s Woods*, 58–61 and 71–73.
45. See McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 261. The *New Jersey Gazette* notes four sales of imported salt in the second half of 1778, none in the first half. The historians who suggest falling salt prices in 1778 are Arthur Pierce (*Smugglers’ Woods*, 251) and James Levitt, *New Jersey’s Revolutionary Economy* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975), 19–20.
46. Cooper’s letter is in Weiss’s *The Revolutionary Salt Works of New Jersey*, 30–37. Information on salt prices in Toms River vs. Morristown are in Richard McCormick, *New Jersey from Colony to State* (Princeton, NJ: Van Nostrand, 1964), 152. Montgomery’s advertisement is in the *New Jersey Gazette*, October 21, 1778. Thomas Johnson of Baltimore noted in January 1778 that salt sold for one-third less at Egg Harbor, NJ, than in Baltimore. See Papers of the Continental Congress, M247, 1270, Maryland State Papers, 241, National Archives.
47. Documentation of the Assembly’s vote is in *New Jersey Votes of the Assembly*, October 8, 1778, 203–4. Also see the Legislative Council’s vote on November 6, 1778, *Journals of the Legislative Council of New Jersey*, 10.
48. Different New Jersey historians have noted the impact of the American Revolution on bringing people and investment to the shore in large numbers for the first time. See especially Wilson’s *The Jersey Shore*, 1:201. Cox’s letter to Greene is in *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 13 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976–2005), 5:27. The same sentiments were expressed to Greene in a letter from William Stevens, “salt is the only thing . . . the farmers are distressed for salt.” *Ibid.*, 5:163. Information on the New Jersey proprietors and their many interactions with salt works investors and managers is in Pierce’s *Smugglers’ Woods*, 230; the New York Historical Society, online at <http://dlib.nyu.edu/maassimages/amrev/jpg;noo1136s.jpg>; the *New Jersey Gazette*, August 5, 1778; and *Minutes of the Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey from 1764–1794* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1895), 250–54. Two venerable New Jersey investor/merchants, William Hartshorne and James Bowne, bankrolled a salt works at Egg Harbor “on a very extensive plan” in 1787. They believed it would be profitable as “proved by facts & experiments.” See James Bowne to William Hartshorne, March 28, 1787, Box 2, Folder 19, Hartshorne Family Papers, Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold, New Jersey.
49. Major Patrick Ferguson, who led two raids into New Jersey during the war, proposed a campaign against the state in November 1779; prominent in the plan was “destroying the small craft and salt works” between Manasquan and Barnegat. Ferguson’s plan is in Box 75, November 15, 1779, Henry Clinton Papers, Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The letter from the anonymous Monmouth County loyalist is in Pierce’s *Smugglers’ Woods*, 228–29. The vulnerability of the salt works was not lost on local militia. Aaron Bennett wrote: “Numerous salt works were erected all along the shore and one of the great objects of the enemy was to destroy them.” Garrett Irons recorded spending several tours in 1779 “as a guard along the shore & at the Pennsylvania Salt Works, which were situated five miles from Toms River—whilst at the salt works, we had a skirmish with a British armed boat with about thirty men”; Benjamin Van Cleave recalled, “once had quite an engagement at Squan, when the British and Tories attempted to burn the Union Salt Works”; William Newberry recalled a skirmish with Loyalists attempting to destroy the salt

works on Absecon Island; Bartholomew Applegate recalled serving several tours “as a guard at the Pennsylvania Salt Works . . . stationed there to protect the works”; and Henry Vail recalled: “had a skirmish with the enemy at Shark River Inlet, they landed from a frigate to destroy the salt works, but was repulsed and drove off.” All of these statements are in the Revolutionary War Veterans Pension Applications at the National Archives, Washington, DC, under the author’s names. Figures on the scope and severity of civil warfare in Monmouth County during the American Revolution are detailed in the author’s “An Evenly Balanced County: The Scope and Severity of Civil Warfare in Revolutionary Monmouth County New Jersey,” *Journal of Military History* 73 (2009): 9–48.

50. E. Wayne Carp’s *To Starve an Army Pleasure* examines the tremendous difficulties experienced by the national and state governments in supplying the Continental Army through the war. Particularly recommend is the chapter “Problems of Supply” that documents the large amount of corruption and incompetence surrounding the supplying the Army with food for the men and forage its animals.

**“A GENUINE REPUBLICAN”: BENJAMIN
FRANKLIN BACHE’S REMARKS (1797),
THE FEDERALISTS, AND REPUBLICAN
CIVIC HUMANISM**

Arthur Scherr

George Washington was perhaps in a more petulant mood than usual when he wrote of Benjamin Franklin Bache, Benjamin Franklin’s grandson, in 1797: “This man has celebrity in a certain way, for his calumnies are to be exceeded only by his impudence, and both stand unrivalled.” The ordinarily reserved ex-president had similarly commented four years earlier that the “publications” in Philip Freneau’s *National Gazette* and Bache’s daily newspaper, the Philadelphia *General Advertiser*, founded in 1790, which added the noun *Aurora* to its title on November 8, 1794, were “outrages on common decency.” The new nation’s second First Lady, Abigail Adams, was hardly friendlier, denouncing Bache’s newspaper columns as a “specimen of Gall.” Her husband, President John Adams, likewise considered Bache’s anti-Federalist diatribes and abuse of Washington “diabolical.” Both seemed to have forgotten the bygone, cordial days in Paris during the American Revolution, when their son John Quincy, two years Bache’s senior, attended the Le Coeur boarding school

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with “Benny” (family members also called him “Little Kingbird”). But the ordinarily dour John Quincy remembered. Offended that the *Aurora* had denounced his father’s choosing him U.S. minister to Prussia as nepotism, he murmured that Bache had betrayed their “ancient friendship.”¹

Bache’s *Aurora*, which became the most influential Jeffersonian Republican journal after Philip Freneau’s *National Gazette* closed its doors in November 1793, angered most “friends of order.” They despised “Lightning Rod, Jr.,” as English expatriate radical-turned-conservative William Cobbett called him, alluding to Bache’s famous grandfather. Bache’s foes deplored his support of Jefferson, “friend to the Rights of the People,” for the presidency in 1796 against the “monarchist” Adams. They despised him as an intemperate, fanatical democrat, co-conspirator of Jefferson and the French revolutionists. They labeled him an opportunist who printed scurrilous diatribes against the Washington administration, especially its unpopular Jay Treaty, to garner increased circulation and party patronage. Rachel Bradford, sister-in-law of the prominent New Jersey Federalist congressman Elisha Boudinot, vividly expressed the party’s view. Demonstrating literary flair and knowledge of classical mythology, in 1795 Bradford acerbically compared Bache to the ferocious dog that guarded the gates of Hades:

The Cerberus of Democracy, Bache barks more furiously than ever, and snaps so much that its fangs will loose [*sic*] their power of wounding by continual gnashing—unless it makes a speedy exit by madness for I think the symptoms of that disease increase in it daily. The President is the continual mark of his abuse, to which no bound is set; it is to be hoped, that like some other party papers have done here before Bache’s will destroy itself and its insolent publisher, be sent into the contempt he deserves.²

Federalist pundits dreaded the *Aurora*’s invective, especially when zealots like James T. Callender and Dr. James Reynolds filled its columns. Experts on the history of the press during the 1790s agree with Donald H. Stewart, author of a massive study of Jeffersonian journalism, that after Freneau’s *National Gazette* collapsed, the *Aurora* became “the most influential newsheet in the country.” At its heyday in 1797 the *Aurora* was the Republican paper of greatest circulation, boasting some 1,700 subscribers, while the average daily drew only about 500. The *Aurora* carried the most reliable transcriptions of congressional debates, often copied by Bache’s competitors. Free copies

circulated extensively in taverns and via the postal frank of Republican congressmen.³

Yet Bache's opposition to Washington and the Federalists came late. The above criticisms all date from 1795 onward, after Bache first leaked and then vigorously opposed the Jay Treaty. Indeed, among those from whom he requested advice and assistance in setting up a Philadelphia newspaper was the Federalist elder statesman Robert Morris. As superintendent of finance during the American Revolution, Morris championed a stronger central government and worked closely with Bache's grandfather, Benjamin Franklin, to obtain vital grants and loans from France. Morris told Bache he would be glad to help him obtain a share of the public printing, except that Secretary of State Jefferson, who was in charge of printing the laws, had already employed other printers, among them John Fenno, who would soon become one of Jefferson's most bitter enemies. "Some of your friends here are rather sorry for your intention of printing a newspaper," Morris paternalistically advised. "There are already too many of them published in Philadelphia and in these days of scurrility it is difficult for a press of such reputation as you would choose yours to be to maintain the character of freedom and impartiality connected with purity."⁴

Following the advice of Morris and Benjamin Franklin, who during the colonial period had run his newspaper in an impartial manner so as to gain advertising revenue and public printing, and not alienate would-be subscribers, at the outset Bache instructed correspondents to "deliver their sentiments with temper and decency," to advance the "public good."⁵ But in large measure, his paper at first embraced Federalist views. The *General Advertiser* endorsed Hamilton's fiscal policies, including the funding of the public debt, the Bank of the United States, and Hamilton's famous Report on Manufactures (December 1791), neutrality during the French Revolution, and suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion. In fact, the most recent scholarly study of Bache depicts him as a thoroughgoing Hamiltonian in the early 1790s, who joined his "fellow nationalist," the diehard Federalist Fenno, editor of the *Gazette of the United States*, in praising Washington's administration. Indeed, the *General Advertiser* denounced the radical *National Gazette* and its editor, Philip Freneau, as a partisan, anti-administration nuisance that wagged "the tongue of prejudice and error" against the government. "Can it possibly be considered a criterion of patriotism to excite jealousies and suggest aspersions respecting the general government?" Bache lectured Freneau. During the first years of his newspaper Bache reprinted many articles and

editorials, both informational and opinionated, from Fenno's paper, engaging in what Marcus Leonard Daniel inelegantly calls "literary cannibalism," while seldom printing criticisms of Hamiltonian finance.⁶ Appalled by Bache's refusal to print a smaller, cheaper, weekly "country paper" for circulation in rural areas, as well as by the preponderance of pro-Hamilton essays in the *General Advertiser*, Jefferson mournfully concluded, "Freneau's two [semi-weekly] papers contain more good matter than Bache's six."⁷

Only twenty-one when he started the newspaper, young Bache devoted himself to defending popular government. He sought fame and public regard rather than financial advancement. In 1789, confessing that his ambition was not to accumulate wealth but to secure public esteem and fame, he confided his zeal for civic virtue and the public good to his journal, "Mélanges." "Ambition is I think my strongest passion," he wrote.

To be great truly great by being virtuous, I want sufficient money to show these virtues in their very brilliant appearance, & a Wife who may by partaking increase the bliss I expect by their exercise. I shall aim at being a public character to shew how I could choose the good of my Country in opposition to my private interest, which is a rare thing nowadays. . . . My principal object shall be to be esteemed virtuous, reputed learned, & to be useful thro' these means to my Country & Mankind.

He was also wary of the corrupting effects that power might have on his good intentions, should he ever acquire power. "If I was elevated in any eminent Station I should, I fear have a new, a contrary set of Ideas." He began his newspaper career with an avowedly nonpartisan view. He supported the Constitution, and, contrary to the statements of his later political opponents, opposed the Anti-Federalists.⁸

On a more personal note, young Bache, who had a reputation for sociability, organized celebrations of Washington's Birthday as manager of the Philadelphia City Dancing Assembly as late as 1795, although his newspaper had begun criticizing Washington's "aristocratic" habits. Earlier, in 1792, when Bache, then still in Washington's camp, conducted a birthday ball for the president by the populist New City Dancing Assembly, the *General Advertiser* praised Washington for attending his celebration as well as the older, socially elitist City Dancing Assembly's more elaborate fête, commenting that he showed himself a truly "republican magistrate." The

Aurora's opposition to Washington grew unrelenting only after the violent debate over the Jay Treaty in 1795.⁹

Even after the Jay Treaty, the *Aurora* did not become a purely Republican organ. After the election of 1796 Bache began a campaign to rally the Republicans in a nonpartisan union with President John Adams, who "brought to his presidency . . . a detestation of political parties—Federalist and Republican alike."¹⁰ Previously, the *General Advertiser* mentioned Adams with respect. Supporting his vice-presidential candidacy on the eve of the election of 1792, it decried what it called "Antifederalist abuse" of him in the newspapers. Bache also reprinted editorials from the Federalist *Gazette of the United States* in 1792, on education and public schools, which favorably cited Adams's well-known, multivolume *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States* (1787–88), a somewhat conservative endorsement of bicameral legislatures.¹¹

Surprisingly enthusiastic in their response to the peaceful transfer of power from Washington to Adams, in early 1797 Bache and other Republican editors affirmed their trust in the new president to revive the patriotic ideals of the Revolution, in which Adams had played an indispensable role. Thomas Greenleaf's *New York Journal*, for example, hoped that the incoming administration would be "propitious to the spirit and intention of our late revolution." Bache's own *Aurora* evoked Adams's outstanding career as a Revolutionary statesman and signer of the Declaration of Independence as omens that "the cause of Republicanism will acquire important vigor" under his leadership. A "Communication" from an enthusiastic Wilmington Democratic-Republican claimed that, had Washington's "particularly great character" not been pro-Federalist, and had the voters directly chosen the electors in all the states, Jefferson would have won easily. Still, he optimistically predicted that Adams would "disappoint the British faction, act like a genuine Republican, and not prove himself an apostate to the Liberty and Independence of his country, by disgracing his conduct during our late glorious revolution." A "Correspondent" argued that, unlike Washington, Adams would reject the humiliating stance of a "tool" or "head of a party" mindlessly obeying Hamilton, and instead pursue an independent position more respectful of the U.S. alliance with France. "Mr. Adams is not an automaton for Hamilton," another "Correspondent" asserted. "He is too much the *friend of virtue* and his country to be under such influence." Professing confidence in Adams's impartiality, the *Aurora* derided "the royal British faction's" miserable failure to convert the new president into their puppet or automaton. Adams "has a will and understanding of his own," Bache's newspaper observed,

and “he is by no means disposed to become the pupil of Mr. [Alexander] Hamilton.”¹²

Bache and his contributors cautiously hoped that Adams would fill the role of James Harrington’s prototypical “natural aristocrat,” and work to revive the “sleeping” republican virtue of the people. One among many writers in the Democratic-Republican press who voiced Jeffersonian approval of the conciliatory, pro-republican tone of Adams’s inaugural address, “A Correspondent” declared, “[Adams] avows himself the friend of equal rights, the protector of our constitution, the friend of peace, and the enemy of party. And can acknowledgments and sentiments like these pass unapproved by any friend to his country and the principles of a free government?” “His Rotundity,” as Republicans earlier derisively called Adams, thus briefly emerged as an unlikely Republican hero.¹³

Although scholars have much discussed Bache’s role as a Republican supporter beginning in 1795, they have neglected his reluctance to engage in full-scale partisanship and the *Aurora*’s brief conciliatory honeymoon with Adams after his election.¹⁴ Bache was not alone. Other Republicans, including Jefferson, directed their hostility against Washington and Hamilton, for Adams as vice president had played a relatively minor role in the administration. As historian Lance Banning wrote, they “saw cause to hope that anger over Hamilton’s attempt to slip Thomas Pinckney into the presidency would combine with Adams’s undeniable independence of mind to make his administration less subservient to Britain than Washington’s had been.”¹⁵

Adams and his family had long been regular readers of Bache’s paper. As one might expect, John Adams’s opinion of it depended on whether it agreed with him. At the outset, Adams was disturbed by Bache’s occasional “ill tempered” denunciation of Washington’s ostentatious levees, which made the *General Advertiser* “nearly as bad as Freneau’s” paper, although he was relieved to be no longer the sole object of Republican calumny (“I have held the office of Libellee General long enough,” he drolly wrote Abigail). Applauding the *Aurora*’s denunciation of the Democratic societies during the Whiskey Rebellion, he observed, “Bache’s Paper tells Us it is The Spirit of the Times to Support the constituted Authorities against self created, usurping rival Pretensions.” When on the anniversary of the Franco-American alliance of 1778 a Philadelphia militia company proposed a toast to the “unwearied exertions” of Jay, whose Treaty’s invidious terms were yet unknown, at the same time praising victorious French generals, Adams said, “I Admire the French Wit & Ingenuity of a Toast this Morning in Bache’s paper.” In June

1795 John Quincy Adams's brother Charles alluded to "your friend Bache" when informing him of the *Aurora's* opposition to Jay's Treaty.¹⁶

Although Bache was a Jeffersonian Republican, he was personally friendly with Vice-President Adams before 1797. The Bache and Adams families were on familiar terms rooted in the childhood friendship between John Quincy Adams and Benny in Paris. In 1792 young Bache offered the Adamses the rental of Grandfather Benjamin's house on Franklin Court, which Franklin had left to his son-in-law, Benny's father, Richard Bache, and Benny had temporarily occupied. Adams's son, Thomas Boylston Adams, a Philadelphia resident, reported Bache's offer to his mother: "His Father [Richard Bache] directed him to give you the first offer, and until he gets an answer, will not feel himself at liberty to look farther."¹⁷ In July 1795, on the road from Philadelphia to Boston, Bache encountered the Adams family on their way to Quincy for summer vacation. He was selling copies of Jay's Treaty, which he had printed up a few days before, first publishing a detailed summary of its contents in the *Aurora*, one of the first newspaper "scoops." They were unaware that Bache had obtained the Treaty and published it even before the State Department released its contents. "At Worcester, a very pretty town of Massachusetts, I overtook the Vice President & breakfasted with him & Mrs. [Abigail] Adams," Bache playfully informed his wife. "He [Adams] asked me whether the treaty had leaked out in Philadelphia. I told him a little. He assured me the generality of the people would like it very well after a trial of a few months."¹⁸ There was no animus in the encounter, despite the *Aurora's* occasional criticism of Adams.

Bache was more than appreciative of Adams's political successes: he admired his political thought. In the summer of 1797 he published a lengthy essay historians have generally overlooked: *Remarks Occasioned by the Late Conduct of Mr. Washington as President of the United States: MDCCXCVI*. Although Bache composed the polemic during the summer of 1796, anticipating that Washington would run for a third term and hesitant about directly attacking him, he postponed its publication until a year later. In this pamphlet Bache expounded more clearly and in greater detail than elsewhere his views on presidential power, its potential for helping or hindering American republicanism and the American people, and Washington's purported misuse of it. Bache's biographers have generally ignored *Remarks* and credit him with adherence to "enlightenment egalitarianism" and a "radical ideology" derived from the ferment of "immediate, abstract, skeptical, and revolutionary Enlightenment" thought. They assume that Bache was

primarily influenced by such radical thinkers as Thomas Paine, the marquis de Condorcet, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.¹⁹ Although Bache published Paine and Condorcet's writings and corresponded with Paine briefly in 1795–96, there is little direct evidence in his writing that they influenced his political concepts.²⁰ In fact, a careful examination of *Remarks* shows that Bache borrowed considerably from Adams's political writings.

Bache's *Remarks* demonstrated his eclectic and wide-ranging ideas. His essay merged the idioms of the Aristotelian Classical Republican and the egalitarian democrat. Bache adopted Adams's preference for a bicameral legislature and a strong executive, although he did not follow him slavishly: he proposed to modify these institutions in a democratic and, espousing a plural executive, anomalous direction. Also, worried about popular support for the Federalists and their aristocratic pretensions and the Jay Treaty that violated the alliance the United States had made in 1778 with France, Bache believed that checks and balances needed to be added to the people's direct voice. Here, too, Bache agreed with Adams, whose political theory historians Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick characterized as "the dogma of balance." "To control the passions and encourage virtue" in a nation required "balancing each of the powers of government against the others."²¹ In many ways his republican ideology, most thoroughly elucidated in *Remarks*, combined elements of Adams's thought with classical Republican ideas as well as strains of Jeffersonian Republicanism. In examining Bache's work more closely, we may increase our understanding of the nuances and ambiguities of Republican (and *republican*) ideology as political parties emerged in the 1790s.²²

Sources of Bache's Political Ideology in *Remarks*

The only substantive book attributed to Bache, *Remarks Occasioned by the Late Conduct of Mr. Washington as President of the United States: MDCCXCVI*, an eighty-five-page tract, combined a moderately anti-Washington philippic with proposals for institutional reform. Bache received a copyright for the book on June 23, 1797, and he published it a few weeks later, on July 7, at the low price of thirty-one cents on "coarse paper; 37 cents, vellum paper," suggesting that Bache hoped the laboring classes might purchase it.²³ Around a month later, another Republican newspaper, Thomas Greenleaf's *New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, advertised the book for sale: "Just

Received From Philadelphia, and for sale at Greenleaf's Book Store, Price 2s/6 coarse, or 3s fine. REMARKS Occasioned by the Late conduct of Mr. WASHINGTON as President of the United states. The work is just from the press, & we have no doubt but it will excite the curiosity of [every] citizen."²⁴ Jefferson himself owned a copy of Bache's *Remarks*; at least at the time of his death Adams did not.²⁵

The four theorists that Bache cites most favorably in *Remarks*—Francis Bacon, James Harrington, Baron Charles Montesquieu, and John Adams—adhered to the viewpoint that a “natural aristocracy” of property, virtue, and ability should have a powerful voice in government. (Harrington and Montesquieu were also particular favorites of Adams.) They also believed that the passion for fame was a crucial consideration in the responsible exercise of leadership, and that the people, assisted by an impartial, independent executive, needed a separate branch of government to represent their interests against potentially refractory elites. Bache explicitly subscribed to Adams's view, propounded in *Defence of the Constitutions*, that a bicameral legislature was a better medium for the expression of the people's will than the unicameral system Benjamin Franklin favored.²⁶

Bache had read Adams's *Defence* carefully and made copious notes on it. In undated memoranda, perhaps written during his college years or after the election of 1796, he outlined and indexed the main themes of *Defence*, especially its third volume's “Marchamont Nedham” chapters, which discussed the comparative merits of bicameral and unicameral legislatures at length. Among Bache's notes, several reveal his concentration on Adams's view of the executive power and the pitfalls of direct democracy, for example: “No man safe when gov. in People alone (221),” and “INDEPENDENT EXECUTIVE to hold the balance (240).” Again, he wrote, summarizing Adams's ideas and quoting several passages without criticizing him: “LIMITED MONARCHY A REPUBLIC (22). ‘If the people wish more than to introduce a democratical branch in monarchies of Europe, they wish too much.’” He also abstracted Adams's injunctions against a hereditary presidency: “Because property equal executive in America should not be hereditary—Could not be & therefore should not be attempted (71).”²⁷

Bache not only read Adams, but widely in the classical, Renaissance, and Enlightenment political theory. He had graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in November 1787 and was also a member of the Library Company of Philadelphia, having inherited his grandfather's share in Franklin's will. Bache thereby gained access to a collection that held numerous editions of

the works of Bacon, Harrington, Adams, and Montesquieu. *Remarks* also cited the works of Scipio, Plutarch, and Voltaire.²⁸

Bache drew heavily on Bacon and Harrington. Bacon was known for his devotion to empiricism, epitomized by his comment that “true knowledge is useful knowledge,” and for his witty essays. Mentioning him and the great classical republican James Harrington (whose most famous aphorism was that “power naturally and necessarily follows property”) in the same footnote, Bache observes, “Lord Bacon makes great account of the power arising from *knowledge*, as Harrington does of that arising from *property*; and *numbers* are of the essence of a democracy.” The context of this statement was Bache’s attack on Washington for allegedly surreptitiously plotting with his councilors to make himself king. The “cloud” of deceit with which they obscured their devious acts would eventually burst and expose Washington’s “counterfeit character.” As founders of the world’s first republican government, the American people would reject a revival of “monarchy and hereditary aristocracy,” especially when Europeans were overthrowing their rulers and emulating the U.S. example. Bache angrily insisted, “It [the U.S.] will not see Europe abrogating its monarchies and aristocracies, one after another, and then lap up the offals [*sic*] as the dog turns to its vomit” (3–4). He summoned Bacon and Harrington to delineate his concept of democracy in opposition to Washington’s monarchical ambitions; since “the weight of *property*, of *numbers*, and even of *knowledge*, is on the side of the American democracy” (4). Bache mentions Harrington more specifically (and pedantically) when he emphasizes rotation in office as an inherent aspect of representative democracy, although he relegates him to a footnote: “*Rotatory* is a favorite word with Harrington. It means moving round like a *wheel*. It corresponds with the word *circulatory* or *circulating*; or with the word *renewable*” (39n).

***Remarks* and “Mr. (John) Adams” on the Presidency: Democratizing the “Elective Monarch”**

John Adams was Bache’s guide in determining the proper role for the executive. Both men thought that he should typify a patriot president. Adams emphasized the chief executive’s indispensable role in protecting the poor from the “avarice and ambition” of the rich in the legislative upper house, going so far as to dub a popularly chosen executive “the natural friend of the people, and the only defence which they or their representatives can

have against the avarice and ambition of the rich and distinguished citizens." Unconventionally for his time, Adams lamented that the people, contrary to their self-interest, tended to side with the legislature in its conflicts with the executive, especially when that body was unicameral. Nevertheless, he insisted that the executive was intrinsically the "independent mediator" between the representatives of the rich in the upper house and the poor in the lower.²⁹

While adhering to Adams's view of the executive power's importance, Bache also perceived its darker side, warning that a president lacking political uprightness—"virtue"—would manipulate or override constitutional protections of popular rights. Charging that the "mask" of "Washingtonian credit" won the Federalists victory, Bache deprecated inordinate "confidence in individuals" like Washington or his cabinet, whose propensity to "intrigue and corrupt" and invidiously influence him undermined the presidency's integrity. He feared that the Founders had unduly strengthened the executive office without sufficiently contemplating the danger of tyranny, and "whether vigor, secrecy, celerity, and the other fine things talked of by monarchists cannot be had otherwise than through a *monocratic* president." Bache differed from Adams, and almost everyone else in the new republic, by touting the idea of a plural presidency. He ingenuously praised France's Directory, which, he claimed, exemplified "a chief executive power which is both representative and composite" (34, 36, 38–39).

Bache groped for a means to assuage the partisan, social, and sectional conflicts that plagued the young republic and threatened its survival. Undoubtedly, he would have welcomed Adams's paradigmatic nonpartisan, stalwart "patriot president," capable of uniting the country. Although for many Washington embodied this type of leader, in Bache's view he had joined with the aristocratic Senate to defeat the public interest. Confuting Adams's writings, Washington's single executive had failed to protect the people against the upper classes. Therefore, Bache concluded, a more numerous, directly elected executive body was more likely to safeguard the people's liberties. With this exception, Bache's prescription for republican renewal adhered closely to Adams's recommendations in *Defence of the Constitutions*, *Discourses on Davila*, and other writings.

Bache utilized Adams's ideas on the legislative and executive branches as a point of departure for elaborating his views on the presidency and the relationship between the executive, the legislature, and the people. Immediately before citing Adams, Bache referred to Montesquieu in the

context of discussing the debate in the United States over an upper house. "The name of *Senate* likewise brought to mind what the ancients, and their follower Montesquieu had said of a certain permanency in the office of Senator as favouring the *preservation not only of a constitution but of manners*," he wrote. "The effect upon the *American* federal Senate," he continued, "is in direct opposition to this theory" (39).

Espousing an ideological position that both his radical Republican comrades and present-day historians might consider anomalous, Bache upheld Adams's view that a bicameral legislature and a veto-wielding executive were more likely to protect the people than a one-house legislature. First, he first pointed out that the conduct of the U.S. Senate, which represented special interests and (he believed) preferred monarchy to republicanism, refuted Montesquieu's alleged guarantee that long-termed "senates" would preserve the "constitution" and republican "manners." (Montesquieu was probably referring to Britain's hereditary House of Lords.) Nonetheless, Bache endorsed Adams's "theoretical" contention that a bicameral legislature was better equipped than a unicameral body to protect public liberty. In this instance, he had chosen Adams's position over that of his grandfather and the radical, unicameral Constitutionalists who controlled Pennsylvania politics during the 1780s. He considered Adams's theories on "mixed" and balanced government compatible with democracy. He specifically argued that the "interesting [i.e., important] work of Mr. (John) Adams" lent "theoretical" support to the idea that governments consisting of several "branches"—his term for legislative powers—might rest on a "popular," "representative," "plural and rotatory basis" (39). In a footnote, Bache observed that the idea of rotation in office and term limits was British Commonwealthman James Harrington's "favorite" concept. Bache attempted to give it a mechanistic, Newtonian turn: "Rotatory is a favorite word with Harrington: It means moving round like a *wheel*. It corresponds in sense with the word *circulatory* or *circulating* or with the word *renewable*" (39n).³⁰

Reconciling Adams's adherence to balanced government with the Revolutionary ideology of representative democracy and direct elections, to which Adams also subscribed, albeit with qualifications, Bache asserted:

In proving that a government should consist of several branches, it is by no means proved that it ought not to be popular; (by a popular government meaning one which is representative, and of which the parts are in their composition plural and rotatory; for thus only will

a government have common objects with the people.) It is nothing difficult to demonstrate that governments separated from the people by the constitution (if it can then be called a constitution,) will be concentrated against the public interest, if they are single [i.e., unicameral]. (39)³¹

Employing terminology that recalled the "triple balance" between the executive and the bicameral legislature described in Adams's *Discourses on Davila*, Bache focused on the "tripartite" lawmaking partnership of House, Senate, and president, the republican counterpart of king, lords, and Commons. When legislative power was distributed between two or more bodies, the likelihood increased that one of them would support the people against an ambitious, wealthy minority: "If they [the legislative houses] are divided into two branches, the chance is, that one of the two least shall call in the people to aid it against the other; and when they are *tripartite*, or in three parts, a disposition of this sort is still more probable," he explained, reiterating Adams's view that the popular "branch" and the executive were natural allies. In a sense, Bache republicanized the venerable concept that the legislative process required the cooperative participation of the "king-in-Parliament," from which the theory of "mixed" or "balanced" government was derived. A legacy of Charles I's counselors in *His Majesty's Answer to the Nineteen Propositions of Both Houses of Parliament* (1642), the bicameral theory, with its antagonism between a democratic lower house supported by a high-minded patriot king against a power-hungry aristocratic upper house, was later adopted by Locke, Bolingbroke, and other "republican" thinkers (40).³²

Apparently, Bache adhered to Adams's dictum that "sovereignty,—that is, the legislative power,—is divided into three branches" by the Constitution. Though Adams considered the president, with his veto power, "as a branch of the legislative," he pointed out that the veto might be "overruled" by a two-thirds majority of Congress. Moreover, the president could not ratify treaties or make appointments to office without senatorial consent; Adams therefore concluded that his "power to defend himself" was inferior to that of the legislature. Consequently, Adams proposed that the president exercise an "absolute negative" on congressional acts, enabling him to expand his lawmaking authority. This followed from Adams's view that "the legislative power is naturally and necessarily sovereign and supreme over the executive; and, therefore, that the latter must be made an essential branch of the former, even with a negative, or it will not be able to defend itself."³³

In *Discourses on Davila*, Adams employed the phrase “triple balance” to expound his view that the legislative was the most essential governmental power, and Bache’s term “triple governments” probably derived from that. Like Adams, Bache referred to three “legislative” bodies—a bicameral legislature and an executive who could propose and reject laws. Bache, again following Adams, explicitly denied that the judiciary, which lacked legislative power, constituted a separate governmental “branch” or “division.” As he put it, “speculatively speaking, the American governments,” state and national, “have in them only two leading divisions, the legislative and executive. The judicial is not named upon these occasions, as being of only secondary weight; for we are speaking here only of such branches of the government as can preponderate against the people.”³⁴ Evidently, Bache did not foresee the enormous expansion of the judiciary’s legislative power, in the form of judicial review. Although Montesquieu, whom Bache cites in *Remarks*, is usually regarded as the father of the “separation of powers” doctrine, in fact he disparaged the judicial power as “in some measure next to nothing,” and proposed that the hereditary nobility (House of Lords) hold the key “regulating power.”³⁵

Bache again reflected Adams’s influence, and anticipated modern political science, with his appreciation of the executive’s role as third “branch” of the legislative triad. Bache decried one-house bodies and, to a lesser extent the two-house “double governments” James Harrington (Adams’s favorite political writer) championed in his utopian *Commonwealth of Oceana*, which had also existed in ancient Greek city-states like Sparta and Corinth, where bicameral legislatures made laws but which lacked an independent executive. Espousing a democratic-oriented perspective, which did not really distance him from Adams’s kindred view, Bache concluded that “the triple and double governments . . . are each likely to be better than a single, from the superior attention which each will probably pay to the people” (40).³⁶ Bache and Adams agreed that a bicameral legislature and a strong, popularly elected president would embody the people’s will in a representative democracy more accurately than a unicameral legislature.

To ensure that governing bodies obeyed and represented the people’s will, Bache proposed constitutional amendments for the direct popular election of the president and the upper house, to mold them in the image of the traditionally popularly chosen lower house. He considered it “evident that where the double and triple governments become elected by the people, *such an union with the* WHOLE PEOPLE, must be much more

useful than mere connections of intrigue with a few of the people"—that is, the Senate or cabinet members. Like Adams, who wished to prevent the "aristocratical" Senate's hegemony in matters of legislation, Bache deplored the possibility that the "corrupt influence" of the "few" might gain the upper hand, which he considered especially likely while electors and state legislatures respectively chose the president and the Senate. In adopting this position, Bache followed in the footsteps of conservatives such as Adams, Gouverneur Morris, and James Wilson, who had been the leading advocates of popular election of the executive, albeit based on a restricted suffrage, as a far preferable alternative to election by state legislatures known for their parochial interests. Bache now echoed their view that the United States proved "that a government which is popular may *de facto* be divided into two or more principal parts, as easily as any other government." However, he went one step farther, and framed his case in a more populist direction (40).³⁷

Bache's Plural Executive

Unlike some leading Federalists, Bache concluded that a plural executive had become essential to the preservation of liberty. He argued that history taught that those who govern should never "have a *separate* interest" from the people, and "never to trust too much power in the hands of a *single* man, and especially one not of the public choice." While acknowledging Washington's popularity, Bache insisted that Washington's apparent amenability to Hamiltonian direction suggested that, held by a single individual, the executive power lent itself to the flouting of public responsibility, contradicting Adams's assumptions in *Defence of the Constitutions* and Hamilton's in the *Federalist Paper*, no. 70 (41).³⁸

Interestingly, Adams did not endorse a plural executive, but in contrast to his denunciation of the unicameral legislature proposed for France by Turgot and Richard Price, his opinion on a one-man executive was surprisingly hesitant and undogmatic. He favored a single executive because that would concentrate public attention and responsibility for wrongdoing on one person. Adams considered the idea of a plural executive carefully but rejected it: "I had almost ventured to propose a third assembly for the executive power," he wrote, "but the unity, the secrecy, the dispatch of one man has no equal; and the executive power should be fixed upon one point; and the blame and

censure, as well as the impeachments and vengeance for abuse of this power, should be directed solely to the ministers of one man.”³⁹

Although Bache disdained monarchy, like Adams he was in favor of a strong executive power if it were kept within moderate bounds and divided among several administrators. Perhaps reflecting David Hume’s influence, Bache argued that kingship originated when a soldier, politician or priest employed “force and habit” to gain power and begin a hereditary succession. Apparently opposed to the single executive set up by the U.S. Constitution, Bache asserted that to entrust a single individual rather than a committee to administer “important business” contradicted both “reason and nature” (incidentally, a favorite phrase of John Adams). Although his argument was less than compelling in light of the Continental Congress’s difficulty in conducting the Revolution, he patriotically reminded his readers that the president of the nation’s first legislature lacked executive powers; Congress had governed as a group (36).⁴⁰

Bache regarded it as unfortunate that the U.S. Constitution had reversed this fragile precedent by granting the executive inordinate power. In Bache’s inflated rhetoric, the president’s veto and military and patronage powers approached “terrestrial omnipotence,” while his right to perpetual reelection “encourages him to intrigue and to corrupt” in a quest for lifetime office. Though Washington had seldom exercised the veto, Bache perceived its potential for abuse, damning it as “an influence which he [the president] may employ to purposes of ambition, favoritism, vengeance, corruption, or faction” (36, 37n).⁴¹

Bache expressed misgivings about the resemblance both the national and state executives bore to monarchs. He feared that the Framers had been unduly influenced by the British constitution, and that the office of national executive “evidently had its formation before the United States had sufficiently *un-monarchized* their ideas and habits. They had dismissed the name of king, but they retained a prejudice for his authority. Instead of keeping as *little*, they kept as much of it as possible for their president.” Bache deplored such autocratic structures, placing his trust in directly elected officials. Like Hamilton and Adams, he distinguished between the Constitution as a document and the individuals who administered it. Apparently including both state and national regimes within his purview, he feared that, “generally speaking, American constitutions affect to impress an awe in favour of their governments which ought only to belong to these when they are in the hands of men who *administer them*

with propriety." According to Bache, appropriate rulers, epitomizing the "natural aristocracy" depicted in James Harrington's *Oceana* (1656), whom Adams and Jefferson famously espoused in their later correspondence, included "the rich and studious." Bache believed that such members of the elite would support the "honest cultivator and artisan," seeking the public interest in opposition to avaricious "*towns led by luxurious traders or land-jobbers,*" or those who had become rich by corruption or unearned wealth. Unfortunately, the Washington administration represented these selfish groups, Bache asserted (38, 83–84).⁴²

Even before slavery emerged as a supremely divisive issue, Bache was painfully aware of the possibility that sectional, class, and occupational conflicts might destroy the fragile republican union. This portentous situation inspired him to propose an original, albeit eccentric, amendment to the Constitution. Unlike his grandfather, who eschewed the issue of states' rights, Bache anticipated John C. Calhoun's concept of the "concurrent majority" by suggesting that at least two presidents (a "plural directory"), one of them the individual polling the second-highest number of popular votes, be chosen to represent the country's diverse interests. Seeking a more direct democracy at the national level than prevailed at the time, Bache proposed rotation in office and direct election of a multiple executive, as well as direct popular election of the Senate, which at the time was chosen by the state legislatures. He considered these desirable constitutional amendments that would bring politicians into closer contact with their constituents' wishes. During the late 1790s, when the Constitution had been in effect for nearly a decade, Bache almost alone among his contemporaries dared suggest the replacement of the single president with several men (35).⁴³

Bache espoused this proposal not from fear of the executive *power*, but because he feared its confinement in the hands of a *single*, potentially corruptible individual. Despite his Federalist enemies' charge that his ideas were rooted in Francophile bias, his version of a "plural directory" hardly resembled the weak French Executive Directory created in 1795, which was chosen by the nation's two legislative houses ("Councils"). Nonetheless, Bache briefly alluded favorably to the French Directory, primarily to suggest that the United States emulate the Directory's treaty ratification process, by which treaties were submitted for ratification by both houses of the French legislature, the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Elders. This procedure would permit the U.S. House of Representatives to veto treaties, such as the recently enacted, invidious Jay Treaty. Ironically, Bache simultaneously

pointed out that even the king of Great Britain had to submit treaties to both houses of Parliament before they became law (39).⁴⁴

Unlike the five-man French Directory or the British monarch, Bache's national executive(s) would be elected directly by the voters. Innovatively applying the observations contained in such treatises as Madison's *Federalist Paper*, no. 10 and Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*, he argued that the foreign and domestic affairs of a complex "nation of nations" were too intricate for competent management by one man. Therefore, the single, constitutional chief executive ought to be replaced with a multiple, "gradually renewed" (i.e., renewable by rotation in office) elective presidency. As Bache put it, "A federation whose frontiers run through many climates and districts; which contains many varying interests; and has to do with many foreign nations . . . must necessarily call for more information and attention than can belong to any one man." Creatively merging the insights of Madison and Montesquieu, Bache developed a unique concept for a revised executive branch. A multiple presidency, more likely to reflect the diverse American population, would "no longer exhibit the fluctuating character of an *individual*, but approach nearer to the fixed abstract of the American nation" (35, 36).

Bache's distrust of a single executive was exacerbated by what he viewed as Washington's pro-British foreign policy. Appalled by the president's ratification of the Jay Treaty, Bache considered this proof of a weak, malleable character, devoid of civic virtue. He charged that the president had succumbed to the baleful influence of his Anglophile cabinet members Alexander Hamilton, Oliver Wolcott, and Timothy Pickering, and "ended in making his government subordinate to his passions." Bache proposed to confine the unharnessed power of such "dangerous politicians" by amending both the state and national constitutions to stipulate popular elections for multiple executives who would, he hoped, restrain the excesses of a single individual. "Until this is effected," Bache warned, "America must remain the prey of internal factions, in consequence of her governments being separated too much from the people," and her foreign policy continue "dependent upon the caprices and imperfections of particular persons." (2, 65).

Bache argued that the well-being of officeholders as well as the electorate required periodic rotation in service, a Harringtonian idea, previously only put into practice by the radical Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 that limited representatives to serving four years out of seven. Even a president whose policies were popular should not serve too long in isolation from the voters, thereby estranging himself from the people's needs. "None should enjoy the

chief executive *uninterruptedly* even by the voice of their fellow citizens," he asserted. "Politicians refresh their knowledge and feelings by mixing for a time with their fellow citizens, and in the interval may attend to their families and private affairs." Although this traditional republican argument for the benefits of rotation in office had been popular among Anti-Federalists during the debate over the Constitution, Bache's revival of this line of reasoning stressed the importance of term limits to a republic. If new candidates did not obtain an opportunity to win election, incumbents would gain a monopoly on experience and wield "excessive influence" (2, 65, 24–35n).

Another means of reducing the danger of a single executive was to increase the vice president's power (not an especially democratic proposal), making him, in effect, a coordinate president. This was the essence of Bache's concept of a plural presidency, which was antithetical to the ideas of both Federalists and Anti-Federalists. "The person at present chosen as *vice-president* would in this case, no longer as now, be an inert personage, and the *ministers* under the president would no longer as now, in many instances, be personages *too active* (usurping a part even of the functions of the President)." Many reformers, such as the radicals George Mason and James Monroe in 1788, believing the vice-presidency was a potential center of intrigue and "foreign influence," desired to abolish the office, as did the conservative Connecticut Federalist senator James Hillhouse. During the pamphlet war over the Constitution, Mason, thinking the office of vice president superfluous, proposed to replace it with a six-man Council of State appointed by the House of Representatives, consisting of two members from each section of the country, to act merely as advisers to the president. Bache alone perceived the vice president potentially useful to curb the monarchical propensities of the chief executive and the cabinet's conspiratorial proclivities. Acutely aware of the president's amenability to manipulation by his advisers and the vice presidency's constitutional fecklessness, Bache wished to transform the latter office in revolutionary fashion. Perhaps he was retrospectively wishing that former Vice President Adams, who had termed his post "the most insignificant office that ever the Invention of Man contrived or his Imagination conceived," could have prevented some of the evils of Washington's presidency (35).⁴⁵

In *Remarks*, Bache stressed that he had no objection to a strong executive power per se, despite regretting that "evil counselors" had "perverted" Washington's "reputation to a fatal public use." In turn, Washington had "corrupted" the Senate, a coterie of selfish would-be aristocrats whom constitution-makers had myopically modeled on the prerevolutionary royal

governors' councils. The latter had allegedly possessed independent powers as "consultative bodies of which the governor was bound to take the opinion." Like John Adams, whose political theories heavily influenced *Remarks*, Bache—undoubtedly thinking of the "advice and consent" of the Senate required to approve the obnoxious Jay Treaty—thought the Constitution had given the Senate inordinate power. Citing Montesquieu, whose *Spirit of Laws* (1748) advocated a strong upper house composed of virtuous nobility as essential to a just government, Bache lamented that the U.S. Senate had reneged on its intended role as an austere republican aristocracy. Contrary to traditional expectations regarding "permanent" or semi-permanent bodies, depraved American senators were disinclined to uphold "*preservation . . . of a constitution*" or encourage benign "*manners*." Like Adams, Bache viewed the upper house as potentially the preserve of a dangerous aristocracy of upper-class citizens, whom the executive or "monarchical" power was responsible for keeping in check with the assistance of the "democratic" part of the legislature, the lower house. "No partizans [*sic*] for a *change* of the American governments [state and federal] are more violent than many Senators;" Bache warned, "nor is any class of men more advanced in *political* corruption, or more disposed to spread such corruption (as their luxury may partly testify), than the Senators." With amazing coincidence, on July 7, 1797, the day Bache's *Remarks* appeared in print, the House of Representatives voted to impeach Senator William Blount of Tennessee for conspiring with the British and Creek Indians to overthrow the U.S. government. He was removed by the Senate the next day, with fellow Tennessean Andrew Jackson the only dissenting vote (35, 29, 39).⁴⁶

Washington's "Character" and the Decline of Public Virtue

Washington, however, the "monocratic executive" who had abused his powers as commander-in-chief and patronage dispenser to thwart opposition, was Bache's chief offender. The latter had become subservient to Washington's "tactics and his new spirit of party" (38).

More sweepingly, Bache charged that Washington and his party encouraged an obsession with material gain and a decline in public and private morality that discredited the United States' reputation for virtue abroad, particularly since European opinion did not perceive any compensating evidence of progress in the arts and sciences. The "Washingtonian" Federalists

had merely engendered a "mean or factious politics, an increase of general selfishness . . . at which even Europe is scandalized because unaccompanied with refinement." Such were the cyclical cultural symptoms of a republic's decline, when cynical absorption in material concerns obliterated the citizen's devotion to the community. The ensuing apathy toward public affairs permitted devious aristocrats, demagogues, and finally a despotic monarch to gain control (64).⁴⁷ Implementing the Classical Republican views of Harrington and Adams, Bache regretted that many Americans had acquired a reputation as vulgar, greedy philistines devoid of a sustained concern for the "public good." Together with Jay's perfidious Treaty, this behavior, especially in the cities where the people were most observed by foreigners, had compromised their character for integrity and patriotic republicanism.

If Bache's political opponents denounced him as an unreasoning fanatic, in turn he pronounced Washington an intemperate, irresponsible leader whose character poorly suited him to revive the people's republican virtue. He depicted Washington as an irrational egotist, who assumed austere regal airs merely to aggrandize himself, and "accordingly ended . . . in making his government subordinate to his passions." By turning for advice to the Society of the Cincinnati, a hereditary veterans group open only to Revolutionary War officers and their descendants, and seeking counsel from his most fulsome flatterers, Washington had become the rallying point for an "American aristocracy" hoping to "found itself" on his alleged support (2).⁴⁸

Despite Washington's great symbolic, semi-mythical value in leading the republic and maintaining national unity during and after the Revolution, Bache depicted him as a mediocre general. Striking at Washington's strongest claim to renown, Bache insisted he had been incompetent, overly cautious, indecisive and unimaginative as commander of the Revolutionary army. "He relates, he argues, and sometimes he even projects," Bache described Washington's war record, "but how seldom does he *act* with success." Refuting the traditional view of Washington as epitomizing masculine courage and fortitude, Bache suggested that his susceptibility to his emotions and his sensitivity to criticism revealed an unmanly defect in his public virtue. Bache argued that even Washington's conduct during the American Revolution had been passive. He lacked the masculine traits of courage and resolution that most observers, seeking to capitalize on his craving for "personal incense" and adulation, eagerly granted him. Instead, he was insufficiently assertive in deciding matters of strategy and unduly deferential to Congress, "a mere civil body." Sounding an unusually militaristic note for

a Republican, Bache derided the “amiable delicacy” and “gentle style” of the general’s letters to Congress from the field. Their tone suggested “that he is much more fitted for a *court* than for a *republic*; and his [later] political conduct justifies this suspicion” (73).

In his wrath at Washington, Bache seemed unaware that this indictment of Washington’s vacillations as a general denied him the persona of the man-on-horseback whom Bache dreaded would overthrow the republic. Professing admiration for the young, victorious generals who won battles for Revolutionary France, as well as the classical Greek and Roman republicans, “the great commanders in Plutarch,” who risked their lives for their people’s freedom, Bache contrasted their much-lauded youthful heroism with Washington’s refusal to praise his younger wartime colleagues (9–10, 11).

Nevertheless, Bache expressed a modicum of praise for Washington’s loyalty and courage during the American Revolution, notwithstanding claims by contributors to the *Aurora* that he had privately favored George III. Despite Washington’s ineptitude in the field, Bache attested, “It shall be allowed that upon occasion he can be firm; and that in difficult moments of the American revolution, he has had the praise of never despairing of the republic.” Avowing the general’s patriotism, Bache granted that he was “firm, brave, [and] prudent,” suitable to command in peace, but lacking in “penetrating observation, large views, or a promptness and fertility in resources,” essential in wartime (31–32).⁴⁹ Unlike many other critics of Washington, Bache gave him credit for patriotic loyalty to the “Glorious Cause” and conceded that he played a vital role in the Revolutionary War’s successful outcome.

But that was past. As president, Washington “has at length become treacherous even to his own fame, what we lent to him as a harmless general, must be withdrawn from him as a dangerous politician.” Blaming the president for the rise of political parties, Bache regretted the ensuing disruption of national harmony. “Mr. Washington may thank himself” for the uproar against him, Bache asserted. “Whoever forms *one* party, necessarily forms *two*, for he forms an antagonist party; and parties always end in the scrutiny of character.” Assuming the stridently antiparty tone that he attributed to John Adams, Bache asserted, “He [Washington] will fall therefore as a principal because he has chosen to be a party-man” (3).⁵⁰

Dreading monarchical conspiracies, Bache hoped to “deprive speculators of every description, of the support derived from the present reputation of Mr. Washington” (5). By denigrating Washington’s pretensions

to primacy in political and military leadership, Bache hoped to thwart his imputed monarchical ambitions. "The first republic formed upon representative principles, will not restore the system of monarchy and hereditary government in America in favour of a counterfeit character," Bache scathingly asserted. In deflating Washington's *individual* virtue and abilities, Bache believed he was most effectively undermining potential support for the revival of monarchy as an institution. His intent was to desanctify the persona of the presumably benign, most likely first choice of the people for king. His vitriolic excursions had a deeper meaning than the mere rant that many scholars ascribe to them. They were designed to save the republic from a Washingtonian monarchy—which, however, had proven groundless by the time the pamphlet was finally published.⁵¹

In assessing Washington's motives for approving the Jay Treaty, the original reason he ceased supporting Federalist policy, Bache's strictures on his character increased in intensity. Condemning Washington's dilatoriness in securing free navigation of the Mississippi River from Spain, he was irate that the president had ratified the treaty only after an altercation with Republican secretary of state Edmund Randolph, precipitated by the British minister and Federalist secretary of war Timothy Pickering. Washington's notorious temper tantrums revealed that he rendered "national interests subservient to his little passions" (12).⁵²

Bache considered Jay's Treaty and its advocates as *prima facie* immoral individuals who betrayed the public interest and opposed republican government. The treaty had won the United States neither new friends nor "honorable and permanent advantage." Washington's support manifested his opposition to the French Revolution abroad and to republican government at home, "which indicates either his *personal views*, or else his *hostility to the principles* of the French government, and consequently to those of America." "Whatever ground human nature had been gaining against self-legalized free-booters for a century past, is abandoned by it [Jay's Treaty] in an instant," Bache asserted, denouncing Treaty provisions that abandoned the "free ships, free goods" principles American diplomats had supported since 1776 (17).⁵³

Bache's Critique of Washington's Leadership

According to Bache's exegesis of Washington's conduct, the president was more preoccupied with praise and flattery than with exercising disinterested

leadership. Bache claimed that Washington opposed the French Revolution, not from sincere ideological conviction, but because he considered himself slighted by French ministers Edmond ("Citizen") Charles Genet and Joseph Fauchet. On the other hand, his devious advisers, Hamilton and Pickering (the real "administration"), genuinely opposed the Revolution's egalitarianism. Offended by French arrogance, Washington had refused to advance grain shipments to France in payment of the U.S. Revolutionary War debt, even though the U.S. ally had suffered famine in 1795—an execrable dereliction of duty. Moreover, Jay's Treaty legalized British ships' confiscation of American food shipments to France and its colonies, which were dependent on U.S. grains. Bache summarized his unflattering version of the motives for Washington's hostility:

The American *administration* detested French politics, and the *President* was jealous of French *individuals*. Mr. Genet and Mr. Fauchet had wounded the self-love of this cold philosopher. From that moment the rights of man, the nourishment of mankind, and the sustenance of life seemed as nothing. In the eye of Providence all men are equal; in the eye of self-love one man is equal to all. (20)⁵⁴

Upholding his right to criticize the Father of his Country, Bache believed that Americans must finally recognize that their paragon "often acts ill from his own judgment and feelings" as well as from the influence "of others." Insisting that no man was exempt from public scrutiny, Bache argued that republican virtue, both in ancient and modern times, entailed bearing public censure with resilience. Since a virtuous republican persevered in his duty indifferent to public acclaim, Washington's abuse of his critics betrayed a lack of fortitude. Again citing Plutarch's *Lives*, Bache observed, "Mr. Washington also, if a real republican, must confess that republicans should be trained even as to their tempers; and be able to bear hardships of the *mind* as well as of the *body*; looking for the reward of virtue in itself, whenever the public decides ill concerning him." In measured language, Bache charged that the president's resentment of newspaper attacks betrayed a lack of disinterested devotion to the public good and a puerile obsession with his own feelings. His advisers took advantage of his personal shortcomings to augment their own power. "To be effeminately tender of the individual is to be unpitiful towards the public; and it is even an encouragement to individuals to make the public subordinate to their personal ambition," he protested. Again, Bache questioned Washington's masculinity (31).⁵⁵

Following the Classical Republican, neo-Harringtonian tradition described by such scholars as J.G.A. Pocock, Lance Banning, Gordon S. Wood, and Drew McCoy, Bache emphasized the primacy of public over private virtue. He asserted, "What is said of the impropriety of transferring one virtue to stand in the place of another, applies still more against an attempt to make private hold in the place of public virtue." Ironically comparing Washington to his erstwhile foe George III—practitioner of scientific agriculture, a good family man, faithful to his wife, who bore him fifteen children, but another erstwhile "Patriot King" and "Father of his Country" who accelerated his nation's decline—Bache again alluded to the American Revolution. "The supposed private virtues of the present monarch of Great Britain have so little served his empire, that we have repeatedly during his reign seen it on the brink of ruin; and *America knows* that it is during this boasted period, that its own safety required a separation from him." George III's "apposite example" ought to alert Americans "respecting the private pretensions of general Washington," whose adherence to norms of private morality was insufficient to qualify him as a statesman. "In truth to be sober and chaste and church-going, can be no security for a *complete* catalogue of the private virtues; and how much less for such virtues (and talents too) as are of a public nature," he declared (31).⁵⁶

Among the first public intellectuals of the period to distinguish clearly between public and private virtue, Bache defined the former as encompassing Classical Republican ideals of honorable, independent, political conduct, seeking harmony of interests in society without regard to one's self-interest. By contrast, "private virtue" merely entailed fair dealing in private business transactions, decent conduct toward one's family, personal morality and a modicum of church attendance. Although Joyce Appleby has prominently argued that Jeffersonian "liberal capitalist" ideology subordinated public virtue to the exercise of private honesty and personal probity, Bache granted public virtue priority. He insisted that private virtue could not substitute for devotion to the public interest, even assuming that Washington possessed the former.⁵⁷

Although they may seem harsh to contemporary historians, Bache's observations on Washington in *Remarks* were relatively restrained by comparison with contemporary attacks on Washington's character in Thomas Paine's public *Letter to George Washington* and William Duane's *Letter of Jasper Dwight*, the latter primarily concerned with discrediting Washington's Farewell Address. Decrying the retiring president's denunciation of partisanship and

the Democratic Societies, and his implied disapproval of the Franco-American alliance, Duane argued that the Farewell Address evinced signs of mental illness, and "discharged the loathings of a sick mind." Directly addressing Washington, "Jasper Dwight" asserted, "You have collected the aggravating recollections of wounded pride, and warmed to the inveteracy of hatred, discharged the whole burden of your blazing spirit against the object of your personal hatred [the Democratic societies] under the form of advice to your beloved country!" Duane upbraided Washington's denunciation of the Democratic societies' support for the French Revolution, which was, like the American Revolution, an act of an "oppressed people" compelled to repel foreign invaders, among them the British, who had also "sought to enslave us" but whom the Thirteen Colonies had defeated thanks to France's help.⁵⁸ Duane viewed Washington's excessive use of presidential power as founded on an immoral "maxim," which "tended to perpetuate the miseries of society and degrade and enslave mankind": a Calvinistic belief in "the innate depravity of man." By contrast, the urge to form voluntary associations arose from "the love of our kind," in opposition to the dogmas of "corrupt despotism." Duane concluded that, as manifested by the Democratic societies, "the spirit of party must be the same as the spirit of resistance to oppression," a sacred principle of republicanism.⁵⁹

Unlike Paine and "Jasper Dwight," Bache, while depicting Washington as an archetypal conservative capable of underhanded tactics in upholding the rights of property, also credited him with a modicum of integrity. Evincing good psychological insight rather than the irascibility with which he was often charged, Bache noted that Washington was careful never to appear ambitious: "He is too artful to have the air of seeking office, "and yet . . . when possessed of office, he appears to have availed himself to the utmost of all its authority and pomp." Bache also credited Washington with a consistent political philosophy, albeit a perverse one. Emphasizing Washington's identification with aristocracy, Bache observed, "He loves in the aristocratical sense of the word, what is called *order*; that is, he wishes that every man should remain in his place, and especially that the aristocracy should remain in *their* places; thinking with all of the latter, that the smallest change in this would dissolve society" (32).⁶⁰

A man of aristocratic temperament, Washington lacked the generosity of spirit that typified Classical Republicans and democrats. Although Republicans proclaimed, "Every mortal is thy brother, always extend to him the helping hand," the president generally showed contempt for the

masses.⁶¹ "He loves good faith in pecuniary transactions, being himself a man of property," Bache argued. "He has no hatred to the lower orders of society, but neither has he any active philanthropy for them; since few really love what they do not also *respect*." Yet despite his snobbery, Washington was just an average individual, possessing the typical tastes and abilities for his social class, "incapable of either grandeur or originality in his ideas, or his measures," Bache asserted. Still, although his ideas conformed to "the class of grave men [a phrase Bache borrowed from Francis Bacon] of his age and country," Washington nevertheless was not lazy: he "possessed considerable habits of application." Summing up, Bache concluded, "He is but a man, and certainly not a great man." He had not earned power by his "intrinsic worth." He was no "natural" aristocrat (32–33).⁶²

Since Washington had condoned wicked policies as president, Bache warned, his departure from the political scene was urgent. "Willingly to permit evil is a guilt little short of committing it," he commented, "and"—justifying Republican polemics—"to calumniate him who detects evil, is a still more active step towards a participation in it." By shielding his promonarchical advisers from punishment or dismissal, Washington had been an accessory to their plan for a royal restoration. Bache hoped that Americans had learned to place less "confidence in individuals" after their disappointment with Washington's errant republicanism (34). Americans had already paid their debt of gratitude to Washington, Bache implied; they ought to send him quickly back into retirement, especially since he had shown signs of a desire to establish kingship.⁶³

Upholding his generation's fear of antilibertarian conspiracies, Bache warned that the greatest danger to republicanism was that the public might be deceived by the *appearance* of virtue. In the quest for "positive good" in government, he considered it essential to "extinguish" the "credit" of Washington's exalted reputation, which had served as "the passport of so many weak or bad measures" (34).⁶⁴ He questioned the selflessness of Washington's wartime patriotism, observing that "pride," passion, and anger at being denied a commission in the British Army contributed to his decision to rebel. With rhetoric redolent of American Whig fears of British tyranny, Bache argued, "his [Washington's] pride alone was sufficient to prevent his becoming the slave of the English; and his pride and his vanity together have since led him into measures which tend to enslave his countrymen" (62).

Washington's dissimulation rendered him unsuitable for high office, Bache warned. An ambitious man who kept up a "farce of disinterestedness" and

piety to gain election to an office for which his “want of talent” disqualified him, Washington was essentially a hypocrite, an insincere actor devoted to deception and appearances—the bane of a political romantic like Bache, who was obsessed with authenticity and individuality (62).⁶⁵ Ironically, Washington was too naïve to succeed at games of deception. “Under the pantomime of a grave man, Mr. Washington conceals much negative intrigue,” Bache said, “yet happily when he thinks to deceive the world, it is without himself possessing much knowledge of it.” Despite an incongruous veneer of “stoicism,” Washington’s infatuation with pomp, pageantry, and “state etiquette” made clear that the histrionic president would not prefer “*to be, rather than to seem.*” (62). Washington’s devotion to ceremony—the levees of the Republican Court at which he stiffly greeted visitors—exposed his disillusioned constituents to his monarchical proclivities. A monarch *manqué*, Washington “has in short only differed from kings in wanting a kingdom, which his friends were seeking to provide for him.” Meanwhile, his jealousy of rivals impelled him, like a wary monarch, to “drive men more able, as well as more honest than himself from the field of politics.” This exaggerated depiction of Washington as a self-conscious, irascible blunderer was *Remarks*’ harshest criticism of him. However, Bache’s hyperbole was in the tradition of Real Whig and “Country Party” rhetoric, popularized by such illustrious British pamphleteers as Viscount Bolingbroke, John Trenchard, and Thomas Gordon, Alexander Pope, and Jonathan Swift in those Augustan writers’ campaign against Sir Robert Walpole’s Whig oligarchy earlier in the century (62).⁶⁶

Yet, Bache said, Washington’s wickedness was of a pedestrian, “moderate” kind. Lacking “*original vices*,” his ambition was more bumbling than dangerous. Despite being hot-tempered, avaricious, and vain (traits that Washington’s adherents often applied to Bache), Washington was nevertheless concerned primarily with his fame and property, rather than in exercising dominion over his countrymen or fighting ideological battles. He had inadvertently fallen into the “snares” of fanatical Federalists and Hamiltonian policymakers. “For a long time he appeared to be of no party,” Bache reminisced, remembering the years he had supported him, but eventually his naive egotism, “the weakness of his understanding . . . led him into snares and projects, where party support is his only resource, and it is here that his obstinacy will prove his ruin” (64).

Washington’s patent shortcomings in lacking great intelligence or noble temperament would have merely rendered him an innocuous leader in

ordinary times, Bache argued. However, by short-sightedly and passively permitting "certain characters to govern him" during the republic's critical early struggles, he became "dangerous" should their plot remain "undetected." Fortunately, Washington's recent conduct had "begun to betray him"; the people would soon renounce their hero worship; and history would ultimately reverse its favorable judgment. Unlike the president, who was more fixated on his popularity than the probity of his actions, "The world . . . will profit by his fall, should he himself apply it to no use." Public opinion would learn the lesson that the common good was superior to private self-interest or egotism, even Washington's. "False characters must sooner or later come to an end," Bache asserted, "and . . . since the possibility of deception as to men is so great, private persons must never be suffered to weigh an instant against the public interest, but every person must judge of public affairs by public considerations" (65). Bache thereby expressed the views of both the character-oriented political romantics of the sentimental Scottish Common Sense school and of Classical Republicanism, with its stress on the concept of the "common good." Like his inspiration, John Adams, Bache rejected the unrestricted pursuit of individual self-interest or permitting popular leaders *carte-blanche* to pursue profit and material gain.

Enacting Republican Renewal: Bache's Proposed Amendments to the Constitution

Bache's analysis of Washington, and of his fellow Americans, revealed his pained recognition of the power of human selfishness in public and private affairs. Perhaps this awareness was the reason that, far from upholding a quixotic unlimited faith in popular judgment, Bache advocated rotation in office. He feared that the voters might be easily misled, even when electing the president. Possessing the powers of commander-in-chief, which "ancient republics" had prudently denied his classical counterparts, the president also held "many other high prerogatives, internal and external." "Characters are often mistaken in the first instance by the best of judges," Bache advised his readers. In any event, eventually the incumbent might become corrupt or fall under the domination of venal advisers. "It is certainly difficult to foresee . . . what accidents are to arise through bad health, the corrupting influence of power, the rise of extraordinary cases, or the advice of evil counselors," Bache asserted. Unfortunately, similar circumstances had transformed Washington

from a well-meaning public servant to a would-be aristocratic demagogue who sought to conceal his desire for lifetime power behind a “mask” of devotion to popular rule. “We must no longer be deceived by masks,” Bache tersely warned, “and simulated merit or dissembling crime must equally stand bare to the touch of truth.” In order to limit the scope of clandestine self-interest, Bache proposed that future presidents and U.S. senators be required to pledge publicly that, during their tenure, they “should engage that during office, they shall neither solicit, receive, nor stipulate for favours from any *bank*, directly or indirectly, for themselves or others; which engagements should be *bona fide*” (35, 34–35nn).⁶⁷

Eschewing the Senate as a tribunal, Bache wanted the “federal constitution” revised to more severely punish “public crimes.” Bache considered the Constitution’s weak impeachment provisions an incentive for despotic use of the executive power and illicit conduct by the president and other officials. Bache proposed strengthening the impeachment provisions, which he believed were too similar to Britain’s. He preferred criminal prosecution of corrupt officials, and feared that impeachment proceedings would delay indictments and perhaps allow the guilty to escape justice (81).

More significantly, Bache revealed that, more than merely criticizing his political enemies, he had a constructive program in mind. He recommended several constitutional amendments, based partly on the Virginia assembly’s resolutions of 1795. He proposed the popular election of U.S. senators and the reduction of their terms to three years instead of the current six, changes that would make them more responsive to the people. He also insisted on the direct election of his multiple presidents. He hoped these reforms would help sustain American liberty, whose fragility had been exposed by ratification of Jay’s Treaty, which, Bache said (incorrectly) even the Anglophile Hamilton had opposed. These amendments would relieve Americans from a dangerous dependence on “the caprices and imperfections” of demagogic rulers, facilitating their mission to preserve republicanism. Rhetorically alluding to Enlightenment doctrines of cause and effect famously expounded by Isaac Newton, Bache observed, “If she [the United States] wishes to be *tranquil, pacific, useful, and renowned*, she must take (and with vigor) the necessary measures for the purpose; for in politics *where causes are neglected, we must cease to look for great effects*.” As David Hume might have put it, Bache’s essay’s reform proposals sought to “reduce politics to a science” (34–35, 65, 83).⁶⁸

Having publicly embraced constitutional reform, Bache considered it the responsibility of the American people and their leaders to follow his advice.

"Should she [America] be plunged into new misfortunes under her *present* federal constitution, the fault will no longer be that of Mr. Washington, or of senators continued too long in office," he expostulated. "If, after receiving due warning, the American nation fails to regulate with firmness what concerns its *servants*; it will become a principal in their criminality; and must answer for it to its maker and its countless offspring" (83).

Although Bache considered his recommendations sensible and rational, if the past was any guide he was not certain that they would prevail. He apparently accepted the theory—expounded most succinctly in the marquis de Condorcet's *Sketch of the Progress of the Human Mind* (1793), a work that Bache published—that history comprised a record of horrors. Bache complained that history "exhibits the excentricities [*sic*] of mankind and not their acts of reason; their deeds of violence and fraud, and not their works of meditation and consequently it contains matter of warning rather than of precedent" (40).⁶⁹

Bache's Demand for "Equal Liberty"

Despite his pessimism, Bache mustered some confidence in the American people's integrity and virtue. He charily predicted that they would reject Federalist control and adopt his amendments. Asserting that the forces of "democracy" would thwart Washington and his cabinet's schemes to restore monarchy "by surprise," Bache argued: "America is indolent, but not base; she may be deceived but cannot willingly be a deceiver; and as the weight of *property*, of *numbers*, and even of *knowledge*, is on the side of the American democracy, victory belongs to it, whenever it seems of consequence to seek it" (4).⁷⁰

Aflame with righteous indignation on behalf of the unprivileged classes, Bache seemed disappointed at the apathetic response of most of the American people to Hamilton's business-oriented fiscal system, which he had come to despise. He lamented that Federalist policies had enriched wealthy insiders while whetting the public's appetite for material gain. Recalling Washington's first term, he now denounced as unjust, counterrevolutionary measures the whiskey excise tax and the funding system, which failed to reimburse original Revolutionary War creditors, many of them impoverished. Comparing the Federalists with the British ministry of 1764–1774, Bache pointed out, "If it be a merit to have recommended a tax, which raised

an insurrection [the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794], it is a merit possessed in common with the British ministers, who caused the revolt of America." Fueling class conflict, Bache charged that, by refusing to distribute public debt payment equitably to veterans and those who had originally trusted the government, Washington had favored the rich against the poor, imposing upon war veterans the "lot of Belisarius, but [Washington] sanctioned the *order of Cincinnatus*, because it decorated the rich (including himself) with the badge of courts." Bache mocked the Society of the Cincinnati's pretensions to disinterested patriotism: the members of this officers' organization, unlike the ancient Roman hero Cincinnatus, were rich men, not farmers; sought public praise for performing ordinary military service; and harbored political ambitions (63).⁷¹

Admitting that the Washington administration had restored government credit through regular interest payments on the national debt, Bache believed that if anyone deserved acclaim, it was Dutch bankers who had lent the money. He criticized the Federalists' alleged emulation of the British funding system, which was designed to attract "aristocratic" support. "If it be a merit to have attached the American aristocracy to the government, by a large and eternal debt," Bache charged, "it is a merit meanly copied from the British sovereigns who replaced the Stuarts, who trusting to the sordidness of him who lends a capital forgot the dissatisfaction of him who pays the interest" (63).⁷²

Unfortunately, Bache lamented, the success of these mercenary speculators, who were often also officeholders, encouraged a decline in public and private morality under Washington, accompanied by "an increase of general selfishness, and a growing luxury and corruption of manners," besmirching the Revolutionary legacy. Warning that such vices might foreshadow the "suicide of liberty," he depicted Americans in the merchant-controlled cities as pawns of British venality. Possibly on the basis of letters he had received from Thomas Paine and others in Europe, he concluded that the United States' reputation abroad for republican virtue had declined. In August 1796 Paine, irate at Washington's failure to intervene to secure his release from the Luxembourg Prison, where he was imprisoned during the Reign of Terror, mailed Bache his notorious denunciation of Washington as a cold-hearted aristocrat, *A Letter to George Washington*. Instructing Bache to print it at a cheap price to facilitate increased circulation, he charged that Washington's acceptance of Jay's Treaty had degraded the American character. "I shall not publish it in France—and I am sorry there is occasion to publish it in America—but it is

necessary to speak out," Paine explained. "The American character is so much sunk in Europe that it is necessary to distinguish between the Government and the Country."⁷³ Bache's brother, William, traveling in Paris at this time, also reported that Washington's "character suffers much in Europe." Of course, this information came from revolutionary France.⁷⁴

Dismayed by Washington's rejection of membership in a League of Armed Neutrality, consisting of Baltic powers aligned against British maritime omnipotence, Bache feared such pusillanimity evinced the "wise and virtuous republic's" moral decline, and indicated that "the personal views of the American government have prevailed, owing to a gross ignorance or a sordid supineness in the American nation" (63, 83–84). Bache implied that the United States was on the road to insignificance, its citizens self-indulgent, egotistical, and susceptible to "monocratic" corruption. There seemed little hope that Americans, even by following virtuous leaders, would resume their road to greatness.

Moreover, prevailing sectional tensions endangered the republic's survival. "Jealousies between the different parts of the union . . . must lead to embarrassments at home and weakness abroad," discrediting America's reputation for magnanimity. Bache warned, "Such are the *evils*, the *punishment*, and the odium, which America must continue to incur, unless it alters its constitution, reforms its administration, and improves its morals," through structural revision and the election of public-spirited individuals (84).

Bache therefore applied the ideas of Machiavelli, the Classical Republicans, and Bolingbroke to the American scene. He demanded that the American people return to a republic's "first principles"—morality and virtue. In Bache's view, virtue and commerce were antipodes in the struggle to restore Americans' self-respect. As he put it,

The gold of the ancient enemy of American liberty [Great Britain], the influence of *two or three* American *cities* sinking into a coarse luxury or selfishness (which excite the contempt or concern of *every well educated stranger*;) and the intrigues of a federal government, of which only one or two members have been heard of in Europe; have been stealing away rights bought with the blood of both hemispheres [U.S.A. and France], merely because American voters have been too confiding or too indolent.

He was convinced that wealthy town merchants and financiers, whom he regarded as personifications of avarice, exerted inordinate influence on

government policies. "Little can be expected from *towns* led by *luxurious traders or land-jobbers*, whose profession consists so much in buying and selling, that they scarcely know where to put bounds to it," he warned (83–84).⁷⁵ Bache, who had lived all his life in Paris and Philadelphia, had come to espouse Jefferson's attitude toward cities.

Bache in Politics

Bache did more than write about the Federalists. In the fall of 1796 he sought a seat on Philadelphia's twenty-man common council, which, annually chosen by freeholders, along with the newly created, triennially elected twelve-member select council, formed a municipal legislature.⁷⁶ At a Republican nominating meeting attended primarily by local artisans at Litle's schoolhouse on September 27, 1796, in which Bache acted as secretary, Republican merchant John Swanwick was chosen for reelection to Congress and Bache was nominated one of the twenty candidates for the common council. Other nominees from the skilled trades included Jacob Bright, a baker, bookbinder Andrew Guyer, and soap-boiler Andrew Kennedy. Tobacconist Thomas Leiper, a leading Republican and one of the richest men in Philadelphia, was also a candidate on this ticket.⁷⁷

Swanwick won reelection to Congress in October by a slim margin, but Bache's city ticket, the one most representative of the working classes, went down to defeat. The twenty candidates with the highest number of votes out of the forty candidates were declared winners. Bache's showing was unimpressive. He won 1,113 votes, coming in at number thirty-five in the tally, in an election where only 38 percent of the eligible voters participated. Bache apparently received votes solely from the "middling" artisans and mechanics, rather than from the more "respectable" citizens.⁷⁸ Bache was again defeated in his second and final attempt in 1797, when Laurence Herbert, a Federalist, with 1,321 votes, took first place for the common council. Even Federalist Joseph Hopkinson, a political unknown who became famous for composing the song "Hail Columbia" in 1798, received 812 votes, far more than Bache's meager 511. In 1801, three years after Bache's death, the Republicans for the first time won control of Philadelphia's common council along with the state government.⁷⁹

The Republicans, whose 1796 candidates for the common council possessed a "middling" average wealth of \$4,891, sought to attract votes from every class of society. (The more affluent Federalist nominees boasted

a mean wealth of \$9,626, nearly twice as great.) Writing in the *Aurora*, "A Citizen" praised the democratic process and the "truly republican" spirit of public nominating assemblies, arguing that it was preferable to choose public servants from the majority rather than follow the European maxim that "a certain description of men ought always to manage the public concerns." "A Citizen" inveighed against the current city council, which had rendered decisions favorable to the wealthy, prohibited construction of low-cost wooden housing out of class prejudice (although the ordinance's actual motive was to reduce the threat of fire rather than placate Federalist elitism), and tended to fix wages at lower levels than workingmen desires. He denounced constables who profited from collecting heavy and sometimes illegal fines for "very trivial faults."⁸⁰ Bache himself may have initiated this Jeffersonian appeal to Philadelphia's unprivileged socioeconomic groups, to which he directed much of the discourse in his concomitantly composed pamphlet, *Remarks*.

To members of the working classes like Bache, advocacy of classical republican values of independence, impartiality, and individual merit ("virtue") apart from wealth or inherited status signified that the "middling" classes were as well qualified as the rich to vote on political issues and select competent candidates. During the nominations for the local contests, "Romulus," an *Aurora* contributor, urged "the Electors of the City of Philadelphia" to eschew party labels in making their choice. In a classical republican plea to the voters for impartiality and independence of thought, he said, "Let your votes originate with yourselves, and let them be the result of your own reflection. Examine with candor into the abilities and integrity of a candidate, and decide for him on whose side you find the balance of these requisite qualities, without deigning to listen to the intrigues of corruption, or the solicitations of ignorance." Emphasizing his impartiality, the author asserted,

It is not intended here to recommend any particular man to the notice of the public. I should consider such a recommend[ation] as impertinent, because we all know the candidates, and know their characters. All I would wish is, that the decision of every individual, to whatever side it inclines, may be free, and not dependent on the will of others.⁸¹

For Bache, who frequently printed nonpartisan appeals in the following months side by side with fierce attacks on the Federalists and their candidate

Adams, essays like that of “Romulus” evinced his ambivalence toward irretrievably committing himself to party warfare, which classical republican ideology depicted as fatally disruptive to young republics.⁸²

As part of his philippic against mercantile/fiscal domination of the U.S. government, Bache denounced the burgeoning profit motive, which he believed had not yet infected the masses. Positing a correlation between political and relative economic equality, Bache relied on the honest artisans and farmers, whose objective was “equal rights” not profit, to set the republic on the proper course:

The change must be set on foot by the honest cultivator and artisan, who being by their situation undebauched by the private profits and private ambition annexed to those in place, value a government only in proportion to the *public* blessings which it confers upon all; and who being little accustomed to luxury or superiority, are duly prepared for a system of equal rights. (84)⁸³

“Equal rights.” Bache believed that the promise of the Declaration of Independence had been betrayed by the Federalists, and that a new “system”—both a revised Constitution and virtuous Republicans to run the government—was required to achieve this goal.

Although Bache expected the silent “middling” majority of farmers and artisans to effect the crucial moral reformation he envisaged, he relied on upper-class intellectuals to join them in a peaceful revolution. “There are many, who when these [modest property-holding] classes exert themselves, will join them from among the rich and studious,” he predicted, “bringing to their aid a tried virtue and an enlightened administration.” Both John Adams and Thomas Jefferson might fall under the rubric of “rich and studious” recruits to the cause of anticapitalist constitutionalism, who would help restore the republic’s virtue, which “is not dead, but sleeping” (84). Ideally, men of their caliber and dedication to the public good might become members of the plural executive whom Bache relied on to set the nation on a virtuous, harmonious republican course. Had they continued the honeymoon of early 1797, they would have made an excellent plural executive.

Adams, however, began the Quasi-War against France and then supported the Alien, Sedition, and Naturalization acts, winning the approval of the Federalists and odium of the Republicans. Dying of yellow fever in September 1798, at the age of twenty-nine, Bache lived only to see his enemies in

triumph. A mob smashed his office windows, he was assaulted by the son of Federalist printer John Fenno, whose father he criticized, and was under indictment for sedition and free on bail at the time of his death. Ultimately to his and his family's disadvantage, Bache invariably put the fulfillment of his egalitarian democratic mission ahead of material gain or physical well-being. Explaining to his father, "Not having been brought up as a man of business has proved a considerable disadvantage to me," he eventually died in poverty. After Bache's death, his colleague William Duane calculated that subscribers to the *Aurora* owed Bache between \$15,000 and \$20,000 in overdue payments.⁸⁴ Had he lived another two years, he would have seen Thomas Jefferson elected president, finally vindicating the earnest young editor's fragile hope for reviving the people's faith in human liberty (4, 29, 34–35).⁸⁵

APPENDIX

JEFFERSON, BACHE, AND THE HISTORIANS

Bache put his hopes in Jefferson beginning in 1797. Biographers of Bache have assumed, based on the similarity of their opinions in the late 1790s, that Thomas Jefferson had a close relationship with Bache, just as they assume that because he accompanied his grandfather to Paris and followed his trade as a printer, he must have been close to Benjamin Franklin. Accepting the traditional view that Bache was Jefferson's confidant, Jeffery A. Smith writes, "Jefferson had a working relationship with Bache, Franklin's grandson, even before the paper was founded in 1790."⁸⁶ Smith also concludes that his grandfather was the most significant influence in forming Bache's "Enlightenment libertarian thought." Smith's main evidence is a romanticized version of their relationship during Bache's boyhood, when he accompanied Franklin to France, residing in genteel boarding schools at Passy and Geneva for the duration of the American Revolution. However, Franklin's neglect of Bache during this period, his failure to visit him at school, and his partiality toward an older cousin, William Temple Franklin, are amply documented.⁸⁷

As this article shows, Bache acquired his ideas from his own reading and independent reflection rather than from the specific influence of such towering figures as Franklin, who left him his printing press but not much else; or Jefferson, who, in contrast to his assistance to Philip Freneau, generally ignored Bache. Bache was only twenty years old when Franklin died, too young to expect preferment for public office. He seemed content to undertake

the career of a printer and newspaper editor, at least for the time being; in his last years, Franklin encouraged him to pursue this vocation, which he argued was more secure than the vicissitudes of politics and public office. Indeed, Franklin was distraught over the failure of Congress or President Washington to offer an appointment either to his grandson William Temple Franklin, William Franklin's illegitimate son; or his son-in-law Richard Bache, Benny's father, who expected reappointment as postmaster general, an office he held during the Revolution.⁸⁸

Although many historians (with the recent exceptions of Jeffrey L. Pasley and Marcus L. Daniel) assume that Jefferson showed a preference for Bache's newspaper, he and other Republican leaders remained unimpressed with the *Aurora* for most of the 1790s. As secretary of state from 1790 to 1793, Jefferson, who hired the radical Republican Philip Freneau as a translator in the State Department to subsidize him while he edited a radical Democratic-Republican newspaper, the *National Gazette*, did not even choose the *Aurora* as one of the five papers he paid to print the nation's laws. He bestowed that patronage plum primarily on the political independent, Andrew Brown and his *Federal Gazette*. The only special attention Jefferson rendered Bache while in the cabinet was to send him copies of the *Gazette de Leide*, a reform-minded Dutch newspaper, which was done more to keep the public informed than to increase Bache's circulation. (The radical New Englander Benjamin Vaughan, who lived in Paris during the 1790s, also sent Bache European newspapers.) Jefferson had previously supplied extracts from the paper, as well as translations, to John Fenno's *Gazette of the U.S.*, providing him a source of foreign news and opinion before Fenno's turn to Hamiltonian Federalism and his newspaper "monocratic" attacks on Jefferson. By mid-1791, when Fenno made his allegiance to Hamilton clear, and before Freneau's arrival on the scene, Jefferson sporadically noticed the *General Advertiser*, which he said was the only newspaper that printed articles defending Thomas Paine's book, *The Rights of Man*, against the criticisms of "Publicola." He sent his protégé William Short, U.S. chargé d'affaires in Paris, clippings of the dozens of articles that appeared under pseudonym defending Paine that appeared in Bache's newspaper. "I have desired Mr. Remsen [State Department clerk Henry Remsen,] to make up a complete collection of these pieces from Bache's paper, the tory-paper of Fenno rarely admitting any thing which defends the present form of government in opposition to his desire of subverting it to make way for a king, lords & commons," he explained.⁸⁹ But in allocating patronage, Jefferson preferred Freneau's *National Gazette*, James

Carey's *Universal Recorder*, and even nonpartisan newspapers like Andrew Brown's Philadelphia *Federal Gazette* and Thomas Bradford's *Merchants' Daily Advertiser* to Bache's *General Advertiser*.⁹⁰

Surprisingly, during the controversy over Thomas Paine's book, *The Rights of Man* in 1791—which Jefferson had inadvertently incited by sending a brief blurb to its Philadelphia publisher praising the radical pamphlet—he criticized Bache's *General Advertiser*'s "very indecent attacks" on "Publicola," a shrill opponent of Paine. Perhaps regretting that his view of Vice President John Adams as antirepublican had reached the public, Jefferson defended a writer who he believed was his old friend (it was actually Adams's son, the precocious John Quincy). When Jefferson defended his support for Freneau's inflammatory journal in an important letter to President Washington in September 1792, he merely mentioned Bache as a publisher to whom he had lent copies of the *Leyden Gazette* to enable the public to have accurate news of foreign events; he said he soon considered this plan unsatisfactory because Bache's *General Advertiser*, a daily, had insufficient readership outside Philadelphia, and Bache's attempts to start up a weekly "country paper" with greater circulation proved abortive.⁹¹

Although Jefferson was aware that Bache, as Franklin's grandson, was committed to republicanism, he seems to have had several objections to the fledgling *General Advertiser*. As a daily, he believed it was too expensive and printed too many advertisements to be useful in disseminating Republican points of view to the lower classes. By mid-1791 he was nonetheless aware that John Fenno's *Gazette of the United States*, which he had previously given some State Department patronage, was controlled by his foe Hamilton, and become a "paper of pure Toryism." "Bache's is better," he advised his son-in-law, but too expensive for mass circulation. "In the mean time Bache's paper, the principles of which were always republican, improves in it's [*sic*] matter," his relatively lukewarm endorsement continued. "If we can persuade him to throw all his advertisements on one leaf, by tearing that off the leaf containing intelligence may be sent without over-charging the post and be generally taken instead of Fenno's. I will continue to send it [*General Advertiser*] to you, as it may not only amuse yourself, but enable you to oblige your neighbors with the perusal." Given that Bache had supported Hamilton's financial program and Washington's policy toward France, Jefferson's attitude was understandable.⁹²

Jefferson's attitude changed when, having obtained copies of the treaty from Virginia senator Stevens T. Mason and Pierre Adet, French minister to

the United States, Bache printed a virtually complete text of the treaty in the *Aurora* on June 29, 1795, and published it for sale as a pamphlet on July 1, even before the State Department released its contents. He then went on a tour of the northern states, selling copies of the allegedly disgraceful treaty for propaganda purposes. Around this time, Jefferson made him friendly overtures, promising to send him a "Chinese gong" that Benjamin Franklin had left with him for safekeeping at the time of his death. He also requested that Bache mail him a set of the *General Advertiser* for the entire year 1794, indicating that he had not purchased it before this time (newspaper subscriptions had to be paid for a year in advance). He also inquired of him when Franklin's *Works* would be published, because he wanted to buy a copy.⁹³

Jefferson again wrote Bache at the end of the year, on the same topics. This time, using State Department clerk Sampson Crosby as a conduit, he desired to purchase an edition of Bache's newspaper for 1795, seemingly not having subscribed in advance for that year either. "Independent of this I shall be glad to become your subscriber from the 1st day of this month [December] for another set to be forwarded to me by post," he wrote. Anticipating postal mishaps, the methodical Jefferson wanted to make sure he had a full run of the paper. "As some of these will miscarry, I shall hope that on forwarding to you at the end of the next year a list of the papers wanting you will be so good as to furnish them at the *pro ratâ* price that I may have the whole year bound up here." He also sent him payment for a second copy of that year's subscription through his agent John Barnes.⁹⁴

Jefferson did not fully appreciate the *Aurora's* usefulness as a "whig press" in support of the Republicans until passage of the Sedition Act in 1798, when, writing to his comrade Madison, he observed that it was the "main object" of Federalist "suppression," with Bache one of its principal victims. His most enthusiastic comments about Bache occurred only a few weeks before the heroic editor's death, and several weeks after passage of the Sedition Act, in a letter to Maryland Republican congressman Samuel Smith. Denying Federalist newspaper charges that he had plotted with Bache and other Republicans (Dr. Michael Leib and Dr. James Reynolds) in his hotel room in Philadelphia on a strategy to defeat the Adams administration's war measures against France, he praised Bache and Leib as "men of abilities, and of principles the most friendly to liberty & our present form of government. Mr. Bache has another claim on my respect, as being the grandson of Dr. Franklin, the greatest man & ornament of the age and country in which he lived," he noted.⁹⁵ Indeed, this instance, which was essentially a eulogy

of Bache’s grandfather, was perhaps the only time that Jefferson gave Bache more than cursory notice in his extant correspondence.

NOTES

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1. Washington to Jeremiah Wadsworth, March 6, 1797, in *Papers of George Washington: Retirement Series*, ed. Dorothy Twohig et al. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998), 1:17; and in *Writings of George Washington*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, 39 vols. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931–44), 35:421, and Washington to Henry Lee, July 21, 1793, in *ibid.*, 33:24; this quote also appears in *Papers of George Washington: Presidential Series*, ed. Theodore J. Crackel et al. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 13:261. For the anti-Bache commentary quoted in this paragraph, see Abigail Adams to Mary Cranch, November 15, 1797, in *New Letters of Abigail Adams, 1789–1801*, ed. Stewart Mitchell (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947), 112–13; John Adams to Abigail Adams, January 18, 1797, reel 383, Adams Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; John Quincy Adams to Charles Adams, August 1, 1797, in *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, ed. Worthington C. Ford (New York: Macmillan, 1913–27), 2:196, quoted in James Tagg, *Benjamin Franklin Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), ix. On Bache’s sobriquet, “kingbird,” and on the childhood friendship between Bache and John Quincy Adams in Paris, see Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 25 and 28 respectively; Samuel F. Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Knopf, 1949), 10; Claude-Anne Lopez and Eugenia W. Herbert, *The Private Franklin: The Man and His Family* (New York: Norton, 1975), 221; and Claude-Anne Lopez, “A Story of Grandfathers, Fathers, and Sons,” *Yale University Library Gazette* 53 (1979): 189. On the name change, see Jeffrey L. Pasley, *The “Tyranny of Printers”: Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001), 164–65. The addendum to the masthead did not signify Bache’s adoption of a new radicalism; for months afterward, his paper tended to support the Washington administration’s measures, including military action against the Whiskey rebels.
2. Rachel Bradford to Samuel Bayard, November 26, 1796, in *The Life, Public Services, Addresses and Letters of Elias Boudinot*, ed. J. J. Boudinot, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1896), 2:114. On the antipathy between Bache and the Federalists see, in general, James D. Tagg, “Benjamin Franklin Bache’s Attack on George Washington,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 100 (April 1976): 191–230. Pasley denies that Bache sought material gain. On the contrary, he argues that his partisanship was a “costly result of convictions that required great courage.” Pasley, “Tyranny of Printers,” 79.
3. On the *General Advertiser*’s reputation, see Donald H. Stewart, *Opposition Press of the Federalist Period* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1969), 17, 610–11, 613–14, 654n; Clarence S. Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 20–21; James E. Pollard, *The Presidents and the Press* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 36–51; Bernard Fäy,

- The Two Franklins* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1933), 310. James Morton Smith, *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956), 9, 189, calls Bache's paper "the leading Republican journal," and James D. Tagg, in "Benjamin Franklin Bache and the Philadelphia *Aurora*" (PhD diss., Wayne State University, 1973), concludes that after 1793 the *General Advertiser/Aurora* "assumed undisputed leadership among Republican newspapers" (325).
4. Robert Morris to Bache, July 28, 1790, reel 2 (microfilm), Benjamin Franklin Bache Papers (hereafter Bache Papers), Castle Collection, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia (hereafter Bache Papers). While warning of a newspaper's likely unprofitability, Morris advised Bache to apply to Jefferson for assistance. On American politicians' preoccupation with fame and the approval of posterity, see Douglass G. Adair, "Fame and the Founding Fathers," in *Fame and the Founding Fathers: Essays by Douglass Adair*, ed. H. Trevor Colbourn (New York: Norton, 1974), 3–26; Gerald Stourzh, *Alexander Hamilton and the Idea of Republican Government* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1970), 95–106, 201–5, 240, 267; and Peter McNamara, ed., *The Noblest Minds: Fame, Honor, and the American Founding* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999).
 5. Bache, *Proposals for Publishing a News-Paper, to be entitled the Daily Advertiser, and Political, Commercial, Agricultural, and Literary Journal* (Philadelphia, n.p., July 1790), quoted in Marcus Leonard Daniel, *Scandal and Civility: Journalism and the Birth of American Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 116. For Franklin's strategy to profit by avoiding controversy, see the classic essay by Stephen Botein, "'Meer Mechanics' and an Open Press: The Business and Political Strategies of Colonial American Printers," *Perspectives in American History* 9 (1975): 127–225.
 6. *General Advertiser*, January 16 and 19, 1792, October 2, 1790, and August 30 and September 7, 1791; and "fellow nationalist," all cited in Daniel, *Scandal and Civility*, 116, 117. On Bache's "literary cannibalism," see Daniel, *Scandal and Civility*, 117–18. Philip Freneau, the "Poet of the Revolution," differed little from Bache in his views of the national government at the outset of Washington's Administration. He was silent on the question of the Constitution, siding with neither Federalists nor Anti-Federalists. In 1789 at least, he praised Washington as a great Revolutionary leader and applauded his election to the presidency. Philip M. Marsh, *Philip Freneau: Poet and Journalist* (Minneapolis, MN: Dillon Press, 1967), 103–4; Jacob Axelrad, *Philip Freneau: Champion of Democracy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), 179.
 7. Thomas Jefferson to Martha Jefferson Randolph, November 13, 1791, in *Jefferson Papers*, ed. Boyd, 22:294, quoted in Daniel, *Scandal and Civility*, 118; see also the discussion on 118–19.
 8. Bache's "Notebook of Resolutions and Plan for Self-Improvement" (subtitled "*Mélanges*" [1789]), reel 2 (microfilm), Bache Papers.
 9. Historians, even those who depict Bache as a fanatic, have recently pointed out that Bache's *Aurora* consistently supported enforcement of the whiskey excise tax, despite its unequal distribution of the tax burden, from its passage in 1791 until the Whiskey Rebellion's suppression in 1794. The newspaper's writers argued that it was incumbent on the people to obey the laws passed by their elected representatives. Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 210–17; see also Pasley, "Tyranny of Printers," 90–91. Tagg dates the *Aurora*'s assumption of an unwavering Democratic-Republican stance from the Jay Treaty debate in 1795 (*Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 275–76, 297). On the *Aurora*'s support for Washington's policies, see also Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 136, 160–62, 183–87; Jeffery A. Smith, *Franklin and Bache: Envisioning the Enlightened Republic*

- (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 138; and Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 102–3. A recent excellent study that emphasizes Bache’s “desacralization” of Washington’s persona after the Jay Treaty affair but, I believe, inaccurately links it as well to the Republicans’ commitment to the separation of church and state, is Daniel, “Benjamin Franklin Bache and the Desacralization of George Washington,” chapter 3 of *Scandal and Civility*, esp. 138–47. For Bache, the City Dancing Assembly, and Washington’s birthday, see *Philadelphia General Advertiser*, February 24, 1792, quoted in Daniel, *Scandal and Civility*, 121; and Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 72, 74, 84 n. 41, 223.
10. Quotation from Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1788–1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 536. For Bache’s opinion of Adams during the 1790s, see Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 149–50, 154–55, 159–60; Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 133, 158, 160, 163, 222, 295–97, 304, 318–19; Harry M. Tinkcom, *Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 1790–1801: A Study in National Stimulus and Local Response* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950), 165–73; Arthur Scherr, “Inventing the Patriot President: Bache’s *Aurora* and John Adams,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 109 (1995): 369–99, and Scherr, “‘Vox Populi’ versus the Patriot President: Benjamin Franklin Bache’s *Philadelphia Aurora* and John Adams (1797),” *Pennsylvania History* 62 (1995): 503–31. For good summary accounts of the presidential election of 1796, see Manning J. Dauer, *The Adams Federalists* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953), 92–111; Stephen G. Kurtz, *The Presidency of John Adams* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957), chaps. 6–9; Noble E. Cunningham Jr., *The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 89–115; and Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 213–28.
 11. On the *General Advertiser*’s position in support of Adams and the Federalists in 1791–92, see Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 159–60. For early favorable mention of Adams’s *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States* (1787–88) (hereafter *Adams, Defence*), see *Philadelphia General Advertiser*, November 27, 1792, quoted in Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 135, 154 n. 52. In this instance, Bache republished an editorial on education from the *Federalist Gazette of the United States* that quoted from Adams’s *Defence*. For the view that Bache opposed Adams’s candidacy in 1792, see Pasley, “Tyranny of Printers,” 84.
 12. *Greenleaf’s New York Journal*, March 4, 1797; “Wilmington, March 1,” in *Philadelphia Aurora*, March 3, 1797; “From a Correspondent,” *Aurora*, March 14, 1797; “From a Correspondent,” *Aurora*, March 23, 1797; “From a Correspondent,” *Aurora*, March 18, 1797.
 13. Bache, *Remarks Occasioned by the Late Conduct of Mr. Washington as President of the United States: MDCCXCVI* (hereafter *Remarks*), 84 (subsequent page numbers appear in the text); “A Correspondent,” *Philadelphia Aurora*, March 18, 1797. The *Aurora* alluded to Adams’s nickname, “His Rotundity,” during the 1796 election campaign. “A Pleasant Anecdote,” *Aurora*, November 4, 1796.
 14. David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fêtes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 139–40, 147, 156. Waldstreicher observes of the strictures on the political violence of the 1790s, “Antipartyism exerted a strong centralizing

- appeal, as did the need to compromise in order to celebrate and publicize convincingly" (p. 139). Even Pasley, who tends to view Bache as a consistent radical, admits that he "had grave reservations about joining fully in the partisan battle": "*Tyranny of Printers*," 86.
15. Banning, *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), 244 (quotation). For Bache's ambivalence about presidential power, see *Remarks*, 4. Public opinion unfairly exaggerated Adams's preference for monarchy after his brief effort to endow the presidency with monarchical titles. James H. Hutson, "John Adams' Title Campaign," *New England Quarterly* 41 (1968): 30–39. On the idea of the president as a natural aristocrat who embodied the public interest, see Ralph Ketcham, "Executive Leadership, Citizenship, and Good Government," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 17 (1987): 267–69.
 16. *Adams Family Correspondence*, ed. C. James Taylor, 10 vols., in progress (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963–2011): John Adams to Abigail Adams: January 1, 1794, 10:2; January 2, 1793, 9:366–67; December 16, 1794 (citing the *Philadelphia Aurora*, December 15, 1794), 10:308. On "French Wit," see John to Abigail Adams, February 9, 1795, 10:372; Charles Adams to John Quincy Adams, June 30, 1795, 10:471. I thank Sara Georgini of the Adams Papers, the Massachusetts Historical Society, for pointing me toward these items and those cited in the next two notes.
 17. Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams, May 27 [1792], in *Adams Family Correspondence*, ed. Taylor, 9:289–90. On Benjamin Franklin's real estate holdings on High (Market) Street in Philadelphia at the time of his death, see Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 59–61.
 18. Benjamin Franklin Bache to Margaret Markoe Bache, July 15, 1795, reel 3, Bache Papers; see also Arthur Scherr, "'The Most Agreeable Country': New Light on Democratic-Republican Opinion of Massachusetts in the 1790s," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 35 (2007): 158–59. On Bache's journalistic "scoop," see Everett E. Dennis, "Stolen Peace Treaties and the Press: Two Case Studies," *Journalism History* 2 (1975): 6–14.
 19. General studies of the 1790s ignore Bache's *Remarks*, and his biographers gloss over its ideas, viewing it mainly as an anti-Washington diatribe. Indeed, Tagg unaccountably claims that Bache's *Remarks* vigorously espoused "the benefits of a unicameral legislature . . . with a blunt insistence that his grandfather would never have exercised," when it actually defended bicameralism and Adams. Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 11, 140–41, 275, 286–87, 316; Tagg, "The Limits of Republicanism: The Reverend Charles Nisbet, Benjamin Franklin Bache, and the French Revolution," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 112 (October 1988): 540–41; Tagg, "Bache's Attack on Washington," 195, 225–26, 229; Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 124–27, 139–40.
 20. Thomas Paine to Benjamin Franklin Bache, July 13 and 25, September 20 and 24, 1795, August 7, 1796, in reel 3, Bache Papers; on Bache's radical proclivities, see Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 193; Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 116–17. For the influence of radical thinkers on Bache, see Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 124–27, 131, 282 (Condorcet, Paine); Tagg, "Bache's Attack on Washington," 207 (Paine); Tagg, "Limits of Republicanism," 535–36, 538 (Paine, Condorcet, Rousseau); and Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 115–16, 130, 154 (Condorcet, Paine). Bache continued to publish Paine's controversial religious opinions, although they alienated many God-fearing people. He printed part 2 of *The Age of Reason* in 1796, which he received from Paine in the mail from Paris. Bache's advertisement noted, "The editions are published under the eye of the author, and are therefore correct." See Charles Henry Evans, comp., *American Bibliography, 1639–1800*, 14 vols. (New York: Peter Smith, 1942), 11:15.

21. Quotation from Elkins and McKittrick, *Age of Federalism*, 536, who entitle their chapter on Adams's thought, "John Adams and the Dogma of Balance," 529–39. Bache was alarmed by pro-monarchical talk in the United States, believing that it placed Americans in an unfavorable light after France declared itself a republic, but he hesitated before fully embarking into the rough-and-tumble of partisan politics. Bache to Richard Bache, February 3, 1793, Bache Papers, cited in Pasley, "*Tyranny of Printers*," 85. Daniel (*Scandal and Civility*, 114–25) emphasizes Bache's persevering attempts to run an impartial, pro-administration newspaper, despite his strong attachment to France, where he had spent his childhood and adolescence.
22. On the "Classical Republicans" and their support of a "natural aristocracy," a term first found in James Harrington's *Oceana* (1656), see J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975); Pocock, "Civic Humanism and Its Role in Anglo-American Thought," in *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), 80–103; and Zera S. Fink, *The Classical Republicans* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1945). Banning, *Jeffersonian Persuasion*, esp. 21–69, was the first study to emphasize the affinity between the neo-Harringtonian eighteenth-century Opposition Whigs, Bolingbroke's "Country Party," and Democratic-Republican political ideas.
23. That Bache intended the lower classes to purchase *Remarks* is indicated by the comparatively much higher price he charged for the much briefer pamphlet edition of Jay's Treaty, which he priced at twenty-five or fifty cents depending on the paper's quality. This may be why he failed to sell all of his copies of Jay's Treaty. Pasley, "*Tyranny of Printers*," 94–95. Generally, pamphlets were far cheaper than newspapers, which cost from six to eight dollars for an annual subscription, a sum that most publishers required to be paid in advance. This meant that newspapers could be afforded only by the middle and upper classes, mostly businessmen. That was why even Bache, seeking to attract entrepreneurial readership, called his paper the *General Advertiser* rather than by some more populist title. In general, see Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 15.
24. Greenleaf's *New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, August 15, 1797. On Thomas Greenleaf, a zealous Anti-Federalist-turned-Republican, see Jeffrey L. Pasley, "Thomas Greenleaf: Printers and the Struggle for Democratic Politics and Freedom of the Press," in *Revolutionary Founders*, ed. Alfred E. Young et al. (New York: Knopf, 2011), 355–73.
25. E. Millicent Sowerby, *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson*, 5 vols. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952–59), 3:294; *Catalogue of the John Adams Library in the Public Library of the City of Boston* (Boston: Boston Public Library, 1917). Jefferson's library at the time he sold it to the Library of Congress in 1815 numbered over 6,000 volumes, and he tended to retain most of his books, newspapers, and other paraphernalia. Adams's library was less than half that size at the time of his death and, unlike Jefferson, he did not keep old newspapers like Bache's *Aurora* for years on end.
26. For example, in a 650-page selection, George W. Carey, ed., *The Political Writings of John Adams* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2001), Harrington appears twenty-one times and Montesquieu fifteen. Bache's undated "Notes on John Adams' *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States*," reel 5, Bache Papers; for Franklin's support of a plural executive body and a unicameral legislature in Pennsylvania, see "Queries and Remarks Respecting Alterations in the Constitution of

- Pennsylvania [1789],” in *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert H. Smyth, 10 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1905–7), 10:54–60; and Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 92. During the 1790s, Paine reasserted his earlier support (at the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1776) for a plural executive; this may have influenced Bache. See Thomas Paine, *Letter to the People of France and the French Armies, on the Event of the 18th Fructidor and its Consequences* (Paris, 1797; New York, 1798), 6, 8; Paine’s *Letter to George Washington*, July 30, 1796, in *Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. Moncure D. Conway (New York: AMS Press, 1967), 3:214n; David F. Hawke, *Paine* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 184–85. On Franklin’s support of a plural executive, see also Max Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, 4 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1937), 1:99, 102n; Franklin’s speech on salaries at the U.S. Constitutional Convention, June 2, 1787, in *Benjamin Franklin: Writings*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1987), 1131–34; Franklin’s “Queries and Remarks Respecting Alterations in the Constitution of Pennsylvania”; Gerald Stourzh, *Benjamin Franklin and American Foreign Policy*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 22–26.
27. Bache [n.d.], “Notes on John Adams’s Defence of the Constitutions of Govt.,” reel 5, Bache Papers. I hope to write a brief article about Bache’s consideration of Adams’s *Defence* in his generally overlooked notes.
 28. Bache’s (undated) “Notes on John Adams’s *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States*,” reel 5, Bache Papers. For Bache’s mention of Scipio, Plutarch, and Voltaire, see *Remarks*, 31. On Bache and the Library Company of Philadelphia, see *A Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1807), xxxi; Library Company of Philadelphia to Bache, July 2, 1792, reel 2, Bache Papers. Franklin’s last will and testament, in *Writings of Franklin*, ed. Smyth, 10:498–99. See also John D. R. Platt, *The Home and Office of Benjamin Franklin Bache, America’s First Modern Newsmen* (Washington, DC: Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, 1970), 64, 85; Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 66; and Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 89–90.
 29. See Adams, *Defence*, in Charles F. Adams, ed., *Works of John Adams*, 10 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1850–56), 4:585; 5:473, and 6:340–41, 430–31, 533. For a good brief selection of excerpts from Adams’s writings on the optimal government that has aged well, see George A. Peek, ed., *The Political Writings of John Adams* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1954). On the executive’s role in preserving democracy, see the following, all in Peek, *Political Writings*: John Adams to Roger Sherman, July 17, 1789, 168; Adams, *Defence*, 110, 115–16, 139–40, 143, 156–57; and *Discourses on Davila*, 192–93. The Patriot-President ideal is an important theme of several scholarly works, such as Ralph Ketcham, *Presidents above Party: The First American Presidency, 1789–1829* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); Richard Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); and Clinton Rossiter, *The American Presidency* (New York: New American Library, 1961), 202–3.
 30. In the eighteenth century, the term “interesting” was synonymous with “important” (see *Oxford English Dictionary*). For a brief discussion of Franklin’s political ideas, see Esmond Wright, *Franklin of Philadelphia* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of [Harvard University Press, 1986), 239, 252–53, 343.
 31. Although *Remarks* preferred a bicameral legislature, a brief article in the *Aurora* several years before, probably not written by Bache, defended France’s unicameral National Convention against

- the aspersions of Noah Webster's *New York Minerva*, a Federalist newspaper that constantly feuded with the *Aurora*. “For the *Aurora*,” *Philadelphia Aurora*, April 14, 1795. The article supported the French revolutionary constitution against Great Britain's “corrupt” bicameral legislature, but did not propose unicameralism for the United States.
32. *Discourses on Davila*, in *Works of Adams*, ed. Adams, 6:340–41; Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 361–71, 377, 478–92; Corinne C. Weston, *English Constitutional Theory and the House of Lords, 1556–1832* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 9–43, 88, 92, 121–37; Edward S. Corwin, *The President: Office and Powers*, 4th rev. ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1957), 7–9; Isaac Kramnick, *Boltingbroke and His Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 169–81; and Harvey C. Mansfield Jr., *Statesmanship and Party Government: A Study of Burke and Bolingbroke* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), chaps. 4–5. For a recent, provocative study that (perhaps implausibly) emphasizes the devotion of the Patriots in the American Revolution to the “balanced constitution” and especially to the Stuart concept of the king's “prerogative,” see Eric Nelson, “Patriot Royalism: The Stuart Monarchy in American Political Thought, 1769–75,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 68 (2011): 533–72.
 33. John Adams to Roger Sherman, July 18, 1789, in *Works of Adams*, ed. Adams, 6:430–31; Adams, *Defence*, in *Political Writings*, ed. Peek, 143.
 34. *Discourses on Davila*, in *Works of Adams*, ed. Adams, 6:340–41; Bache, *Remarks*, 39–40.
 35. Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, ed. Franz Neumann (1748; New York: Hafner Publishers, 1949), book 11, chap. 6, 156.
 36. On the modern view of the president as legislator, see, e.g., Corwin, *President*, 120–30, 263–305. On Harrington's “mixed republic,” see Banning, *Jeffersonian Persuasion*, 25–33; Fink, *Classical Republicans*, 52–89; and Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 383–400. Harrington is cited twice in *Remarks*, suggesting his influence on Bache.
 37. Adams often expressed the view that the U.S. Senate's powers were excessive by comparison with the president and the House of Representatives. “Indeed, I think the aristocratical power is greater than either the monarchical or democratical,” he warned. “That will, therefore, swallow up the other two.” John Adams to Roger Sherman, July 18, 1789, in *Works of John Adams*, ed. Adams, 6:431. He constantly warned that the “ardent aristocratical ambition” of upper houses generally tended to subvert the powers of the executive and the people if left unchecked. See, e.g., Adams, *Defence*, in *Political Writings*, ed. Peek, 126–28, 139–40. On the demand for popular elections, see John E. Selby, “Richard Henry Lee, John Adams, and the Virginia Constitution of 1776,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 84 (1976): 388–94; Shlomo Slonim, “The Electoral College at Philadelphia: The Evolution of an Ad Hoc Congress for the Selection of a President,” *Journal of American History* 73 (1986): 35–58; Corwin, *President*, 11–13, 316–17.
 38. See Adams, *Defence*, in *Works of Adams*, ed. Adams, 4:585–86; and Jacob E. Cooke, ed., *The Federalist* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 471–80.
 39. *Works of Adams*, ed. Adams, 4:585. For Adams's ideas on the executive power, and his political thought in general, see C. Bradley Thompson, *John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998); John R. Howe Jr., *The Changing Political Thought of John Adams* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966); Edward Handler, *America and Europe in the Political Thought of John Adams* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964); Gordon S. Wood,

- Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 567-92; Joyce Appleby, "The New Republican Synthesis and the Changing Political Ideas of John Adams," *American Quarterly* 25 (1973): 578-95.
40. Clinton Rossiter, "The Legacy of John Adams," *Yale Review* 46 (1957): 528-50, emphasizes Adams's fondness for the phrase, "reason and nature." For Hume's opinion, see "Of the Original Contract," in *David Hume's Political Essays*, ed. Charles W. Hendel (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1953), 52-53.
41. On the president's veto power, see (all in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*) Harry C. Thomson, "The First Presidential Vetoes," 8 (1978): 27-32; Richard A. Watson, "Origins and Early Development of the Veto Power," 17 (1987): 401-12; and Raymond B. Wrabley Jr., "Anti-Federalism and the Presidency," 21 (1991): 459-70.
42. For the classic dialogue between Adams and Jefferson on "natural aristocracy," see Lester J. Cappon, ed., *Adams-Jefferson Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 371-72, 387-92, 400-401.
43. At the Constitutional Convention in 1787, however, several prominent delegates, including George Mason, Franklin, Roger Sherman, Hugh Williamson, and Edmund Randolph, had advocated a three-man executive chosen by Congress from different sections of the country. Richard B. Morris, *The Forging of the Union, 1781-1789* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 287-88.
44. Nevertheless, Bache favorably compared the Directory's ostensible success "in uniting the French Republic" after the Reign of Terror to the policies of the divisive, "monocratic Mr. Washington." *Remarks*, 39, 84. Article 333 of France's Constitution of the Year III (1795) stipulated that both councils must ratify treaties negotiated by the Directors.
45. George Mason, *Objections to the Proposed Federal Constitution*, in *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States*, ed. Paul L. Ford (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), 329-32; James Monroe, speech in the Virginia ratifying convention, June 18, 1788, in *Debates in the Several State Conventions, on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution . . .*, ed. Jonathan Elliot, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1891), 3:488-90; *Propositions for Amending the Constitution of the United States; Submitted by Mr. Hillhouse to the Senate, on the Twelfth Day of April 1808, with his Explanatory Remarks* (New Haven, 1808). John Adams commented negatively on Hillhouse's proposal. See *Works of Adams*, ed. Adams, 6:533. For the final quotation, John Adams to Abigail Adams, December 19, 1793, see *Works of Adams*, ed. Adams, 1:460.
46. Adams had long contended that an upper house invariably conspired to weaken the executive and subvert public liberty. See, in *Works of Adams*, e.g., Adams, *Defence*, 4:584-87; Adams to Roger Sherman, July 18, 1789, 6:430-31, and Adams to Thomas Brand Hollis, June 11, 1790, 9:570. For a pithy example of Adams's argument that the executive *would instinctively* join with the "people" or the lower house of the legislature to prevent abuses or injustices on the part of the "aristocratic" senate or upper house, see Adams's commentary on Hillhouse's propositions in *Works of John Adams*, ed. Adams, 6:533.
47. On intellectuals' preoccupation with the corruption of virtue and republican decline, see Michael Lienesch, *New Order of the Ages: Time, the Constitution, and the Making of Modern American Political Thought* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988); Thomas M. Allen, *A Republic in Time: Temporality and Social Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); John E. Crowley, "Classical, Anti-Classical, and Millennial Conceptions of

- Change in Revolutionary America,” in *Classical Traditions in Early America*, ed. John W. Eadie (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1976), 213–53; John R. Howe Jr., “Republican Thought and the Political Violence of the 1790s,” *American Quarterly* 19 (1967): 147–65; and Stow Persons, “The Cyclical Theory of History in Eighteenth-Century America,” *American Quarterly* 6 (1954): 147–63. Congressman John Holmes from the Maine district of Massachusetts, who helped pass the Missouri Compromise in 1820, summarized the cyclical concept of history in a Fourth of July speech praised by Jefferson. “Governments, like individuals,” he said, “are born, progress, become stationary, and die. They have their infancy and manhood, strength and debility, innocence and depravity, health and sickness; and they have their old age.” John Holmes, *An Oration Pronounced at Alfred, on the 4th of July 1815* (Boston, 1815), 1; for Jefferson’s praise of Holmes, see Jefferson to Benjamin Waterhouse, October 13, 1815, in *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul L. Ford, 10 vols. (New York: Putnam, 1892–99), 9:532–33.
48. For studies that emphasize the priority of reason, as opposed to *sensibilité*, in the Framers’ worldview, see Daniel Walker Howe, “The Political Psychology of *The Federalist*,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 44 (1987): 485–509; Drew R. McCoy, *Last of the Fathers: James Madison and the Republican Legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and Morton White, *The Philosophy of the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press 1978). For interpretations that emphasize the emotional bases of American thought and action at this time, see Sarah Knott, *Sensibility and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), and Nicole Eustace, *Passion Is the Gale* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).
 49. For charges by writers in the *Aurora* in 1795–1796 that Washington had favored reconciliation with the Mother Country during the Revolution, see Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 277, 263–84, 304n, and Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 140–41, 160.
 50. For examples of antiparty rhetoric in Bache’s newspaper, see *Aurora*, February 22, 24, March 3 (“Communication, Wilmington, March 1”), March 16, 18, 23, 1797 (“From a Correspondent”). For *Remarks*’ aspersions on Washington’s military prowess, see also Pasley, “*Tyranny of Printers*,” 88. Many studies exist of Washington’s popular idealization by the media in life and after his death; appositely, they seldom mention Bache. See Barry Schwartz, *George Washington: The Making of an American Symbol* (New York: The Free Press, 1987); Lawrence J. Friedman, *Inventors of the Promised Land* (New York: Knopf, 1975), 44–78; Melvin Yazawa, *From Colonies to Commonwealth: Familial Ideology and the Beginnings of the American Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985); Garry Wills, *Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1984); Simon P. Newman, “Principles or Men? George Washington and the Political Culture of National Leadership, 1776–1801,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 12 (1992): 477–507.
 51. Numerous scholars impute irrational or unworthy motives to Bache. This is particularly the case with Tagg’s early work. In “Bache’s Attack on Washington,” he impugns him as mentally unbalanced, a resentful “failure,” who childishly idolized his grandfather and vented his disappointment on Washington. Bache’s rage at Washington’s ratification of Jay’s Treaty precipitated his newspaper’s attack on the president, which was “not chiefly an attempt to rally republican sentiment; it was a black campaign of despair and frustration, of defeat and revenge. For Bache, bitterness and contempt remained the main feature of his politics” (230). Tagg overlooks the fact that Bache was not in Philadelphia for much of the time that the *Aurora* was attacking Washington, including the famous March 5, 1797, issue, edited by Dr. James Reynolds, which acclaimed

Washington's retirement as "a JUBILEE in the United States." Colonel Robert Carr, who worked in Bache's office as a young man, said that Reynolds and another Democratic-Republican leader, Dr. Michael Leib, brought the article to the *Aurora* office. Scharf and Westcott wrote, "It was published during the absence from the city of the editor, Mr. Bache, who, on his return, expressed great anger and annoyance at its appearance in the columns of the *Aurora*." J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1884), 1:489n. Tagg later included this information in *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 285–86. Pasley ("Tyranny of Printers," 88) nonetheless assumes that Bache wrote the editorial. Michael and Edwin Emery's popular history of journalism considers Bache unstable. "Bache was a mercurial young man—impetuous, brilliant, and often intemperate in expression," they write. "His paper was even more violently partisan than the *National Gazette* [a Republican paper edited by Philip Freneau from 1791 to 1793] had been. Too often he was downright vicious." Michael and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1988), 80–81. Elkins and McKittrick, *Age of Federalism*, 420, mimics Bache's Federalist foes, labeling him "a hot Republican noted neither for moderation nor scruple."

52. On the Randolph scandal, in which Randolph was seemingly implicated in treasonable activity with French minister Joseph Fauchet, see Mary K. Bonsteel Tachau, "George Washington and the Reputation of Edmund Randolph," *Journal of American History* 73 (1986): 15–34.
53. For contrasting views on the significance of neutral rights in early American diplomacy, see Felix Gilbert, *To the Farewell Address: Ideas of Early American Foreign Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961); James H. Hutson, "Intellectual Foundations of Early American Diplomacy," *Diplomatic History* 1 (1977): 1–19; and Daniel G. Lang, *Foreign Policy in the Early Republic: The Law of Nations and the Balance of Power* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985).
54. For a detailed examination of Washington's refusal to accommodate the French, see Samuel F. Bemis's old but reliable article, "Payment of the French Loans to the United States, 1777–1795," *Current History* 23 (1926): 824–36.
55. Among Bache's objectives as a radical newspaper editor was to uphold every individual's right to engage in politics and criticize the government. Pasley, "Tyranny of Printers," 85. Perhaps Bache's harsh critique of Washington's alleged inertia and deference to Congress during the Revolution was inspired by the Democratic-Republican consensus that the American Revolution was a unique, unprecedented emergency, unqualifiedly good in its outcome, which justified extraordinary undertakings by all who could contribute to its success. For contemporary perceptions of the Revolution's uniqueness, see Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Political Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fêtes*; Frederick R. Black, "The American Revolution as 'Yardstick' for the Debate on the Constitution, 1787–1788," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 117 (1973): 162–85; Michael G. Kammen, *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination* (New York: Knopf, 1978); Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1992); Peter C. Hoffer, *Revolution and Regeneration: Life Cycle and the Historical Vision of the Generation of 1776* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983); and David Waldstreicher, "Rites of Rebellion, Rites of Assent: Celebrations, Print Culture, and the Origins of American Nationalism," *Journal of American History* 82 (1995): 37–61.

56. Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 74–76, 329, 472; Pocock, “Civic Humanism and Its Role in Anglo-American Thought,” 80–103; Banning, *Jeffersonian Persuasion*, and “Some Second Thoughts on Virtue and the Course of Revolutionary Thinking,” in *Conceptual Change and the Constitution*, ed. Terence Ball and J.G.A. Pocock (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 194–212; Wood, *Creation of the American Republic*, 65–96, 415–28; Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), esp. 68–73. Similar viewpoints may be found in Ketcham, *Presidents above Party*, 186–87; John Ashworth, “The Jeffersonians: Classical Republicans or Liberal Capitalists?” *Journal of American Studies* 18 (1984): 425–35, who calls the Republicans “precapitalist commercialists”; and Andrew W. Foshee, “Jeffersonian Political Economy and the Classical Republican Tradition: Jefferson, Taylor, and the Agrarian Republic,” *History of Political Economy* 17 (1985): 523–50. On the transfer of popular affection from George III to Washington during the Revolution, see William D. Liddle, “‘A Patriot King, or None’: Lord Bolingbroke and the American Renunciation of George III,” *Journal of American History* 65 (1979): 951–70.
57. Appleby argues that, for the Jeffersonians, “virtue had lost its public character and attached itself instead to the private rectitude essential to a system of individual bargains.” *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 96; see also 15, 94. Other studies that agree with Appleby’s emphasis on republicanism’s replacement of public virtue with simple honesty, business acumen, and other private virtues are Rowland Berthoff, “Independence and Attachment, Virtue and Interest: From Republican Citizen to Free Enterpriser, 1787–1837,” in *Uprooted Americans: Essays to Honor Oscar Handlin*, ed. Richard L. Bushman et al. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), 79–96; Jan Lewis, “‘The Blessings of Domestic Society’: Thomas Jefferson’s Family and the Transformation of American Politics,” in *Jeffersonian Legacies*, ed. Peter S. Onuf (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), 111–17, 133–34, 139; John P. Saillant, “Letters and Social Aims: Rhetoric and Virtue from Jefferson to Emerson” (PhD dissertation, Brown University, 1989); and John P. Diggins, *The Lost Soul of American Politics: Virtue, Self-Interest, and the Foundations of Liberalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1984). Schwartz, *George Washington*, 188–206, provocatively argues that, taking Washington’s public virtue for granted, his countrymen automatically projected on him private virtues (charity, humility, personal morality). Unlike Bache, whom he overlooks, Schwartz notes that most Americans considered Washington the epitome of self-mastery, “moderation, resoluteness, and strength of will” (203).
58. Jasper Dwight [William Duane], *A Letter to George Washington, President of the United States: Containing Strictures on his Address of the Seventeenth of September 1796, Notifying His Relinquishment of the Presidential Office* (Printed at Philadelphia, for the Author, and Sold by the Booksellers, December 1796), 26–27. As Pasley points out, use of pseudonyms “depersonalized” political contention and helped writers of low social status criticize the social elite on a more level playing field, with readers evaluating their arguments without being influenced by their authors’ identities. “*Tyranny of Printers*,” 87, 103–4.
59. Dwight, *Letter to Washington*, 22, 23, 24.
60. For a “deconstructionist” study of Paine’s attack on Washington, arguing that Paine metaphorically replaced Washington, see Steven Blakemore, “Revisionist Patricide: Thomas Paine’s Letter to George Washington,” *CLIO* 24 (1995): 269–89. Twentieth-century historians who follow Bache in emphasizing Washington’s negative traits— self-righteousness, vanity, hypersensitivity to

- criticism, ambition, deviousness, and malleability— include Bernhard Knollenberg, *Washington and the Revolution: A Reappraisal* (New York: Macmillan, 1940); John E. Ferling, *The First of Men: A Life of George Washington* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988), 58, 253, 262; Ferling, *The Ascent of George Washington: The Hidden Political Genius of an American Icon* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2009); Alexander DeConde, *Entangling Alliance: Politics and Diplomacy under George Washington* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1958), 507–11; and Joseph Charles, *Origins of the American Party System* (1956; New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961), 37–53.
61. “Precepts of Reason,” in *Barber and Southwick’s Almanack for 1798* (Albany, 1797), quoted in Alfred F. Young, *The Democratic-Republicans of New York: The Origins, 1763–1797* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 581.
 62. Bache specifically cites Francis Bacon at 32n. Pasley observes, “As the living embodiment of the great Franklin, Bache differed from other Republicans in feeling no awe of Washington’s reputation and position” (“Tyranny of Printers,” 87). However, this is to ignore that numerous radical Republican editors, among them Freneau; Thomas Greenleaf of the *New York Journal*; the unsung Eleazar Oswald, editor of the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*; and even the purportedly neutral Andrew Brown, editor of the Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, consistently denounced Washington years before Bache adopted that stance.
 63. On the place of “gratitude” among the “affections” civic-minded republicans felt during this period, see Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 93–106, 177, 214–19, 233, 250–54; Yazawa, *From Colonies to Commonwealth*; and Schwartz, *George Washington*, 54, 98–101.
 64. The potentially sinister divergence between appearance and reality in self-representation is a theme of Jay Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993). Glenn A. Phelps, in *George Washington and American Constitutionalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), discusses Washington’s preference for a strong president in the mold of a constitutional monarch rather than one restricted by the checks and balances of the Constitution. On the prevalent fear of deceitful leaders, see Gordon S. Wood, “Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style: Causality and Deceit in the Eighteenth Century,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 39 (1982): 401–41; James H. Hutson, “The Origins of ‘The Paranoid Style in American Politics’: Public Jealousy from the Age of Walpole to the Age of Jackson,” in *Saints and Revolutionaries: Essays on Early American History*, ed. David D. Hall et al. (New York: Norton, 1984), 332–72; J. Wendell Knox, *Conspiracy in American Politics, 1787–1815* (New York: Arno Press, 1972); David B. Davis, *The Slave Power Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969).
 65. As Tagg remarks in a slightly different context, “there was a romantic hue in the passion of his [Bache’s] vision not to be found among the many who embraced mere party politics after 1800. . . . He was an ideologue who shared a democratic *mentalité*, an intuitive vision of a new order and a new way of thinking,” positing harmony between “natural collective morality” and individual well-being. Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 401; see also 197.
 66. Excellent studies of the rhetoric of Bolingbroke and his “Country Party,” which included Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope, are Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and is Circle*; Bernard Bailyn, *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967); Jeffrey Hart, *Viscount Bolingbroke: Tory Humanist* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul,

- 1965); H. T. Dickinson, *Bolingbroke* (London: Constable, 1970); and Peter N. Miller, *Defining the Common Good: Empire, Religion, and Philosophy in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
67. Bache did not list this provision among his constitutional amendments, although he mentioned it along with them.
68. For Hume, see David Hume, "That Politics May Be Reduced to a Science," in *David Hume: Essays Moral, Political, and Literary* (1777), ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1987), 14–31. Richard Striner, "Political Newtonianism: The Cosmic Model of Politics in Europe and America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 52 (1995), 583–608, discusses the influence of Newtonian physics on political discourse.
69. For Bache's relationship with Condorcet, see Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 115–16, and Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 27, 131. Condorcet's ideology and influence are examined in Paul M. Spurlin, *The French Enlightenment in America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 35, 37, 121–29, and Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, 2 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1966–69), 2:112–23.
70. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Bache perceived favorable connotations in the noun "democracy," as in the above quotation. See also, "Lord [Francis] Bacon makes good account of the power rising from *knowledge*, as [James] Harrington does of that arising from *property*; and *numbers* are of the essence of a democracy" (4n). For more on eighteenth-century usages of "democracy," see Simon Peter Newman, "American Popular Political Culture in the Age of the French Revolution" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1991), 335–37, and Robert R. Palmer, "Notes on the Use of the Word 'Democracy,' 1789–1799," *Political Science Quarterly* 68 (1953): 203–26.
71. Pasley ("Tyranny of Printers," 95) notes Bache's disappointment at the people's ostensible embrace of the Federalists, which he claims he gauged by his failure to make a profit on his newspaper and bookselling business. Nevertheless, Pasley essentially sees Bache as an idealistic democrat, going so far as to claim that Bache was the *real* leader of the Republican Party during the 1790s, and molded it into an "imagined community" of the people (96). For the debate on Hamilton's funding system, see E. James Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776–1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), and Roger H. Brown, *Redeeming the Republic: Federalists, Taxation, and the Origins of the Constitution* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). The best study of the Society of the Cincinnati is Minor Myers Jr., *Liberty without Anarchy: A History of the Society of the Cincinnati* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983). On the Whiskey Rebellion, the most thorough study is Slaughter, *Whiskey Rebellion*. Like most educated Americans of his time, Bache was familiar with Roman history, as is revealed by his mention of Belisarius (c. 505–565), an ascetic Byzantine Roman general under Emperor Justinian I. He defeated the Germanic tribes but was disgraced and briefly imprisoned as a result of political intrigues by envious conspirators at Court.
72. For details on the controversy over the public debt in the 1790s, see Whitney K. Bates, "Northern Speculators and Southern State Debts: 1790," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 19 (1962): 30–48; E. James Ferguson, "Political Economy, Public Liberty, and the Formation of the Constitution," *William and Mary Quarterly* 40 (1983): 389–412; and Ferguson, *Power of the Purse*.
73. Thomas Paine to Bache, Paris, August 7, 1796, reel 3, Bache Papers.
74. William Bache to Benjamin Franklin Bache, June 11, 1796, quoted in Richard Bache to Benjamin Franklin Bache, September 27, 1796, reel 3, Bache Papers.

75. J.G.A. Pocock, "Virtue and Commerce in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3 (1972): 119–34.
76. Richard G. Miller, *Philadelphia, the Federalist City: A Study of Urban Politics, 1789–1801* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1976), 80–81.
77. On the nominees for city council, see *Philadelphia Aurora*, September 29, 1796; Miller, *Philadelphia, the Federalist City*, 81.
78. On Bache's defeat for city council in 1796, see *Philadelphia Aurora*, October 13 and 14, 1796; Miller, *Philadelphia, the Federalist City*, 86; Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 294; Pasley, "Tyranny of Printers," 97. For his defeat in 1797, see *Philadelphia Aurora*, October 12, 1797 ("Philadelphia. General Elections"), 4; and Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 150. For the turnabout in 1801, see Richard G. Miller, "The Federal City," in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, ed. Russell F. Weigley (New York: Norton, 1982), 166, 202–3; and Miller, *Philadelphia, the Federalist City*, 139–44.
79. For nominations and election results, see *Aurora*, October 4, 13, and 14, 1796; *Philadelphia Gazette of the United States*, October 5 and 6, 1796; Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 294; Miller, *Philadelphia, the Federalist City*, 86.
80. "A Citizen" in *Philadelphia Aurora*, September 29, 1796, quoted in Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 149–50. On Federalist versus Republican wealth, see Miller, *Philadelphia, the Federalist City*, 81; See also "A Mechanic," quoted in Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 149.
81. "Romulus," in *Philadelphia Aurora*, Thursday, September 29, 1796 ("To the Electors of the City of Philadelphia").
82. For other panegyrics to nonpartisanship appearing in the *Aurora*, see, e.g., "Dialogue Between an Aristocrat and a Republican," *Philadelphia Aurora*, November 12, 1796; "Philadelphia," in *Philadelphia Aurora*, February 24, 1797; *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, reprinted in *Aurora*, February 6, 1797. See also Scherr, "Inventing the Patriot President," 374–76; and Scherr, "'Vox Populi' versus Patriot President," 505–6.
83. "Equal rights" had become a rallying cry of the emerging journeymen's labor movement by this time. See Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1859* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Young, *Democratic-Republicans of New York*, 468–545; and Ronald G. Schultz, *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). See also Ketcham, *Presidents above Party*, 186–87, who finds nonpartisanship consistent with localistic "family and community" norms and alienation from individualist ideals of "Acquisitive Man." On Jeffersonian anticapitalism, see also Claudio A. Katz, "Thomas Jefferson's Liberal Anticapitalism," *American Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 1 (2003): 1–17.
84. Bache to Richard Bache, January 10, 1793, reel 2, Bache Papers, quoted in Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 102. Bache's courage had disastrous personal consequences. Advertisers repelled by his criticism of Washington abandoned him, and he received no printing contracts from Federalist political regimes. In retrospect, Philadelphia printer and bookseller Mathew Carey judged that the *Aurora's* denunciation of Washington caused Bache great financial losses. Pasley, "Tyranny of Printers," 88–90; Mathew Carey, *Autobiography* (1834; reprint, Brooklyn: E. L. Schwaab, 1942), 39, quoted in Pasley, "Tyranny of Printers," 88. Bache's financial difficulties as an entrepreneurial printer, bookseller, newspaper publisher, and editor are also described in Tagg, *Bache and*

- the Philadelphia Aurora*, 65–66, 93–109; Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 109, 158–59; and Stewart, *Opposition Press*, 18, 655n. On unpaid subscriptions, see Peter J. Parker, “The Revival of the *Aurora*: A Letter to Tench Coxe,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 96 (1972): 521–25.
85. For Bache’s response to the crisis of 1798, see Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 367–405; Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 162–69; Richard N. Rosenfeld, *American Aurora* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998); and Smith, *Freedom’s Fetters*, 189–203. On the presidential election of 1800 as a watershed, see Freeman, *Affairs of Honor*, 227–61; Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order*; and Banning, *Jeffersonian Persuasion*, 264–90.
86. Jeffery A. Smith, “Jefferson, Thomas,” in *Encyclopedia of American Journalism*, ed. Stephen L. Vaughn (New York: Routledge, 2008), 231.
87. Bernard Fäy’s popularized, semi-fictional biography, *The Two Franklins*, 310–12, 375–76, suggests that Jefferson utilized Bache as his mouthpiece after 1796. For more recent statements of the traditional view of Bache’s relationship with Jefferson, see, e.g., Stewart, *Opposition Press*, 10, 646n, and Jeffery A. Smith, “The Enlightenment Education of Benjamin Franklin Bache,” *PMHB* 112 (October 1988): 483–501. For Smith on Franklin’s preeminent influence, see his “Enlightenment Education.” For a detailed discussion of Franklin and Bache in Paris, see Lopez and Herbert, *Private Franklin*, 215–48; and Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, chap. 2.
88. Lopez and Herbert, *Private Franklin*, 286; Smith, “Enlightenment Education,” 494–96.
89. Jefferson to William Short, July 28, 1791, in Julian P. Boyd et al, eds., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd et al., 37 vols., in progress (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950–), 20:692 (hereafter *Jefferson Papers*). When Short received the clippings, he decided to send them to Thomas Paine (20:309n). For Jefferson’s meager assistance to Bache, see Bache to Jefferson, August 20, 1790 (17:397); Henry Remsen Jr. to Benjamin Russell and Others, November 23, 1790 (18:66n). For Jefferson’s perfunctory correspondence with Bache, see Jefferson to Bache, April 22, 1791 (20:246); Jefferson to Bache, June 2, 1795 (28:377); and Jefferson to Bache, December 26, 1795 (28:560–61). For Vaughan’s efforts, see Benjamin Vaughan to Bache, September 1 and 3, 1790, reel 2, Bache Papers. Pasley (“*Tyranny of Printers*,” 98–100) emphasizes that Bache received little financial assistance from Jefferson or the Republicans. His conclusion that Jefferson refused aid to partisan printers because they were beneath his social class ignores Jefferson’s substantial assistance to Freneau, for which Hamilton denounced him in the press. While Pasley argues that Jefferson neglected to assist Bache because the Philadelphia printer was too radical and empathized too much with the lower classes, Daniel (*Scandal and Civility*, 118–19) takes the opposite view, claiming that Jefferson suspected Bache was too sympathetic with Washington and the Federalists.
90. On Secretary of State Jefferson’s preference for other newspaper editors than Bache in disbursing his praise and patronage, see the following, all in *Jefferson Papers*: “Contingent Expenses of the Department of State” (17:359–76); Benjamin Rush to Jefferson, August 15, 1790, and notes (391–92); Jefferson’s Report on Memorial of Andrew Brown, February 5, 1791 (19:251–52); Jefferson to Madison, July 21, 1791; Memorandum for Henry Remsen Jr., September 2, 1791; Jefferson to Martha Jefferson Randolph, November 13, 1791; Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph Jr., November 20, 1791, 20:657; 22:122, 294, 310; John Carey to Jefferson, January 31, 1793, 25:106. See also Jefferson to Peregrine Fitzhugh, June 4, 1797, in *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Ford, 7:135, and Jefferson to Madison, April 26, 1798, *ibid.*, 8:245.

91. For Jefferson's defense of "Publicola," see Jefferson to Madison, June 28, 1791, in *Papers of James Madison*, ed. J.C.A. Stagg et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; and Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1961-), 14:38. Jefferson to Washington, September 9, 1792, in *Jefferson Papers*, 24:356. See also Smith, *Franklin and Bache*, 107-8; Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 98, 113n; Stewart, *Opposition Press*, 11; Culver H. Smith, *The Press, Politics, and Patronage: The American Government's Use of Newspapers, 1789-1875* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977), 17, 19; and William D. Sloan, "'Purse and Pen': Party-Press Relationships, 1789-1816," *American Journalism* 6 (1989): 103-27.
92. Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph Jr., May 15, 1791, *Jefferson Papers*, 20:416. Jefferson used the phrase "whig-vehicle of intelligence" in this letter. Earlier than most historians, and prior to the publication of several books specializing on Bache, Lance Banning's important survey, *Jeffersonian Persuasion*, 231-33, insightfully summarized the gradual drift of initially nonpartisan newspapers, among which he included the *Aurora*, to an anti-Federalist stance. On Bache, he observes, "Until 1793, he impartially admitted contributions from the slight amount of controversy that he published, and he maintained a personal position that might be characterized as moderately pro-administration" (232).
93. Jefferson to Bache, June 2, 1795, in *Jefferson Papers*, 28:377. For Bache's activities concerning Jay's Treaty, see Tagg, *Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora*, 246-47, 267-29; and Pasley, "Tyranny of Printers," 91-92.
94. Jefferson to Bache, December 26, 1795, *Jefferson Papers*, 28:560-61. Jefferson's *Memorandum Books*, or Account Books, confirm that he had not previously paid in advance for Bache's papers, hence was not a subscriber until December 1795. By contrast, he paid for Freneau's *National Gazette* in advance during the brief period it existed, from October 1791 to September 1793. James A. Bear and Lucia C. Stanton, eds., *Jefferson's Memorandum Books*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1997), 1:888, 905; 2:935, 955, 956, 959, 961, 971, 973, 976, 990.
95. Jefferson to Madison, April 26, 1798; Jefferson to Madison, May 3, 1798; Jefferson to Samuel Smith, August 22, 1798, in *Jefferson Papers*, 30:300, 324, 484.

OBITUARIES

IRA V. BROWN (1922–2012)

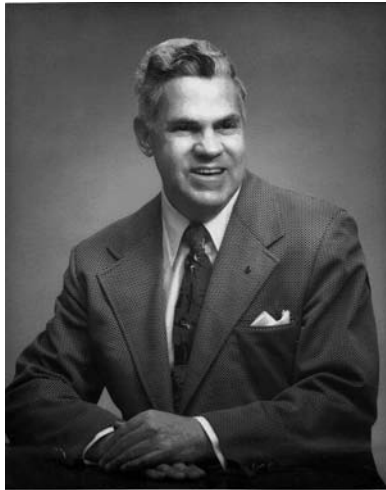
*I*ra Brown was a member of the Pennsylvania Historical Association for forty-nine years. He regularly attended the annual meetings, frequently presented papers, and served several terms on the council. His articles appeared frequently in the Association's Journal *Pennsylvania History*. His article "Anti-Slavery Journey: Garrison and Douglass in Pennsylvania, 1847" was one of the most frequently requested articles on a recent JSTOR list. He wrote two monographs that are included in the Association's Pennsylvania History Studies series: *Pennsylvania Reformers from Penn to Pinchot* (1966) and *The Negro in Pennsylvania* (1970). His loyalty to the Association was exemplary.

Ira's academic and scholarly career was extraordinary. He graduated from high school in Arlington, Virginia, at the age of fourteen, received a four-year scholarship to George Washington University where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa in his junior year and edited the student newspaper in his senior year. He earned his undergraduate degree in 1941 at eighteen and immediately enrolled at the University of Virginia where he completed

the requirements for his master's degree in one year. After a summer of work at the National Archives, he began his doctoral studies at Harvard University where he studied under Professor Arthur Schlesinger Sr. He received his PhD in 1946 at the age of twenty-four. His dissertation, "Lyman Abbott: Christian Evolutionist," won the Brewer Prize awarded by the American Society of Church History and was published by Harvard University Press in 1953.

Subsequently, he edited *Joseph Priestley: Selections from His Writings* published by the Pennsylvania State University Press in 1962. He wrote a biography of Philadelphia abolitionist and feminist Mary Grew (1813–1896), which was published by Susquehanna University Press in 1991. Later, he compiled his essays on abolitionism and civil rights in Pennsylvania, which he entitled "Proclaim Liberty," and his reminiscences, "A Life in History." He circulated both of these works privately. They are available at Special Collections in Penn State's Paterno Library.

Ira's teaching career was equally outstanding. In the 1945–46 academic year, he taught at the Phillips-Exeter Academy, one of New England's premier private preparatory schools. The next year, he taught at Mary Baldwin College. In 1947 he joined the history faculty at Penn State where he remained for forty years. Although he taught the survey course in American history to large numbers of students, it was at the upper level that he excelled. He taught advanced courses on "The Formative Period, 1783–1828" and



Ira V. Brown, 1922–2012

OBITUARIES

American cultural history. He was a superb advisor to graduate students and supervised thirty-five master's theses and nineteen doctoral dissertations. Not only was he a mentor to students but also to new faculty members. He took us "under his wing" and informed us how Penn State's Department of History operated and helped us with our scholarly activities. He and his wife invited us to their home and even took us on family outings. They made us feel at home in our new surroundings. We could not have asked for a more helpful and thoughtful colleague.

Ira was predeceased by his wife, Helen, who died in 2011. He is survived by a son, Robert V. Brown, and his wife, April, of Perkasie, Pennsylvania, and two grandsons.

ROBERT V. BROWN AND JOHN B. FRANTZ

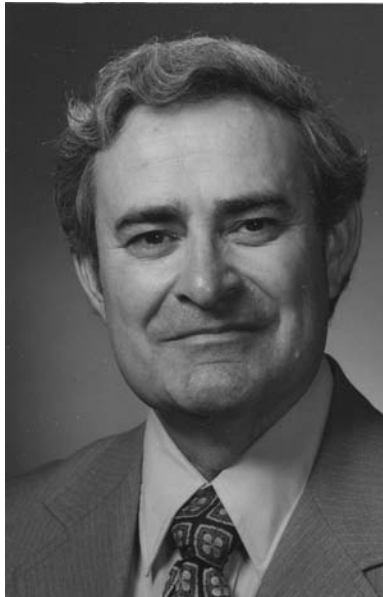
GERALD G. (GERRY) EGGERT (1926–2012)

In 1983 Gerry Eggert hired me to teach at Penn State's Berks Campus. He was very friendly and very honest: "We know you can publish," he said, or words to that effect, "but we'll fire you if you're not a good teacher." Fair enough, I said. About twenty-five years later, when I spoke about Benjamin Franklin to a group of retired faculty, Gerry was the host: after my talk, he repeated to the group what he had told me when I was hired, and said that as they could see, I could still teach.

Gerry was a mentor to both me and other faculty, including Gary Cross, whom he hired when he was head of the Penn State History Department (1980–85). He had a great sense of humor coupled with a humane, practical approach to administration. He knew the art of the possible, never got our hopes up too high, but also never let us down when he could support our scholarship or help our careers. He was an outstanding scholar of American business and labor history, the author of five major books: *Railway Labor Disputes: The Beginning of Federal Strike Policy* (University of Michigan Press, 1967); *Richard Olney: Evolution of a Statesman* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974); *Steel*

Masters and Labor Reform, 1886–1923 (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981); *Harrisburg Industrializes: The Coming of Factories to an American Community* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993); and *Marking Iron on the Bald Eagle: Roland Curtin's Ironworks and Workers' Community* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000). He also wrote a pamphlet on *The Iron Industry in Pennsylvania* that has always been a bestseller for the Pennsylvania Historical Association and numerous scholarly articles. One, "The Black Experience in Nineteenth Century Harrisburg," won the Philip S. Klein Prize awarded by the Pennsylvania Historical Association for the best article published in *Pennsylvania History* in 1991–92.

Much of Gerry's energies centered on Pennsylvania history. His scholarship focused on the typical rather than the sensational, and as a result we have a far more balanced understanding of Pennsylvania and American business and labor history. The United States has had many medium-sized industrial cities that were not the scene of spectacular strikes, growth, or decline, like Harrisburg; rural iron works like Curtin Furnace; and skilled workers who participated in reform movements outside of labor issues like the



Gerald G. (Gerry) Eggert, 1926–2012.
Photo courtesy of the Penn State Archives.

Pennsylvania steel masters. But they have generally attracted less attention than the large cities, factories, and violent strikes that have sometimes been presented as the whole story.

Gerry's contribution to history went far beyond teaching and scholarship. He served on the board of directors (1986–2001) and was president of the board (1994–95) of the Roland Curtin Furnace in Bald Eagle. That visitors may still enjoy this historic site that illustrates in microcosm how the iron industry that spurred Pennsylvania's economic growth operated we owe largely to him. And the Pennsylvania Historical Association owes much to Gerry's great efforts on its behalf. He was the business secretary from 1985 to 1991 and president in 1995–96. His last public speaking appearance, I believe, was at the 75th annual meeting of the Association in State College (2008), where he joined a distinguished past presidents panel that discussed the history of the journal and association. Having retired from the History Department in 1991, in 1994 he received the Liberal Arts College Alumni Society Emeritus Distinction Award for the faculty member in the college who had accomplished the most while retired.

Gerald Eggert was born in rural Michigan, and always told everyone how glad he was to have escaped the life of a farmer. He earned his BA at Western Michigan University in 1949 and his PhD in 1960 at the University of Michigan. He served in the United States Army Quartermaster Corps from 1946 to 1948 and taught public school in Battle Creek, Michigan, before embarking on his scholarly career. He taught at the University of Maryland and Bowling Green State University before coming to Penn State. He is survived by his wife of fifty-nine years, Jean, a brother and a sister, three children, and six grandchildren.

WILLIAM PENCAK

BOOK REVIEWS

*J*ames Rice. *Tales from a Revolution: Bacon's Rebellion and the Transformation of Colonial America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Pp. xx, 243. Illustrations, notes, bibliography. Cloth, \$24.95.

James Rice's goal in this new history of Bacon's Rebellion, published as part of Oxford's New Narratives in American History series, is to tell a good story. "My starting point was not the scholarly imperative to develop a thesis," he writes, "but rather something akin to the novelist's imperative to develop a plot" (208). He succeeds admirably, producing a narrative that is brisk, engaging, and clear—a signal achievement for an event that has often been depicted as a chaotic mess. His incisive commentary also opens up fresh possibilities for the study of war and rebellion in the seventeenth-century South.

The narrative follows a path that readers of Edmund S. Morgan's work *American Slavery, American Freedom* will find familiar. Beginning with frontier skirmishes between English

militias and Susquehannock Indians in 1675, it proceeds through several stages: Nathaniel Bacon's mobilization of extralegal volunteers, Governor Berkeley's denunciation of these rebels, and the outbreak of full-scale civil war. Rice summarizes important background information in expository asides, which connect his narrative to the broader social, economic, political, and diplomatic questions of the day. He places particular emphasis on the class conflict between wealthy planters and poor settlers, as well as the increasingly precarious position of Native Americans in the Chesapeake. But Rice focuses on the storytelling, moving rapidly through the unfolding events. As might be expected from the author of *Nature and History in the Potomac Country*, he excels at setting scenes through responsible and effective uses of historical imagination, including evocative details about space, place, and sensory experience.

As he develops his plot, Rice allows the larger thesis to emerge from the narrative. His argument, clearly articulated in the afterword, is that Bacon's Rebellion served as the first act in a longer drama that did not reach its climax until the Glorious Revolution. Successive crises between 1675 and 1689 were fueled by the same underlying factors, which Rice refers to as unresolved "dilemmas" that produced "dramatic tension" (211). Restive colonists in Virginia and Maryland faced one dilemma, struggling to assert their rights as Englishmen in an increasingly repressive regime controlled by wealthy oligarchs. Native Americans faced another dilemma, struggling to survive English territorial expansion and the escalating violence of the Indian slave trade. Colonial leaders attempted to strike a balance between the demands of their English subjects and their Indian allies, but ultimately found this to be impossible. For example, Berkeley's efforts to protect friendly Indians—who, suspiciously enough, were his partners in the growing fur and slave trades—sparked rumors that the government was secretly allied to hostile Indians. Fearing a conspiracy between oligarchs and Indians, many Virginians resorted to militant defiance and open rebellion.

Berkeley's forces crushed the rebellion in early 1677, but Rice asserts that their military victory did nothing to resolve the underlying dilemmas. Thus, "Bacon's followers laid down their arms but did not abandon the struggle" (137). "Baconist" discontent erupted periodically in such events as Josias Fendall's abortive uprising in 1681, the tobacco-cutting riots in 1682, and Coode's Rebellion in 1689. As anti-Catholicism intensified throughout the English world, it became embroidered into Bacon's charges of government conspiracies. When William of Orange deposed James II, Baconists

elaborated a grand conspiracy theory that linked Maryland's proprietary government to French absolutism and hostile Indians. The colonial dilemmas resolved only after "Bacon's heirs" and the Glorious Revolution removed Catholics from power and inaugurated a new generation of governors who took a hardline stance against Indians. In the long run, wealthy and poor Englishmen healed their class division by crafting a new social order based on white supremacy and the permanent subjugation of African slaves.

Rice's narrative makes several important interventions in the historiography of Bacon's Rebellion. In particular, he highlights the central roles played by Native Americans, widens the geographical scope to include Maryland, and treats seriously the pervasive discourses of conspiracy. The constraints of good narrative, however, prevent him from performing the deep analysis that these insights deserve. For example, he perceptively points out that "what was really at stake" in Bacon's Rebellion "was the future of the Indian nations across a vast arc of territory from New York to Carolina" (65). But the flow of the story does not allow him to pause and reflect on the implications of this observation for a historiography that continues to treat the event as a civil war among Englishmen.

Rice has nonetheless given us a very good book. He provides a coherent synthesis of the scholarship on this tumultuous period, integrating his narrative of rebellion and revolution into larger narratives of provincial and imperial transformation. For this reason alone, *Tales from a Revolution* should become the standard text on Bacon's Rebellion in the classroom. Rice has breathed new life into old historiographical controversies and indicated several promising avenues for future investigations. In that sense, this is just the beginning of a new historiography of Bacon's Rebellion.

MATTHEW KRUER
University of Pennsylvania

Sally McMurry and Nancy Van Dolsen, eds. *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). Pp. xiv, 250. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$49.95.

Originating with the Vernacular Architecture Forum's 2004 meeting and its study tours into Pennsylvania's Lancaster, Berks, Lebanon, and Cumberland

counties, *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920* examines a representative region with a notable concentration of German settlement and cultural influence. Building upon recent scholarship on Pennsylvania German ethnicity, the authors collectively argue that architecture expressed that developing ethnicity. Germans in Pennsylvania blended European traditions with American values, shifting their architectural styles toward mainstream conventions as they began to think of themselves as Pennsylvanians with German heritage. Perceptions of a distinct Pennsylvania German landscape thus indicate Pennsylvania German self-consciousness and observers' cultural stereotypes more than vast differences in material practice.

German-speakers with diverse backgrounds began arriving in Pennsylvania by 1683, but the period from 1720 to 1783 produced an accelerated migration, mostly from the Rhine Valley, as well as the earliest extant buildings. Pennsylvania's Germans gradually evolved more self-conscious identities, inventing a "Pennsylvania German" community that shared general geographic and cultural dimensions, including some architectural patterns, by the late nineteenth century. As the Pennsylvania German majority assimilated into the American mainstream and abandoned many distinctive visual and oral cues by the twentieth century, minority Plain Sects that carried on Pennsylvania building and agricultural traditions assumed predominance in popular perceptions.

Until the mid-twentieth century, that distortion shaped scholarly and popular literature that celebrated the achievements and customs of a rural and supposedly "authentic" Pennsylvania German culture. This volume, however, acknowledges the more critical historiographic trends initiated in the 1950s and 1960s. The authors consider how the continual interaction of social groups in Pennsylvania contributed to the complex nature of Pennsylvania German ethnicity and architecture. They also address how Pennsylvania Germans modified architectural forms for American environments, including nineteenth- and twentieth-century urban spaces.

The resulting essays draw on travelers' descriptions and extant buildings to consider how landscapes and a range of building types manifested evolving ethnic characteristics. The opening chapter considers nineteenth-century folk paintings and photographs to argue that it was the tension between traditional and modern elements, rather than material features, that defined the Pennsylvania German landscape. Similarly, a chapter on rural houses argues that even as traditional German tenancy practices produced farmsteads

with multiple homes, the buildings themselves utilized floor plans rare in Europe's German-speaking regions while adding American characteristics to traditional features, a blending that mirrored the emergence of a self-conscious ethnic community.

Chapters on domestic outbuildings identify construction patterns with European origins that nonetheless fit emerging post-1780 American architectural trends. Common in the Rhine Valley, outbuildings such as spring-houses, bake-houses, and dairies grew in popularity at the same time as mainstream America increasingly separated productive and domestic spaces. During the same period, Swiss-style barns in Pennsylvania expanded in popularity due to a flexible interior workspace and storage capacity, traits suiting them to increased grain and livestock production for urban markets. Numerous in areas dominated by Pennsylvania German populations and often retaining ethnic markers such as hex signs and date stones, these outbuildings were adopted by non-Germans and also used in other regions, suggesting their economic and regional rather than ethnic basis.

Scholarship frequently overlooks urban areas atypical of perceptions of Pennsylvania German culture and lacking extant buildings. However, the authors of chapters devoted to town houses and commercial buildings point out that urban Pennsylvania Germans mirrored their rural counterparts in preserving ethnic furnishings—particularly woodstoves and painted furniture—even as their architectural decisions were determined less by ethnicity than by economic and civic trends. Amid industrialization and increased population density, town-dwellers moved from houses built on rural plans to brick rowhouses, while business owners migrated from traditional arrangements mingling domestic and commercial zones toward purpose-built spaces that more readily advertised their functions or served specialized production strategies. A final chapter on church construction suggests that religious diversity initially produced domestically inspired buildings reminiscent of meeting places in houses and barns, but that unique ethnic details gave way to more common designs as mainstream Lutheran and German Reformed churches incorporated dissenters.

The book's major strength is its vivid presentation of the buildings discussed. Field documentation produced original measured drawings, plans, and photographs of 100 buildings across forty-six sites. The authors supplement visual presentation with detailed textual descriptions of the methods used to construct these spaces, and the architectural details related to German traditions and mainstream practices.

While the authors ably survey major scholarly debates pertinent to the buildings discussed, their contribution to those debates is not always clear. For instance, one chapter laments the limited scholarship on domestic out-buildings but, while noting exceptions to general building patterns, does not explore the significance of variations in size, construction materials, or construction dates, which might make a stronger case for those buildings' historical significance. Analytical shortcomings, however, open myriad avenues for further scholarship, an explicit goal of the authors and editors, who suggest scholars consider, among other topics, ethnic dimensions of Sunday school classrooms; foodways' impact on spatial arrangements; ordinary rural Pennsylvanians' practices; greater attention to urban buildings; and the retention of certain ethnic traits despite the adoption of mainstream architectural features.

This book assuredly achieves its purpose of introducing less conversant readers to pertinent scholarly conversations, and providing scholars a resource rich in detail and suggestive of further avenues of study, but on a deeper level it also explores the material dimensions of an evolving ethnic identity, the architectural expression of German-speaking Pennsylvanians' transformation into Pennsylvania Germans.

JASON R. SELLERS

University of Mary Washington

Patrick M. Erben. *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012). Pp. xvi, 335. Illustrations, notes, and index. Cloth, \$45.00.

Tradition holds that colonists such as George Thomas and Benjamin Franklin considered Pennsylvania to be a colony challenged by its multiplicity of faiths, ethnicities, and languages. In *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania*, Patrick M. Erben disputes this myth, using contemporary writings that range from promotional literature to calligraphies, hymns, and religious tracts to demonstrate that the people of Pennsylvania appreciated the multilingual diversity of the province and used it as a means to encourage inclusiveness, not division.

Erben traces the origins of Pennsylvania's linguistic diversity and its significance back to Jan Amos Comenius and Jacob Boehme and forward to

William Penn, Francis Daniel Pastorius, Johannes Kelpius, Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, Peter Miller (“Brother Jabez” from Ephrata), and Anthony Benezet. Linguistic diversity was the norm and not an issue among Protestant mystics in Europe who, although they occasionally relied upon translations, did not feel uncomfortable working with texts in other languages.

The Hermits at Johannes Kelpius’s Society of the Woman in the Wilderness along the Wissahickon Creek used hymns as a means for his followers to pursue perfection—“a mystic union with Christ” (207). Hymnody was multilingual in Kelpius’s community, and, according to Erben, they sought to unite the English and German languages. Kelpius himself translated the hymns to expand the potential impact of his community, and his efforts laid the groundwork for Schwenkfelders, Ephrata Brothers and Sisters, and other descendants of German radical Pietists. At Ephrata, for example, printers published tracts and hymns written by members of the cloister and neighboring sectarians.

Moravians at Bethlehem led by Zinzendorf also articulated the relationship between language and spirituality through hymns. In the case of the Moravians, multilingualism encompassed not just European languages but also the dialects of the Delawares, Shawnees, Mahicans, and Iroquois, whom the Moravians tried to convert. Zinzendorf encouraged the development of a parallel multilingualism, with hymns sung in both German and Native American languages. He also envisioned that the Moravians, through this linguistic diversity, would develop a language that included all of the languages spoken in the community (including German, Dutch, Latin, French, and Greek) into a single tongue. As Zinzendorf also hoped to unite all German-speaking congregations into one ecumenical group that would share a common religious vision, it certainly fits that he would promote a linguistic solidarity in which the spiritual text encompassed multilingualism.

William Penn’s promotional literature further emphasized the importance of multilingualism in colonial Pennsylvania. Erben raises the question about how people on the continent who did not speak English were able to understand Penn’s message, focusing on the importance of translators. In explaining the process, Erben makes a distinction between inner and outer languages and how the translation process could affect listeners’ understanding of Penn’s words. Were the translations simultaneous (in other words, Penn spoke, then the translator), or did the translators wait until Penn finished speaking and then summarized what Penn said? To Erben, the latter

could lead to misinterpretation, thus explaining Penn's desire to focus on the written word when promoting his colony. Consequently, Penn's spiritual goal was to encourage a common understanding of human language in order to ensure the goal of salvation, but his practical goal was to focus on the "real" world in the promotional literature, explaining his vision for the colony in terms Europeans would understand.

Additional promotional tracts for the province followed Penn's pattern. Francis Daniel Pastorius's *Sichere Nachricht* expressed support for the spiritual and social development of the colony. Penn appreciated Pastorius's linguistic diversity, which, according to Erben, Pastorius might have interpreted as favoritism toward German settlers. Daniel Falckner's *Curieuse Nachricht* focused on Pennsylvania as a religious experiment, as it answered a series of questions posed by August Herman Francke. Falckner's tract, along with Gabriel Thomas's *Historical and Geographical Account*, Penn's *Letter to the Free Society of Traders*, and other reports written by Pastorius, ultimately were compiled into Pastorius's *Umständige geographische Beschreibung* by printers and used to promote settlement of Penn's colony—again, an example of a multilingual text.

Pastorius's multilingual compositions also focused on the use of language. He embraced the notion that linguistic diversity stemmed from Babel and was a sign of corruption. Through his encyclopedia ("Bee-Hive"), Pastorius demonstrated a fascination with language that was atypical for the era but within the norm for religious thinkers.

Erben further examines the importance of language to Native American populations. The death of Delaware Chief Ockanickon, for example, symbolized the linguistic and spiritual affinity of Quakers and Native peoples. Moravian missionary activity further involved the use of language, with David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder providing parallel translations of hymns in Native American, German, and English languages.

When war came to Pennsylvania, Erben suggests, the debates over war and pacifism renewed interest in a spiritual community. German-language printers published translations of English-language spiritual works along with tracts in German. Quaker remonstrances were especially common, and German pacifist sects supported the Friendly Association. Quakers such as Anthony Benezet and Israel Pemberton recognized the need to understand Schwenkfelder, Mennonite, Moravian, and Dunker spirituality to elicit support when defending their beliefs against opponents like Benjamin Franklin,

whose Voluntary Association considered them cowards. Once again, colonists sought to find a linguistic affinity in order to promote spirituality.

Overall, Erben's book is an insightful study of the importance of language in colonial Pennsylvania. He occasionally lapses into outmoded references (such as referring to the indigenous population as "Pennsylvania Indians," considering all of the tribes to be the same), and he neglects to mention that Franklin opposed foreign-language usage yet published German-language texts. Nevertheless, this book provides a fascinating explanation why some of Pennsylvania's religious leaders appreciated the linguistic diversity of the province and used it as a means to spread God's word.

KAREN GUENTHER

Mansfield University

Jennifer Hull Dorsey. *Hirelings: African American Workers and Free Labor in Early Maryland* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011). Pp. xvi, 210. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$45.00.

In early 1814 John Kennard, a Talbot County farmer on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, knew that his next hire would be different. He had published the following advertisement in the *Eastern Shore General Advertiser* with change in mind: "Wanted to Hire: A Negro man who understands the farming business" (21). Those who read or heard of the notice understood that Kennard's desire to hire a freed or freeborn African American rather than buy a slave or pay a white laborer reflected a shift in local labor practices. With the disappearance of northern slavery underway, roughly two generations of African Americans were entering an emerging "free labor" workforce for the first time. Their agricultural skills took on new value as commercial interests sought to exploit the Mid-Atlantic's coastal harvests as well as the crops and natural resources from the hinterlands of western Maryland and southern Pennsylvania. In *Hirelings: African American Workers and Free Labor in Early Maryland*, Jennifer Hull Dorsey investigates how African Americans understood this change and attempted to shape the expectations of free labor by their entry into it.

It is this convergence of emancipation and the rise of wage labor that interests Dorsey most as she explores what she considers a historiographical

gap regarding the lives of working African Americans in the early republic. To focus her study, she concentrates on the Eastern Shore of Maryland because of its large population of freed blacks and persistent dual labor system of slave and free labor during this period. By introducing examples of white employers such as Kennard, as well as black laborers such as agricultural worker Jacob Ross and tradesman Joseph Cain, Dorsey explains how the shift from slave to wage labor occurred and how a range of agriculture-related jobs (including truck agriculture and seasonal work) created opportunities for manumitted blacks in the arena between year-round field workers and urban-based roles. This gap has geographical dimensions, too, as Dorsey teases out the stories of those laborers physically moving and interacting with other commercial actors between plantation and port. The results build nicely upon Seth Rockman's *Scrapping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore*, a recent comprehensive look at Baltimore's laborers during roughly the same period.

As their bonds loosened, free African Americans challenged the economic and social norms associated within a community so reliant on slave labor. By pursuing a wage for work when it could be obtained and relocating when new employment opportunities beckoned, some African Americans achieved small measures of freedom, as merchants, farmers, and plantation owners created a more efficient allocation of available labor by seeking rural workers with skills. During this shift, and in practices that would be repeated in later decades and elsewhere by other newly freed blacks, Dorsey's cohort and their children tried to curtail white employers' authority by restoring families splintered by slave auctions when possible, creating community institutions such as churches and neighborhoods where practical, and negotiating their own work contracts when allowed.

Manumitted and freeborn African Americans turned to two institutions to establish their stake in the rising free labor ideology: the court system and the custom of issuing certificates of freedom. Both have been interpreted by historians as largely tools of white plantation masters who sought to limit the actions of manumitted slaves and their freeborn counterparts. In a particularly good effort, Dorsey flips the historical assumptions associated with these institutions to reveal examples in which blacks went to court to secure employers' contract obligations (especially in securing better futures for children bound to labor) and pursue certificates of freedom to ensure their mobility (a necessity and an advantage during an era of free labor opportunities).

Ultimately, *Hirelings* demonstrates a need for further scholarship along similar lines, particularly on other coastal and backcountry regions during

the early republic. Lacking other rural labor studies to consult, Dorsey draws comparisons to other manumissions based on venerable works that mostly focus upon later periods and distinctly different locales. One cannot help but wonder if some of her comparisons lack a full framework because of this. Scholars of labor history and the early republic harboring a similar willingness to reassess and add to current historical understandings of how African Americans participated in the shift to wage labor will better flesh out Dorsey's results. A reader can envision her well-researched Mid-Atlantic-based work as a piece of a larger narrative puzzle regarding the connections between merchants, farmers, slaves and free laborers in a market economy challenged by manumission. Most important to readers of this journal, by focusing on the Eastern Shore of Maryland while also opening up her analysis to make regional comparisons that reach into Pennsylvania, Dorsey reinvigorates the broader study of economic integration from the port cities of Baltimore and Philadelphia to the resources and markets within their shared hinterland. A future scholar might ask: How did African Americans move from slavery to wage labor in these inland areas and how did that experience differ from those within Dorsey's Eastern Shore cohort? Mid-Atlantic studies in particular would benefit from the answer.

TED M. SICKLER
University of Delaware

Kenneth E. Marshall. *Manhood Enslaved: Bondmen in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century New Jersey* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2011). Pp. 222. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$75.00.

Kenneth E. Marshall's compelling new book recreates the lives of bondmen in the rural North and demonstrates slavery's pernicious persistence in the Middle Atlantic. The author takes Somerset County, New Jersey, as his primary area of study, though he also makes forays into neighboring locales on both sides of the Delaware River.

Marshall constructs the narrative flow of *Manhood Enslaved* around the lives of three different bondmen in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century New Jersey: Yombo Melick, Quamino Buccau (also known as Smock), and Dick Melick. The essential primary sources for this investigation are two nineteenth-century histories, the *Memoir of Quamino Buccau* (1851), by Quaker abolitionist William J. Allinson, and *The Story of an Old Farm* (1889), by

businessman Andrew D. Mellick Jr. Each text suffers from the romanticized and racialized assumptions of their days, but Marshall, who invokes the scholarship of the Subaltern Studies Group, including Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Ranajit Guha, reads “against the grain” to recover vital details from them.

Marshall builds upon earlier work on rural slavery in the North, notably Graham Russell Hodges’s *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613–1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), in his emphasis on slave manhood in the region. Marshall defines slave manhood as “necessarily fluid” (6), even as he points to two dominant models of white manhood: the “achiever” and the “Christian gentleman” (18). The author provocatively claims that Christian gentlemen such as William Allinson had “fewer opportunities to assert white masculine authority,” which meant that their “interactions with oppressed blacks thus served as a critical means of masculine empowerment” (19). However, Marshall modifies the claim of empowerment somewhat when discussing the mutually constitutive relationship of bondman and master: “Quamino needed Allinson to help him survive in a racist society . . . and Allinson needed Quamino to help articulate his ideas about . . . black people” (29). Still, Allinson’s book served more as a paternalist “platform for his manhood as an aggressive abolitionist Christian” than it did as a faithful record of Quamino Buccau’s life (40).

If Yombo Melick was most culturally African, Quamino Buccau, whose life spanned from 1762 to 1850, was the most religious (chapter 4). Allinson held Buccau up as a shining example of a pious African American, worthy of manumission from the cruelties of slavery. The emphasis on religion was notably gendered. Marshall argues for Buccau’s development of a “masculine sense of self” through religion, calling it a “*relational* social construction” (101). The idea of gender as performance is implied here, especially as seen through Buccau’s performance of a particular kind of black manhood at his manumission interview. Here Marshall is at his theoretically most sophisticated; for Quamino Buccau, he argues, Christianity carried “multiple social, psychic, political, and spiritual dimensions” (108). Ultimately, Buccau employed obsequious comportment toward his white masters in spiritual matters and successfully obtained a much-desired manumission.

In his analysis of the couple Dick (born ca. 1749) and Nance Melick (chapter 5), Marshall considers the complex and intriguing range of possibilities in the interplay of race and gender. Sold to Aaron Malick in 1798, Dick Melick “projected the image of a responsible, Christian, and dominant family

man" (110), with a self-representation very different from that of Yombo Melick. Maintaining this image was difficult, however, without "the daily support of an extended black community" (113). In that vein, Marshall considers the importance of holidays and militia training to the Melicks for purposes of building community and a sense of cultural sovereignty. The author also traces the lives of the Melicks' children, as much as the extant records allow. All of the Melicks' surviving children were eventually sold and most likely separated from their parents, another indication of the commonalities of slavery's brutality in both North and South. But, Marshall argues, in his roles as manager of Aaron Malick's farm, husband to Nance, and father of his children, Dick Melick emerged as an "ultra patriarch" (134), his manhood defined in spite of, rather than dependent upon, his enslaved status.

At times, the author's comparisons are somewhat imprecise and perhaps unfair. For example, to equate Quamino Buccau to Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom, while analytically useful, is not historically accurate (*Uncle's Tom Cabin* was not published until 1852). Marshall identifies author Andrew Mellick's many engagements with stereotypical and racist language, but to dismiss him as "rather racist" (32) seems an unproductive characterization made in hindsight. While the analysis remains necessarily speculative, the author might have done more to explore the interactive qualities of gender and race, from the perspectives of men and women, white and black. For example, the analysis of Nance as a possible power player in negotiations with the couple's white masters is fascinating and merits further attention. Indeed, the white masters, important as oppositional figures to the construction of slave manhood, often seem flat and one-dimensional. An exception is a tantalizing footnote that hints at the gendered tensions between Aaron and Charlotte Malick in their decision to buy Yombo Melick (182).

Overall, however, Marshall successfully reads against the grain of long-ignored published historical sources, makes a strong case for the consideration of slavery in the rural North, and smartly balances analytic precision with interpretive framework.

THOMAS J. BALCERSKI
Cornell University

Jeremy Engels. *Enemyship: Democracy and Counter-Revolution in the Early Republic* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2010). Pp. xi, 316. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$59.95.

Jeremy Engels's *Enemyship* contributes to a growing body of scholarship that argues for the contraction of radical democratic possibility in the United States immediately following the American Revolution. Influential recent studies in this line such as Rosemarie Zagarri's *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007) and Terry Bouton's *Taming Democracy: "The People," the Founders, and the Troubled Ending of the American Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 2009) have told this story through the lenses of gender and class conflict, respectively, underscoring the betrayal of ordinary white men and women by their governments in what they and others have convincingly argued was a reactionary—even counterrevolutionary—political atmosphere during the 1780s–1790s. Engels, an assistant professor of communications at Pennsylvania State University, offers a new perspective on this narrative of declension by emphasizing the role of rhetorical strategy in its unfolding. Charting a course through histories of unrest in the early Republic from Shays's Rebellion to Fries's Rebellion and the response to the Alien and Sedition acts, Engels shows how elites adapted rhetorical practices of "naming and denouncing enemies" (17), once central to justifying the Revolution's "state-toppling violence" (5), into techniques of governance aimed at producing "a national identity, socioeconomic stability, and more obedient citizens" (31). Engels thus tracks the practice of identifying enemies—or "enemyship"—as it transformed from a strategy of revolutionary liberation into a technology of state-building designed to extort the consent of the governed in a culture of fear.

Engels's exploration of how rhetoric organized political identification and allegiance in the Revolutionary period represents a potentially exciting alternative to more traditional histories oriented toward the discovery of the Revolution's economic or ideological origins. With this attention to the power of language, Engels takes an expansive measure of the forces that motivated historical actors and of the strategies by which those actors attempted to move one another.

In the book's first and most compelling chapter, Engels traces "enemyship" through *Common Sense* (1776), in which Thomas Paine argued that the colonies' connection to the mother country did not bind them together as

reliably as it drew them into conflict with Britain's enemies: "France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be our enemies as *Americans*, but as our being the *subjects of Great Britain*" (44). For Paine, "enemyship" named a state or condition of antagonistic relation, but Engels shifts to consider it in more performative terms, as a "rhetorical architecture" (35) that can be mobilized to produce such identifications. Indeed, he argues that both *Common Sense* and the Declaration of Independence employed this architecture to urge the cause of revolution during the 1770s. Engels is ambivalent about Paine's "decision to name the enemy" (60), however. On the one hand, Paine's goal in deploying this strategy was "to encourage Americans to fight for their independence" (59), generating new possibilities for concerted democratic action in a moment of danger. On the other hand, Engels writes, Paine's recourse to the rhetorics of enemyship "corrupted democracy by turning it towards the creation and preservation of dangerously unstable homogeneities of friend and enemy, Whig and Tory, revolutionary and criminal" (62).

In the richness of this ambivalence, Engels proffers a troubling glimpse of Revolutionary politics in which the distinction between radical and reactionary positions may be less clear, less governable, than we might have hoped. As such, this reading of Paine offers a potential challenge to Engels's own historiographical premise, adopted from Gordon S. Wood, that the Revolution stands unproblematically as a radical moment whose visionary promise was compromised only after the fact. Engels concludes, however, that Paine's—and, indeed, Jefferson's—deployments of enemyship are ultimately liberatory ideals whose "unintended consequences" were subsequently elaborated by the founders in a more sinister key (65).

Engels moves on, in chapters 2–4, to delineate what he calls the "three faces of enemyship" as it appears in political discourse of the early Republic: "enemyship as the means to justify coercion, . . . as a tool of distraction, . . . and as an instrument of discipline" (28). Tracing each of these faces through a series of three particular national conflicts, Engels addresses, in turn, Shays's Rebellion, the Whiskey Rebellion, and Fries's Rebellion and the XYZ Affair. Each of these chapters relies more heavily on historical narrative and dwells less closely on primary texts than the first chapter. While Engels draws a wide array of sources into conversation with the events he recounts, readers may thus begin to miss the fine-grained rhetorical analysis that characterizes chapter 1. In each of these chapters, moreover, Engels sees the rhetoric of enemyship as a form of social power wielded by elites and distributed

top-down to susceptible masses; he thus sets an unfortunate horizon on how the force of rhetoric operates in his narrative.

Given Engels's explicit, stirring investment in a more radically populist democracy, ordinary people's voices seem conspicuous by their absence from this study. *Enemyskip* paints a lively and persuasive portrait of how elites rhetorically shaped a culture of fear and hostility in the early Republic, but it gives us less sense of how, whether, and why people might have accepted (or, indeed, resisted) such tactics.

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George E. Thomas, ed. *Buildings of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia and Eastern Pennsylvania* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011). Pp. 696. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$75.00.

The rich and varied architectural history of Philadelphia and eastern Pennsylvania has been given an exhaustive and sophisticated representation in *Buildings of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia and Eastern Pennsylvania*. The book's editor and author, architectural historian George E. Thomas, and his colleagues, Patricia Likos Ricci, Richard J. Webster, Lawrence M. Newman, Robert Janosov, and Bruce Thomas, have provided a treasure trove of delights. The book explicates the spectacular as well as the typical, mining the region's past as well as exploring the pressing questions of its future. This provides appeal for a varied audience, from academics and educators in varied disciplines to design professionals and interested laypeople, all united by a common interest in the history of Pennsylvania and the Mid-Atlantic region. This book is one of two volumes on Pennsylvania—the other addresses Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania—in The Buildings of the United States series, comprised of more than sixty volumes, founded and commissioned by the Society of Architectural Historians. The book series itself has a rich history: it was inspired by German-born British architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner's series *Buildings of England* and its founding editor-in-chief was distinguished architectural historian William H. Pierson Jr.

Buildings of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia and Eastern Pennsylvania begins with a broad historical overview of the region. Philadelphia and Eastern Pennsylvania's history is explicated from its origins as William Penn's

utopian “Holy Experiment” to the new architecture of the 1990s to what the authors aptly describe as its uncertain architectural future in the twenty-first century. This insightful introduction discusses many important aspects of the region’s development from historical and cultural geography to transportation development and industrial innovation. The rest of the book is organized by the following six regions: Philadelphia, the Inner Counties (including Bucks, Montgomery, Delaware, and Chester counties), the Piedmont, Beyond Blue Mountain to the Northern Tier, the Anthracite Region, and the Northern Tier and the Poconos. A short history of each region describes the overall architectural character and explains the evolution of the design and planning of that particular area. The book’s attentiveness to practical detail, such as suggesting routes of travel and including scenarios of everyday life in buildings, signals a concern with real life rather than abstractions. This aligns with the editors’ assertion that this volume is as concerned with vernacular architecture as it is with landmark architecture, an appropriate viewpoint given that lived experience and inhabitation are at the root of architectural history.

Thomas’s introduction contains much fascinating information. For instance, he points out that the long-held belief that Philadelphia’s distinctive architectural character descends from the original plain style of the Quakers is inaccurate. In fact, Thomas argues, Quaker values played only an indirect role in shaping the architecture of characteristic Philadelphia architects like Frank Furness, William L. Price, George Howe, Louis Kahn, and Robert Venturi. Instead, Thomas contends that the culture responded in its own peculiar way to the challenges and opportunities of the modern industrial age.

A particularly insightful section within the introduction is “Consumer Culture,” which concentrates on the ways that the region’s industrial and economic history had distinctive architectural consequences, including the rowhome. Nineteenth-century industry contributed to a burgeoning consumer culture that developed from a special financial institution: the savings and loan society. Such institutions were not unique to Philadelphia, but Philadelphia was one of the first American cities to employ them successfully. In fact, Philadelphia workers initiated mass consumer culture before it reached the rest of the country. This was realized in the form of the rowhome building form, typically a two-story brick rowhouse, purchased by many Philadelphia industrial workers, who by the 1890s had enough income to purchase a home in the city as well as a vacation home at the New Jersey shore.

This history of Philadelphia rowhomes touches a wide demographic, one that still inhabits this kind of architectural type today.

Michael J. Lewis, professor of art at Williams College, has written a series of illuminating sidebars that appear throughout the book to address various aspects of the region's architecture. For example, one sidebar is entitled "Geology" and includes an explanation of the peculiar colors of the local sandstone on civic buildings of Philadelphia from Independence Hall to City Hall to the University of Pennsylvania's College Hall. Other sidebar topics include "Pennsylvania's Railroads," "Frank Furness," "Louis I. Kahn," "The Philadelphia School," and "The Classical Dynasty," which discusses Benjamin Latrobe's architecture and his legacies in the careers of William Strickland and Thomas U. Walter. Lewis's concise writings provide welcome spotlights on topics that would otherwise receive only intermittent attention throughout the book, because individual buildings are organized according to geographic location.

Overall, the selection of buildings included in *Buildings of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia and Eastern Pennsylvania* is impeccable. Thomas and his team have chosen to showcase the best and most characteristic structures of the region. Readers will find illuminating information on architectural jewels both well known and unfamiliar. Yet a book of this size has its limitations, as Thomas acknowledges when he accepts responsibility for any omissions readers may perceive. One minor omission is a Philadelphia School home in Society Hill—the 1968 Mitchell/Giurgola design for the home of G. Holmes Perkins. This modern design went against the grain of its context, but its inclusion would have provided some interesting Modernist texture, along with I. M. Pei's Society Hill Towers, to the largely historic neighborhood. Another, more evident omission is The Barnes Foundation in Merion (1922–1925), designed by Paul Philippe Cret. While at least fourteen other buildings by Cret were documented in the book, his suburban art gallery and residence for one of the most renowned art collections in the world was not included. Whether it was simply due to a lack of space or otherwise, this was a significant twentieth-century building that deserved inclusion along with the other documented twentieth-century buildings of Lower Merion and Bala Cynwd: the mixed-use mall Suburban Square (1926–1929) and Frank Lloyd Wright's Suntop Houses (1940).

Ultimately, however, this book more than achieves what it set out to do, it surpasses it. On one level it is an indispensable reference book, complete with attributes like a very useful glossary of terms and a comprehensive

bibliography for further research. But on another level, *Buildings of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia and Eastern Pennsylvania* is a thorough and engaging study of a great American city and its region. Written in a lucid and readable style that will appeal to the layperson as well as the expert, this is a distinguished contribution to the history of American architecture. Thomas challenges us to ask a very relevant and crucial question: what next for the rustbelt region of Philadelphia and Eastern Pennsylvania? The reader is left with the question of whether Pennsylvanians will choose between holding on to their aging heritage or adapting to the contemporary lifestyle-centered patterns that are shaping the Sun Belt. The answer is yet to be seen but, as Thomas states, the purpose of history is to understand the future.

GRACE ONG YAN
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Dianne Harris, ed. *Second Suburb: Levittown, Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010). Pp. 448. Illustrations, notes, index, Cloth, \$45.95.

The name “Levittown” usually conjures up images of Levittown, Long Island, New York. As a consequence, the second Levittown, located in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, not far from Philadelphia, has generally been ignored by scholars of post–World War II automobile suburbs. *Second Suburb*, a collection of essays, recollections, and memoirs edited by Dianne Harris, begins to fill that void admirably.

In his forward to the book, architectural historian Dell Upton reminds readers that earlier studies of the various Levittowns—and of virtually all other postwar automobile suburbs—dismissed these communities as “cruel parodies” of the American dream that were also detached from the realities of American life (vii). In contrast, Upton claims that Levittown, Bucks County, like the first Levittown on Long Island and the third in Willingboro, New Jersey, were, in fact, very complex communities. Their residents faced virtually all of the issues that concerned urban-dwellers, including “the security of home and work, the protection of the natural elements that surrounded them, the creation of sophisticated domestic environments, the vicissitudes of the economy, and (for better or worse) the identity of their neighbors. No worries that vexed their urban relatives bypassed the residents of Levittown” (viii).

In her introduction, Dianne Harris states that the main goals of *Second Suburb* are to correct the common misconceptions that there is only one Levittown, to explain how and why Levittown, Pennsylvania, mattered more broadly, to probe what can be learned from this suburb about “race and space,” to learn how the creation of mass housing affected other housing developments around the country, and to examine how the construction of identities affected those who lived there (2).

Part 1 of the book looks at Levittown from the “inside.” It makes use of oral histories collected by Chad M. Kimmel, a memoir by Daisy D. Myers, a series of cartoons by Bill Griffith called *Zippy the Pinhead*; and a large selection of photographs of Levittown through the years compiled by Harris. Of particular interest is the account by Myers, whose African American family moved into Levittown during the summer of 1957. The Levitts had refused to sell to black families, and when the Myers family moved in, two weeks of rioting seemed to confirm criticisms that suburbs were racist enclaves.

In part 2, which looks at Levittown from the outside, Richard Longstreth leads off by demonstrating that the Levitts did not invent the concept of “moderate income housing” (125). Rather, they were very adept at identifying and refining methods that had been pioneered by other developers over the years. Longstreth offers many examples of such precursors.

Thomas J. Sugrue gives a detailed account of the struggle to integrate Levittown when the Myers family moved to the community in 1957. The Levitts, he tells the reader, made no secret of their insistence on racial homogeneity. As William Levitt himself put it, “We can solve a housing problem or we can solve a racial problem, but we cannot combine the two” (176). Spearheading and organizing the attempt at integration, Sugrue relates, were a group of local Quakers. Although the Myers family confronted race riots, the second black family, the Mosbys, who came to Levittown a year later, did not have to face rioting. Fifty years later, Levittowners helped to elect Barak Obama as the first African American president of the United States. Much like the rest of the country, Levittown had changed.

Next, Dianne Harris discusses how the various housing types and built-in furnishings in Levittown represented an experiment in “modernism.” Open floor plans, in which one room flowed into another, created a sense of spaciousness in relatively small houses. Kitchens produced an aura of “up-to-date” living, and therefore of upscale status, through the most modern appointments. In the following chapter, Curtis Miner extends the topic of the evolution of Levittown kitchens, focusing on how their designs reflected

changing consumer demands. By having the kitchen open into the dining room with no barriers, both spaces looked larger than they were, while the informal dining rooms set a standard for casual dining in the postwar period.

Perhaps the most surprising revelation, given the charges of environmental destruction by suburbs, is the part that Levittown has played in the environmental movement. Christopher Sellers's chapter takes up this theme, first by explaining that Abraham Levitt paid close attention to the landscaping of his massive development by leaving forest fragments in place wherever possible and by providing each lot with trees and shrubs. He also planted street trees, including some redwoods shipped from California at considerable expense. Homeowners tended these plantings and added to them, in many instances learning as they went along. Some founded and joined garden clubs, activities long associated with upper-class neighborhoods. Instead of seeing their community as strictly suburban, many residents were attracted to the site because of the surrounding fields, woodlands, and streams, which to them represented nature. The Levitts also turned over to the state a gravel quarry that they had created on the site—now filled with water—as a recreational facility.

Levittowners also confronted multiple sources of air and water pollution from nearby factories. Residents joined millions of other Americans on the first Earth Day in April 1970. They held teach-ins, picketed the local U.S. Steel plant (long thought to be a source of pollution), analyzed water samples from nearby lakes and streams, and fanned out to clean up trash along the old Delaware Canal. Sellers admits that some environmentalists might sneer at these actions, but insists that what happened in Levittown is “a reminder of the milieu and motives out of which modern environmentalism itself was born: in suburbs like Levittown, and among suburbanites like Levittowners” (313).

Jessica Lautin's chapter, “More Than Ticky Tacky,” addresses the charge that suburbs like Levittown were cheap in construction and boring in their sameness. She looks at this question through the lens of a 1970 Yale University architecture studio taught by architects Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi. Although the studio did not turn out as the two instructors had hoped, in large part because their students did not interview Levittowners about their homes, it did reveal that homeowners had changed both interiors and exteriors of their properties over time, adding their own artistic and architectural touches in the process. Not quite twenty years after its founding, very few houses in Levittown looked exactly alike. The studio and the subsequent design work of the students, as well as by Scott Brown

and Venturi themselves, paid more attention to the design quality of mass housing.

Like the race riot in 1957, the gas riot of 1979 demonstrates that Levittown was far from being disconnected from the “real world.” The immediate cause of the gas riot, Chad M. Kimmel explains in “No Gas, My Ass,” was the second OPEC oil boycott, which led to high prices for gasoline and diesel fuel, along with fuel shortages and long lines at the pump. But other issues, like the massive layoffs at the local steel plant and an overall unraveling of the American economy, made many residents pessimistic about their futures, in contrast to the optimism of residents a generation before. The gas riot, which drew over 1,000 protestors and scores of police to a large intersection with four service stations, only deepened this pessimism in a community that depended on their automobiles and cheap fuel to maintain a suburban way of life. Kimmel concludes by comparing Levittown to a barometer, “marking the fluctuations of the changing social, economic, and political climates in American history” (353).

In a final chapter by Peter Fritzsche, called “The Suburbs of Desire,” the author reviews the “moments that define[d] a community” over half a century (354). He ends with a somewhat sad reflection on how the community has become an occasion for nostalgia: “Associated with childhood, wrapped in the recalled innocence, the suburban artifacts become the indexes of twentieth-century loss” (362).

Anyone who reads *Second Suburb* will come away with a new understanding of Levittown, Pennsylvania, and of postwar suburbs in general. The book will doubtless spawn new researches into America’s suburbs, and itself stand as a high-water mark in the evolution of urban studies.

DAVID R. CONTOSTA

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David R. Contosta and Carol Franklin. *Metropolitan Paradise: The Struggle for Nature in the City—Philadelphia’s Wissahickon Valley, 1620–2020* (Philadelphia: St. Joseph’s University Press, 2010). 4 vols. Paperback in cardboard case. pp. xxii+902. Illustrations, notes, index. \$85.00.

Edgar Allan Poe wrote “the Wissahiccon is of so remarkable a loveliness that, were it flowing in England, it would be the theme of every bard, and

the common topic of every tongue.” (See Diana Royer, “Edgar Allan Poe’s ‘Morning on the Wissahiccon’: An Elegy for His Penn Magazine Project,” *Pennsylvania History* 61 (1994): 318–31, quotation on 326.) David Contosta and Carol Franklin have produced a book (I will call it that for convenience) as beautiful as the Wissahickon itself. Historians have written about oceans (the modern trend in Atlantic history), seas (Fernand Braudel’s monumental three-volume history of the Mediterranean), and rivers (Susan Stranahan on the Susquehanna). But if there has ever been a four-volume scholarly (yet popular) 900-page history of a creek, with hundreds of illustrations, many in color, I have missed it.

The four volumes proceed in chronological order and are called “Wilderness,” “Park,” “Valley,” and “Corridor.” The authors begin with the Valley’s flora, fauna, and spectacular landscape (gorges, caves, hills) before talking about the light use made by Native Americans of a space they considered sacred. After serving from 1694 to 1708 as the home of Johannes Kelpius, who with a small band of followers awaited the end of the world (The Society of the Woman in the Wilderness), the Wissahickon, like nearly every stream with running water in eastern Pennsylvania, became the site of numerous mills. The Rittenhouse Paper Mill, the first in America, founded about 1700, is the only one that still stands (greatly reconstructed) as part of Rittenhouse Town. Later wealthy Philadelphians built summer cottages and mansions in the Valley. A colonial home on Lincoln Drive and Gypsy Lane has been one of the United States’ most attractive police stations since at least 1899.

Only in the nineteenth century did the park become appreciated more for its beauty than its economic value. Thomas Moran and other artists praised it in oils as Poe did in words. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Valley became part of Philadelphia’s Fairmount Park, the largest urban park in the world. Much of the Valley, especially the part on either side of the creek, was left in its pristine state: as the creek runs below the nature trails alongside, strollers are walking at the level of treetops. This volume also moves south and takes in all of the Park, showing its many glories from preserved colonial mansions, the Greek Revival Fairmount Waterworks, “Forbidden” (to automobiles but not horses and pedestrians) Drive, and how nearby attractive residential areas in many instances act as extensions of the park.

Volumes 3 and 4 deal with development and conservation. Conservationists fought to save the Valley from developers, dumping, periodic floods, stagnant water during droughts, damages from storms, loss of biological diversity,

and the increasing need for traffic to traverse the park as Philadelphia and its suburbs grew. The friends of the Valley won in many, although not all, instances. The New Deal put a great deal of effort into improving and maintaining the park, with volunteers, community groups, foundations, and the City of Philadelphia doing most of the work since. The authors offer biographical sketches of people who loved and made a significant difference in the Valley through their work for its preservation. In fact a main purpose of this book is to encourage the continued support of the Valley as a necessary "paradise" for a modern metropolis.

In conclusion, we are left with a breathtaking visual and written study of one of the most beautiful urban landscapes in the world. The lesson to be learned is that natural beauty cannot survive naturally, it requires the labors of those who love it. Few have labored more worthily than Contosta and Franklin, and it is only fitting that their own biographical sketches appear at the end of the volume to accompany the others.

WILLIAM PENCAK

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FILM REVIEW

SPIELBERG'S *LINCOLN*: AN AMBITIOUS PASTICHE

*T*he film *Lincoln*. Steven Spielberg, director; Steven Spielberg and Kathleen Kennedy, producers; Tony Kushner, screenplay. Based on Doris Kearns Goodwin's *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln*. DreamWorks pictures, released October 8, 2012.

Steven Spielberg's *Lincoln* is a film geared to the tastes of another time and place. Charged with the herculean task of considering the legacy of "the Great Emancipator," the film is a marathon of rhetoric-laden vignettes that would surely have satisfied the elocution-hungry crowds that gathered for the Lincoln-Douglas debates. The film is not so much a Lincoln biopic as an ensemble-led lesson in crafting legislation in the nineteenth-century United States. While one would perhaps expect a split focus between the public and private personae of Lincoln (and there is plenty of that), it is clear from the onset that the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is, in fact, the central character of this narrative. One of the film's virtues is that it shows that while the end of slavery was all but

assured, the legal status of formerly enslaved persons was by no means certain when the Civil War ended. If the war measures Lincoln took to emancipate slaves were not confirmed by a constitutional amendment, emancipation (at least in a *de jure* sense) could be repealed with a single act of peacetime legislation. The future of former slaves, and those who still remained in slavery as in the border states, would have been uncertain.

Talk among my neighbors in the theater highlighted the impression that Abraham Lincoln himself received less screen time than was expected. While Lincoln is clearly a leader in the cabinet room, the actual heavy lifting of guaranteed emancipation is portrayed as occurring in Congress. The variety-show pacing of set-piece speeches and conversations effectively, if sometimes tiresomely, illustrates the political wheeling and dealing that ran a nationwide patronage system based in the District of Columbia. The film nonetheless has a potent emotional impact through effective use of imagery and a few exceptional individual performances.

Lincoln proved to be a well-executed feat of character acting, both in its portrayals of well-known individuals and in its introductory characterizations of historical also-rans. Daniel Day-Lewis complements an excellent physical resemblance to Abraham Lincoln with a mastery of Lincoln's curious mannerisms and modes of speech to bring the character vividly to life. He makes use of a high reedy voice, a lumbering stoop-shouldered gait, and a seemingly endless store of amusing anecdotes, precisely as the historical Lincoln did. Sally Field's Mary Todd Lincoln is haggard, domineering, and effective from the first shot. Her vitriolic speech and explosive temper is let loose in tempests of alternating rage and sorrow when alone with the president, and in dagger-sharp barbs and invectives pronounced through a forced smile while in public. David Straitharn's William H. Seward is disappointingly overshadowed by his dandyish wardrobe, which was, however, a reflection of how Seward actually dressed. Lee Pace presents a laudable Fernando Wood, the macassar-slicked, arms-akimbo representative of the Democratic Party's opposition to the proposed Thirteenth Amendment. He portrays elegantly a man who, as mayor of New York City, had lobbied for a city-wide secession to maintain trade ties with the Confederacy. Still, highest praise must be reserved for Tommy Lee Jones, who perfectly captures the zeal and foul-tempered public persona of the too-often forgotten Thaddeus Stevens. If nothing else, the film has ensured a revival of interest in Stevens, who may well have been the greatest Pennsylvanian of his or any other generation.

(See the article on Stevens by Christopher Shepard in the January 2013 issue of *Pennsylvania History*.)

The film is broad in its ambitions but falls short in a number of key areas. While battlefield sequences are not necessary to a film centered around events in Washington, DC, the film gives the impression that Lincoln treated the war as a back-burner issue. The historical roles of Seward, an energetic supporter of abolition, and Lincoln, who favored a more gradual and measured approach to the slavery question, are reversed in the film with Lincoln serving a nearly obstructionist role in the peace process and a nervous Seward hoping to end the war at all costs. The treatment of African American characters in the film also bears further scrutiny. With the exception of a USCT enlisted man demanding equal pay and equal rights in the first scene and a brief exchange between Lincoln and his wife's seamstress, Elizabeth Keckley, African Americans only appear on screen when the director wishes to up the emotional ante of a given scene. Lincoln's black butler shows the affection he felt for the president just before he left for Ford's Theater, and African Americans are welcomed for the first time into "their house" to witness the debate on the amendment. One gets the feeling that these characters are largely set dressing. While this does great disservice to the active African American members of the abolitionist movement, it does accurately portray the common use of black bodies and images by white abolitionists who frequently supported the eradication of slavery while not believing African Americans to be their social or intellectual equals.

The film excels in a number of material details. The sets, wardrobe, and makeup are all handled with excellence. The use of gas lamps presents one of the most frequently overlooked aspects of films that take place in nineteenth-century interior spaces: their darkness. Even in the executive mansion, it is clear that most rooms are cold, dim spaces after sunset. The dark and brooding tone created by the period-correct lighting finds counterpoint in the careful selection of clothing and makeup. This is one of few historical films in recent memory that does not compromise historical accuracy by having clothing and hairstyles adapted to modern impression of how they ought to have looked. Lincoln is portrayed in his trademark charcoal grey shawl, a historical detail often left out of modern presentations because it makes him look more like an old woman than the National Executive. In contrast to this, William Seward is arrayed in mink collars, jacquard woven cravats, and a golden silk dressing gown, which elicited numerous incredulous remarks from the audience when it first appeared on screen.

In a scene used to illustrate the character of the Lincolns' marriage, Abraham and Mary are seen conversing in a box at the opera—Lincoln loved opera and found it relieved the burdens he had to bear. Between strains of Gounod's *Faust*, Mary promises dire personal consequences if the amendment should fail to pass and their cumulative worry and effort prove wasted. One cannot help but contrast Lincoln, a man who seems trapped in his own mind as he seeks a legislated end to his troubles, with Faust, the tortured intellectual in pursuit of decidedly less noble ends. The conclusion that both have flirted with "a deal with the devil" is plain.

At its best, the film shows an extended view of the compromises of character and ethics that accompany the personal sacrifices made to accomplish a noble end. *Lincoln* is far from a perfect vision of the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment; nevertheless, its constituent parts are mostly good and occasionally excellent. For many viewers it will not be satisfying fare taken as a whole. However, the provision of those smaller aspects of the film that truly are well done (for instance, the performance of Jones as Stevens, both in his political behavior and personal life) is exposing new audiences to some of the great characters of the mid-nineteenth century American politics. In this regard, *Lincoln*, although no masterpiece, must be regarded as a success.

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