

*Race and Republicanism in Philadelphia's  
Aurora: How Anglophobia and  
Antimonarchism Shaped William Duane's  
Views on Revolutions in Saint-Domingue  
and Latin America, 1798–1822*

**ABSTRACT:** To better understand the relationship between race and partisan politics in the early American republic, this article examines the democratic ideology espoused by William Duane—editor of Philadelphia's *Aurora*—as it concerned multiracial independence movements in the Western Hemisphere. While Duane's views appear to be wholly contradictory, this paper argues that Anglophobia and antimonarchism consistently animated his ideology, undergirding both the prejudice in his attacks on Saint-Dominguans loyal to Britain and the universalism in his defense of Latin Americans hostile to Spain. Duane's willingness to incorporate slaves, free blacks, and Amerindians into his democratic worldview was at all times dependent upon the demographic group's politics, not the political group's demographics.

The secret dealings with Toussaint L'Ouverture, in St. Domingo . . . has its rival in the course pursued towards the South Americans.

—Weekly *Aurora*, *August 30, 1818*

**D**EMOCRATICALLY MINDED CITIZENS of the early American republic viewed themselves as the progenitors of representative government in the modern era, bold leaders of a new world order forged by liberty and equality. Under the headline “*Revolution* in the world pro-

I would like to thank former and current *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* editors Tamara Gaskell and Christina Larocco, along with the anonymous readers, for their generous efforts in improving this article. Its present form owes a tremendous amount to those friends and scholars who kindly read earlier drafts: Michelle Maskiell, Catherine Dunlop, David Agruss, Bradley Snow, Mike McManus, Chris Anthony, and Ron Ellingson. Finally, it is a great pleasure to thank Alistair Sponsel for his time and guidance, and Billy G. Smith, for encouraging me throughout this project, which began in his classroom.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY  
Vol. CXLI, No. 1 (January 2017)

duced by AMERICA” and the pseudonym “William Penn,” one contributor to Philadelphia’s *Aurora General Advertiser* argued that “It is a truth capable of irrefrangible proof that on the day of the battle of Lexington, there existed not in Europe, in Asia, or in Africa, one free nation. . . . Then distinguished Americans began the revolution of a world.”<sup>1</sup> When enthusiasm for popular government spread to enslaved, free black, and Amerindian populations throughout the Western Hemisphere, white Americans faced novel questions about democracy and its limits—especially when confronted with revolutions in Saint-Domingue and Latin America at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Historian Ashli White has aptly described Saint-Domingue as the “crucible of republicanism, as slaves, free people of color, and white Saint-Dominguans experimented with republican ideology and practice.”<sup>2</sup> But Saint-Domingue was only one multiracial democratic experiment. When freed slaves filled the rank and file of republican armies in Latin America in 1817, an *Aurora* contributor reminded cynical onlookers that “black men fought in the line of the army of our own revolution.” Americans would do well, the author continued, to remember “the fidelity and bravery of black and coloured men displayed in defense of *this their country*.”<sup>3</sup> The discourse surrounding the legitimacy of independence movements in Saint-Domingue (1791–1804) and Latin America (1809–28) thus offers fertile ground for understanding the relationship between race and partisan politics in the early American republic.

William Duane (1760–1835), the American-born, Irish editor of the *Aurora* from 1798 to 1822, was one of the leading proponents of an international republican mission whose guiding light was the new United States. Historian Nigel Little has dubbed him “the narrator of a democratic national identity in America.”<sup>4</sup> But if we are to understand this “national

<sup>1</sup> William Penn, “*Revolution in the world produced by America*,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, Dec. 27, 1798. See also general news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, May 27, 1799. Philadelphia’s *Aurora*, active between 1794 and 1824, had multiple titles throughout this period. From 1794 to 1810, it was printed daily as the *Aurora General Advertiser* (sometimes cited as the *Aurora and General Advertiser*). From 1810 to 1821, Duane named it the *Weekly Aurora*, indicating its weekly release. Starting in 1817, the *Aurora General Advertiser* was again printed as a daily paper, in conjunction with the weekly edition. In the body of this article I will refer to both titles henceforth as the *Aurora* and distinguish between them only in the citations.

<sup>2</sup> Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic* (Baltimore, MD, 2010), 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Aurora and General Advertiser*, Nov. 29, 1817, as quoted in Jennifer L. Heckard, “The Crossroads of Empire: The 1817 Liberation and Occupation of Amelia Island, East Florida” (PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 2006), 141.

<sup>4</sup> Nigel Little, *Transoceanic Radical, William Duane: National Identity and Empire, 1760–1835* (London, 2008), 9.

identity,” we need to view its narrator on an international and hemispheric scale—one that accounts for the *Aurora*’s demonization of the “black chiefs of Hayti” as well as its reverence for the “patriots of South America.”<sup>5</sup> This approach makes it possible not only to place Duane’s democratic ideology in a multiracial context but also to understand what race meant—and did not mean—for Duane himself.

A scholar examining distinct moments in Duane’s editorship may find Duane’s political philosophy to be deeply contradictory, but one who examines his writings over the span of his entire career will uncover an underlying consistency in his writings. Simply put, Duane divided humankind into two mutually exclusive types: monarchists and republicans. To him, “the blacks of St. Domingo” were monarchists; the “copper colored people of Spanish America” were republicans; and slaves and Indians in the United States had the potential to be either.<sup>6</sup> Duane’s willingness to incorporate slaves, free blacks, and Amerindians into his democratic worldview was at all times dependent upon the demographic group’s politics, not the political group’s demographics.

Excepting biographical studies by Kim T. Phillips and Nigel Little, scholars have tended to view Duane in the context of specific historical moments.<sup>7</sup> Homing in on his first years with the *Aurora*, a number of historians have shed light on Duane’s prominence in Philadelphia’s Irish Catholic community during its bitter struggle against the Alien and Sedition Acts, while others have highlighted Duane’s pivotal role in the Jeffersonian “Revolution of 1800.”<sup>8</sup> More recent scholarship by Matthew

<sup>5</sup> “The British Orders and French Decrees,” *Weekly Aurora*, Aug. 20, 1811; “Mark the Times, and be Prepared for the Event. For the Aurora,” *Weekly Aurora*, Jan. 30, 1816; “The Patriots of South America,” *Weekly Aurora*, July 30, 1816. My approach is indebted to studies by Ashli White and Caitlin A. Fitz that have analyzed how foreign independence movements affected Americans’ conceptions of citizenship and nationhood. See White, *Encountering Revolution*, 4; and Caitlin A. Fitz, “Our Sister Republics: The United States in an Age of American Revolutions” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2010).

<sup>6</sup> “Illicit Commerce,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, Jan. 18, 1805; “What is Our Policy—No. IX,” *Weekly Aurora*, Apr. 6, 1818.

<sup>7</sup> Kim T. Phillips, “William Duane, Revolutionary Editor” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1968); Little, *Transoceanic Radical*. These otherwise rich and thorough studies have made little mention of Duane’s views on slavery and revolution in Saint-Domingue and Latin America—defining elements of his democratic ideology.

<sup>8</sup> Maurice Bric, *Ireland, Philadelphia and the Re-Invention of America, 1760–1800* (Portland, OR, 2008); Douglas Bradburn, *The Citizenship Revolution: Politics and the Creation of the American Union, 1774–1804* (Charlottesville, VA, 2009); Albrecht Koschnik, “Let a Common Interest Bind us Together”: *Associations, Partisanship, and Culture in Philadelphia, 1775–1840* (Charlottesville, VA, 2007); Marcus Daniel, *Scandal and Civility: Journalism and the Birth of American Democracy* (New York, 2009); Jeffrey L. Pasley, “The Tyranny of the Printers”: *Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville, VA, 2001).

Mason and Padraig Riley has depicted Duane in subsequent years as a “heretical Republican” and “practitioner of Federalist-style attacks” on slaveholding southerners.<sup>9</sup> Studies by Caitlin A. Fitz and Jennifer L. Heckard that focus on Latin America and the latter years of Duane’s editorship locate him within a surge of “emotional and intense” popular support for the United States’ “southern brethren” and “sister republics” and have underscored his defense of black soldiers and disdain for race-based arguments made by John Quincy Adams and his allies.<sup>10</sup>

These time slices have led to depictions of Duane as, variously, an Anti-Federalist gadfly, an antislavery northerner, and a Pan-American republican, but they have failed to capture the fundamental ideals that animated his worldview and determined the place of slaves, free blacks, and Amerindians within it. Anglophobia and antimonarchism, I argue, lay at the very core of Duane’s democratic ideology, undergirding both the prejudice in his attacks on Saint-Dominguans loyal to Britain and the universalism in his defense of Latin Americans hostile to Spain.

By questioning the centrality of race and the explanatory power of “racism” in partisan politics during the early national period, I aim to build upon recent scholarship that has resisted retrospective distortion and to encourage future studies that make use of this temporal sensitivity. A number of scholars have shown how Jefferson’s Democratic-Republican Party had by the late 1790s become one “committed to the defense of slavery” and have classified Duane himself within a contingent that, “motivated by panic that black rebellion would spread to the United States,” deployed “racist rhetoric surrounding the Haitian Revolution.”<sup>11</sup> In this way, historians have tended to draw a direct line of causation between the Haitian Revolution, the Democratic-Republican Party, and racism in the (white) American consciousness. Indeed, some have gone further, arguing that racism “had been part of the American experience” long before Duane’s day. As Tim Matthewson writes: “Historians have tracked race and racism, the white and the black race, back in time several centuries and have shown that the Enlightenment set the stage for a mature racist

<sup>9</sup> Matthew Mason, *Slavery and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2006), 79, 189; Padraig Riley, *Slavery and the Democratic Conscience: Political Life in Jeffersonian America* (Philadelphia, 2015), 224, 151. For Riley’s analysis of Duane and the Haitian Revolution, see *ibid.*, 85–90.

<sup>10</sup> Fitz, “Our Sister Republics,” 1, 16; Heckard, “The Crossroads of Empire,” esp. 134–35, 141, 222–23.

<sup>11</sup> Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia, 1997), 158; White, *Encountering Revolution*, 164; Seth Cotlar, *Tom Paine’s America: The Rise and Fall of Transatlantic Radicalism in the Early Republic* (Charlottesville, VA, 2011), 55.

ideology.”<sup>12</sup> But Duane and likeminded contemporaries did not afford race the political gravity it gained in later generations. To “track the white and the black race” back into Duane’s writings is to compress his democratic ideology into a framework of thought that was not his own.

Recent scholarship has, without apologizing for the prejudices of the past, greatly contributed to our understanding of race in the early republic. Matthew Mason, for instance, astutely observes how antislavery Federalist Harrison Gray Otis “seems rarely to have thought about slavery in moralistic terms, generally subordinating the question to other political considerations”; Pdraig Riley has noted how Duane’s portrayals of the Haitian Revolution sought to absolve French republican ideals by focusing on Toussaint Louverture’s affiliation with Britain; and Alan Taylor has shown how, during the War of 1812, Americans “demonized the British as race traitors who allied with savage Indians on the frontier and fomented bloody slave uprisings in the South.”<sup>13</sup> I echo these scholars in suggesting that ideas about race and slavery in the early national period were, in many cases, subordinated to and shaped by political considerations.

In fact, Duane was just as likely to use “race” while delineating political groups as he was while disparaging demographic ones. Here it is helpful to consider Foucault’s concept of *episteme*: the historically contingent conditions of possibility within which discourse and knowledge take shape. To be sure, the *episteme* in question did not exclude conceptions of race as color, and David Brion Davis has argued that Duane’s was the era in which “scientific racism . . . became a systematic way of institutionalizing and justifying the individual white’s projection of an ‘animal Id’ upon blacks.”<sup>14</sup> The late eighteenth century may have been a germinal time for the development of racial science, but Duane was far from conceiving of race as a synonym of color and further still from thinking about it in a “scientific” way—by either turn-of-the-nineteenth-century standards of “science” or our own. Rather, “race” frequently appeared in the *Aurora*’s columns as a rough synonym of clan or faction—“a race of reprobates,” “savages,” “colonists,” “slaves,” “heroes,” or “sovereigns.” In articles likely to have been

<sup>12</sup> Tim Matthewson, *A Proslavery Foreign Policy: Haitian-American Relations during the Early Republic* (Westport, CT, 2003), 1, viii.

<sup>13</sup> Mason, *Slavery and Politics in the Early American Republic*, 58; Riley, *Slavery and the Democratic Conscience*, 87; Alan Taylor, *The Internal Enemy: Slavery and War in Virginia, 1772–1832* (New York, 2013), 10. See also Arthur Scherr, “Jefferson’s ‘Cannibals’ Revisited: A Closer Look at His Notorious Phrase,” *Journal of Southern History* 77 (2011): 251–82.

<sup>14</sup> David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation* (New York, 2014), 32. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (Chicago, 1994), xv–xxiv.

penned by Duane himself, Saint-Dominguans are described as a “race of buccaneers,” the English as “a race of fat, plump, sleek, and sleepy tradesmen,” and French royalists as a “race of bourbons.”<sup>15</sup> “Ideas on race in the Age of Revolutions,” Ronald Johnson has argued, “represented attempts—some earnest, others advantageous—to classify and explain human difference,” and classifying human difference was for Duane a political process that lacked the biological determinism sometimes projected anachronistically back into the *episteme* of his time.<sup>16</sup>

*“Toussaint the first and George the third”: Revolution in Saint-Domingue*

The *Aurora*’s Saint-Domingue publications were less about slaves’ freedom than they were about Republicans’ ambitions. Indeed, they reflect the most pressing issues at the core of Duane’s republicanism: European liberation from British tyranny and American revival from Federalist dominance. One illustrative article, printed in the first month of Duane’s editorship, scoffs at Federalist foreign policy, entwining Irish nationalism with contempt for Saint-Dominguan revolutionaries. “With our friends of [Ireland] . . . a revolt against slavery and oppression is a *rebellion*, but a revolt of the *emancipated slaves* against their *benefactors*,” the author grieved, is a legitimate revolution. “Thus, in Ireland they are *rebels*,” read the Federalists’ verdict, “and in *St. Domingo*, they are loyal men.”<sup>17</sup> In this way, party lines came to parallel de facto race lines as Republicans and Federalists took sides on overseas revolutions.

<sup>15</sup> “Important Debate. Federal Legislature. Senate. June 23,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, June 26, 1798; “To the American People—No. III,” *Weekly Aurora*, May 31, 1819; Stat Nominis Umbra, “For the Aurora,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, Aug. 23, 1805; Turreau, “From gen. Turreau to the secretary of state. October 14, 1805,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, Jan. 18, 1806; “Latest Foreign Intelligence,” *Weekly Aurora*, Feb. 8, 1814; “From Cobbett’s Weekly Register, of August 4. *American War*,” *Weekly Aurora*, Oct. 26, 1813; “Correspondents,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, Dec. 4, 1798; “Latest Foreign Intelligence. Russia,” *Weekly Aurora*, July 6, 1813; “Political Views No II,” *Weekly Aurora*, May 23, 1815. Duane was even more likely to write about the “human race.” See, for instance, “Political Views,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, June 22, 1799; and “Imposture Exploded No. III,” *Weekly Aurora*, Dec. 29, 1817.

<sup>16</sup> Ronald Angelo Johnson, *Diplomacy in Black and White: John Adams, Toussaint Louverture, and Their Atlantic World Alliance* (Athens, GA, 2014), 7. Consider David Brion Davis’s argument about the Enlightenment’s emphasis on “the African’s innate, genetic inferiority.” Notions of “innate” inferiority were indeed prevalent during the Enlightenment, and its participants may well have used “genetic” as a synonym for “inherent.” Still, it is important to bear in mind that eighteenth-century thinkers could not yet have utilized “genetic” as an adjective referring to discrete hereditary units, a usage coined in 1909 by Danish botanist Wilhelm Johannsen. Likewise, “genetics” was first used in 1905 by British biologist William Bateson. (Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation*, 33.)

<sup>17</sup> “Admiralty Court,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, Dec. 1, 1798. The author’s use of “*benefactors*” is peculiar but consistent with Duane’s support of the French Republic. It is an indirect reference to



Anti-Federalist and anglophobic sentiments undergirded Duane's views on the Haitian Revolution. While Federalists presented Toussaint Louverture (1743–1803) as a democratically minded man of “fidelity and honor,” Duane clothed him and his successors in monarchical garb, favoring instead the mulatto leader André Rigaud (1761–1811), whom Duane deemed ever “faithful to the [French] Republic.”<sup>18</sup> It would be tempting to pin Duane's criticism of the Haitian Revolution on its authoritarian conclusion in 1804, or, easier still, on white supremacy. The prejudices manifest during and after 1804, however, were largely the products of earlier debates revolving around partisan politics and a growing fear of slave rebellion in the American South. No sooner had Duane taken up his post as editor of the *Aurora* in 1798 than he began to rail against the revolution, and his justification was not that its leaders were black, but that they were too friendly with his foes, the British.

Duane's anglophobic republicanism was forged by a cosmopolitan youth in which British power remained an ever-present force. Born of Irish parentage on May 17, 1760, William spent his earliest years in Lake Champlain, New York, where Britain and France vied for North American dominance. Notably, William's father was wounded by the British while fighting for the Catholic cause in the Seven Years' War. His family heritage thus fused Old World memories of English oppression with New World experiences of imperial aggression. After his father's death in 1765, William and his now destitute mother, Anastasia, drifted through Baltimore and Philadelphia, eventually sailing for Clonmel, Ireland, in 1774. There, as Marcus Daniel observes, the teenager was “raised by a family with a long and distinguished history of resistance to British rule.”<sup>19</sup> Five years later, Duane began his own distinguished history of resistance, first as an apprentice with the *Clonmel Gazette*, then in London, printing for John Almon's radical *General Advertiser*. Here Duane gave voice to anti-British sentiments long in ferment. London authorities, however, would not hear it. Indicted by the Crown in 1787, Duane fled to Calcutta, India, where he established the *Indian World*, only to be labeled “a dangerous incendiary” and exiled from the British Empire.<sup>20</sup> In October 1796,

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the National Convention's abolition of slavery on February 4, 1794—“16 Pluviose.” The ex-slaves' rebellion was thus an antirepublican movement in so far as it opposed the French Republic. In this publication, then, republican citizenship absolved slave ownership.

<sup>18</sup> “From a London Paper, *Sketch of Toussaint*,” *Massachusetts Spy*, Sept. 25, 1799; general news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, May 3, 1799.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel, *Scandal and Civility*, 234.

<sup>20</sup> Kim T. Phillips, “William Duane, Philadelphia's Democratic Republicans, and the Origins of Modern Politics,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 101 (1977): 368.

the seasoned printer, bitter Anglophobe, and republican visionary entered Philadelphia, “the Athens of America.”<sup>21</sup>

In his pre-*Aurora* years, as in India, Duane preached the universal Rights of Man and condemned the institution of slavery, especially when it rebuked ideological opponents. In Calcutta, Duane vilified “that mongrel race of human beings called native Portuguese [for] the barbarous and wonton acts . . . daily exercised on the slaves.” In Philadelphia, he found a new target: Federalist leader George Washington. Under the nom de plume Jasper Dwight, Duane composed “*A Letter to George Washington, President of the United States*,” printed in Benjamin Franklin Bache’s *Aurora*. Here Duane castigated Washington for “dealing in HUMAN SLAVES” and championed religious freedom, defending “the Jew, the savage, the Mahometan, the Idolator, upon all of whom the sun shines equally.” The antagonisms between religious sects, Duane argued, “have divided all mankind in all periods and times.”<sup>22</sup> For over a decade, Duane challenged social and political institutions that segregated human beings in any way. These concerns, however, were soon washed away by the violent torrents of partisan warfare.

Philadelphia in the latter years of the Federalist era was a social and political tempest. As historian John Harvey Powell has described the city’s political polarization, “Federalists held dignified processions for President Washington and neutrality [while] Republicans in rowdy crowds sang the *Ça ira*, danced the *Carmagnole*, feted Citizen Genêt, and demanded war with England.”<sup>23</sup> In 1798, strife between parties reached its climax, as the XYZ Affair, Quasi-War, Irish Rebellion, and Alien and Sedition Acts led to violence between Federalist and Republican militias.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Billy G. Smith, “Philadelphia: The Athens of America,” in *Life in Early Philadelphia: Documents from the Revolutionary and Early National Periods*, ed. Billy G. Smith (University Park, PA, 1995), 3–28.

<sup>22</sup> Duane, quoted in Little, *Transoceanic Radical*, 56, 121, 247.

<sup>23</sup> John Harvey Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead: The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793* (Philadelphia, 1993), 3. In the 1790s, Republicans in the United States expressed their collective identity by showing enthusiasm for the French Revolution (1789–99), which many viewed as the offspring of the American Revolution. Thus they sang the *Ça ira*, a revolutionary tune first heard in 1790, danced the *Carmagnole*, which originated in 1792 and ridiculed Marie Antoinette, and made a celebrity of Edmond-Charles “Citizen” Genêt, ambassador to the United States from the revolutionary government in France.

<sup>24</sup> Koschnik, “*Let a Common Interest Bind us Together*,” 121–34. The XYZ Affair (1797–98) erupted when the Adams administration released documents proving that French diplomats—the first initials of whose last names were X, Y, and Z—attempted to bribe US consuls in Paris. The scandal led directly to the Quasi-War (1798–1800), a series of maritime battles waged between France and the United States, aided also by Britain. Between May and September 1798, republican revolutionaries under the banner of the United Irishmen rose up against British rule in Ireland, provoking great anxiety among nativists in the United States. Consequently, Federalist policymakers passed the Alien and Sedition



During the 1790s, partisan ideologues identified both themselves and their opponents with European juggernauts Britain and France. To Federalists, Republicans were no more than deluded “Jacobins” bent on inciting “insurrection . . . in favor of France” and bringing about “the destruction of the American government.”<sup>25</sup> Republicans, in turn, viewed their opponents as Anglophilic conspirators, aristocratic vestiges of the colonial era that the revolution had failed to expunge.<sup>26</sup> Partisan debates in the 1790s were not only about the fate of the young republic but of the world. As such, historians have described the anti-Jacobinism and nativism espoused by Federalist editors John Fenno and William Cobbett as the anticommunism of its day—an anachronistic yet apt comparison.<sup>27</sup> It was during this Red Scare that Bache succumbed to yellow fever on September 10, 1798, leaving the *Aurora* to his new assistant, Duane.

Wielding an impassioned and witty pen to match his radical political ideology, Duane quickly rose to heroic status among Republicans—“a propagandist” to enemies, “the Sage of Clonmel” to admirers.<sup>28</sup> Even prominent Republicans came to fear “the weight, power, and influence of Mr. Duane [which is] at this time much greater than that of any other individual in the nation.”<sup>29</sup> As US Representative Albert Gallatin phrased it, Duane was “possessed of an engine which gives him irresistible control over public opinion.”<sup>30</sup> In this regard, Duane shares a strong affinity to Thomas Paine. Both were professional gadflies, polemicists, and radical republicans who fled Britain for America, bringing with them a hatred of all things British.

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Acts in 1798, hoping to crack down on Republican radicalism among immigrant communities by lengthening the naturalization period from five to fourteen years and strengthening sedition laws.

<sup>25</sup> William Cobbett, “Detection of a Conspiracy, formed by the United Irishmen, with the evident intention of aiding the tyrants of France,” in *Peter Porcupine in America: Pamphlets on Republicanism and Revolutions*, ed. D. A. Wilson (Ithaca, NY, and London, 1994), 248, 252.

<sup>26</sup> Peter S. Onuf, “Federalism, Democracy, and Liberty in the New American Nation,” in *Exclusionary Empire: English Liberty Overseas, 1600–1900*, ed. Jack P. Greene (New York, 2010), 138. “Jeffersonians,” Onuf has argued, “persuaded themselves that aristocratic elements had not been fully purged at the founding and that the American Revolution was therefore not yet complete” (ibid., 138). This was an integral component of Duane’s ideology, which viewed the Federalists’ “natural aristocracy” and British influence as the great impasse of democracy in America. Detecting a “systematized conspiracy in the bosom of the land,” Duane queried Jefferson on January 23, 1809: “What is the best means of preserving the fruits of the Revolution from wreck?” (“Letters of William Duane,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd ser., vol. 20 (1906): 313.) See also “No. II. An Inquiry, Into the Existing Interposition of the Government of Great Britain in the Affairs of the United States,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, Apr. 30, 1799; “British Influence,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, Nov. 26, 1799; and general news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, May 27, 1799.

<sup>27</sup> Daniel, *Scandal and Civility*, 58; Davis, *Revolutions*, 83–84.

<sup>28</sup> As quoted in Briceland, “The Philadelphia *Aurora*,” 36; Pasley, *The Tyranny of the Printers*, 286.

<sup>29</sup> Andrew Ellicot to Tench Coxe, June 16, 1804, as quoted in Pasley, *The Tyranny of the Printers*, 308.

<sup>30</sup> Albert Gallatin to John Badollet, Oct. 22, 1805, as quoted in ibid., 312.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1799, the issue of Saint-Domingue became the ideological battleground upon which partisans clashed. Here again the fault line ran along the English Channel. Even after the Reign of Terror in France (1793–94), radicals continued to support the French Republic. In one telling toast, Duane's cohorts clinked glasses to "Reconciliation between the Sister Republics of America and France." "If the French have been . . . wicked," one apologist wrote in the *Aurora*, "let them suffer and reform [but] let no monarch's despotism in church or state, return over them." For Federalists, however, a French domain in the Western Hemisphere (i.e., Saint-Domingue) posed a veritable threat to national security. "Our federalist editors," Duane observed, "exult much on the appearance of St. Domingo being dissevered from France," seeing in it both a profitable trade opportunity and a buffer against French aggression.<sup>31</sup>

A controversial treaty between Louverture, British General Thomas Maitland, and US Consul Edward Stevens became the focal point of contention, ultimately leading to Duane's arrest.<sup>32</sup> As early as December 1798—five months before the official signing of the tripartite treaty—Duane began depicting Louverture as the "*chief* . . . of a new race of buccaneers" whose loyalty the Adams administration might purchase with "a small tribute of ships and money."<sup>33</sup> Yet, unlike most Republicans, who feared above all else Louverture's supposed intention to "massacre all the whites" and "excite dangerous insurrections" in the American South, Duane focused primarily on "British influence."<sup>34</sup> "Toussaint," he told readers, "is playing a treacherous game in concert with the British."<sup>35</sup> In another column, the *Aurora* reminded Massachusetts Federalist Harrison Gray Otis that Britain's recognition of Saint-Dominguan independence was in truth an alliance "between the monarch *Toussaint* the *first* and George the third."<sup>36</sup> It was Louverture's Anglo-Federalist affiliation, then, not his color, that mattered most to Duane.

<sup>31</sup> General news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, Nov. 19, 1799; "Correspondents," *Aurora General Advertiser*, Dec. 4, 1798.

<sup>32</sup> See Scherr, "Jefferson's 'Cannibals' Revisited," 266–73; and Gordon S. Brown, *Toussaint's Clause: The Founding Fathers and the Haitian Revolution* (Jackson, MS, 2005).

<sup>33</sup> "Correspondents," *Aurora General Advertiser*, Dec. 4, 1798.

<sup>34</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 6, 1799, as quoted in White, *Encountering Revolution*, 157; Albert Gallatin as quoted in *ibid.*, 159; "Federal Circuit Court," *Aurora General Advertiser*, Oct. 22, 1799.

<sup>35</sup> General news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, May 3, 1799.

<sup>36</sup> "For the *Aurora*," *Aurora General Advertiser*, Feb. 4, 1799.

In response to racially charged arguments of southern slaveholding Republicans, Federalists rushed to the defense of the “negro Chief,” praising him as one “born to vindicate . . . his species, and to shew that the character of man is independent of his colour.” In doing so, Federalists actually reaffirmed Duane’s conviction that Louverture acted in concert with the British. Well aware of the economic benefits of such an alliance, Englishmen and Federalists alike rejoiced in Britain’s acknowledgement of independence: “Liberal Britons will feel proud,” a London author proclaimed, “that his country has brought about the happy revolution,” especially after Louverture demonstrated his “magnanimity [by] preventing the treacherous design of Rigaud, to destroy British troops.”<sup>37</sup> Due to his “most amiable and moral private character,” the ultra-Federalist *Columbian Centinel* happily observed, Louverture intended “to dissolve all connexion with the modern French rulers [and] to rescue that formidable island from the grasp of the Directory.” Where one confirmed “Toussaint is not a Frenchman,” another suggested he was in fact “an angel descended from Heaven, for the consolation and deliverance of the unhappy.”<sup>38</sup> However strongly motivated by economic ambition and deep-seated resentment toward southern slaveholding Republicans, Federalists had, to all outward appearances, become defenders of universal human rights.<sup>39</sup>

On July 13, Federalists got their victory: a three-way economic agreement engineered by the Adams administration. This smacked of conspiracy to Duane. The following week, Duane accused members of the Adams administration of succumbing to “British influence” (\$800,000 of it) and offering a bribe of their own to Louverture.<sup>40</sup> At the behest of Adams’s

<sup>37</sup> “Foreign News. London, November 30,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, Feb. 2, 1799.

<sup>38</sup> “News! from the West-Indies!” *Columbian Centinel*, Dec. 8, 1798; Federalist perspective reprinted in “Port Republican,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, Dec. 15, 1798. “The mistaken French,” wrote the same idealist, “abjuring their mistakes and errors, back from all tides to throw themselves into [Louverture’s] arms, to the discretion of his justice and goodness.” In these debates, Federalists commonly argued that white Frenchmen, Britons, and even Saint-Dominguans supported Louverture, hoping white Americans might follow suit. “Toussaint’s popularity,” the *Centinel* noted, “is not confined to the blacks—all the French aristocrats have confidence in him; and his bravery hath commanded the respect and esteem of the British.” Furthermore, “He enjoys the unlimited confidence of the island.” A London paper likewise extolled Louverture’s fidelity to General Maitland and amnesty toward white Saint-Dominguans, whom “he restored . . . to their estates, and gave . . . negroes as servants.” (“*The West-Indies*,” *Columbian Centinel*, Dec. 8, 1798; “From a London Paper, *Sketch of Toussaint*,” *Massachusetts Spy*, Sept. 25, 1799.) The *Columbian Centinel* was a major Federalist paper based in Boston and edited by Benjamin Russell.

<sup>39</sup> David Brion Davis, *Revolutions: Reflections on American Equality and Foreign Liberations* (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 25.

<sup>40</sup> “Federal Circuit Court,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, Oct. 22, 1799.

secretary of state, Timothy Pickering, authorities arrested Duane on July 30.<sup>41</sup> Far from silencing the *Aurora*, however, Duane's arrest only intensified quarrels over the fate of Saint-Domingue.

As scandal raged in Philadelphia, tension mounted in Saint-Domingue between Louverture and Rigaud, whom Americans viewed, respectively, as pro-British and pro-French. Competing portrayals of the adversaries illustrate how political and economic considerations shaped the ways in which late eighteenth-century ideas on race factored into these debates. By way of encouraging the bargain, Stevens described Louverture as a man of "mild and humane conduct," whom islanders of all colors saw as a "Shield against the cruel Tyranny of Rigaud."<sup>42</sup> Freed on a three-thousand-dollar bail, Duane responded by portraying Rigaud the "faithful" as having, like himself, "demanded an explanation of the motives and design of an intercourse carried on between [Maitland] and Toussaint," making a point to contrast the latter's "body of black troops" with the "well disciplined force commanded by *Rigaud* in person." What began as a conflict between French republicanism and British monarchism evolved into one between a courageous democrat of partial European descent and a black tyrant commanding a "race of buccaneers."<sup>43</sup>

As civil war loomed on the horizon, Federalists realized that to safeguard the economic benefits gained in the treaty with Louverture, they would need to safeguard Louverture himself.<sup>44</sup> During the so-called War of Knives—described as a veritable "race war" by Gordon Brown—the Adams administration supplied Louverture with crucial war materiel, besieged Rigaud's forces by sea, and even encouraged Louverture to declare independence from France.<sup>45</sup> As David Brion Davis concludes, "America's first significant intervention in a foreign revolution helped to create a citadel of black pride that threatened the security of slaveholders throughout the Western Hemisphere."<sup>46</sup> For Duane, Saint-Dominguan independence signaled an antirepublican coalition between Britain and Federalists, "who, in conjunction with the British, aided and advised the Black King to sep-

<sup>41</sup> See White, *Encountering Revolution*, 161; Davis, *Revolutions*, 25; and James Morton Smith, *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties* (Ithaca, NY, 1956), 286.

<sup>42</sup> As quoted in White, *Encountering Revolution*, 162.

<sup>43</sup> General news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, May 3, 1799; "Correspondents," *Aurora General Advertiser*, Dec. 4, 1798.

<sup>44</sup> White, *Encountering Revolution*, 162.

<sup>45</sup> Brown, *Toussaint's Clause*, 170.

<sup>46</sup> Davis, *Revolutions*, 25.

arate that colony from the mother country.”<sup>47</sup> Democratic-Republicans quaked—for fear of slave rebellion, British invasion, or both—but regained their footing when Jefferson took office on March 4, 1801.

Consumed by the “Revolution of 1800” and subsequent divisions within the Democratic-Republican Party, Duane scarcely commented on Saint-Domingue until 1804, when Jeffersonians urged a trade embargo against the island, by then the independent nation of Haiti.<sup>48</sup> Animating Duane’s support for the embargo was “the Massacre of the Whites”—the slaughter of some four thousand white islanders as ordered by Haitian President Jean-Jacques Dessalines. On June 5, the *Aurora* reported that “the most unparalleled cruelties were inflicted upon the whites in a manner too shocking to relate,” continuing thereafter to relate how “men, women and children were hacked down with swords and plunged with bayonets.” On the following day, Duane’s newsheet bemoaned the near equal ratio of black and white populations in southern states, fearing that the abolition of the international slave trade in “1808 may be too tardy.”<sup>49</sup> “Commerce with a horde of uncivilized and bloodthirsty revolvers,” the *Aurora* maintained, “would devastate the West Indies and even threaten us with domestic danger.”<sup>50</sup> Importantly, though, Duane’s fear of slave rebellion was based on “ample evidence . . . that Britain was capable of employing both *negroes* and *Indians* to cut [Americans’] throats.”<sup>51</sup>

As in 1798, anxiety about “British influence” dominated Duane’s views of Haiti and the potential of slave rebellion in America. In a highly speculative investigation of the massacre, Duane concluded that “English commissaries, Sunderman and Quatquartz . . . have been the instigators of [Dessalines’s] cowardly and barbarous proclamation, at the result of which

<sup>47</sup> “From the Aurora. The Prospect Before Us,” *The Herald of Liberty*, Dec. 21, 1801. The *Herald of Liberty* was a Jeffersonian Republican paper based in Washington, Pennsylvania, founded by John Israel in 1798.

<sup>48</sup> After the “Revolution of 1800,” the Democratic-Republican Party divided into the comparatively conservative “Quid” and more radical “Democrat” factions. In 1807, Democrats divided once more between the “New School,” willing to embrace Quids and Republican gentlemen, and the “Old School,” for whom Duane was a leading figure. See Andrew Shankman, *Crucible of Democracy: The Struggle to Fuse Egalitarianism and Capitalism in Jeffersonian Pennsylvania* (Lawrence, KS, 2004), esp. 70–80.

<sup>49</sup> “Massacre of All the Whites at St. Domingo,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, June 5, 1804; general news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, June 6, 1804.

<sup>50</sup> As quoted in White, *Encountering Revolution*, 164.

<sup>51</sup> General news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, Dec. 31, 1804. As Arthur Scherr has observed, Federalists believed that the French (not Louverture) aimed to incite revolution in the slaveholding South. See Scherr, “Jefferson’s ‘Cannibals’ Revisited,” 272–73.

so much French blood has been spilt.” Conducting trade with “the blacks of St. Domingo,” moreover, would not only exclude the United States from the “civilized world” but also give Britain reason to “furnish our black population with the means of murdering our white people.” As Duane and the Duanians saw it, the alliance between “Toussaint the first and George the third” had found its equal in the schemes of “his majesty the emperor Dessalines [and] his brother Geo. III,” all of whom conspired to foment slave insurrection in the United States.<sup>52</sup> The Haitian Revolution, Simon Newman has argued, made “white Americans . . . aware of the potential power and significance of French Revolutionary ideology and political culture among black Americans.”<sup>53</sup> Yet it was not *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* that Duane feared among black Americans but rather the corrupting influence of the British. Indeed, Duane believed the “mean, fraudulent, low cunning, exercised by the British ministers,” was such that even “the black chiefs of Hayti would be ashamed of.”<sup>54</sup>

Eccentric as Duane’s anti-British paranoia may have been, Anglo-American tensions did amount to war by the summer of 1812. American fears of an Anglo-Indian-slave coalition climaxed as Anglophobes, slaveholders, and nationalists perceived threats from within and without.<sup>55</sup> In the second year of the war, Duane penned a private letter to Jefferson that laid bare sentiments about slaves and free blacks typically withheld from the *Aurora*’s press. Duane began with the prompt: “Would it be expedient to use black troops?” He answered himself in the affirmative, arguing that arming African Americans would “carry against the British a force . . . most terrific” while serving as “the best force by which the refractory of their own color could be kept in subjection”—that is, to guard against slave rebellion in America. Duane did not believe slave insurrection was imminent, but he did consider it probable that Britain would seek to provoke it, citing as evidence Lord Dunmore’s famous proclamation in 1775. Most significantly, though, Duane wrote that “slavery is congenial to the habits of thinking” of first- and second-generation Africans, and that succeeding generations “desire to imitate the whites” and even “feel a sentiment of

<sup>52</sup> “Bordeaux, 1st Prairial,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, July 26, 1804; general news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, Jan. 22, 1805, “Capture of the Dart, Nichols, of Baltimore, bound to ‘Hayti’ with military stores,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, Mar. 9, 1805.

<sup>53</sup> Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street*, 158.

<sup>54</sup> “The British Orders and French Decrees,” *Weekly Aurora*, Aug. 20, 1811. See also Riley, *Slavery and the Democratic Conscience*, 87–88.

<sup>55</sup> Taylor, *Internal Enemy*, 7–10.



patriotism and attachment to the U.S.”<sup>56</sup> Under such circumstances, slaves were weapons to Duane; the only question was who would wield them.

This same letter signals a turning point in Duane's career. Republicanism in Europe was a lost cause, its flame snuffed out by “the author of all the wars,” Napoleon. “The French,” Duane regretted, “have fallen from the loftiest pinnacle of renown to the lowest abyss of contemptibility.” And so the letter came to focus on the Western Hemisphere, where “the fruits of the Revolution” might still be preserved. Duane then introduced Manuel de Trujillo y Torres, an exiled South American patriot whose democratic ideology he described as being “perfectly in the Spirit of our Government.”<sup>57</sup> After taking a leading role in an unsuccessful plot to overthrow Spanish rule in New Grenada, Torres fled north to the metropolis he called “the center of light, a bulwark of liberty, and the inspiration of independence”—Philadelphia.<sup>58</sup> Invigorated by his friendship with Torres, Duane began directing the *Aurora's* attention toward Latin America, where revolutions had been in motion since 1809. In 1810 *Aurora* readers learned that “this important part of the world . . . is on the eve of a great revolution.”<sup>59</sup> That Duane viewed Latin America's “great revolution” as the next frontier for his republican polemics comes as no surprise. But given his comments about the congeniality of slavery to Africans, the fervor with which he would soon defend the black and Amerindian participants in those revolutions calls for an explanation. Over the course of the next decade, this fervor established Duane's *Aurora* as a bastion of republicanism in the Western Hemisphere. Here again, antimonarchism would remain the animating force.

*“Our Southern Brethren”: Revolutions in Latin America*

In 1776, Thomas Paine declared that “the cause of America is in great measure the cause of all mankind.”<sup>60</sup> At the turn of the nineteenth century, however, even cosmopolitan republicans like Paine turned their backs on internationalism, outraged by Louverture in Saint-Domingue and Napoleon in France. “From now on,” historian Philipp Ziesche has

<sup>56</sup> Duane to Jefferson, Aug. 11, 1814, in “Letters of William Duane,” 373–74.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 368–69, 375.

<sup>58</sup> Charles H. Bowman Jr., “Manuel Torres, a Spanish American Patriot in Philadelphia, 1796–1822,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 94 (1970): 26–27.

<sup>59</sup> Boston Patriot, “South America,” *Weekly Aurora*, July 17, 1810.

<sup>60</sup> Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (Mineola, NY, 1997), 2.

observed, “America fought for itself, not mankind.”<sup>61</sup> A decade later, however, republican movements in Latin America rekindled the flame of ’76.<sup>62</sup> An 1810 article printed in Philadelphia’s *Amerikanischer Beobachter*, written as if to address the revolutionaries themselves, captured the essence of this internationalist revival: “But a single country rushes to your aid. It burns with the fire of freedom. Heroes, arise in arms,” the author waxed, “for there is not one tyrant left in the whole of the northern part of this continent.” The text describes a hemispheric mission begun, but not completed, in North America. “Your tribulations,” the author assured separatists, “have awoken Americans from their placid frame of mind, and a flame-embroiled vengeance now courses through their veins.”<sup>63</sup>

Seeking to rejuvenate Paineite cosmopolitanism, Duane proclaimed in 1817 that Latin America had become “the Cause of Mankind versus the Cause of Despotism.”<sup>64</sup> US policymakers, by contrast, clung to neutrality, maintaining diplomatic relations with Spain while they bargained for possession of Florida and established borders with New Spain in what became the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819.<sup>65</sup> Seth Cotlar has argued that “both the racially egalitarian and oppositional force of cosmopolitanism faded in the late 1790s as excitement about international democratic revolution waned.” But if the decline of cosmopolitanism and “racial egalitarianism” after the 1790s was the rule among Democratic-Republicans and their political descendants, Duane provides an important exception, one best seen in light of his hatred for three persistent forms of tyranny in the Western Hemisphere: the slaveholding aristocracy, the Spanish crown, and, of course, British influence.<sup>66</sup>

With Britain to the north and east and Spain to the south and west, the young American republic lived in a hostile world, a democratic experiment amid long-established monarchies. Duane viewed himself as being engaged in the republic’s struggle for survival, now linked to the fate of its “sister republics” in Latin America.<sup>67</sup> Duane thus viewed American neutrality in the 1810s no differently than he had its “pro-monarchism”

<sup>61</sup> Philipp Ziesche, *Cosmopolitan Patriots: Americans in Paris in the Age of Revolution* (Charlottesville, VA, 2007), 163. For discussion on the decline of internationalism in America, see 146–63.

<sup>62</sup> Fitz, “Our Sister Republics,” 36–37.

<sup>63</sup> “Philadelphia, den 1sten November, 1810,” *Amerikanischer Beobachter*, Nov. 1, 1810, trans. by the author.

<sup>64</sup> “The Cause of Mankind versus the Cause of Despotism,” *Weekly Aurora*, Nov. 10, 1817.

<sup>65</sup> See William Earl Weeks, *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire* (Lexington, KY, 1992).

<sup>66</sup> Cotlar, *Tom Paine’s America*, 55. See also Riley, *Slavery and the Democratic Conscience*, 3.

<sup>67</sup> Fitz, “Our Sister Republics.”

during the 1790s. “The secret dealings with Toussaint L’Ouverture,” Duane reflected in 1817, “has its rival in the course pursued towards the South Americans.”<sup>68</sup> The following year, Duane hired Stephen Simpson, a twenty-eight-year-old journalist after his own mold, whose forte in domestic affairs allowed Duane to focus on Latin America.<sup>69</sup> This time around, it was Duane who defended black revolutionaries while attacking newssheets once aligned with pro-Louverture Federalists. Since the “Revolution of 1800,” Duane had emerged as a leading “practitioner of Federalist-style attacks” on slaveholding Democrats, providing, in Pdraig Riley’s words, “perhaps the best evidence of how dissidence could transform Jeffersonian adherents into bitter opponents of the South.”<sup>70</sup> Yet the animating belief in Duane’s political schema—antimonarchism—remained the same.

Duane argued in support of multiracial revolutions in Latin America in the context of a nationwide debate about the fate of slavery in the United States and republicanism in the Western Hemisphere. As during earlier debates over US policy toward Louverture’s regime, white Americans remained absorbed in questions about the limits of democracy. In effect, Americans transposed the rhetoric of the 1790s to the debates of the 1810s. Those who supported Adams and neutrality conjured the specter of slave rebellion to stifle enthusiasm for hemispheric independence. Their opponents stood behind Duane’s republican internationalism and Henry Clay’s foreign policy, placing emancipation and free labor at the fore of a shared Pan-American vision. For Duane, moreover, Latin American independence was part of a long-term struggle between democratic and authoritarian forms of government in the Americas. Where John Adams had once conspired with Britain and Louverture, John Quincy Adams (James Monroe’s secretary of state) now bargained with Spain, securing a new state in Florida while ignoring new republics in Latin America.<sup>71</sup>

Between 1808 and 1813, Napoleon waged war in the Iberian Peninsula, thereby crippling Spanish and Portuguese authority in both the Old and New Worlds. Revolutionaries in Buenos Aires and Caracas seized the

<sup>68</sup> “Principia Non Homines—No. VIII,” *Weekly Aurora*, Aug. 31, 1818.

<sup>69</sup> Little, *Transoceanic Radical*, 172.

<sup>70</sup> Mason, *Slavery and Politics in the Early American Republic*, 189; Riley, *Slavery and the Democratic Conscience*, 151.

<sup>71</sup> Weeks, *John Quincy Adams*, esp. 22–25, 176–81. Weeks argues that the territorial dispute with Spain was the “most pressing problem” for the Monroe administration in 1817. Neutrality toward Latin America was thus seen as a diplomatic necessity while negotiating the Adams-Onís or Transcontinental Treaty of 1819 (*ibid.*, 22).

opportunity, and in 1810 insurrection broke out. “The spirit of independence spreads forth in South America,” the *Amerikanischer Beobachter* announced in November, and throughout the entirety of the following year, advertisements for Alexander von Humboldt’s “Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain” flooded Philadelphia’s press. The accompanying excerpts are telling of the most marketable aspect of Humboldt’s work—demographic data. As one exemplary fragment reads, “There are . . . in Mexico, 69,500 men of colour, and 67,500 whites.”<sup>72</sup> “Your work,” Jefferson wrote to the Prussian explorer, “has come at a moment when those countries are beginning to be interesting to the whole world.” He went on to prophesy the emergence of “*American* governments, no longer involved in the never ceasing broils of Europe,” for “America has a hemisphere unto itself.” At the same time, Humboldt’s data prompted Jefferson to question his own enthusiasm. “How much liberty can they bear without intoxication?” he queried of Humboldt; “Are their chiefs sufficiently enlightened to form a well-guarded government?” In spite of his misgivings, though, Jefferson wrote of the revolutionaries in familial terms, as “southern brethren” soon to become “integral members, of the great family of nations.”<sup>73</sup>

Jefferson’s was the language of North American enthusiasm for Latin American independence.<sup>74</sup> “In the name of justice and national interest,” the *Western Argus* implored policymakers to “acknowledge the independence of . . . our southern brethren [who have] through suffering and blood, purchased that inestimable gem.”<sup>75</sup> Though a leading figure, Duane was far from alone in his plea for hemispheric solidarity. In August 1818, the *Franklin Gazette* declared: “Every circumstance tending to illustrate the ability of our southern brethren to achieve their independence *must* be interesting to the American reader.”<sup>76</sup> Later that month, the newssheet published a “sketch of the first journey performed by a citizen of the United States across the South American continent,” the goal of which had been “to enable the public to form a correct estimate of our Southern Brethren.”<sup>77</sup> Caitlin Fitz has aptly described American sympathy for the patriots as being both “passive and perfunctory” as

<sup>72</sup> “Philadelphia, den 1sten November, 1810,” *Amerikanischer Beobachter*, Nov. 1, 1810, trans. by the author.

<sup>73</sup> Jefferson to Humboldt, Apr. 14, 1811, as quoted in Helmut de Terra, “Alexander von Humboldt’s Correspondence with Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 103 (1959): 791; Jefferson to Humboldt, Dec. 6, 1813, as quoted in *ibid.*, 793.

<sup>74</sup> For analysis on Fourth of July toasts to the “sister republics,” see Fitz, “Our Sister Republics,” 148–57.

<sup>75</sup> “From the Western Argus. South America,” *Weekly Aurora*, Dec. 1, 1817.

<sup>76</sup> “South America: From the Delaware Watchman,” *Franklin Gazette*, Aug. 14, 1818.

<sup>77</sup> “For the Franklin Gazette,” *Franklin Gazette*, Aug. 19, 1818.

well as “emotional and intense.”<sup>78</sup> Where opponents of recognition feared the “excited state of public feeling,” proponents observed how sincerely “the people of the United States lament the misfortune of the patriots” after royalist victories. “Of your political affairs,” Duane assured Venezuelan revolutionary and constitutional architect Juan Germán Roscio in 1819, “I can say that your cause holds a strong place in the hearts of the people of this country.”<sup>79</sup> In the eyes of Duane and likeminded ideologues, the Western Hemisphere was poised to unite as “a family of republics,” and so become the New World’s democratic antithesis to the Old World’s Holy Alliance.<sup>80</sup>

As historian James Lewis Jr. has shown, politicians tended to view the “sister republics” less intimately, as “neighbors” whose presence was likely to threaten the American household.<sup>81</sup> Amid this skepticism, Kentucky senator Henry Clay emerged as the United States’ leading proponent of Latin American independence. Veneration for Clay lined the columns of the *Aurora*, which portrayed him as “the eloquent friend of freedom and the rights of man throughout the world.” “In his open and manly way,” Duane gushed, “Mr. Clay brought forward . . . a proposition to acknowledge the independence of *Buenos Ayres*”—an act that “distinguished him from every other man in the government.”<sup>82</sup> Though a slaveholder himself, Clay professed his support for Latin American emancipation measures. “In some particulars the people of South America were in advance of us,” Clay told Congress; “Grenada, Venezuela, and Buenos Ayres had all emancipated their slaves.”<sup>83</sup> For Duane, too, the birth of republicanism in Latin America was inextricably tied to its preservation in North America. Both necessitated the eradication of slavery in the Western Hemisphere.

The antagonisms dividing free and slave states provide important context for understanding how US citizens viewed revolutions in Latin

<sup>78</sup> Fitz, “Our Sister Republics,” 16.

<sup>79</sup> William Duane to Juan Germán Roscio, Dec. 13, 1819, as quoted in Charles H. Bowman Jr., “William Duane and Don J. G. Roscio, Correspondence of William Duane in Two Archives in Bogotá,” *Revista de Historia de América* 82 (July–Dec. 1976): 112. At the time Duane wrote to him in 1819, Juan Germán Roscio was finance minister and president of the Congress of Angostura, summoned by Simón Bolívar, and vice president of the Department of Venezuela and Gran Columbia. He had also been the primary editor of the Venezuelan Declaration of Independence in 1811.

<sup>80</sup> William Duane, *A Visit to Columbia, in the Years 1822 & 1823, by Laguarda and Caracas, over the Cordillera to Bogota, and thence by the Magdalena to Cartagena* (Philadelphia, 1826), iv.

<sup>81</sup> James Lewis Jr., *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783–1829* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1998), esp. 1–10, 106–10, 169–94.

<sup>82</sup> “Anniversary of American Independence. Selected Toasts. At Philadelphia,” *Weekly Aurora*, July 13, 1818; “Independence of South America,” *Weekly Aurora*, May 8, 1820.

<sup>83</sup> John F. Hopkins and Mary W. M. Hargreaves, eds., *Papers of Henry Clay*, vol. 2, *The Rising Statesman, 1815–1820* (Lexington, KY, 1961), 858.

America. Excepting revolutions in New Spain (Mexico) and Amelia Island (Florida), most Latin American independence movements occurred in far-off lands. Exuberant Americans encouraged emancipation in places many of them had likely never heard of. But these same citizens lived in an era haunted by the ghost of Louverture, especially as the South's economy became increasingly dependent on slave labor. By the 1810s, moreover, America had become embroiled in disputes over the fate of slavery in the West and, indeed, of the Union itself. It is therefore important to recognize just how close to home Americans' zeal for republicanism in Latin America truly was. Accordingly, a look into Duane's views on slavery in the American South allows for a more correct assessment of his opposition to slavery in distant South America.

Duane's opposition to slavery was composed of two parts: a genuine fear that Britain or Spain could instigate slave rebellion in the American South and an ideological hostility toward the southern slaveholding aristocracy. Indeed, Duane's concern about the ratio of blacks to whites in the South was amplified by slaves' supposed susceptibility to foreign influence. "The great preventative of danger," Duane argued in 1817, "is by planting colonies of white men on the southern frontier, and by diffusing arts, knowledge, and humanity, in the southern states of this union."<sup>84</sup> That northerners viewed the slaveholding elite as a feudal remnant of the *Ancien Régime* gave ideological support to Duane's otherwise practical abolitionism.<sup>85</sup> In the midst of the Missouri crisis, one "Brutus" (a pseudonym frequently found in the *Aurora*) depicted the South as a land in which "slavery is cherished, as it was by the feudal chiefs in Europe." It was this convergence of anxieties that enabled the *Aurora* to argue on principle that "the slavery of man is abhorrent to every noble and honorable feeling," and thus that it was absurd to think "FREEDOM and SLAVERY can exist long in the same country."<sup>86</sup> In describing this era, Peter Onuf has suggested

<sup>84</sup> "Imposture Exploded No. III," *Weekly Aurora*, Dec. 29, 1817.

<sup>85</sup> As Caitlin Fitz has observed, some oppositionist newspapers argued that emancipation in Latin America was less humanitarian than many supposed. One Virginian wrote that emancipation in Columbia was in fact "PRACTICAL PATRIOTISM"—that is, emancipation to fill the ranks of the revolutionary army. Duane's own support for emancipation was in great measure practical, for he believed it would eliminate the threat of insurrection in the United States while simultaneously aiding the patriot cause in Latin America (*Herald of the Valley*, Nov. 5, 1821, as quoted in Fitz, "Our Sister Republics," 118).

<sup>86</sup> Brutus, "Brutus. For the Aurora. Electoral Ticket for President and Vice President," *Aurora General Advertiser*, Oct. 26, 1820; *Aurora General Advertiser*, Nov. 23, 1819; and *Aurora General Advertiser*, Dec. 7, 1819, as quoted in Phillips, "William Duane, Revolutionary Editor," 537. On February 26, 1820, the *Aurora* published an essay signed (though perhaps not written) by the British abolitionist William Wilberforce. It is characteristic of antislavery arguments in the antebellum period: "You will not lose



that northerners' "concern about the condition of slaves was predicated on anxieties about slaveholders' dominance of the union."<sup>87</sup> Duane's concern about the condition of blacks and Amerindians in Latin America, I argue, was predicated upon anxieties about despotism's dominance in the Western Hemisphere. Yet however practical Duane's views on slavery were in the 1810s and '20s, they had gained coherence. The antislavery position Duane adopted on the home front now meshed perfectly with his support for foreign revolutions in which black soldiery played a vital role. In this way, Duane appears as an exception to the rule for Democratic-Republicans, among whom racial categories crystallized throughout the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian eras in response to the threat of slave rebellion and the proliferation of the cotton industry. But Duane's fortitude on this account had less to do with any moral conviction regarding race—or, indeed, any ideas on race at all—than it did with the confluence of anxieties that made it possible to fuse universalizing rhetoric with anti-monarchical priorities at home and abroad.<sup>88</sup>

Just as Duane had underscored the black otherness of Louverture's troops in Saint-Domingue, so antirecognition voices effectively darkened Latin American patriots. Their aim, the *Aurora* believed, was "to excite prejudices" in the slaveholding South and stifle popular support for the republican movements.<sup>89</sup> The *Boston Centinel*, for instance, which had once touted Louverture's "humane and intrepid spirit," published a telling demographic account of the patriots entitled "*Black Spirits and White*." Of their leaders, the *Centinel* maintained that "O'Higgins [is] an Irishman; Paez, an African; and Arismendi, an Indian." The *Aurora* responded in kind by claiming Paez was neither "an African, nor a man of color," but a Venezuelan lacking the "dark visage" that the *Centinel* had given him. "Arismendi," the *Aurora* corrected, "is no more an Indian than the descendants of the Pilgrims of New England."<sup>90</sup> In other words, Duane's *Aurora* lightened the revolutionaries.

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sight of those first principles which have thus far kept us free and firm, by the disingenuous and sinister exertions of a slaveholding aristocracy, who feel as little respect for the essential rights of a negro, as they do for the character of a free government, or the rights of non-slaveholding states" (Wilberforce, "For the Aurora. To the Members of Congress from Pennsylvania," *Aurora General Advertiser*, Feb. 26, 1820). See also James M. McPherson and James K. Hogue, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 2010), 54.

<sup>87</sup> Onuf, "Federalism, Democracy, and Liberty in the New American Nation," 158.

<sup>88</sup> Bruce Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free: The Roots of the Civil War* (New York, 1992), 6–14; Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street*, 157; Mason, *Slavery and Politics in the Early American Republic*, 78, 85.

<sup>89</sup> *Aurora and General Advertiser*, Nov. 29, 1817, as quoted in Heckard, "The Crossroads of Empire," 141.

<sup>90</sup> "The Boston Centinel. 'Black Spirits and White,'" *Weekly Aurora*, Dec. 8, 1817.

If Latin Americans' *visage* deterred some from supporting their revolutions, it was emancipation that posed the greatest threat to popular enthusiasm. When it became evident that the nascent republics intended to abolish slavery, oppositionists pounced on the opportunity to exploit "the white nightmare" of slave insurrection.<sup>91</sup> In Washington's *Daily National Intelligencer*, one "Phocion" published a series of letters drawing upon Americans' collective memory of the Haitian Revolution. Should the revolutions succeed, Phocion wrote, it would be "by means of the revolted slaves, and the aid of the black chiefs of St. Domingo." Whereas republican visionaries conceived of liberty in the Western Hemisphere as a torch passed from the northern to southern continents, Phocion pre-saged a series of slave rebellions that, having begun in Saint-Domingue, would spread first to Latin America, then north to the United States. It was absurd, Phocion argued, to think "that the government of the United States [would] countenance the establishment of a state of that description in the neighborhood of her southern frontier." While the author's true identity remains at large, historians have generally agreed that someone close to (and possibly within) the Monroe administration penned the Phocion letters. If this is true, the series provides a window into the way leading statesmen viewed multiracial revolutions in Latin America: in their view, the "*emancipating system* of [Simón] Bolívar & Co." was rapidly becoming "a new Hayti."<sup>92</sup>

Duane responded to Phocion by uniting the sister causes of independence in Latin America and abolitionism in the United States. To Phocion's allegations that the patriots had "set free slaves for the purpose of massacre," Duane asserted that the true culprits had been royalists (or "*white villains*") acting on "a secret *royal order from Spain*!" Republican regimes, by contrast, "had made noble advances in humanity" with their emancipation measures. As Duane saw it, Phocion intended not only to curb support for

<sup>91</sup> Bradburn, *The Citizenship Revolution*, 266.

<sup>92</sup> Phocion, "To the Editors," *Daily National Intelligencer*, Dec. 8, 1817; Phocion, "To the Editors," *Daily National Intelligencer*, Dec. 1, 1817; *Daily National Intelligencer*, Nov. 20, 1817, and *Daily National Intelligencer*, Dec. 16, 1817, as quoted in Fitz, "Our Sister Republics," 114–15. The pseudonym "Phocion" was taken from the third-century BCE Athenian statesmen remembered for his oppositionist character. William Early Weeks has argued that Adams himself authored the Phocion letters. More recently, and with stronger evidence, James Lewis Jr. has argued that it was more probably Monroe's son-in-law, George Hay, who penned them. It is interesting to note that Alexander Hamilton had used the same pseudonym in the previous century while attacking Thomas Jefferson. See Lewis Jr., *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood*, 108n36; and Fitz, "Our Sister Republics," 115n16.

emancipation abroad but also “to destroy, in the American bosom, the best of all human feelings—a hatred of slavery, and a love of liberty extended to the whole human race.” According to the *Aurora*, Phocion had forgotten the “bravery and fidelity” with which black men fought “in defense of *this their country*” during the American Revolution. Four decades later, that legacy had, for Duane, become part of a hemispheric identity whose actualization required the simultaneous eradication of slavery and absolutism. “South America,” Duane announced in 1818, “has no right to blush for her heroes,” be they of European, African, or Amerindian descent.<sup>93</sup>

Anglophobia figured prominently in Duane’s rebuttals to Phocion, who allegedly wished to see the Latin American republics in such a state “as should compel them to throw themselves into the arms of England.” Echoing earlier attacks on Louverture and the Adams administration in the late 1790s, Duane remained convinced throughout the 1810s that the nation’s enemies intended to spark “insurrection in the south of United States [and] excite an Indian war at the same time in concert with . . . the English.” Where Louverture had once played “a treacherous game in concert with the British,” Phocion and the “*agents of Spain*” now plotted conspiracy with that same “great monopolist of the universe.”<sup>94</sup>

In March and April of 1818, Duane published his most vehement diatribe in a series entitled “What is Our Policy.” Duane framed the series as an ostensible rebuttal to pamphlets published by the wealthy Philadelphia merchant James Yard, who had himself conducted business in Spain.<sup>95</sup> In the spirit of Phocion, Yard argued that Latin Americans were incapable of self-government, that intervention would lead to war with Spain, and

<sup>93</sup> “Machiavelism Again!” *Weekly Aurora*, Mar. 2, 1818; “Imposture Exploded No. III,” *Weekly Aurora*, Dec. 29, 1817; *Aurora and General Advertiser*, Nov. 29, 1817, as quoted in Heckard, “The Crossroads of Empire,” 141.

<sup>94</sup> “The Boston Centinel. ‘Black Spirits and White,’” *Weekly Aurora*, Dec. 8, 1817; “Imposture Exploded No. III,” *Weekly Aurora*, Dec. 29, 1817; general news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, May 3, 1799.

<sup>95</sup> For the “What is Our Policy” series, see “What is Our Policy—No. I,” *Weekly Aurora*, Mar. 9, 1818; “What is Our Policy—No. IV,” *Weekly Aurora*, Mar. 30, 1818; “What is Our Policy—No. V,” *Weekly Aurora*, Mar. 30, 1818; “What is Our Policy—No. VI,” *Weekly Aurora*, Mar. 30, 1818; “What is Our Policy—No. VII,” *Weekly Aurora*, Apr. 6, 1818; “What is Our Policy—No. VIII,” *Weekly Aurora*, Apr. 6, 1818; “What is Our Policy—No. IX,” *Weekly Aurora*, Apr. 6, 1818; and “What is Our Policy—No. XI,” *Weekly Aurora*, Apr. 13, 1818. Yard was an elected member of both the Bank of the United States (appointed in 1796) and the Chamber of Commerce (appointed in 1806) and had, since the 1790s, made a lucrative business of sugar and rum imports from the Danish West Indies. For examples of Yard’s mercantile undertakings and political activities, see “Philadelphia,” *United States Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1796; and James Yard to James Madison, May 6, 1803, in *The Papers of James Madison*, Secretary of State Series, vol. 4, 8 October 1802–15 May 1803, ed. Mary A. Hackett et al. (Charlottesville, VA, 1998), 577–78.

thus “that the system of neutrality as it regards Spain and the colonies, is the only true policy of our government.” Duane was convinced that John Quincy Adams himself put Yard up to the task, having contracted from his father the “hereditary disease” of Anglophilism. According to Duane, John Quincy Adams was a man “intoxicated by English ideas of liberty” (that is, by perverted ideas of liberty), who aimed chiefly to “neutralize the zeal” of the American public and “render modern morality cold toward [the] copper colored people of Spanish America.”<sup>96</sup> In response to such sentiments, the series quickly evolved into an exposé on Pan-American republicanism and a justification of its Afro-Amerindian character.

Duane defended the revolutionaries on philosophical grounds, promoting a tabula rasa conception of human nature steeped in the empiricism that then permeated the Anglo-American intellectual world. Typically associated with the works of Berkeley, Locke, and Hume, this epistemological position views one’s character and intellect as the product of one’s environment and experience. For Duane, blank slate human beings were, at least ostensibly, essentially and universally homogeneous. “Mankind are so much the same, in all times and places,” David Hume wrote, “that history [serves] only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature, by showing men in all varieties of circumstances and situations.”<sup>97</sup> Duane followed suit, arguing that “man is everywhere the slave of circumstances of habit and necessity [and] he may be the most degraded of animals according as the ruling power.”<sup>98</sup> Likewise citing Hume’s work, David Brion Davis has argued that “the Enlightenment focused attention on environmental causality [to advance] any argument for the African’s innate, genetic inferiority.”<sup>99</sup> Duane, however, wielded Humean empiricism toward a different end, for it enabled him to redirect criticism of the revolutionaries toward the “ruling power,” the Spanish monarch, who was ultimately to blame for the shortcomings of his subjects.

<sup>96</sup> “What is Our Policy—No. VII,” *Weekly Aurora*, Apr. 6, 1818; “What is Our Policy—No. IX,” *Weekly Aurora*, Apr. 6, 1818; “Principia Non Homines—No. VIII,” *Weekly Aurora*, Aug. 31, 1818.

<sup>97</sup> David Hume, “An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding,” in *Modern Philosophy*, vol. 3, 6th ed., ed. Forrest E. Baird (Upper Saddle River, NJ, 2011), 400.

<sup>98</sup> “What is Our Policy—No. VIII,” *Weekly Aurora*, Apr. 6, 1818. For similarities in rhetoric, see “Of the Understanding,” book 1, section 14, in David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. Ernest C. Mossner (New York, 1985), 205. Environmental causality was a common philosophical theme in Duane’s writings. In an exemplary letter to Jefferson explaining how “American born blacks . . . feel a sentiment of patriotism,” Duane argued that those in doubt “know little of human nature and the force of habit on the human mind.” See Duane to Jefferson, Aug. 11, 1814, in “Letters of William Duane,” 368–69.

<sup>99</sup> Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation*, 33.

If Latin American patriots were, as oppositionists argued, politically and intellectually inept, it was because of the oppressive conditions under which they had lived for generations, not because of inherent inferiority. That the revolution in New Spain had foundered, Duane argued, was not evidence “of their mental faculties being defective, nor their disregard for liberty—it amounts to no more than a new proof, that man may be degraded by education . . . to the condition of a brute.” Nor did it prove that they are any less fit for “social happiness . . . than the present degradation of the Athenians,” whose forbearers were, by nineteenth-century standards, the progenitors of Western civilization. Even the highly cultured “modern Englishman,” Duane sniped, was “the descendent of the brutal savage.”<sup>100</sup>

In the same publication, Duane cited demographic information collected by Manuel Torres, the revolutionary to whom he signed his letters with “farewell, Δ,” the Greek symbol for difference or change.<sup>101</sup> A chief intermediary in the Pan-American republican network, Torres was an invaluable source of inspiration for Duane, who later reflected that such “intimacies” as grew between Torres and himself “had, by exciting sympathy, led me to bestow more earnest attention on the history, geography, and the eventual destiny of [Latin America].”<sup>102</sup> According to Torres’s data, “European Spaniards” composed just 1.2 percent of New Spain’s population, making “Copper Colored Indians” and “Mulattoes and Mestizos” the dominant demographic groups. Duane concluded the same column by expressing the “wish to see all men” bound by physical or political shackles “as free as the creator of the universe made the air of heaven.”<sup>103</sup>

Latin American independence from Spain and Portugal was at once a hemispheric and global cause for such ideologues as Duane and Bolívar. In 1820, the latter told his soldiers that they had captured the allegiance of “all enlightened foreigners who love and protect the American cause.”<sup>104</sup> To his own followers, Duane historicized “the American cause” within a cosmopolitan framework:

<sup>100</sup> “What is Our Policy—No. VIII,” *Weekly Aurora*, Apr. 6, 1818.

<sup>101</sup> See, for instance, William Duane to Manuel Torres, Dec. 13, 1819, as quoted in Bowman Jr., “Wm. Duane, and Don J. G. Roscio,” 112.

<sup>102</sup> Charles H. Bowman Jr., “The Activities of Manuel Torres As Purchasing Agent, 1820–1821,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 48 (1968): 237; Duane, *A Visit to Columbia*, iii.

<sup>103</sup> “What is Our Policy—No. VI,” *Weekly Aurora*, Mar. 30, 1818.

<sup>104</sup> Simon Bolívar, “South American Triumph. From the Aurora,” *Franklin Gazette*, Jan. 7, 1820.

The revolution of North America, drew the key-stone from the arch of despotism, and the colonial system . . . is about to undergo a total dissolution. The revolution of America has had a powerful moral influence on the human mind throughout the civilized world.—The revolution of South America is destined to accomplish a greater revolution than the world has yet witnessed.<sup>105</sup>

Eight years later, having visited the young republics himself, Duane reaffirmed his conviction that the revolutions were of global import. With confidence, Duane proclaimed that the republics' "institutions must eventually regenerate humanity" and so combat the degenerative forces of authoritarianism in the Old World and slavery in the New.<sup>106</sup> Duane thus entered what some historians have called "international race war" within the context of and in response to the international war for representative government.<sup>107</sup>

*"Indian Chiefs in the House of Representatives": Conclusion*

The seeming inconsistencies in Duane's views on revolutions in Saint-Domingue and Latin America were in fact what gave his democratic ideology its regularity. The place of slaves and free blacks in Duane's political schema was entirely contingent upon his perception of their political orientation. Race as we know it was never an animating factor for Duane; nor is it then the most fitting category of analysis. Duane's case suggests that we will need to be wary of the questions with which we explore the early national period, for questions about race lead us to answers about race. What modern eyes may read in the *Aurora* as racialized depictions of Saint-Dominguans and Latin Americans—whether discriminatory or egalitarian—were, for Duane and many of his contemporaries, meant as delineations between monarchists and republicans.

To amplify the argument that antimonarchical concerns consistently determined the inclusiveness of Duane's democratic ideology, I will briefly examine his writings on North American Indians. Juxtaposed against the *Aurora's* negative portrayal of Louverture's black regime in Saint-Domingue and subsequent defense of Latin American revolutionaries, Duane's views of North American Indians further illuminate the

<sup>105</sup> "What is Our Policy—No. I," *Weekly Aurora*, Mar. 9, 1818.

<sup>106</sup> Duane, *A Visit to Columbia*, iv.

<sup>107</sup> Fitz, "Our Sister Republics," 9.



conditions under which Duane was and was not willing to incorporate the enfranchisement of historically marginalized peoples into his political agenda. Black Saint-Dominguans had indeed emancipated themselves—a noble deed in Duane's eyes—but only to squander their liberty in Anglophilic conspiracy. American Indians could avoid such a fate by joining the republic.

Duane's first decade as editor of the *Aurora* was at once his most radical as a catalyst among Philadelphia's rowdy Republican contingent and his most reactionary as a commentator on the Haitian Revolution. Against this backdrop, an 1802 letter to President Jefferson advocating the enfranchisement of American Indians might seem exceptional, but it once again shows how the scope of Duane's democratic ideology expanded and contracted according to his perception of a people's political affinities. "The appearance of the Indian Chiefs in the House of Representatives this morning has revived in my mind a subject upon which I have long reflected," Duane wrote. The subject of Duane's reflection was the congressional representation of North American Indians. To give natives a voice in Congress, Duane argued, would dissolve their feelings of inferiority to whites while "securing their attachment" to the United States and "forever depriving the European nations of their instrumentality."<sup>108</sup> Duane's reasoning, it is clear, was based on national self-interest, "instrumentality" being the key word.

The *Aurora's* reflections on Jackson's subjugation of Florida Indians tell the same story of antimonarchism with a different conclusion for Indians themselves. The tolerance with which Duane wrote about Indians in 1802—like that which he extended toward the "copper colored Indians" of Latin America—was exceptionally radical for its day. When Jackson marched south against Indians who were backed by the Spanish Crown, however, a cutthroat, imperialistic republicanism wholly subsumed this egalitarian spirit. Far from denying Jackson's brutality while covering the ruthless campaign, the *Aurora* openly documented how "general Jackson was prosecuting hostilities against the Seminoles, with his characteristic vigor and ability." In May 1818, Jackson displayed his "characteristic vigor" by torching a native village and hanging its "celebrated prophet [and] principle chieftains." Still, the *Aurora* presented Jackson as a "patriot" and even related his sincere regret after the desecration of another village in June—"a stigma on the American nation," as the general phrased it. Duane

<sup>108</sup> Duane to Jefferson, Jan. 7, 1802, in "Letters of William Duane," 373.

(and the authors whose articles he reprinted) were quick to underscore Spain's role in supplying natives with war materiel, and this fact enabled them to sanction the natives' slaughter in the name of republicanism.<sup>109</sup> Jackson thus fought in common cause with the Latin American patriots, for in Duane's eyes it was not Indians he besieged, but the mercenaries of a Spanish tyrant. Here again the perceived threat of monarchism superseded all other considerations. In this sense alone was Duane's worldview truly a black and white one.

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<sup>109</sup> "What is Our Policy—No. IX," *Weekly Aurora*, Apr. 6, 1818; "New Orleans, April 13. *From the army*," *Weekly Aurora*, May 18, 1818; "From the New York Gazette of April 29. *Indian battle*," *Weekly Aurora*, May 4, 1818; "From the Kentucky Reporter," *Weekly Aurora*, June 22, 1818; "Augusta, May 27. *Indian Intelligence*," *Weekly Aurora*, June 15, 1818.