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Editorial

Just outside of my office at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, old issues of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* line the shelves. These volumes take up quite a bit of space: *PMHB* has been published continuously since 1877, making 2017 our 140th anniversary. In 1877, the historical profession was in its infancy; its largest professional organization, the American Historical Association, was not founded for another seven years. Students of American history will no doubt recognize 1877 for other reasons—as the end of Reconstruction and the point at which many US history courses and textbooks are divided. *PMHB* has thus witnessed the entire second half of the US history survey. Holding the journal's first volume in my hands now—the binding loose, the pages discolored—it looks very much like what it is: a historical document.

Today, *PMHB* is entirely a creature of the twenty-first century. From graduate students to professors emeritus, our authors use innovative methodologies to explore the history of all American identities and experiences. Beyond print subscribers, thousands of readers across the country access our articles online each year. *PMHB* has changed many times to maintain its relevance, and it will continue to do so. What will not change is our commitment to rigorous, evidence-based scholarship and our belief that history matters. Last November, Oxford Dictionaries named "post-truth"—the marginalization of facts in the

face of emotional appeals—the international word of the year.[1] By reading *PMHB*, and by valuing historical knowledge more broadly, you are helping to counter this trend.

Christina Larocco
Editor

[1] Amy B. Wang, "'Post-Truth' Named 2016 Word of the Year by Oxford Dictionaries," *Washington Post*, Nov. 16, 2016.

John Laurance and the Role of Military Justice at Valley Forge

ABSTRACT: Introducing a fresh metric—general courts-martial per thousand fit-for-duty troops—this article expands Valley Forge historiography by quantifying trial incidence in a forty-two-month context to suggest military justice played a significantly greater role over the winter of privation than previously thought. Courts-martial discipline, the essay argues, served as General Washington's fundamental instrument of command and control until drillmaster Baron von Steuben's iconic parade-ground regimen took hold. As Washington's unheralded "courtroom von Steuben," Judge Advocate General John Laurance superintended rule of military law over eighty tattered Valley Forge regiments by diligently enforcing the 1776 Articles of War among private soldiers, officers, and civilians alike.

GEORGE WASHINGTON MUST have blinked hard as he read the missive of April 13, 1778, from captured continental major general Charles Lee. "A Decisive Action in fair ground," lectured the eccentric Lee eight days before his formal exchange, "is talking nonsense." American soldiers, he warned, "would be laughed at as a bad army by their enemy and defeated in every Rencontre [encounter] which depends on Manoeuvers."[1]

Charles Lee could not have been more wrong. On the scorching afternoon of June 28, 1778, Washington's troops fought Sir Henry Clinton's redcoat professionals to a draw on the hilly Jersey plains to the west of Monmouth Courthouse. Sir Henry, rather than renew hostilities at sunrise, abandoned 251 corpses for Washington to bury and silently marched his army toward New York under cover of darkness. Lee—in a lengthy court martial of his own making—faced prosecution for battlefield insubordination from the army's topmost military lawyer, Lt. Col. John Laurance (1750–1810).

[1] Major General Charles Lee to George Washington, Apr. 13, 1778, in Charles Lee, *The Lee Papers*, ed. New-York Historical Society, 4 vols.(New York, 1872–75), 2:383–89.

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American legend ascribes Continental prowess at Monmouth to essential close-order musket, bayonet, and maneuvering discipline imparted by an out-of-work mercenary army captain who appeared in Valley Forge over the winter of 1777–78 with a letter from Benjamin Franklin exaggerating his rank to "Lieutenant General in the King of Prussia's service." No matter that Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustin ("Baron") von Steuben was a bit of a fraud; Frederick the Great's Prussian system of drill was generally thought superior to the French, and the stocky captain had clearly mastered his trade. Though success at Monmouth was attributable to more than von Steuben's drills—General Henry Knox's well-served artillery, for instance—Wayne Bodle and Jacqueline Thibaut's definitive three-volume reappraisal of traditional Valley Forge historiography reported "nearly unanimous acknowledgement" of the Prussian disciplinarian's "positive effect on the performance of the troops."[2]

"Discipline," Washington had long believed, "was the soul of an army."[3] Tactical close-order drills, however, were but one component of his Valley Forge disciplinary scheme. It was not until February 23, 1778—over two full months after the general encamped his exhausted troops—that von Steuben arrived with his two smartly uniformed aides and high-stepping greyhound, Azor. Still another month would pass before broad-scale drills commenced. Until then, a pervasive regimen of martial law, backed up by courts-martial justice, kept eighty regiments from eleven states from flying apart.

Academic scholars and military historians alike have paid surprisingly scant attention to the cohesive role of military justice in sustaining Washington's Main Army at Valley Forge. Bodle and Thibaut's comprehensive study makes no mention of it, concluding instead that winter supply chain dysfunction, particularly want of clothing, was "in many respects *the* story of the army itself."[4] Maurer Maurer was the first to examine war of independence courts-martial in any depth, but his account of Washington's "regrettable" and "severe, but necessary acts of justice" paid no particu-

[2] Wayne K. Bodle and Jacqueline Thibaut, *Valley Forge Historical Research Report*, 3 vols. (Valley Forge, PA, 1980–82), 1:349. Based on a comprehensive original source review of von Steuben's impact as drillmaster, the authors concluded: "The documentary evidence on the subject is impressive in its nearly unanimous acknowledgement of a positive effect on the performance of the troops which he undertook to train. More impressive than the approval is the manifest absence of dissent" (1:349).

[3] George Washington, "Instructions to Company Captains [of the Virginia Regiments], 29 July 1759," in *The Papers of George Washington*, colonial series, vol. 4, *November 1756–October 1757*, ed. W. W. Abbot (Charlottesville, VA, 1984), 341–46.

[4] Bodle and Thibaut, *Valley Forge Historical Research Report*, 1:41.

lar reference to Valley Forge.[5] Paul Atkinson Jr. came closer to the mark by including the winter encampment in an analysis categorizing eleven months' worth of trials by offense, rank, verdict, and sentence, though he attempted no larger interpretation.[6] James Neagles conscientiously listed by surname all 3,315 men court-martialed over the full war, and Harry Ward spared no lurid punishment detail in his point-by-point inventory of Washington's disciplinary processes. Neither observed any real pattern in Valley Forge legal proceedings.[7]

Upon closer examination, the heightened incidence of Valley Forge courts-martial suggests that something more than random punishment was at play. Rather, this essay argues, proactive administration of military justice served as Washington's fundamental instrument of command and control during the three months of severe physical hardship preceding von Steuben's parade-ground discipline. Necessarily central to this narrative is the army's altogether forgotten, long-serving judge advocate general, English émigré and New York lawyer John Laurance. Too long denied his due as Washington's courtroom von Steuben, Lieutenant Colonel Laurance laid the foundation for the present-day US Army Judge Advocate General's Corps while facilitating the commander in chief's precarious balance of the letter of military law with—lest punishment go too far—potential mutiny.

To be sure, more than Laurance's courts and von Steuben's drills fused together Washington's depleted Main Army through complete commissary supply breakdown, two prolonged starvation episodes, bitter disputes with Pennsylvania authorities, bickering officer promotion squabbles, payless paydays, freezing cold, and infectious disease. Foremost was Washington himself, "the glue that held together the army."[8] His finger in every detail of the army's existence, Washington's immense strength of character bound officer and soldier "strongly to his person."[9] Furthermore, the common soldier's "overweening confidence" in his own developing

[5] Maurer Maurer, "Military Justice under General Washington," *Military Affairs* 28 (1964): 28, 8–16. Maurer quotes Washington's general orders of Jan. 1, 1776, and June 10, 1777.

[6] Paul Atkinson Jr., "The System of Military Discipline and Justice in the Continental Army: August 1777–June 1778," *The Picket Post: A Record of Patriotism*, winter 1972–73, 46–72.

[7] James C. Neagles, *Summer Soldiers: A Survey & Index of Revolutionary War Courts Martial* (Salt Lake City, UT, 1986); Harry P. Ward, *George Washington's Enforcers: Policing the Continental Army* (Carbondale, IL, 2006).

[8] John Ferling, *The Ascent of George Washington* (New York, 2009), 172.

[9] John Marshall, *The Life of George Washington*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1834), 2:226. Supreme Court chief justice Marshall served the entire Valley Forge winter as a Virginia Infantry lieu-

battlefield competence in the wake of Germantown and word of victory at Saratoga, as Charles Royster put it, "helped overcome the strong inducements to mutiny or desert."[10] Soldiers and officers alike, as Caroline Cox points out, were also culturally bonded—despite profound social differences—by personal honor and a growing sense of professionalism separate from civilian counterparts and flighty state militia.[11]

Washington's strict military justice, however, may have constituted the strongest sinew of all. For, as Charles Neimeyer convincingly affirms, the battered but still dangerous army that settled into winter quarters at Valley Forge no longer consisted primarily of "'virtuous' citizen soldiers," but mostly of wage-paid young, unmarried three-year enlistees of the "lower sort."[12] As much as 20 percent foreign-born, this "new model" army of 1777–80 was a hardscrabble collection of hired substitutes, blacks earning freedom through conscripted service, adventurous farm boys, former Hessian prisoners of war, and displaced civilians with no better economic options.[13] They were a spirited lot whose "certifiably surly and contentious streak" might have invited indolence after their huts were built, had not Washington employed a well-ordered, daily sunrise-to-sunset routine leavened with martial discipline.[14] "We could not go away when we pleased," remembered oft-quoted Connecticut private Joseph Plumb Martin, "without exposing ourselves to military punishment, and we had enough trouble to undergo without that."[15]

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tenant. "Fortunately for America," he later wrote, "there were features in the character of Washington which . . . attached his officers and soldiers so strongly to his person, that no distress could weaken their affection, nor impair the respect and veneration in which they held him."

[10] Charles Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775–1786* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1979), 195.

[11] Caroline Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington's Army* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004), 3–25.

[12] Charles Patrick Neimeyer, *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army* (New York, 1996), 6, 59. See also Neimeyer, *The Revolutionary War* (Westport, CT, 2007), 60–65.

[13] Neimeyer, *The Revolutionary War*, 59–65. General Washington's "Circular Recruiting Instructions to the Colonels of the Sixteen Additional Continental Regiments, 12–27 January 1777" directed his officers to "enlist None but Freemen above the age of seventeen, and under that of fifty," but he made no mention of race or country of birth; see http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-08-02-0046. Therefore, observed Neimeyer in great detail, large numbers of African Americans, immigrants, and even Hessian prisoners of war were enticed to join the army for lack of better economic alternatives. "African Americans," notes Neimeyer, "were about evenly spread throughout the army (at least in 1778) at a rate of one for every ten soldiers (ten percent)" (64).

[14] Bodle and Thibout, *Valley Forge Research Report*, 1:149, 154, 164.

[15] Joseph Plumb Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle: A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers, and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier*, ed. George F. Scheer (Boston, 1962), 290. Martin, a three-year man in the new establishment, spent the full winter at Valley Forge.

No sooner had the army begun felling trees for winter huts than a stream of Washington's general orders structured camp days with mandated roll calls, daily passwords, hygienic protocols, and a litany of picquet, latrine, and foraging duties. Regulations required the men to be clean-shaven and forbade illicit spirits, cursing, gaming, and carrying weapons in camp when not on duty. Officer furloughs required formal approval; no man could leave camp without a countersigned pass; and a "Duty Officer of the Day" was selected from senior officer ranks to police these collective procedures and jail offenders.[16] As Maryland captain Thomas Snagg, camp provost marshal, duly filled provisional jails, courts-martial so pervaded the first three encampment months that almost 60 percent of Washington's daily general orders (fifty-two of ninety) broadcast trial schedules or results.[17]

True, Continental Army justice was an unsophisticated work in progress, subject to fortunes of war, but orderly books prove Washington well understood the impact of adjudicating offenders within a matter of days.[18] Not only did he personally appoint all general courts-martial presiding officers, but he also reviewed each verdict, overturning or reducing sentences as he saw fit before communicating sentences to the full army in his daily general orders. When capital punishment was approved, Washington signed the death warrant himself.[19] Unlike civil courts, army legal proceedings were not real trials in pursuit of justice, but forums, as one legal scholar later observed, "to enforce the Commander-in-Chief's disciplinary policies and inculcate military values."[20] When experience proved the original 1775 Articles of War's flogging limit of thirty lashes to be naively lenient,

[16] Ward, *George Washington's Enforcers,* 45.

[17] George Washington, general orders, Varick Transcripts, series 3g: Continental Army Papers, 1775–1783, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress. The author examined all daily general orders between Oct. 1, 1777, and Apr. 1, 1778, finding that thirty of ninety-two (32.6 percent) fourth-quarter 1777 daily orders mentioned courts-martial, versus fifty-two of ninety (57.8 percent) in the first quarter of 1778.

[18] The 1776 Articles of War stipulated that pretrial confinement not exceed eight days except under battlefield exigency. For convincing evidence this directive was closely adhered to, see daily general orders of George Washington, in letterbooks 2 and 3, Varick Transcripts, series 3g, Continental Army Papers, 1775–1783, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Typical of the 168 surviving unit orderly books conveying the general orders to the troops are: *Valley Forge Orderly Book of General George Weedon* (New York, 1901); *Orderly Book of Lt. Samuel Tallmadge of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778–1780* (Albany, NY, 1932); and Jacob Piatt, orderly book, First New Jersey Continental Regiment (RG 226), New Jersey Historical Society.

[19] George Washington, "Warrant for the execution of Brent Dobbadie, private soldier of Captain Lang's company of the 10th Pennsylvania Battalion . . . 24th Day of February, 1777," item 74951, Horatio Gates papers, MS 240, New-York Historical Society.

[20] Edward F. Sherman, "The Civilianization of Military Justice," *Maine Law Review* 3 (1970): 4.

John Adams (at Washington's urging) championed a more muscular code. Thomas Jefferson helped draft this version on the heels of writing the Declaration of Independence. Containing eighteen sections with 102 articles, the updated code not only rivaled its British model in liberal use of the death penalty but also gave the commander in chief's daily general orders full force of military law. Regimental courts-martial still adjudicated the majority of private soldier and pedestrian subaltern hearings, but the new 1776 Articles of War mandated thirteen-officer general courts-martial to handle junior officer appeals and decide issues involving multiple regiments, the death penalty, and officers above the rank of major. The judge advocate general or his deputy was directed to prosecute courts-martial defendants "in the name of the United States of America."[21]

Reporting directly to General Washington from April 1777 to June 1782, Judge Advocate General John Laurance was the third-longest serving of Washington's thirty-two wartime staffers.[22] Unswervingly loyal to His Excellency, the boyish-faced native of western England's Cornwall County was a large, fleshy man of "commanding stature" who was remembered as "free from the stiffness which marks the insular Englishman from the same grade of society."[23] Laurance's pragmatic nature made him a believer in strong central authority more than a decade before Alexander Hamilton selected him as New York's first Federalist candidate for the United States Congress in 1789. Not surprisingly, Laurance made no bones about his affinity for Britain's draconian approach to corporal punishment. "It is evident from the many Courts martial that have been held in our Army this last Campaign," he concluded in early 1778, "that the extent of punishment allowed by Congress has been insufficient to answer the purpose it was designed for."[24]

[21] According to the 1776 Articles of War, "The Judge Advocate general, or some person deputed by him, shall prosecute in the name of the United States of America." Articles of War, Sept. 20, 1776, section 14, article 3, in *Journals of the Continental Congress*, vol. 5, *June 5–October 8, 1776*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford (Washington, DC, 1906), 801.

[22] John C. Fitzpatrick, *Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington, Commander in Chief of the Continental Army, with the Continental Congress* (Washington, DC, 1906), 9. For sixty-two months (April 1777 to June 1782), Lieutenant Colonel Laurance was a member of Washington's headquarters military "family." Over the eight-year conflict, only Marylanders Tench Tilghman (eighty-two months) and Robert Harrison (sixty-five months) served with Washington longer.

[23] George C. McWhorter, "Biographical Sketches of the Life of John Laurance," a revised, corrected, and improved paper presented to the New-York Historical Society in 1869 by the Hon. Hamilton Fish (then president), 47–48 (folder "Biographical Sketches of the Life of John Laurance," John Laurance Papers, New-York Historical Society). McWhorter was Laurance's grandson.

[24] John Laurance to George Washington, Feb. 5, 1778, in *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War series, vol. 13, *December 1777–February 1778*, ed. Edward G. Lengel (Charlottesville, VA, 2003), 458–60.

Fig. 1: Portrait of New York Representative John Laurance (1750–1810), by John Trumbull, circa 1792. Collection of the New-York Historical Society.

The only child of a prematurely deceased, middling-class father who somehow provided a coveted public school education, Laurance literally cast his fate to the wind in his seventeenth year, sailing unaccompanied to King George's flourishing New York province. Stepping off the Falmouth packet in New York Harbor with a letter of introduction from his uncle Richard, a well-connected Cornwall merchant, young Laurance read law under the king's lieutenant governor, Cadwallader Colden, gaining admission eight years later to the exclusive New York bar. On revolution's eve, he fell in with the local Sons of Liberty, initiated an intimate thirty-year friendship with fellow striving immigrant Alexander Hamilton, and married the only daughter of future Continental major general Alexander McDougall. Laurance officered a New York infantry company under General Richard Montgomery to the gates of Quebec in the ill-fated 1775 Canadian expedition and later served as his father-in-law's aide-de-camp in the actions at Harlem Heights and Chatterton Hill. No courtroom military naïf, Laurance had more than 220 trials under his belt by the time Washington's weary regiments heaved into Valley Forge.

Lieutenant Colonel Laurance was not the army's inaugural judge advocate general. "The necessity," Washington informed Continental Congress within weeks of taking command outside Boston in June 1775, "was so great, that I was obliged to nominate a Mr. Tudor who was recommended to me and now executes the office."[25] Protégé of feisty John Adams, Boston lawyer William Tudor (1750–1819) served alongside Washington until victory at Trenton and Princeton furnished the opportunity to return to his Boston fiancée and promising legal practice. Tudor was instrumental in convincing Congress to replace the 1775 Articles of War with the more potent articles of 1776, but it was Laurance who embedded them into America's first professional army, comprising the three-year men of 1777–80. Employing an equable courtroom manner that would make him one of postwar New York's most sought-after lawyers, Judge Laurance loosely oversaw some half-dozen military lawyers in three geographic departments (northern, middle, and southern), paving the way for today's US Army Judge Advocate General's Corps.[26]

Judge advocate general was a misleading title; Laurance functioned as prosecutor and administrator. The court's presiding officer (usually a regimental colonel) and his board of junior officers were solely responsible for judging actual innocence or guilt and sentencing. Laurance and his staff drafted each proceeding's formal charges, scheduled trial dates, and summoned or deposed prosecution witnesses. Prior to commencing a prosecution, all judge advocates were directed by the 1776 Articles of War to administer required oaths to the defendant, members of the court, and witnesses. They also interpreted the articles for all parties, advised paymaster general William Palfrey of necessary pay stoppages, recorded trial proceedings, and transmitted copies to War Department secretary Richard Peters. For the sake of fairness, a judge advocate might occasionally advise the defendant, who—unheard of today—was denied private counsel to speak in his behalf.[27] When all questions were answered to the court's satisfaction, officers beginning with the most junior took a vote, with verdict and sentence pronounced by the presiding officer. No sentence was final until personally approved by the commander in chief.

[25] John Hancock to George Washington, July 21, 1775, in *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War series, vol. 1, *June–September 1775*, ed. Philander D. Chase (Charlottesville, VA, 1985), 136–43.

[26] William F. Fratcher, "The History of the Judge Advocate General's Department," *Military Law Review* 4 (1959): 90.

[27] US Army, *The Army Lawyer: A History of the Judge Advocate General's Corps, 1775–1975* (Washington, DC, 1975), 4, 29.

Military Justice in Action at Valley Forge

While Washington labored with the Continental Congress, state governors, and an increasingly meddlesome, in-transition Board of War to pay, feed, clothe, and equip his desertion-plagued ranks, Judge Laurance emptied its jails. "Great numbers of prisoners," wrote Virginia brigadier George Weedon that New Year's Eve, "are now in the provost suffering severely from the severity of the season. Court martials [*sic*]," Weedon continued, "are to be approved tomorrow, and sit every day till all the men that belong to their respective brigades are tried."[28] Trials more often than not took place in the "Bake House," which also served as a bakery, commissary, and venue for junior officer theatrical productions. The prisoner backlog was so large that temporary judge advocates were appointed to expedite brigade and regimental proceedings. Weedon, for example, on January 21 named future North Carolina lawyer and federal judge Lt. John Stokes to prosecute in his four Virginia regiments.[29] Desperate North Carolina brigadier Lachlan McIntosh later pressed regimental chaplain Adam Boyd into similar service.[30]

Full burden, however, of Valley Forge general courts-martial—some nine trials per week—fell to Lieutenant Colonel Laurance. In the wake of Virginia major and Main Army deputy judge advocate John Taylor's decision to winter at his Caroline County manor, an overwhelmed Judge Laurance had no recourse but to advise Washington of slow progress. "The number of officers under arrest, and Soldiers and Inhabitants in confinement, has been so great," wrote Laurance, "that their Trials have often times been longer delayed than has been consistent with the good of the service, or satisfactory to myself."[31] Casting about for a temporary administrative deputy as December approached, Judge Laurance settled on a young Virginia infantry lieutenant with a reputation for clear thinking, who likely had caught his eye during regimental proceedings. Though but twenty-two and lacking formal legal training, a first-rate mind lay behind the young officer's deceptively "backcountry" appearance. Laurance could not have known it at the time, but he had started Lt. John Marshall on a

[28] George Weedon, *Valley Forge Orderly Book of General George Weedon* (New York, 1901), 173.

[29] Ibid., 206.

[30] Durward T. Stokes, "Adam Boyd," *North Carolina Historical Review* 49 (1972): 12. Prewar newspaper publisher/Presbyterian minister Adam Boyd (1738–1803) was commissioned a North Carolina infantry lieutenant in October 1777 and made regimental chaplain shortly thereafter.

[31] Laurance to Washington, Feb. 5, 1778, in Lengel, *Papers of George Washington*, 13:458–60.

path that would lead to thirty-four years as chief justice of the future US Supreme Court.[32]

Laurance and Marshall's remarkable Valley Forge trial workload appears all the more striking when examined in historical context. To facilitate timeline analysis, a fresh analytical metric was developed: quarterly courts-martial per thousand fit-for-duty troops. The first step was to aggregate into quarterly totals all trials reported in Washington's general orders between July 1775 and December 1778. Because Main Army troop musters varied widely from month to month, quarterly trial figures might prove misleading if not indexed to quarterly average fit-for-duty (excluding the sick or otherwise unable to serve) troop counts. The next step, therefore, was to aggregate into quarterly averages the available monthly army strength reports compiled in Charles Lesser's *The Sinews of Independence*.[33] These average troop counts were then divided by quarterly trial figures to produce an index of trials per thousand fit-for-duty troops.

One hundred and fourteen general courts-martial were conducted during Valley Forge's critical 1778 first quarter, versus only forty-two in the preceding quarter—a 2.7-fold increase. When indexed to troop count, however, the Valley Forge surge represented an *almost five-fold increase*—14.9 versus 3.1 trials per thousand Main Army fit-for-duty troops (table 1). To be sure, fourth quarter 1777 trial incidence was likely dampened because the army was fully engaged with the enemy. Even so, the first quarter 1778 Valley Forge incidence of 14.9 trials per thousand is still 2.9 times the prior ten-quarter 1775–77 average of 5.2 trials per thousand. By any measure, courts-martial activity was unusually heavy between January 1 and March 31, 1778.

If this large dose of military justice in the first quarter of 1778 indeed kept Washington's army in line until von Steuben's parade-ground discipline took hold, researchers should rightly expect trial incidence to decline dramatically after widespread drills began—which is precisely what happened. The pre-Steuben first quarter incidence of 14.9 trials per thousand fit-for-duty soldiers plummeted to 4.3 per thousand the quarter of

[32] Lt. John Marshall was appointed deputy judge advocate on Nov. 20, 1777, and apparently served as such in some capacity as late as August 1778. General orders of George Washington, Nov. 20, 1777, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, 10:88. See also *The Papers of John Marshall*, vol. 1, *Correspondence and Papers, November 10, 1775–June 23, 1788, and Account Book, September 1783–June 1788*, ed. Herbert A. Johnson (Chapel Hill, NC, 1974), 15n; and Keith Marshall Jones III, "*Congress as My Government": Chief Justice John Marshall in the American Revolution* (Baltimore, 2008), 127–36.

[33] Charles H. Lesser, ed., *The Sinews of Independence: Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army* (Chicago, 1976).

Table 1: General Courts-Martial in George Washington's Main Army, 1775–78

Period	Present and Fit-for-Duty Troops	Trials	Convictions	Trials per 1,000	Percent Convicted
1775					
3rd Qtr.	17,984	117	95	6.5	81.1
4th Qtr.	15,900	41	31	2.6	75.6
1776					
1st Qtr.	14,644	11	9	0.8	81.8
2nd Qtr.	9,608	85	75	8.5	88.2
3rd Qtr.	16,334	82	70	5.0	85.4
4th Qtr.	13,846	20	16	1.4	80.0
1777					
1st Qtr.	N/A	17	9	N/A	52.0
2nd Qtr.	7,363	122	104	16.6	85.2
3rd Qtr.	8,000*	160	118	20.0	73.8
4th Qtr.	14,623	42	26	3.1	57.8
1778					
1st Qtr.	7,656	114	86	14.9	75.4
2nd Qtr.	15,237	65	53	4.3	81.5
3rd Qtr.	20,895	59	42	2.8	71.1
4th Qtr.	22,278	43	31	1.9	72.1
1775–78 Quarterly Average					
	13,367	70	55	5.2	78.5

SOURCES: Officers and soldiers fit for duty are quarterly averages calculated from monthly strength reports of troops under Washington's direct command. *See Charles H. Lesser, ed., *The Sinews of Independence: Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army* (Chicago, 1976). In the absence of third-quarter 1777 main army musters in Lesser, this figure was derived from Washington's personal correspondence. Trials and convictions are from Washington's daily general orders (1775–78), in *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799*, 39 vols., ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, DC, 1931–44); and general orders, letterbooks 1–3, Varick Transcripts, series 3g: Continental Army Papers, 1775–1783, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

Steuben's intensive drills, then trailed off sharply to, respectively, 2.8 and 1.9 per thousand over the subsequent two quarters. No better case is to be made that courts-martial justice and parade-ground drills were two sides of the same disciplinary coin. Of course, general courts-martial provide only a partial picture of 1778's first-quarter surge of military justice, for regimental trials accounted for the vast majority of all wartime adjudications.[34] These lesser affairs did not require Laurance's personal prosecution, but he was responsible for forwarding documentation to the War Department. Though the actual Valley Forge regimental trial count is problematic—period courts-martial records were consumed in the War Department fire of November 8, 1800—unit orderly books suggest a substantial upswing. Between December 1777 and April 1778, for example, half the private soldiers of South Carolina's four regiments faced courts-martial.[35] South Carolina's second regiment alone saw 250 of its 316 men adjudicated in an eleven-month period.[36]

General Washington's Main Army experienced a prior surge of general courts-martial over the second and third quarters of 1777 (table 1). Between April and July, thousands of raw three-year recruits from Congress's eighty-eight-battalion resolve of the previous September descended on Camp Morristown in New Jersey to be literally whipped into shape as professional soldiers. Like Valley Forge, the courts-martial surge in the second and third quarters of 1777 (respectively, 16.6 and 20.0 per thousand fit-for-duty troops) appears neither random nor arbitrary but rather a result of Washington's determined effort to regulate new recruits and junior officers in an army lacking professional martial discipline.

Private soldiers might be flogged (up to a hundred lashes per offense) into line with formulaic military justice, but all was for naught without a competent officer corps of high character that earned respect from the rank-and-file. Eschewing Frederick the Great's dictum that common soldiers should fear their own officers more than the enemy, Washington depended on men of honor to lead from personal example. But these paragons were not so easy to find. Writing to his cousin Lund Washington, the general lamented in late 1776 that he "never had officers, in except a few instances, worth the bread they eat."[37] While an overstatement, in the

[34] Neagles, *Summer Soldiers*, 1–285 passim. Gleaned from 168 surviving unit orderly books, regimental cases composed 2,654 of Neagles's 3,315 individual courts-martial trials.

[35] Stanley P. Godbold Jr. and Robert H. Woody, *Christopher Gadsden and the American Revolution* (Knoxville, TN, 1982), 156.

[36] Ward, *George Washington's Enforcers*, 40.

[37] George Washington to Lund Washington, Sept. 26, 1776, quoted in Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography*, 7 vols. (New York, 1948), 4:208.

wake of lower New York's loss to British arms, the remark still reflected Washington's ongoing frustrations.

Worth their bread or not, some three hundred Continental Army officers resigned from Washington's Main Army in December 1777. Scores of others returned home on furlough over the Valley Forge winter. By February, only four of Washington's seven major generals remained in camp, and some regiments boasted no more than a captain or two. Deputy judge advocate Marshall's unit, Virginia's Eleventh Regiment, was a case in point. Both his company commander (Captain Blackwell) and regimental adjutant (Major Snead) decamped for home. Regimental colonel Daniel Morgan was sporadically detached for special duty, and brigadier general William Woodford stewed in Williamsburg until finally being made senior brigadier of the Virginia line. For much of the winter, then, Marshall found only regimental lieutenant colonel John Cropper in the line of command between him and the commander in chief.[38]

Because of what von Steuben called "the miserable British sergeant system" of military drill, too many of the officers remaining in camp had little contact with their men until forced together in proper uniform by the Prussian's profanity-laced exercises.[39] "Our lieutenant scarcely ever saw us," remembered private Joseph Plumb Martin of his first Valley Forge months, "or we him."[40] As might be expected, junior officers, with the enemy in winter camp twenty miles distant and senior field officers on furlough, all too often squandered the days, as Washington sternly put it, "captivated by their own folly and carelessness."[41] Accordingly, Washington and his judge advocate general tightened the screws of accountability to general orders and the Articles of War on an officer corps that through resignation and home leave had shrunk from 1,624 in the fourth quarter of 1777 to 1,050 by the following January. Of these, Judge Laurance prosecuted fifty-one—nearly one in twenty of the army's serving officers—during the first quarter of 1778 (table 2). Ninety-five officers faced courts-martial in the first six months of 1778, a sum amounting to well over half the preceding thirty months combined! Indeed, more Valley Forge officers than private soldiers faced general courts-martial.

[38] Jones, "*Congress as My Government*," 143. Colonel Woodford was promoted over Weedon.

[39] William North, "Baron Steuben," *Magazine of American History*, Mar. 1882, 191. Colonel North was Steuben's wartime aide-de-camp.

[40] Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle*, 111.

[41] George Washington, general orders, Mar. 26, 1778, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-14-02-0283.

Table 2: Composition of General Courts-Martial Trials in George Washington's Main Army, 1775–78

Period	Total Trials	Soldiers		Officers		Other*	
		Trials	% Total	Trials	% Total	Trials	% Total
1775–77	700	526	75.1	167	23.9	7	1.0
1778							
1st Qtr.	114	33	28.9	51	44.7	30	26.4
2nd Qtr.	65	18	27.7	44	67.7	3	5.6
3rd Qtr.	59	27	45.6	28	47.5	4	6.9
4th Qtr.	43	31	72.1	9	29.0	3	8.9

* Includes civilians, wagon masters, commissary, and forage officers.

SOURCE: General Washington's daily general orders, 1775–78, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799*, 39 vols., ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, DC, 1931–44); and general orders, letterbooks 1–3, Varick Transcripts, series 3g: Continental Army Papers, 1775–1783, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: As in table 1, the trial figures do not include regimental courts-martial figures.

Charges reflected the full gamut of officer character flaws, from cowardice (Captain Courteney of the New York Artillery, Captain Zane of the Thirteenth Virginia, and Ensign Forbes of the Fourth Massachusetts) to neglect of duty when on picquet (Captain Laird of the Tenth Virginia and Ensign Cook of the Twelfth Pennsylvania), to sleeping and eating with private soldiers (Lieutenant Williams of the Thirteenth Virginia and Lieutenant Alder of the Twelfth Massachusetts). Others were dismissed for theft (Captain Lambert of the Fourteenth Virginia, Massachusetts captain Davis, and Lieutenant Whedby of the Seventh North Carolina), lying under oath (Ensign Cook of the First Virginia), and ungentlemanly behavior unbecoming of an officer (Pennsylvania lieutenants McMichael and Hays).

The general court-martial of Lt. Jonathan Rush of the Tenth Virginia illustrates both Washington's low tolerance for error where officer character was concerned and his personal involvement in junior officer sentencing. Lieutenant Rush, an officer of hitherto sterling behavior, engaged in a game of cards on a dull evening in February 1778. Washington, however, considered gaming of any form to be a vice "among the lower staff in the

environs of camp," degrading to an officer and a gentleman.[42] Moreover, he had expressly forbidden "Cards and Dice under any pretence."[43] As Rush's card game progressed, the young lieutenant had one drink too many, verbally abused a fellow lieutenant, and struck "Captain Lavid on the Sabbath day, whilst the sd. Captain Lavid [David Laird] was under Arest."[44] Not surprisingly, Rush was pronounced guilty under the Articles of War, found in breach of general orders, and sentenced to be discharged from the service. Because Lieutenant Rush had formerly "bore the Character of a good officer," court presiding officer Lt. Col. Abraham Buford immediately recommended that Washington restate him to service without loss of rank. His Excellency refused. Instead of leniency, the commander in chief's general orders proclaimed to the entire army that Lieutenant Rush's "continuance in service Would be a disgrace to it."[45]

On March 10, Judge Laurance prosecuted at a general court-martial that would establish army policy for more than two centuries. Third Pennsylvania lieutenant Friedrich Enslin was discovered in his quarters "attempting to commit sodomy" with private John Monhort. After falsely accusing Ensign Anthony Maxwell of "propagating a scandalous report" prejudicial to his character, Enslin was subsequently found guilty of "dissolute" behavior and "dismiss'd the service with infamy."[46] At the commander in chief's insistence, all the drums and fifes of Valley Forge formed up to literally drum Enslin—his coat turned inside out—out of the fully assembled army. The outright ban on homosexuality in the military was replaced in 1993 by Department of Defense Directive 1304.26, "Don't ask, don't tell," which was repealed in 2010.

Civilians under Military Justice

Judge Laurance's general court martial responsibility also extended to supply officers, military clerks, and civilians who never set foot on von Steuben's parade ground. Continental supply logistics suffered horribly in the wake of Quartermaster General Thomas Mifflin's and Commissary

[42] Edward Hand and William B. Read, "Orderly Book of General Edward Hand, Valley Forge, January, 1778," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 41 (1917): 211.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Jacob Piatt, Feb. 20, 1778, orderly book 1777–1778, New Jersey Historical Society.

[45] Ibid.

[46] George Washington, general orders, Mar. 14, 1778, letterbook 2:103, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

General Joseph Trumbull's summer 1777 resignations, but they collapsed completely after congressional transfer of both functions from Washington's control into a fragmented array of departments controlled by the Board of War. Subsequent incompetence, neglect, organizational confusion, and shoddy bookkeeping combined with rampant price escalation to create severe Main Army privation, while opening the door to supply fraud.[47]

The fine line between ineptness and outright chicanery, however, was not always clear. When Josiah Parker, a colonel in the Fifth Virginia, flogged Joseph Chambers, a commissary in General Greene's division, for supply shortcomings, Chambers demanded a formal inquiry.[48] The court, after hearing evidence in Chambers's defense, unanimously pronounced him guilty of no more than neglect and reprimanded Colonel Parker for "Conduct highly Reprehensible as being subversive of good Order and Regulation."[49] Commissary Denham Ford, also of General Greene's division, was an altogether different story. One of thirty supply chain and civilian defendants prosecuted by Judge Laurance over the first three months of 1778 (table 2), Ford was pronounced guilty of theft, fined $200, and cashiered from service with ignominy on January 5.[50] Dozens of others were publicly fined or discharged from the service for defrauding troops of blanket money, selling hospital supplies, misappropriating everything from rum to shoes to soap, and writing fraudulent checks on the commissary account.

Besides commissary cheats, it also fell to Laurance to prosecute civilians who spied for or otherwise consorted with the enemy. On February 24, for example, Pennsylvania inhabitant Joseph Worrell was sentenced to "suffer death" for "giving intelligence to the enemy and for acting as guide and pilot."[51] Worrell's case was clear-cut. Scores of other jailed civilians, however, were only suspected of selling livestock, flour, and information to British Philadelphia as Washington's foraging parties stripped the surrounding counties bare. Confronted by outraged locals protesting extended

[47] Bodle and Thibaut, *Valley Forge Historical Research Report*, vol. 2, *This Fatal Crisis: Logistics and the Continental Army at Valley Forge, 1777–1778* (Valley Forge, PA, 1982), 1–703 passim, esp. 129–32 and 274–75. See also E. Wayne Carp, *To Starve the Army at Pleasure: Continental Army Administration and American Political Culture, 1775–1783* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1984), 59.

[48] Bodle and Thibaut, *Valley Forge Historical Research Report*, 2:130.

[49] "Orderly Book of Peter Gabriel Muhlenburg," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 35 (1911): 178–79.

[50] George Washington, general orders, Jan. 5, 1778, letterbook 3:8, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[51] George Washington, general orders, Mar. 1, 1778, letterbook 3:83, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

incarceration of their friends and neighbors, Pennsylvania's unicameral state legislature and thirteen-man Supreme Executive Council had little choice but to intercede. But with the adjoining countryside subject to congressionally sanctioned martial law, where exactly did jurisdiction for these civilian cases lie? To resolve jurisdictional ambiguity, Judge Laurance was summoned in mid-February before the visiting Congressional Conference Committee at nearby Moore Hall.[52] Directed to bring "records of Congress or laws of this state empowering court methods to try persons other than of the army," Laurance became midwife to the United States's first formal parameters of war-zone martial law.[53]

The very concept of wartime martial law legitimacy was rooted in English judicial tradition, emanating from the writings of respected English Lord Chief Justice Sir Matthew Hale (1609–96). Judge Laurance was certainly familiar with Hale's admonition that martial law was "in truth and reality no law, but something indulged rather than allowed as a law . . . only to extend to members of the army or those of the opposed army."[54] Because four of the five members of the congressional committee assembled at Moore Hall were, like Laurance, prewar lawyers, the panel treaded lightly on civil liberties as they determined necessary martial protocols governing noncombatants. Evidence in civilian cases, the conclave concluded, was to be fully examined by the judge advocate general before incarceration rather than after.[55] Unless such evidence clearly determined otherwise, there would be no incarceration. Moreover, any civilian taken as prisoner more than thirty miles from army headquarters was to be turned over to civil authority.[56]

Washington, who had determined to set the agenda for visiting congressional committeemen, attended all but two meetings over their two-

[52] On January 24, 1778, a five-man conference committee arrived at Washington's invitation to grapple with the army's logistical and organizational challenges. Some members remained until April 10. Housed three miles from Valley Forge at the home of William Moore, a seventy-eight-year-old, unrepentant Tory, the committee included chairman Francis Dana (Massachusetts), Gouverneur Morris (New York), Nathaniel Folsom (New Hampshire), Joseph Reed (Pennsylvania), and John Harvie (Virginia). All but Folsom were trained lawyers.

[53] Jos. Reed to Col. Judge Advocate John Lawrance [*sic*], Feb. 18, 1778, folder 1778, John Laurance Papers, New-York Historical Society. Philadelphia lawyer Joseph Reed, Washington's former adjutant general, was president of Pennsylvania's governing thirteen-member executive council.

[54] Matthew Hale, *History of the Common Laws of England*, 3 vols., ed. Charles M. Gray (Chicago, 1971), 3:26–27.

[55] George Washington, general orders, Mar. 5, 1778, letterbook 3:88–89, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[56] George Washington to Colonel Israel Shreve, Apr. 6, 1778, folder 9, Israel Shreve Revolutionary War Letters, Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries. The commander in chief, likely with Laurance's advice, informed New Jersey colonel Shreve of Congress's new thirty-mile resolution and that Billingsport, where two civilian prisoners were captured, lay outside the limit.

and-a-half-month stay. Seizing the initiative on issues ranging from supply chain dysfunction to army reorganization and postwar officer pensions, the general also asked Judge Laurance to recommend alterations he thought Congress need consider in the 1776 Articles of War. At the top of his mind was the army's nagging desertion rate—between September 27, 1777, and February 28, 1778, alone, at least 871 deserters slipped away to British Philadelphia.[57]

Desertion was a capital crime punishable by death under the Articles of War. But "Should the greater part of the offenders be punished with death," Laurance counseled Washington, "it is probable the frequency of Examples of that kind might loose that Effect on the Minds of the Soldiers," driving even more men to desert.[58] "Punishing them with Stripes [lashes]," Laurance continued, "might deter them . . . but the *Number allowed to be inflicted are too few*."[59] The solution, to Laurance's mind, was to emulate the British military code granting courts maneuvering room of up to a thousand lashes per infraction. "I am induced to think," he suggested, "the Honble Congress should repeal that part of the 3rd Article Section 18 of the Articles of War and leave Courts Martial at liberty to sentence offenders to receive as great a number of Lashes, as they conceive an adequate punishment for the crime."[60]

On February 19, Washington laid his judge advocate general's recommendation before the visiting congressional committee, adding that "to inflict capital punishment on every deserter" would "incur the imputation of cruelty," while "to give only a hundred lashes to such criminals is a burlesque on their crimes."[61] Concerned about excessive punishment of free men in a volunteer army, the lawmakers took no action on Laurance's recommendation.[62] Whether influenced by Laurance's opinion or not,

[57] "An Account of the Number of Persons Who Have Taken the Oath of Allegiance from the 30th of September 1777 to the 17th June 1778 . . . ," item 46, vol. 7, George Sackville Germain Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. After entering Philadelphia on September 26, 1777, Sir William Howe appointed former Continental Congressman Joseph Galloway as Philadelphia's superintendent of police. Galloway, together with fellow Loyalist Enoch Story, prepared this document summarizing the monthly influx of Continental Army deserters. Of the 1,134 men who registered with the British, 851 (75 percent) identified themselves as foreign nationals.

[58] Laurance to Washington, Feb. 5, 1778, in Lengel, *Papers of George Washington*, 13:458–60.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] George Washington to the Committee of Congress with the Army, Jan. 29, 1778, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, 10:402.

[62] Committee at Camp, Minutes of Proceedings, Feb. 16–20, 1778, *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1779*, 26 vols., ed. Paul H. Smith et al. (Washington, DC, 1976–2000), 9:105–7.

Washington determined to leaven deserter death verdicts (he could lessen, but not increase, sentences) with mercy; only forty of 225 capital offenders convicted during wartime were actually executed.[63] A more practical course, when execution was thought too severe and the hundred-lash limit too lenient, was to skirt the limit by charging a deserter with multiple offenses. Private James Gordon of the Second Virginia represents such a case. Over the Valley Forge winter, Gordon had forged a discharge, deserted, and then fraudulently re-enlisted under a different name in the Twelfth Pennsylvania regiment to pocket a twenty-dollar signing bonus. Rather than execute Gordon as a deserter who had returned in a fresh set of clothes, the commander in chief was only too happy to approve three separate hundred-lash sentences.[64]

By late May of 1778, Judge Laurance's caseload tapered to only three cases a week. Not only had he prosecuted forty-two of Washington's least professional officers out of the service but he also tried forty enlisted men and two female camp followers for actual or attempted desertion. And whether or not Laurance's docket was reduced by Washington's many last-minute executional reprieves, his future caseload was certainly lightened by the successful desertion of at least a thousand potential defendants.[65] Those who remained largely began to adhere to a disciplinary process that had become reassuringly familiar. With warmer weather, fuller bellies, and uplifting word of a formal alliance with France, the disciplinary drumbeat of military justice gave way to the stamping feet of von Steuben's close-order drills. In the spirit of these parade-ground competitions, junior officers then devised mock trials of their own to spice up exercises with rival regiments. One such officer, Ensign George Ewing of the Third New Jersey regiment, fondly recalled "a great deal of diversion in trying the delinquent officers," who were "then find [*sic*] one Quart of peach Brandy each."[66]

[63] Charles Patrick Neimeyer, *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army* (New York, 1996), 143. Neimeyer attributes the figures to Allan Bowman's *Morale of the American Revolutionary Army* (Washington, DC, 1943).

[64] George Washington, general orders, Apr. 16, 1778, letterbook 3:160–61, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[65] There is no definitive total of Valley Forge deserters. A number of studies have estimated the desertion rate at 20–25 percent over the duration of the war, suggesting up to two thousand men melted away over the Valley Forge winter. Wayne Bodle's *Valley Forge Winter* (State College, PA, 2002), 294, notes that army strength reports showed an average of 250 deserters per month.

[66] George Ewing, *The Military Journal of George Ewing (1754–1824): A Soldier of Valley Forge* (Yonkers, NY, 1924), 37.

Washington's Main Army abandoned Valley Forge on June 9, 1778, crossing the Schuylkill River to set up a flying camp a mile away. Nine days later, with word of British withdrawal from Philadelphia, the army was set in motion toward its bloody rendezvous with Sir Henry Clinton's retreating column at Monmouth Courthouse. Tempered by adversity, winnowed by disease, and disciplined by military justice and Prussian manual-of-arms drills, the hard-bodied Continental cadre was becoming the army Washington had always wanted.

Disciplinary Aftermath of Valley Forge

Von Steuben's three-month drillmaster role concluded with Monmouth's splendid battlefield graduation exercise by an army that would never again maneuver full-force against redcoat troops in open field. Having successfully transferred ongoing close-order training responsibility to line company commanders, the baron was made army inspector general, with the rank and pay of a major general. Judge Laurance, on the other hand, would continue to administer army courts-martial justice for almost four more years. While there is no evidence he personally impacted military justice with troops commanded by Gates, Greene, Lafayette, and von Steuben as the war moved south, his courtroom protocols and Articles of War interpretations had influenced hundreds of their officers.

Maurer and Ward contend that Washington's judge advocates functioned as little more than administrators who introduced required evidence.[67] That may well have been the case in scores of preliminary inquiries and run-of-the-mill trials involving petty offences, but it must be remembered that military courts at the time were less adversarial than today's venues because outside counsel was forbidden from speaking on the accused's behalf. Therefore, prosecution was necessarily less a matter of flamboyant histrionics and more the consequence of persuasively served-up evidence. Because burden of proof lay with the prosecution, convincingly presented evidence was everything in gaining conviction.

With a general courts-martial conviction rate of 76 percent (460 of 605 trials) during Judge Laurance's first twenty-one months in office, there is little doubt he prosecuted aggressively when required for the good of the service. In February 1783, General Washington established a board of senior officers to develop peacetime reforms providing greater protection

[67] Maurer, "Military Justice under Washington," 12; Ward, *George Washington's Enforcers*, 41.

for the accused. High on his list was "delineating his [the judge advocate's] duties . . . in relation to the Court as with respect to the Accuser and the accused."[68] Board member Major General Henry Knox then went so far as to recommend that future judge advocates "assist the prisoner in his defense, and in every instance govern himself by the principles of equal justice."[69]

Judge Laurance's courtroom impact is perhaps best illustrated by the trial of Major General Charles Lee, a transcript copy of which is a rare survivor of the November 1800 War Department fire. Washington, delighted with the army's performance at Monmouth Courthouse, might have forgiven Lee's premature retreat with the advance force he had been given to initiate the action. But Lee dashed off two rude letters insulting the commander in chief, claiming personal credit for saving the army, and demanding court-martial to prove his tactical sagacity. The stoic Virginian was more than happy to oblige.

Judge Laurance called five generals and twenty lesser officers as prosecution witnesses before Major General William (Lord Stirling) Alexander's court over twenty-six sessions in five locations to gain a verdict dismissing the unrepentant Lee from Continental service.[70] His prosecution strategy is worth a closer look, for, like a battlefield general awaiting the right hour to fix bayonets and drive his enemy from the field, the judge advocate general saved until last his two strongest witnesses: Major General von Steuben and Lafayette aide Major Jamain. Laurance then closed his prosecution in dramatic fashion. Word by word, he read aloud to the court General Lee's two insubordinate letters to the commander in chief. The thirteen-officer panel could only listen in silence as Lee dismissed Washington's staff as "dirty earwigs who will forever insinuate themselves near persons in high office" and then went on to imply the commander in chief in his "tinsel dignity" of office could not think for himself.[71] "For, I really am convinced," Lee wrote, "that when General Washington acts for himself, no man in his army will have reason to complain."[72] Though Sir Henry Clinton's personal papers would suggest a century and a half later that Lee's Monmouth retreat was militarily correct, Laurance's studied

[68] George Washington to the Board of General Officers, Feb. 12, 1783, in *The Army Lawyer*, 21–22.

[69] Henry Knox quoted in Ward, *George Washington's Enforcers*, 42–43.

[70] *Proceedings of a General Court Martial Held at Brunswick in the State of New-Jersey by Order of His Excellency Gen. Washington for the Trial of Major-General Lee, July 4th, 1778* (New York, 1864).

[71] Ibid., 114–15.

[72] Ibid.

reading of Lee's disrespectful letters sealed his fate with a court predisposed to the commander in chief's best interests.[73]

Judge Laurance would go on to successfully prosecute Major General Benedict Arnold for overstepping his command authority in Philadelphia, and he later dispatched the traitor's go-between, British major John André, to the gallows. With relatively empty court dockets after victory at Yorktown, Laurance resigned his commission in May 1782 in favor of an elected seat in the New York General Assembly. It was the first step in an eighteen-year political career that would lead to positions in the Confederation Congress, First Federal Congress, and the US Senate, as well as an appointment as federal judge for the District of New York. In 1810, the sixty-year-old Laurance died unexpectedly from fever complications. Left behind were six daughters and a son from two marriages, along with a respectable fortune in speculative New York land holdings.

By the time of Laurance's passing, Frederick Steuben (his Americanized name) was sixteen years in the grave. His "Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States," approved by Congress in 1779, remained in use as the Army's revered "Blue Book" until 1814. The other side of Washington's two-headed coin of wartime discipline—the battle-tested Articles of War—lasted almost a century. Twenty-seven of the 102 articles were modified by the Confederation Congress in 1786, after which, as legal scholar Frances Heller has observed, "No major revision was then necessary until the Civil War produced new experiences that led to the first major revision in 1874."[74] Fittingly, it was New York delegate John Laurance who reported the 1786 alterations out of committee to the floor of the Confederation Congress.[75]

Keeping his army intact over the Valley Forge winter was arguably General Washington's most skillful command achievement of the war. There were, one historian has since observed, as many as fifty-six army and navy mutinies during the eight-year struggle for independence, but none at

[73] Thomas Fleming, "The 'Military Crimes' of Charles Lee," *American Heritage* 19, no. 3 (1968): 12–15. Fleming interprets the Henry Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library, the University of Michigan, to suggest Clinton had deduced Washington's Monmouth strategy and maneuvered his own army to overpower Lee's advance corps.

[74] Frances Heller, "Military Law in the Continental Army," *University of Kansas Law Review* 25 (1976–77): 23.

[75] In February 1786, the Confederation Congress tasked delegates John Laurance (New York), Arthur St. Clair (Pennsylvania), and Henry Lee (Virginia) to recommend necessary revisions to the 1776 Articles of War. Reported out by Laurance on May 31, 1786, their recommended alterations in the wording of articles 1–27 were immediately resolved into law. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, vol. 30, *1786 Jan. 2–Jul. 31*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, DC, 1934), 316–22.

Valley Forge.[76] Concluding that Judge Advocate General Laurance's disciplinary regimen was the express reason why would, of course, overstate the case. Still, the evidence suggests military justice was more instrumental than formerly believed in forging a professional Main Army over the winter of 1777–78. As Neimeyer reminds us, the Valley Forge rank and file were a remarkably patient lot who, when pushed to their breaking point, expressed resistance to extreme deprivation through individual desertion rather than the collective defiance of mutiny.[77] But the sturdy, regular army three-year men of 1777–80 did not break. "Our men are the best crude materials for soldiers in the world," wrote Washington headquarters aide John Laurens (no relation) the last week of January 1778. "With a little more discipline, we should drive the haughty Briton to his ships."[78] Laurance and von Steuben simply provided the vehicle.

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[76] John A. Nagy, *Rebellion in the Ranks: Mutinies of the American Revolution* (Yardley, PA, 2007), xv.
[77] Neimeyer, *America Goes to War*, 157.
[78] John Laurens to Henry Laurens, Jan. 23, 1778, in *The Army Correspondence of Colonel John Laurens in the Years 1777–78* (London, 1867), 112–13.

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*

DEMOCRATICALLY 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-

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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."[1] 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."[2] 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*."[3] 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."[4] But if we are to understand this "national

[1] 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.

[2] Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic* (Baltimore, MD, 2010), 3.

[3] *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.

[4] 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."[5] 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.[6] 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.[7] 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."[8] More recent scholarship by Matthew

[5] "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).

[6] "Illicit Commerce," *Aurora General Advertiser*, Jan. 18, 1805; "What is Our Policy—*No. IX*," *Weekly Aurora*, Apr. 6, 1818.

[7] 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.

[8] 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.[9] 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.[10]

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."[11] 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

[9] 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.

[10] Fitz, "Our Sister Republics," 1, 16; Heckard, "The Crossroads of Empire," esp. 134–35, 141, 222–23.

[11] 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."[12] 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"; Padraig 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."[13] 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."[14] 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

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

[13] 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.

[14] 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."[15] "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.[16]

"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."[17] In this way, party lines came to parallel de facto race lines as Republicans and Federalists took sides on overseas revolutions.

[15] "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.

[16] 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.)

[17] "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 monarchial garb, favoring instead the mulatto leader André Riguad (1761–1811), whom Duane deemed ever "faithful to the [French] Republic."[18] 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."[19] 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.[20] In October 1796,

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.

[18] "From a London Paper, *Sketch of Toussaint*," *Massachusetts Spy*, Sept. 25, 1799; general news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, May 3, 1799.

[19] Daniel, *Scandal and Civility*, 234.

[20] 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."[21]

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."[22] 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."[23] 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.[24]

[21] 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.

[22] Duane, quoted in Little, *Transoceanic Radical*, 56, 121, 247.

[23] 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.

[24] 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."[25] Republicans, in turn, viewed their opponents as Anglophilic conspirators, aristocratic vestiges of the colonial era that the revolution had failed to expunge.[26] 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.[27] 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.[28] 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."[29] As US Representative Albert Gallatin phrased it, Duane was "possessed of an engine which gives him irresistible control over public opinion."[30] 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.

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.

[25] 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.

[26] 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.

[27] Daniel, *Scandal and Civility*, 58; Davis, *Revolutions*, 83–84.

[28] As quoted in Briceland, "The Philadelphia *Aurora*," 36; Pasley, *The Tyranny of the Printers*, 286.

[29] Andrew Ellicot to Tench Coxe, June 16, 1804, as quoted in Pasley, *The Tyranny of the Printers*, 308.

[30] 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.[31]

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.[32] 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."[33] 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."[34] "Toussaint," he told readers, "is playing a treacherous game in concert with the British."[35] 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."[36] It was Louverture's Anglo-Federalist affiliation, then, not his color, that mattered most to Duane.

[31] General news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, Nov. 19, 1799; "Correspondents," *Aurora General Advertiser*, Dec. 4, 1798.

[32] 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).

[33] "Correspondents," *Aurora General Advertiser*, Dec. 4, 1798.

[34] *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.

[35] General news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, May 3, 1799.

[36] "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 Riguad, to destroy British troops."[37] 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 Frenchmen," another suggested he was in fact "an angel descended from Heaven, for the consolation and deliverance of the unhappy."[38] 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.[39]

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.[40] At the behest of Adams's

[37] "Foreign News. London, November 30," *Aurora General Advertiser*, Feb. 2, 1799.

[38] "*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.

[39] David Brion Davis, *Revolutions: Reflections on American Equality and Foreign Liberations* (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 25.

[40] "Federal Circuit Court," *Aurora General Advertiser*, Oct. 22, 1799.

secretary of state, Timothy Pickering, authorities arrested Duane on July 30.[41] 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 Riguad, 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 Riguad."[42] Freed on a three-thousand-dollar bail, Duane responded by portraying Riguad 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 *Riguad* 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."[43]

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.[44] 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.[45] 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."[46] 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-

[41] 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.

[42] As quoted in White, *Encountering Revolution*, 162.

[43] General news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, May 3, 1799; "Correspondents," *Aurora General Advertiser*, Dec. 4, 1798.

[44] White, *Encountering Revolution*, 162.

[45] Brown, *Toussaint's Clause*, 170.

[46] Davis, *Revolutions*, 25.

arate that colony from the mother country."[47] 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.[48] 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 newssheet 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."[49] "Commerce with a horde of uncivilized and bloodthirsty revolters," the *Aurora* maintained, "would devastate the West Indies and even threaten us with domestic danger."[50] 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."[51]

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

[47] "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.

[48] 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.

[49] "Massacre of All the Whites at St. Domingo," *Aurora General Advertiser*, June 5, 1804; general news, *Aurora General Advertiser*, June 6, 1804.

[50] As quoted in White, *Encountering Revolution*, 164.

[51] 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.[52] 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."[53] 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."[54]

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.[55] 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

[52] "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.

[53] Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street,* 158.

[54] "The British Orders and French Decrees," *Weekly Aurora*, Aug. 20, 1811. See also Riley, *Slavery and the Democratic Conscience*, 87–88.

[55] Taylor, *Internal Enemy*, 7–10.

patriotism and attachment to the U.S."[56] 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."[57] 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.[58] 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."[59] 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."[60] 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

[56] Duane to Jefferson, Aug. 11, 1814, in "Letters of William Duane," 373–74.

[57] Ibid., 368–69, 375.

[58] Charles H. Bowman Jr., "Manuel Torres, a Spanish American Patriot in Philadelphia, 1796–1822," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 94 (1970): 26–27.

[59] Boston Patriot, "South America," *Weekly Aurora*, July 17, 1810.

[60] Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (Mineola, NY, 1997), 2.

observed, "America fought for itself, not mankind."[61] A decade later, however, republican movements in Latin America rekindled the flame of '76.[62] 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."[63]

Seeking to rejuvenate Painite cosmopolitanism, Duane proclaimed in 1817 that Latin America had become "the Cause of Mankind versus the Cause of Despotism."[64] 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.[65] 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.[66]

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.[67] Duane thus viewed American neutrality in the 1810s no differently than he had its "pro-monarchism"

[61] 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.

[62] Fitz, "Our Sister Republics," 36–37.

[63] "Philadelphia, den 1sten November, 1810," *Amerikanischer Beobachter*, Nov. 1, 1810, trans. by the author.

[64] "The Cause of Mankind versus the Cause of Despotism," *Weekly Aurora*, Nov. 10, 1817.

[65] See William Earl Weeks, *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire* (Lexington, KY, 1992).

[66] Cotlar, *Tom Paine's America*, 55. See also Riley, *Slavery and the Democratic Conscience*, 3.

[67] 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."[68] 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.[69] 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 Padraig Riley's words, "perhaps the best evidence of how dissidence could transform Jeffersonian adherents into bitter opponents of the South."[70] 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.[71]

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

[68] "Principia Non Homines—*No. VIII*," *Weekly Aurora*, Aug. 31, 1818.

[69] Little, *Transoceanic Radical*, 172.

[70] Mason, *Slavery and Politics in the Early American Republic*, 189; Riley, *Slavery and the Democratic Conscience*, 151.

[71] 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."[72] "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."[73]

Jefferson's was the language of North American enthusiasm for Latin American independence.[74] "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."[75] 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."[76] 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."[77] Caitlin Fitz has aptly described American sympathy for the patriots as being both "passive and perfunctory" as

[72] "Philadelphia, den 1sten November, 1810," *Amerikanischer Beobachter*, Nov. 1, 1810, trans. by the author.

[73] 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.

[74] For analysis on Fourth of July toasts to the "sister republics," see Fitz, "Our Sister Republics," 148–57.

[75] "From the Western Argus. South America," *Weekly Aurora*, Dec. 1, 1817.

[76] "South America: From the Delaware Watchman," *Franklin Gazette*, Aug. 14, 1818.

[77] "For the Franklin Gazette," *Franklin Gazette*, Aug. 19, 1818.

well as "emotional and intense."[78] 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."[79] 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.[80]

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.[81] 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."[82] 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."[83] 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

[78] Fitz, "Our Sister Republics," 16.

[79] 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.

[80] William Duane, *A Visit to Columbia, in the Years 1822 & 1823, by Laguayra and Caracas, over the Cordillera to Bogota, and thence by the Magdalena to Cartagena* (Philadelphia, 1826), iv.

[81] 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.

[82] "Anniversary of American Independence. Selected Toasts. At Philadelphia," *Weekly Aurora*, July 13, 1818; "*Independence of South America*," *Weekly Aurora*, May 8, 1820.

[83] 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."[84] That northerners viewed the slaveholding elite as a feudal remnant of the *Ancien Régime* gave ideological support to Duane's otherwise practical abolitionism.[85] 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."[86] In describing this era, Peter Onuf has suggested

[84] "Imposture Exploded *No. III*," *Weekly Aurora*, Dec. 29, 1817.

[85] 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).

[86] 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."[87] 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.[88]

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.[89] 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."[90] In other words, Duane's *Aurora* lightened the revolutionaries.

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.

[87] Onuf, "Federalism, Democracy, and Liberty in the New American Nation," 158.

[88] 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.

[89] *Aurora and General Advertiser*, Nov. 29, 1817, as quoted in Heckard, "The Crossroads of Empire," 141.

[90] "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.[91] 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 presaged 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] Bolivar & Co." was rapidly becoming "a new Hayti."[92]

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

[91] Bradburn, *The Citizenship Revolution*, 266.

[92] 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.[93]

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."[94]

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.[95] In the spirit of Phocion, Yard argued that Latin Americans were incapable of self-government, that intervention would lead to war with Spain, and

[93] "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.

[94] "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.

[95] 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."[96] 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."[97] 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."[98] 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."[99] 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.

[96] "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.

[97] David Hume, "An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding," in *Modern Philosophy,* vol. 3, 6th ed., ed. Forrest E. Baird (Upper Saddle River, NJ, 2011), 400.

[98] "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.

[99] 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."[100]

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.[101] 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]."[102] 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."[103]

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."[104] To his own followers, Duane historicized "the American cause" within a cosmopolitan framework:

[100] "What is Our Policy—*No. VIII*," *Weekly Aurora,* Apr. 6, 1818.

[101] See, for instance, William Duane to Manuel Torres, Dec. 13, 1819, as quoted in Bowman Jr., "Wm. Duane, and Don J. G. Roscio," 112.

[102] 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.

[103] "What is Our Policy—*No. VI*," *Weekly Aurora*, Mar. 30, 1818.

[104] Simon Bolivar, "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.[105]

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.[106] 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.[107]

"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

[105] "What is Our Policy—*No. I*," *Weekly Aurora*, Mar. 9, 1818.
[106] Duane, *A Visit to Columbia*, iv.
[107] 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."[108] 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

[108] 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.[109] 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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[109] "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.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Many Names for Jarena Lee

ABSTRACT: Jarena Lee was the first woman preacher in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. She joined the antislavery movement and had her autobiography printed, first in 1836 and then again in 1849. Despite these significant contributions, she faded from the historical record. This essay synthesizes disparate and in cases contradictory archival, published, and digital sources to uncover her place and date of death. This project thus adds new biographical information about Lee, and it also reflects on methodological issues posed by research in early African American women's history.

JARENA LEE TRAVELED THOUSANDS of miles in service to her calling as the first woman preacher in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. While enduring chronic illness, financial struggles, and opposition from different clergymen, she preached to people from the Chesapeake to Canada and from New York to Ohio.[1] She also wrote her life story; according to one scholar, *The Life and Religious Calling of Jarena Lee, A Coloured Lady, Giving an Account of Her Call to Preach the Gospel* was the first autobiography written by an African American woman.[2] Jarena Lee's accomplishments have drawn the attention of modern scholars, who have examined her autobiography as a window into the role of literacy, religion, gender, kinship, and work in early African American women's history. Yet few other sources have been discovered to flesh out her life

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[1] Jarena Lee, *Religious Experience and Journal of Mrs. Jarena Lee, Giving an Account of Her Call to Preach the Gospel* (Philadelphia, 1849).

[2] Priscilla Pope-Levison, *Turn the Pulpit Loose: Two Centuries of American Women Evangelists* (New York, 2004), 24.

story, and the details of her death have remained unknown.[3] Based on census records, death records, city directories, and other materials containing variants of the name Jarena Lee, this essay will pinpoint her place and date of death. In doing so, it will highlight the difficulties of writing early black women's history. By looking at the larger context of Jarena Lee's life and death, moreover, this essay will demonstrate that racial, gender, and class dynamics followed her to the grave.

Jarena Lee's autobiography describes her ascent from servitude in the post-revolutionary era to recognition as a preacher in the AME Church. According to the text, Jarena Lee was born in Cape May, New Jersey, on February 11, 1783. When she was seven years old, she was separated from her parents, taken about sixty miles away, and used as a "servant maid" by a Mr. Sharp. She encountered the Christian gospel during her youth, and, after a period of intense mental and spiritual trials, she finally entered the church fold under the sway of African Methodism's founder, Richard Allen. Within four or five years, she felt a call to preach the gospel and approached Allen. He rejected her request by pointing to the church bylaws that made no provision for women preachers—the rules only allowed women to hold prayer meetings and exhort, he concluded. Her life took a different turn when she married Joseph Lee, who served in the pulpit in Snow Hill, outside the city of Philadelphia. They had at least two children, and though she deferred to her husband's ministry, which took her away from her community in Mother Bethel, she continued her religious work as an exhorter. Following her husband's death, she returned to Philadelphia's Mother Bethel AME Church and found an opening. During a Sunday sermon, presiding preacher Reverend Richard Williams's voice faltered, and Lee delivered a spontaneous and dynamic sermon. The AME's elder, Richard Allen, felt so inspired that he authorized her to preach, reversing his earlier decision. At the height of her

[3] Catherine A. Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740–1845* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1998); Phebe Davidson, "Jarena Lee (1783–18??)," *Legacy* 10 (1993): 135–41; Richard S. Newman, *Freedom's Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church, and the Black Founding Fathers* (New York, 2008), 230–34; Carla L. Peterson, *"Doers of the Word: African-American Women Speakers and Writers in the North (1830–1880)* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1995), 73–87; Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *A Fragile Freedom: African Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City* (New Haven, CT, 2011), 111–19; Bettye Collier-Thomas, *Jesus, Jobs, and Justice: African American Women and Religion* (New York, 2010), 23–29; Katherine Clay-Bassard, *Spiritual Interrogations: Culture, Gender, and Community in African American Women's Writing* (Princeton, NJ, 1999), 87–107; Clayborne Carson, Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner, and Gary B. Nash, eds., *The Struggle for Freedom: A History of African Americans*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2011), 156–57; Jean McMahon Humez, ed., *Gifts of Power: The Writings of Rebecca Jackson, Black Visionary, Shaker Eldress* (Amherst, MA, 1981), 11–42, 262–63.

work as a preacher, Jarena Lee delivered Sunday sermons from the pulpit of Mother Bethel AME Church in Philadelphia and traveled widely to spread the gospel.[4]

Lee did pioneering work both as a preacher and with the pen, publishing the first edition of her autobiography in 1836. Subsequently expanding the autobiography, she submitted her manuscript to the AME Church's book committee for publication. The annual conference of the church heard her request in 1844 but took no action.[5] Denied an outlet with the AME Church, she turned to another press and had the work printed in 1849.

Lee also ventured into the abolitionist movement. She attended an antislavery meeting in Buffalo, New York, in 1834 and one in New York City in 1840.[6] In 1853, Lee spoke at the American Anti-Slavery Society's convention in Philadelphia, a meeting attended by activists including William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott, and Sojourner Truth. During the convention, the society's business committee drafted a resolution declaring that it "abhor[red] and reject[ed] the aims of the American Colonization Society." When the resolution hit the floor of the general body, Lee joined Esther Moore of the Pennsylvania Female Anti-Slavery Society, itinerant minister and abolitionist Sojourner Truth, and others who voiced their opposition to colonization. The convention approved the anticolonization resolution unanimously.[7]

Having ascended from humble beginnings as a servant in rural New Jersey to the pulpit of Mother Bethel AME Church, Jarena Lee nonetheless ended her life in poverty among the ranks of Philadelphia's black working-class women; the federal census of 1860 names a "Jerene Lee," born in New Jersey in about 1782 and with a personal estate of fifty dollars. Though the record identifies Lee as male, it also lists Lee's profession as that of a "washerwoman." According to the census taker, Lee lived in Philadelphia's Eighth Ward with a woman named Afilinda Lone, a fifty-six-year-old cook who was also from New Jersey.[8] At the apex of her life, Lee moved in the circles of church and abolitionist leadership, but as she

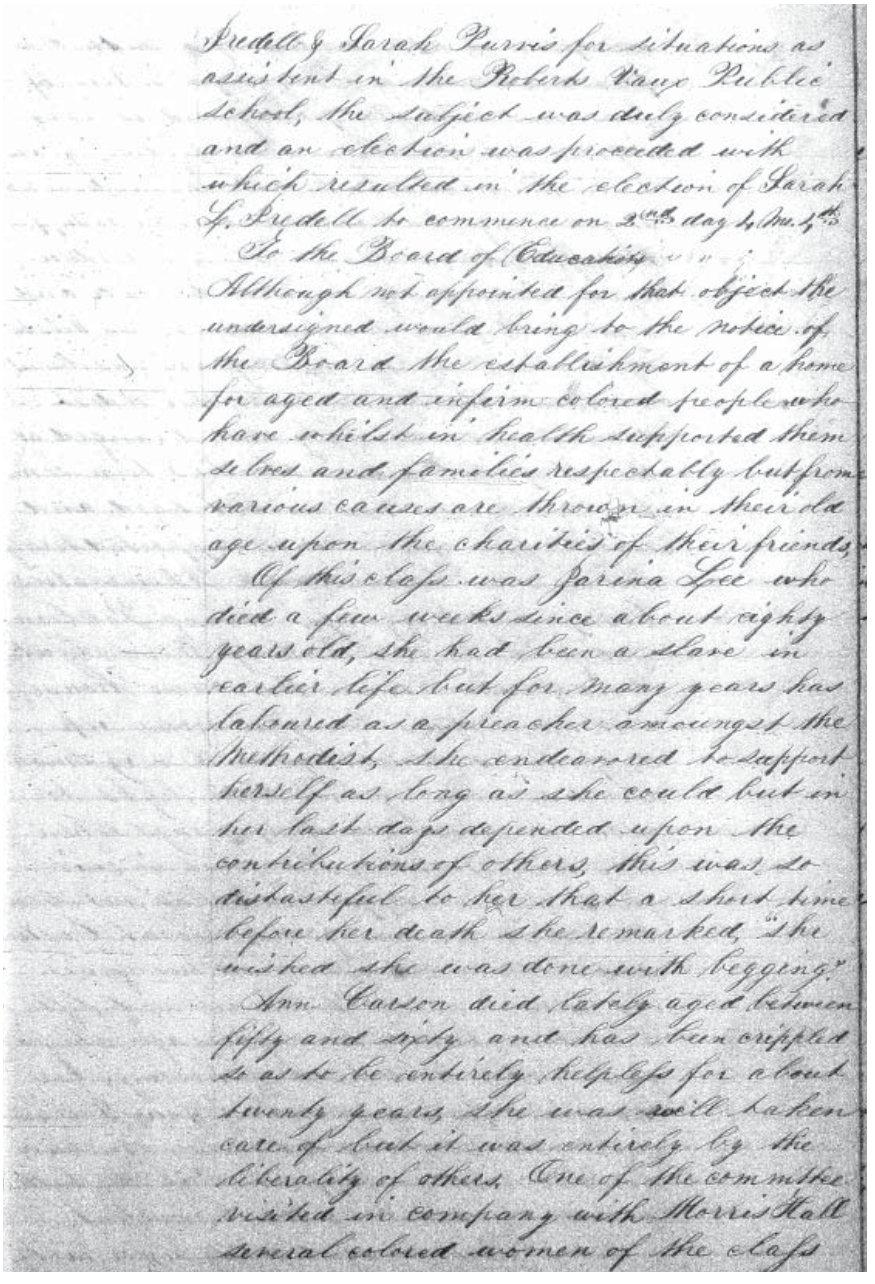
[4] Lee, *Religious Experience*, 3–17, 32, and passim.

[5] Daniel A. Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. 1 (Nashville, TN, 1891), 178, 190.

[6] Lee, *Religious Experience*, 72.

[7] "Second Decade of the Anti-Slavery Society," *The Liberator*, Dec. 9, 1853, 192–93.

[8] Jerene Lee, 1860 US census, Ward 8, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, roll M653_1158, page 63, image 67, Family History Library film 805158, accessed via Ancestry.com, Oct. 7, 2015.



Fredell & Sarah Purris for situations as assistent in the Roberts Vaux Public School, the subject was duly considered and an election was proceeded with which resulted in the election of Sarah S. Fredell to commence on 2nd day 4 Mo. 4th

To the Board of Education

Although not appointed for that object the undersigned would bring to the notice of the Board the establishment of a home for aged and infirm colored people who have whilst in health supported themselves and families respectably but from various causes are thrown in their old age upon the charities of their friends.

Of this class was Farina Lee who died a few weeks since about eighty years old, she had been a slave in earlier life but for many years has labored as a preacher amoungst the Methodist, she endeavored to support herself as long as she could but in her last days depended upon the contributions of others, this was so distasteful to her that a short time before her death she remarked, "She wished she was done with begging."

Ann Carson died lately aged between fifty and sixty and has been crippled so as to be entirely helpless for about twenty years, she was well taken care of but it was entirely by the liberality of others. One of the committee visited in company with Morris Hall several colored women of the class

Fig. 1. Report, Mar. 31, 1864, Board of Education Minute Book, vol. 5, 1840–65, 468–69, AmS.145, Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers (Collection 0490), Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

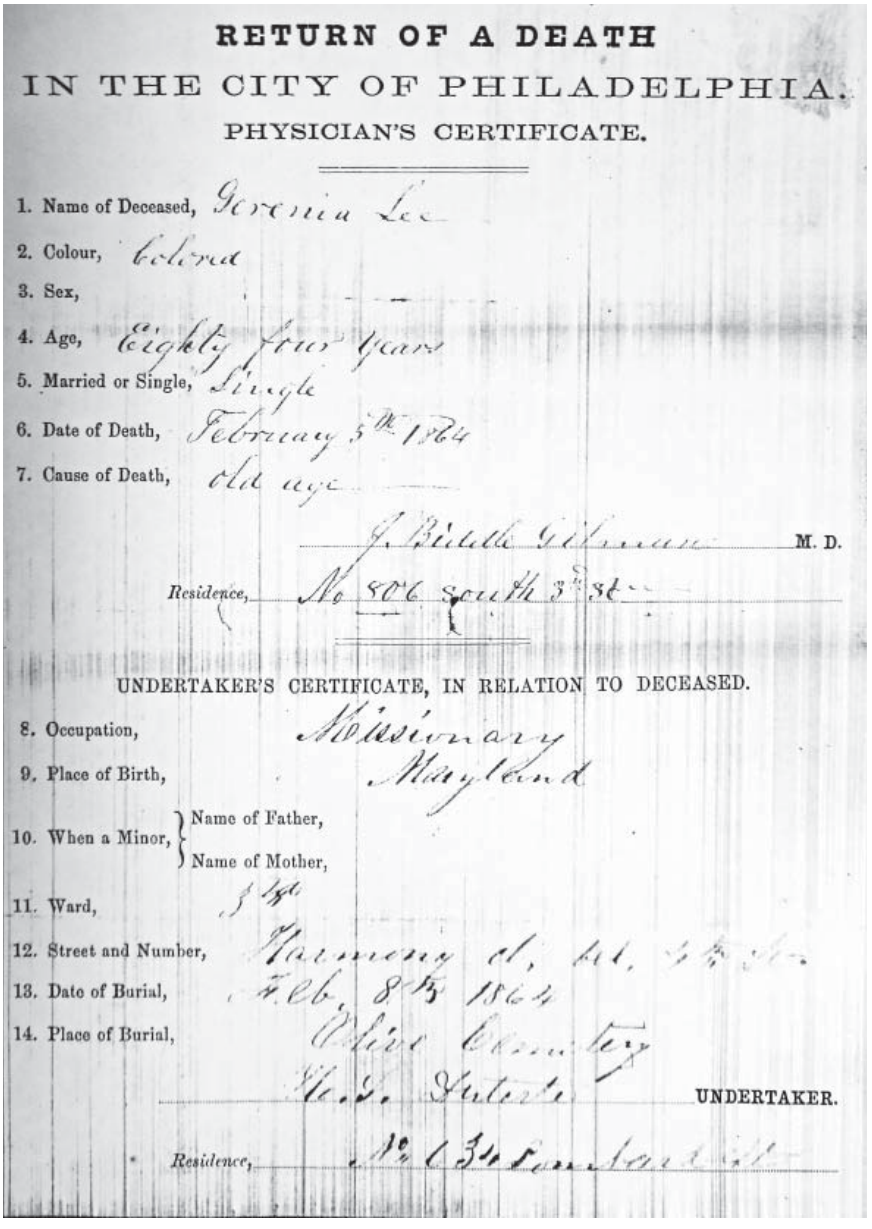
entered her final stage of life, her influence and resources waned. This becomes clear from an account of her last days.

A key reference to Jarena Lee's final days and death appears in the records of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. In the early 1860s, the society's committee on schools made inquiries into the condition of Philadelphia's aged black population, seeking to advise the general body on whether the society should support emerging plans in the city for "the establishment of a home for aged and infirm colored people." The committee reported its findings at a general meeting on March 31, 1864 (fig. 1). During their research, committee members encountered "Jarina Lee," whom they reported as having "died a few weeks ago since [at] about eighty years old." Lee, they wrote, "had been a slave in earlier life but for many years has laboured as a preacher amoungst the Methodist [*sic*]." Detailing her final months, the committee recorded, "she endeavored to support herself as long as she could but in her last days depended upon the contributions of others, this was so distasteful to her that a short time before her death she remarked, 'she wished she was done with begging.'"[9]

More precise knowledge about Jarena Lee's death becomes apparent through a close reading of various, at times contradictory, records. As demonstrated above, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society spelled her name "Jarina." The 1860 federal census misspelled her name and listed Lee as both male and a "washerwoman." Paradoxically, documents with such inaccuracies nonetheless yield information that may help answer some questions about Lee. Such is the case with her death certificate.

No "Jarena Lee" appears in the Philadelphia death records of 1863 or early 1864, the time that the Pennsylvania Abolition Society reported her death. The city did write a death certificate of a woman named "Gerenia Lee," who died on February 5, 1864, but the information captured on this form does not match up cleanly with the details of Jarena Lee's own narrative (fig. 2). For example, the city death certificate states that "Gerenia Lee" was born in Maryland, while Lee in her autobiography listed Cape May, New Jersey, as the place of her birth. Still, the "Gerenia Lee" described in the return of death bears some similarities to the Jarena Lee of her personal account. First, the certificate states that Lee's race was "colored." Second, it records that "Gerenia Lee" died of "old age" at the age of eighty-four; going by her autobiography, Lee's age at the time would have been

[9] Report, Mar. 31, 1864, Board of Education Minute Book, vol. 5, 1840–65, 468–69, AmS.145, Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers (Collection 0490), Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



RETURN OF A DEATH

IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

PHYSICIAN'S CERTIFICATE.

1. Name of Deceased, Gerenia Lee
2. Colour, Colored
3. Sex, —
4. Age, Eighty four years
5. Married or Single, Single
6. Date of Death, February 5th 1864
7. Cause of Death, Old age

J. Biddle Gilman M. D.

Residence, No 806 South 3rd St.

UNDERTAKER'S CERTIFICATE, IN RELATION TO DECEASED.

8. Occupation, Missionary
9. Place of Birth, Maryland
10. When a Minor, Name of Father, Name of Mother,
11. Ward, 3rd
12. Street and Number, Harmony ct, bet. 5th & 6th
13. Date of Burial, Feb. 8th 1864
14. Place of Burial, Olive Cemetery

Geo. Sutton UNDERTAKER.

Residence, No 630 Lombard St.

Fig. 2. "Gerenia Lee," Return of a Death in the City of Philadelphia, Physician's Certificate, Feb. 1864, City of Philadelphia, Department of Records, City Archives, Board of Health. Courtesy of the Philadelphia City Archives.

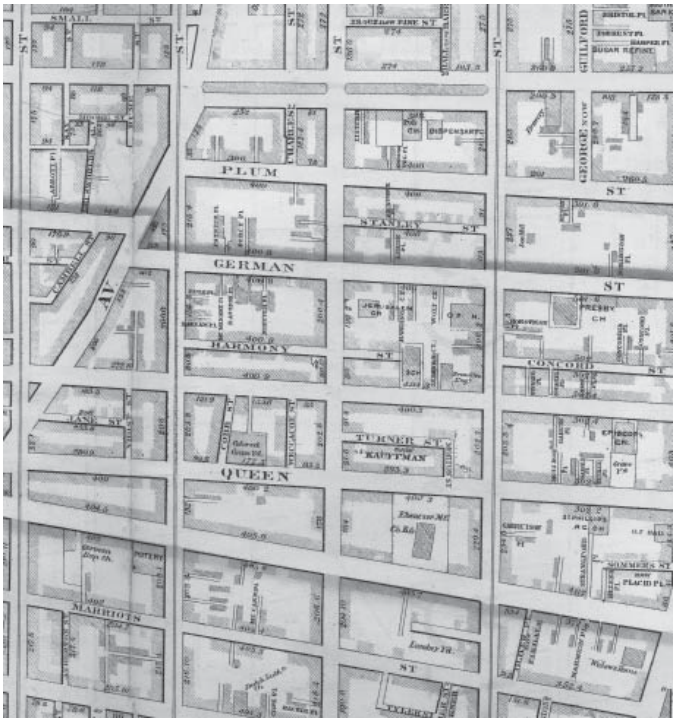


Fig. 3. *Smedley's Atlas of the City of Philadelphia* (1862). Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

around eighty. Most tellingly, the certificate listed her occupation as a "missionary."[10] Jarena Lee and "Gerenia Lee" also lived on the same street in Philadelphia. By 1863, Jarena Lee had moved from the Eighth Ward to the Third Ward; the city directory lists "Lee Jerena (c)" as living at 15 Bohemia Place.[11] Bohemia Place also went by the name of Harmony Court, which is where "Gerenia Lee" lived (figs. 3 and 4). According to the death certificate, "Gerenia Lee" resided at "Harmony Ct."[12] Even though the death certificate contains information that contradicts her autobiography, the identifying markers of race, name, occupation, date of death, and residence suggest that "Gerenia Lee" was Jarena Lee.

[10] "Gerenia Lee," Return of a Death in the City of Philadelphia, Physician's Certificate, Feb. 1864, City of Philadelphia, Department of Records, City Archives, Board of Health; Lee, *Religious Experience*, 3.

[11] *McElroy's City Directory for 1863* (Philadelphia, 1863), 438. The "(c)" stands for "colored."

[12] Ibid., 3, 12; *Smedley's Atlas of the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1862), section 3; C. M. Hopkins, *Atlas of Philadelphia and Environs*, vol. 6 (Philadelphia, 1875), 11. Currently, this location is near the intersection of Fulton and Fourth Streets. "Gerenia Lee" death certificate, Philadelphia City Archives.

Fig. 4: C. M. Hopkins, *Atlas of Philadelphia and Environs*, vol. 6 (1875). Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

The issue of identifying Jarena Lee in the historical record becomes more complex when looking at pre-1860s records. Variations of "Jarena" and "Gerenia" appear in earlier documents, and an analysis of census records and the city directory suggests that those versions were names for Jarena Lee. The 1840 federal census names a "Terania" or "Gerania Lee" living in Philadelphia's Walnut Ward. Her household consisted of two free black women, one aged twenty-four to thirty-five and the other aged fifty-five to ninety. Her autobiography would have put Jarena Lee at about fifty-seven years old in 1840.[13] The 1850 census, however, complicates the picture; it lists a black woman named "Geranna Lee," aged fifty, who lived in the city's Third Ward with the free black Philadelphians Eliza and

[13] Terania [Gerania] Lee, 1840 US census, Walnut Ward, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, roll 483, page 44, image 683, Family History Library film 0020554, accessed via Ancestry.com, Oct. 7, 2015.

Charles Wilmore. The document also states that "Geranna Lee" was born in Pennsylvania, whereas Jarena Lee's autobiography says that she was born in New Jersey.[14] Though the discrepancies in age and birthplace between Jarena Lee's autobiography and this census record raise some questions, it is likely that the "Geranna Lee" of the 1850 census is Jarena Lee. In 1850, "Geranna Lee" lived in the Third Ward with Eliza Wilmore, who in 1865 stayed at 15 Bohemia Place—Jarena Lee's last address.[15]

These materials indicate that over the course of her life, Jarena Lee was recorded under many names. "Geranna Lee" and Jarena Lee had comparable names and links to the same address. "Gerenia Lee" and "Jarina Lee" died in the winter of 1864. They had similar names, ages, and occupations, and they lived on the same block in 1863 and 1864. It is almost certain that the names are referring to the same person. Most likely, Gerenia, Gerania, Geranna, Jerene, Jarina, and Jerena were phonetic variations of Jarena, who died on February 5, 1864, on Bohemia Place in the city's Third Ward.

The death certificate gives a few other details concerning Jarena Lee. Henrietta Bowers Duterte, a prominent member of Philadelphia's African American community and the first female mortician in the United States, served as the undertaker.[16] She certified that Olive Cemetery received Lee's corpse on February 8, 1864.[17] Lee had lived among and served black Philadelphians, and she was put to rest in a graveyard established by and for African Americans. Her body remained in this cemetery on the city's outskirts until it closed around 1920, when the remains were divided between Mount Zion and Eden Cemeteries. The location of her skeleton is an open question.[18]

This essay offers details about Jarena Lee from the years that followed the printing of her autobiography. Jarena Lee, like other black women in nineteenth-century Philadelphia, lived a precarious life; census and other records reveal that she moved frequently and struggled financially. In the last three decades of her life, she lived in three different wards of the city. While during her most noted years she worked as a preacher, in her later

[14] Geranna Lee, 1850 US census, Southwark Ward 3, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, roll M432_821, page 214A, image 433, accessed via Ancestry.com, Oct. 9, 2015; Lee, *Religious Experience*, 3.

[15] *McElroy's City Directory for 1865* (Philadelphia, 1865), 726.

[16] For information on Henrietta Bowers Duterte, see Julie Winch, *The Elite of Our People: Joseph Willson's Sketches of Black Upper-Class Life in Antebellum Philadelphia* (University Park, PA, 2000), 10, 154n78; and Juliet E. K. Walker, *The History of Black Business in America: Capitalism, Race, Entrepreneurship* (New York, 1998), 129.

[17] "Gerenia Lee" death certificate, Philadelphia City Archives.

[18] Thomas H. Keels, *Philadelphia Graveyards and Cemeteries* (Charleston, SC, 2003), 85.

years she "endeavoured to support herself as long as she could." She worked as a washerwoman but, tragically, also had to resort to "begging."[19]

The steadfastness of her religious life and the relatively tenuous and unstable nature of her material existence are mirrored in the documents pertaining to her. Source material produced by people in the church and abolitionist movement identified her in ways that were largely consistent with her autobiography. Moving beyond the materials produced in the social circles that were most important to Lee, other records, particularly those produced by state actors, demonstrate a pattern of mistakes regarding her name, age, gender, and place of birth. The gaps can be explained by the larger problems of the federal census in early America. As social historian Richard Steckel has pointed out, in the antebellum period, the census tended to be riddled with inaccuracies, especially for "the poor, the low-skilled, the uneducated, the geographically mobile, the foreign-born, and those living in large cities or in remote areas."[20] These inaccuracies were compounded when it came to African Americans. The national censuses of 1840 and 1850 were the first to collect the names of free blacks, and the 1840 census had a racial bias encoded on the form, which had fewer and broader age categories for African Americans than for white Americans.[21] State records alone cannot be relied upon for research on early black history.

Works like Jarena Lee's autobiography offer alternative sources of information, and scholars have relied on it to explore the experiences of black women in early America. Lee, according to her narrative, migrated from New Jersey to Philadelphia, worked in the pulpit, and served in the antislavery movement. Some may question whether her autobiography provides a definitive and fully accurate portrayal of her life. In writing her own story, however, she seized some control over how she would be defined and remembered. While gaps in our knowledge about her remain, it is clear that Jarena Lee died in poverty in Philadelphia in early 1864.

Morehouse College FREDERICK KNIGHT

[19] Report, Mar. 31, 1864, Board of Education Minute Book, Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[20] Richard H. Steckel, "The Quality of Census Data in Historical Inquiry: A Research Agenda," *Social Science History* 15 (1991): 594.

[21] Margo J. Anderson, *The American Census: A Social History* (New Haven, CT, 1988), 29–31.

Newly Available and Processed Collections at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

What follows are descriptions of some of the collections at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania that have either been acquired within the past year or that have been more fully processed and therefore are more accessible to researchers. Full finding aids or catalog records for these collections, and many others, can be found online at http://hsp.org/collections/catalogs-research-tools/finding-aids and http://discover.hsp.org/.

The Life, Studies, and Works of Benjamin West, Esq., by John Galt, in Extra-Illustrated form, 1682–1844 (bulk 1792–1820)
3 boxes, 9 flat files
Collection 3239

In 1816 and 1820, Scottish author John Galt produced a two-volume biography entitled *The Life, Works, and Studies of Benjamin West, Esq.* Part one covers West's life in America, starting with his birth in 1738 up to the early 1760s, when West traveled to Italy to study art. The second volume begins with West's move to London in 1763 and ends with his death in 1820. Galt's work was the first biography of West, and West himself read over (or was read) the contents of the first volume to check for accuracy. Due to illness, he was unable to read over the second volume. This collection consists of pages from seven disbound extra-illustrated volumes of Galt's book, containing correspondence, original artwork, and other engravings, documents, and prints. While documents span from the 1680s to the 1830s, most date from the 1790s to 1820, when West served as the president of the Royal Academy of Art in London. The highlights of the collection are West's letters, his original sketches, and large-scale engravings that were made from several of his paintings. Among West's correspondents were American artist Thomas Sully; German painter Antonio Raphael Mengs; Lord Grantham (Thomas Robinson, the second

Baron Grantham); Joseph Reynolds, with whom West founded the Royal Academy; and Thomas Copley, a Jesuit missionary. There are also several letters West wrote to the Council of the Royal Academy, a letter from the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital thanking West in advance for his painting *Our Saviour Healing the Sick in the Temple*; and an unsigned proposal for West to do a painting on the death of Lord Nelson. Among West's other documents are scattered notes and lists of his paintings, receipts for exhibition money, and occasional notes on the proceedings of the Royal Academy. This collection also contains sixteen original sketches and drawings by West. Nine oversized flat files that mostly contain large-scale engravings done after many of West's painting round out this collection. Additionally, there are several large portraits of Benjamin West.

Beatty J. Smith Collection of Smith Family Papers, 1769–1989, undated
15 boxes
Collection 3502

Beatty J. Smith (1933–2014) was the daughter of Cooper Smith (born 1900) and the granddaughter of James S. Smith III (1866–1956). The bulk of this collection consists of legal papers from her paternal line, beginning with her great-great-great grandfather Daniel Smith (1755–1836); her great-great grandfather James S. Smith (1782–1861) and his two sons, Richard Rundle Smith (1817–1903) and James S. Smith Jr. (1822–94); and her grandfather James S. Smith III (1866–1956). The vast majority of papers in this family collection date from the late 1700s to the late 1800s; however, there are a few items dating from the mid to late twentieth century. The collection consists of correspondence, mortgages, stock certificates, bonds and warrants, title papers, estate papers, genealogical notes, clippings, magazine articles, and other miscellaneous legal and financial papers. There are a few bound volumes, photographs, and glass negatives. Items of interest include Mary Nixon Smith's Application to the Colonial Dames; photographs of Spring Bank, a family estate; and genealogical notes and letters. Other legal items of interest include indenture papers titled "Moses, a Black Boy to James S. Smith," an insurance policy for the Ship *Charlotta* (1804–8), seven almanacs (1821–72), a ship's log (1801–2), and a notebook recording servants' wages (1820). The collection also houses some items of interests on the University of Pennsylvania

(1826–52), the Academy of Fine Arts (1843), Christ Church and St. Peter's Episcopal Church (1827–28), the Common Prayer Book Society (1813–52), and the recollections of Margaret Strawbridge (1989).

Super and Bicking Families Papers, circa 1776–1981 (bulk 1830–70)
1 box
Collection 4040

The Supers and Bickings were two Pennsylvania families, linked through marriage, with members from both sides residing throughout the Philadelphia suburbs, particularly in Delaware and Montgomery Counties. This is a collection of various family papers, the majority of which are from the Super family. Jacob Super (1773–1820) was a cabinet maker who owned a shop on Elfreth's Alley in Philadelphia called Super & Fritz. He had a grandson named John B. Super (1835-1903), who married Josephine Hoopes in 1863 and entered the Union Army in March 1865. The collection contains some letters between John and Josephine during the war as well as a number of letters to Josephine from her brother Isaac, who died in 1865. Isaac's letters date from 1862 and suggest he was in the army. There are also other scattered family letters dating from the 1830s up to the 1870s, with a few items dating from earlier. Other items include John Super's receipt book, 1827–37, a compilation of bound and printed English lessons that apparently belonged to Jacob Super, and genealogical and general family papers, including vital records, deeds, indentures, insurance papers, and at least one original photograph. Representing the Bicking family directly are a few notes, certificates, and clippings. There is also a copy of *Poor Will's Almanac* from 1798 bearing the name of Charles Bicking (1798–1854).

María Josefa Espinosa de Cuesta Papers, 1822–42
2 boxes
Collection 1257

María Josefa Espinosa was born in Mexico and married Ángel León de la Cuesta y Álvarez, a Peruvian man who did business in Ecuador. From approximately 1826 until her death in the 1840s she lived in Philadelphia,

where her brothers-in-law Fernando and Leandro de la Cuesta operated a shipping business. She was a businesswoman who bought and sold real estate and made loans, and she served as legal guardian of her nephew Francisco de Paula Pastor, who was later diplomatic representative of Ecuador to Mexico. This collection mainly consists of incoming correspondence from de Cuesta's two sons, who studied in Paris, and her daughter and son-in-law in Panama. There are also deeds, contracts, and a few pages of calculations. The papers date from 1822 to 1842, with some undated miscellaneous material.

Mathew Carey Diaries, 1828–36
2 volumes
Collection 3672

Mathew Carey (1760–1836), born in Dublin, Ireland, arrived in America in 1784 with nine years of experience as a printer and publisher. With a four-hundred-dollar check from the Marquis de Lafayette, Carey established his own publishing and bookselling business in Philadelphia. Among his early publications were the *Pennsylvania Evening Herald*, the *Columbian Magazine*, and the *American Museum*. With the outbreak of yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1793, Carey took the opportunity to publish his own work entitled *A Short Account of the Malignant Fever, Lately Prevalent in Philadelphia*, which marked the beginning of his venture into medical publishing. During the course of his career, Carey published dozens of medical works. He also published works by Mason L. Weems, James Fenimore Cooper, Edgar Allan Poe, and Sir Walter Scott, among others. Additionally, his company printed broadsides, atlases, bibles, and political titles, including some of his own writings, such as *Vindiciae Hibernicae* (1819), *New Olive Branch* (1820), and *Essays of Political Economy* (1822). Carey devoted his life to political economics after he left the publishing business in the early 1820s. This collection consists of two of Carey's diaries that he kept between the end of 1828 and 1836, totaling 353 written pages and one detached two-page leaf. In these diaries, Carey recorded lengthy descriptions of his daily activities, including extensive reading, writing, editing, publishing, and meetings and conversations with well-known people of the time, such as politician and reformer Robert Dale Owen. In some of the entries Carey documented his relationships

with local newspaper editors, his complex and shifting views on economics, and his activities on behalf of poor and marginalized groups, religious activities, family life, and other matters.

Frederick C. Newhall Papers, 1856–91
1 box
Collection 4067

Frederick Cushman Newhall (1840–98) was born in Philadelphia to Thomas Albert Newhall and Sarah Jane Cushman Newhall. During the Civil War he served as lieutenant colonel in the United States Army, Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry, with Major General Philip H. Sheridan. This donation consists of several items on and from Frederick C. Newhall and other members of his family. There are two pocket diaries, one of which dates 1890–91, the other of which he used as a "Journal of a Tour of Europe" from October 1856 to about February 1857. Additionally, the collection contains two scrapbooks; the first holds newspaper clippings about Newhall and a series of letters from him to his father in 1865. The volume also contains a disbound pamphlet, authored by Newhall, titled *With General Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign. By A Staff Officer* (1866), and signed by one R. Whitechurch of Maryland.

Adelaide Ermentrout Scrapbooks on Daniel Ermentrout, 1859–1932 (bulk 1877–83 and 1899)
1 box, 3 volumes
Collection 3629

These three scrapbooks were compiled by Adelaide Louise (Metzger) Ermentrout, wife of Daniel Ermentrout (1837–99), a six-time congressman from Reading, Pennsylvania. In 1873, Ermentrout ran a successful campaign for a seat in the Pennsylvania Senate and was re-elected in 1876. Ermentrout was elected to the US House of Representatives, Pennsylvania's Eighth District, representing Berks County, in 1880. He held his seat in three successive congresses until meeting defeat in 1888. He was again elected to Congress in 1896, this time as a representative of his home state's Ninth District, which covered both Berks and Lehigh Counties. He

remained in this position until his accidental choking death in 1899. He also served as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention during the 1868 and 1880 presidential elections. In the early 1870s, Ermentrout married journalist Adelaide Louise Metzger of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The first two volumes contain Adelaide's notes alongside newspaper clippings, letters and telegrams, cards, programs, travel tickets, invitations, and other ephemera. Most of the clippings are in English with a few from German papers scattered among them; Ermentrout was interested in the history of the early Germans of Pennsylvania, who formed a large part of his constituency. The third volume documents Ermentrout's untimely death. In it are clippings of obituaries, some of which were gathered by a clipping service, and bereavement letters sent to Adelaide.

First National Bank of Strasburg Records, 1868–1919
37 volumes
Collection 4017

The First National Bank of Strasburg was chartered in 1863 in Strasburg, Pennsylvania, and served the residents of southern Lancaster County. It changed its name to the First National Bank of Lancaster County in or before 1980 and became part of a holding company, Sterling Financial Corporation, when that company was organized in 1987. In 2008, Sterling was acquired by PNC Financial Services Group. The collection includes financial records, including general cash books, general ledgers, individual ledgers, and discount ledgers from the First National Bank of Strasburg, spanning 1868–1919.

Norman M. Rolston Photographs, circa 1907–circa 1934
2 boxes, 2 volumes
Collection 3608

Norman M. Rolston (1886–1970) was born in Philadelphia and raised mostly in the Pittsburgh region. He worked most of his life as a photographer, having photographed Indian tribes in the southwest United States in the early 1900s, Civil War veterans for the fiftieth anniversary of Gettysburg in 1913, and surviving colonial-era structures in and around

Philadelphia during the 1930s. This latter work he did in Philadelphia for the Department of City Transit. The two boxes in this collection contain Rolston's glass slides, which depict a variety of subjects and showcase the images he took for the city. The collection also contains a folder of five black and white photos, some of which are composite photographs from around 1908 of what appears to be a presidential visit to Philadelphia. The other images depict the photo office of the Department of City Transit and the department's photographers, including Rolston. Additionally, the collection contains two books that feature Rolston's images: *The World War through the Stereoscope* (1923) and *Pennsylvania: Gettysburg Reunion, 1863–1913* (1913).

Brant Shoemaker Papers, circa 1928–89, undated
1 box
Collection 4030

George Brant Shoemaker Jr. (1924–90), who went by "Brant," was a Philadelphia poet, painter, and professor. He attended Frankford High School and obtained degrees from the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Connecticut. He served with the Marine Corps during World War II and taught poetry and modern literature for twenty-five years at the University of Pennsylvania's Ogontz Campus in Abington. This collection of Shoemaker's papers spans the bulk of his life and consists of a few early family records; correspondence, clippings, photographs, diaries, yearbooks, ephemera, and artifacts from and pertaining to Shoemaker's time with the Marines; correspondence with family; published poetry; unpublished poetry, prose, and plays; Shoemaker's University of Pennsylvania application materials; clippings on Shoemaker's poetry and life in general; and two framed images.

Frederick M. Yost Collection on John Wanamaker's Department Store Publicity, 1863–1984 (bulk 1949–80)
45 boxes, 11 volumes, 91 flat files
Collection 3440

This collection consists of several decades of papers and scrapbooks documenting various store displays and designs, promotions, and special events at John Wanamaker's department store, compiled by Frederick M.

Yost. Yost, a vice president and sales promotion manager, was responsible for newspaper, radio, and television advertising, as well as public relations, exhibitions, shows, and visual merchandising for the Wanamaker's stores. Yost began working at Wanamaker's Philadelphia store in 1948 as director of visual display. From 1952 to 1965 he was in charge of sales promotions, and in 1965 he became the corporate vice president. Yost came up with the institutional advertising slogan "John Wanamaker has everything" and conceived the Wanamaker Christmas Light Show, which was first seen in the store's expansive central court in 1955. The majority of the collection includes scrapbooks of photographs of store displays and their construction as well as conceptual and architectural drawings, most notably the elaborate Christmas displays and light shows that became a tradition at Wanamaker's. Other materials include office memos, stationery, personal "idea" notebooks, blueprints, floor plans, news clippings, and scrapbooks about John Wanamaker. Items of interest may include the large advertising posters for Wanamaker's stores and Christmas display conceptual designs.

REVIEW ESSAY

Benjamin Franklin and the Theater of Empire

Benjamin Franklin and the Ends of Empire. By Carla J. Mulford. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 426 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $65.)

Recent books on Benjamin Franklin cast a wide net, placing Franklin within the Atlantic republic of letters and community of scientists as well as the political economy of empire and capitalism.[1] Carla Mulford's *Benjamin Franklin and the Ends of Empire* sheds new light on imperial politics, theories of empire, and Enlightenment ideas throughout the Atlantic world. Her focus on empire builds on a resurgence of imperial history, one that devotes equal attention to center and periphery and gives voice not only to policymakers but to women and men, free colonists and servants, slaves and indigenous peoples.[2] Influenced by this literature, Mulford incorporates the entire empire—Canada, Ireland, Scotland, and India as well as Britain and her American colonies—into her analysis.

Mulford uses Franklin's writings to interpret his evolving views of the British empire, from his adolescence to the 1780s. She examines his well-known pamphlets, including those on paper money (1729), the Pennsylvania militia (1747), American population (1751), Canada in the empire (1760), and immigration to the new nation (1784); as well, however, she incorporates Franklin's letters and the marginalia he wrote in books he read. This essay will focus on the development of Franklin's the-

[1] David Waldstreicher, *Runaway America: Benjamin Franklin, Slavery, and the American Revolution* (New York, 2004); Joyce E. Chaplin, *The First Scientific American: Benjamin Franklin and the Pursuit of Genius* (New York, 2006); Alan Houston, *Benjamin Franklin and the Politics of Improvement* (New Haven, 2008); Douglas Anderson, *The Unfinished Life of Benjamin Franklin* (Baltimore, 2012).

[2] J. P. Marshall, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 2, *The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1998).

ory of empire during his Philadelphia and London years, a period analyzed in the most significant parts of the book.

In Mulford's telling, Franklin gradually devised a vision of an egalitarian empire, one in which all its citizens—farmers, artisans, and laborers as well as merchants and gentlemen—shared rights to self-government. Civil liberty, free trade, freedom from coercion, and representative governance—hallmarks of what Mulford (following Annabel Patterson) calls "early modern liberalism"—undergirded Franklin's conception of empire.[3] He argued that the ends of empire "ought to be the creation, material support, and protection of the best possible living circumstances for the greatest number of people living within the borders of territories held as one national community" (14).

Franklin built his ideas on empire from his reading of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century British liberal theorists John Milton, John Locke, Algernon Sidney, James Harrington, John Trenchard, Thomas Gordon, Bernard Mandeville, and Daniel Defoe. He drew examples from the English Reformation, seventeenth-century revolutions, and contemporary politics. His Indian negotiations, conflicts with Pennsylvania's proprietors, parliamentary lobbying, imperial politics in India, and travels in Britain and Europe informed his theories of empire.

Franklin began to examine the empire in the late 1720s. He framed his 1729 tract *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper-Currency* around writings of English political economists, especially William Petty, and colonial supporters of paper money. Since British authorities could veto colonial legislation, it was necessary for Franklin to deal with the nature of the empire in his discussion of the controversy. He conceived of the empire, Mulford reports, as an interconnected whole, in which British prosperity depended on the prosperity of its colonies—Pennsylvania, with its busy port of Philadelphia, foremost among them. In his view, a new paper money emission would make exchange easier and thereby improve Pennsylvania's trade; trade, in turn, would attract immigrants to settle frontier lands and make goods Britain needed.

Mulford's discussion of Franklin's *Modest Inquiry* is the best I have read, but it misses how Franklin tweaked the class implications of earlier writings. English and colonial exponents of paper currency emphasized commerce and those who conducted it; Franklin stressed farmers and handicraft workers. In his 1664 *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*, Thomas

[3] Annabel Patterson, introduction to *Early Modern Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1997).

Mun wrote that paper money would give opportunities "to the *younger & poorer* Merchants to rise in the world, and to enlarge their holdings" (90–91). In contrast, Franklin praised "Labouring and Handicrafts Men (which are the chief Strength and Support of a People)." Paper money emissions benefitted "*Brickmakers, Bricklayers, Masons, Carpenters, Joiners, Glaziers,* and several other Trades immediately employ'd by Building, but likewise to *Farmers, Brewers, Bakers, Taylors, Shoemakers, Shop-keepers,* and . . . every one that they lay their Money out with."[4]

The Pennsylvania debates over paper money emissions, moreover, were three-sided: opponents, who feared debasement of the currency; supporters like Franklin, who emphasized that paper money would benefit all classes; and radicals, who accused opponents of paper money of class tyranny. Franklin himself indulged in conspiratorial language in an addendum to a "Busy-Body" essay he wrote for the *American Weekly Mercury*, one soon suppressed as incendiary. In that addendum, Franklin demanded opponents of paper currency recant or else face charges they "Design to engross the Property of the Country and make themselves and their Posterity Lords, and the Bulk of the Inhabitants their Tenants and Vassals."[5] Such charges percolated through Philadelphia. Three anonymous pamphlets (1725 and 1729) bitterly tore into Pennsylvania's ruling class. They alleged that "Men of Wealth and Learning," allied with the proprietor, had conspired to steal the property of artisans and farmers and deny them a subsistence. These pamphlets called the rich tyrants, extortioners, usurers, misers, criminals, oppressors, knaves, crafties (evil-doers), imps (children of Satan), and designing men.[6]

Conflicts between Pennsylvania's proprietors and the Quaker-dominated Assembly led Franklin to develop his theory of empire. Navigating the conflict between pacifist Quakers, backcountry settlers who demanded protection, and proprietors who refused to pay taxes, he created voluntary militias. The central issues centered on the taxation of proprietary estates and using those funds to pay for the defense of the col-

[4] Benjamin Franklin (hereafter BF), *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper-Currency* (Philadelphia, 1729), 8–10, 34.

[5] "The *Busy Body*. No. 8," *American Weekly Mercury*, Mar. 27, 1729; J. A. Leo Lemay, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 2005–8), 1:391–95, and "Franklin's Suppressed 'Busy-Body,'" *American Literature* 37 (1965): 307–11.

[6] *A Dialogue between Mr. Robert Rich, and Roger Plowman* (Philadelphia, 1725), 1–2 (tyrants, extortioners, usurers); *The Triumvirate of Pennsylvania in a Letter to a Friend in the Country* (Philadelphia, 1725), 1, 3–4 (misers, criminals, oppressors; quote on 3); *A Revisal of the Intreagues of the Triumvirate* . . . (Philadelphia, 1729), 1–2 (tyrants, crafties, imps, designing men).

ony, particularly those in the West, where, Franklin wrote, the colony paid "yearly heavy Expences in cultivating and maintaining Friendship with the Indians" (178). While the Penns denied the Assembly could impose taxes on them and demanded residents pay their quit rents, the Assembly (with Franklin writing remonstrances) insisted that their charter gave them the right to legislate for the colony and tax all property holders. By following his instructions, the governor, Franklin wrote, had subjected "a free People to the abject State of Vassalage" (179). Franklin's objections failed to persuade British officials, who vetoed Pennsylvania laws, to force the Penns to pay taxes save for those on improved estates, and that at the lowest rate.

Franklin lived in Pennsylvania through explosive immigration from German states. At first he had welcomed German immigrants, writing in 1747 that they would shed their ethnicity and defend their "*newly acquired* and most precious *Liberty and Property*" as citizens of the empire.[7] Soon, however, he began to fear German immigrants and even urged Britain to limit German immigration. Following eighteenth-century ethnography, he dubbed the Germans as aliens marked by "a swarthy Complexion" (162). Poor German immigrants worked for low wages, and German farmers exhausted the soil of lands they cultivated. He doubted their loyalty to British institutions. Germans kept to themselves and refused to learn English, reducing the linguistic and ethnic unity that made the colony British. If German immigration continued, Franklin warned, Germans would chase out Britons, and Pennsylvania would "become a German Colony" (160).

In Mulford's reading, Indians complicated Franklin's vision of empire. He had long read treaty proceedings, and—fascinated with natural men living in a state of savagery—began publishing them in 1736. The treaties showed the British the complexity of Indian cultures and alliances. Later, he helped negotiate treaties himself. He knew that the empire had to acquire more Indian land in order to prosper. As he wrote in his *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind* (1751), Indians needed vast hunting territories to subsist; nonetheless, he thought they had more than they needed and might part with some of it, moving out of the way of advanced cultivators. Still, land transfers required fair treaties that extinguished Indian land titles, a process made more difficult by conflicts between Indian nations and colonial land thievery.

[7] BF, *Plain Truth: or, Serious Considerations On the Present State of the City of Philadelphia, and Province of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1747), 21.

The French, with their unified colonial policy, had an advantage over the disunited English colonies; their alliances with Indians rendered American frontiers insecure. Franklin expected the French and these allies to murder British traders, "scalp our Farmers, with their Wives and Children," and conquer British territory, thus destroying "the British Interest, Trade and Plantations in America" (130–31). To negotiate with Indians, in 1754 he formulated his Albany Plan of Union; it would have established a trans-colonial governing body, with representatives from each colony and an executive chosen by the crown. His "Join, or Die" cartoon, which represented colonies as separate parts of a snake, emphasized the necessity of unity. The urgency was clear: Franklin sent the cartoon, annotated by a paragraph detailing French atrocities, to Pennsylvania's agent in London, asking him to have the cartoon printed in London papers. By preventing private agreements between Indians and whites, the plan would have been fair to both settlers and Indians. But neither Whitehall nor any of the colonies accepted it.[8]

"Trade, defense, and empire," Mulford writes, were "intricately intertwined" (139). Although Franklin wanted the colonies to acquire Indian land, he lambasted traders or settlers who sold rum to Indians, stole Indian land, or massacred peaceable Indians. He feared that the 1764 murders of peaceable Indians by the frontier Paxton Boys might trigger an Indian war. Since imperial security depended on treating Indians fairly and protecting Indian allies, the British empire might be at risk if such practices persisted. He urged British authorities to defend Indian allies and license only fair traders to deal with Indians.

At the same time Franklin dealt with Indians, he conceived of a spacious empire, inhabited by Britons on both sides of the Atlantic. The empire had gained strength from the abundant, unimproved acres in the colonies that inhabitants and British immigrants could acquire. The industry of its free inhabitants, Franklin wrote, had "made a Garden of a Wilderness" (116). With access to land, the colonial population grew rapidly, Franklin argued in his *Observations on the Increase of Mankind* and in his 1760 *Interest of Great Britain Considered* ("Canada" pamphlet). Colonists should be free to engage in manufacturing, he argued, but if the empire secured their land, sons of farmers and craftsmen alike would become independent farmers.

[8] BF to Richard Partridge, May 8, 1754, in Leonard W. Labaree et al., eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (hereafter *PBF*), 41 vols. to date (New Haven, CT, 1959—), 5:272–75, found at http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-05-02-0085.

As the population grew, farm production rose, sustaining colonial prosperity, creating demand for British manufactures, and turning Pennsylvania into a center of international trade. Keeping Canada—rather than French islands—after the Seven Years' War, he predicted in 1760, would accelerate farm production, natural population increase, and colonial demand for manufactures.

To support British prosperity, Britain insisted on constraining American trade, limiting manufacturing, and forcing colonies to send raw goods to the motherland. Colonies, moreover, had to pay for colonial wars, further impoverishing them. Such British actions led Franklin to intensify his egalitarian imperial ethos. Britons had the same heritage, no matter their residence, and Americans deserved the same rights to self-government—controlling immigration (including forbidding the importation of convict servants), enforcing laws their assemblies passed, collecting taxes they needed—as those who lived in Britain. With those rights, colonists would join to defend and improve the empire.

Franklin further sharpened his vision of empire in December 1750 letters to Massachusetts governor William Shirley. Parliament—where no colonists served—was too distant and too ignorant of colonial affairs to legislate for them, he argued, for rather than governing in the best interests of colonists, appointed governors and placemen sought only profit. Colonists—while owing loyalty to the British king—must control their destinies. He toyed with the idea of the colonies gaining seats in Parliament, even though he knew English representatives would greatly outnumber them. For this to work, Parliament must repeal *all* the colonial legislation they had passed before seating such representatives. Then, with American representatives present, they could debate the legislation they had repealed. This strategy, Franklin thought, might reduce the power of lobbyists who wanted to protect London's trade.

Franklin brilliantly navigated what Mulford calls "London's theater of empire." While in London, he honed his performances, carefully framing his writing, testimony, and gestures to his intended audiences, often subtly changing his vision of empire to meet immediate political needs. He argued in tracts, newspaper articles, hoaxes, and cartoons that all citizens of the empire had the same rights. Building on his fame as a scientist, he placed at least 134 pieces in the London press—satires, hoaxes, theories of empire, and political defenses of the colonies foremost among them.[9]

Mulford's analysis should be extended. Franklin's preparation for hearings on repeal of the Stamp Act before the Committee of the Whole of the House

[9] Verner W. Crane, ed., *Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press, 1758–1775* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1950).

of Commons demonstrates his mastery of the theater of empire. Before his testimony, he "was extreamly busy, attending Members of both Houses, informing, explaining, consulting, disputing, in a continual Hurry from Morning to Night."[10] Franklin not only lobbied Parliament but had a friend, printer William Strahan, publish his letters to Governor Shirley, signing them as "Lover of Britain." Astute readers might have identified Franklin as the author, given the way Strahan praised Franklin in the introduction.

In January 1766, Franklin penned two caustic satires in the tradition of Jonathan Swift's *Modest Proposal*. The second, sharper satire, signed "Pacificus," opened with an epigram: "Pax quaeritur Bello" ("Peace is sought by war")—Oliver Cromwell's motto, found on coinage minted during the Protectorate.[11] Pacificus began by dubbing the colonists "amazingly stupid" for trying to distinguish "between Power and Right, as tho' the former did not always imply the latter." A conqueror could enforce any law, even if "contrary to the Laws of Nature, and the common Rights of Mankind." These colonists, descended from "outrageous Assertors of Civil and Religious Liberties," would not "tamely give up what they call their natural, their constitutional Rights," but Parliament must "insist upon an absolute Submission" to the stamp tax.[12]

Pacificus demanded war against the rebellious colonials. Five or six thousand Highlanders and Canadians should burn colonial capitals, destroy all shipping, and "cut the Throats of all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, and scalp them, to serve as an Example." If these deaths depopulated the colonies and bankrupted English manufacturers, then England could send its unemployed laborers, along with its felons, to the colonies "to make up for any Deficiency which example made it necessary to sacrifice for the Public Good." After such cleansing, "Great Britain might then reign over a loyal and submissive People."[13]

By pointing to savagery and conquest as the only way to enforce the Stamp Act, Franklin made clear the necessity of repeal. A cartoon went further, showing that enforcement would ruin the empire. Later entitled

[10] BF to Lord Kames, Feb. 25, 1767, in *PBF,* 14:64, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-14-02-0032.

[11] Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell, The Lord Protector* (New York, 1973), 457, illustration between 458 and 459, 590. Edwin Wolf 2nd, "Benjamin Franklin's Stamp Act Cartoon," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 99 (1955): 388–96, 389, guided me to the following sources: BF, "'Pacificus Secundus': Reply to 'Pacificus,'" Jan. 2, 1766, in *PBF*, 13:4–6, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-13-02-0002 (quotes); BF, "'Pacificus': Pax Quaeritur Bello," Jan. 23, 1766, in *PBF,* 13:54–58, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-13-02-0019.

[12] BF, "'Pacificus': Pax Quaeritur Bello," Jan. 23, 1766, in *PBF,* 13:54–58, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-13-02-0019.

[13] Ibid.

"Magna Britannia: her Colonies Reduc'd," it shows the empire, pictured as an impoverished woman, leaning on a globe, her limbs—labeled "Virg, Pennsyl, New York, and New Eng"—severed from her body. Franklin put the cartoon on cards, writing messages on the obverse side, and gave them to members of Parliament. As he wrote his sister Jane Mecom, he had circulated the cards "during the Time it was debated here whether it might not be proper to reduce the Colonies to Obedience by Force of Arms: The Moral is, that the Colonies may be ruined, but that Britain would thereby be maimed."[14]

Franklin's testimony on February 13, 1766, followed petitions urging repeal from London, Glasgow, and outport merchants, who feared "utter ruin." Parliament had heard testimony of at least five merchants involved in colonial trade and five stocking manufacturers. Seeking repeal, the Rockingham ministry made sure that all witnesses had an economic interest in the act: the merchants insisted that trade would not revive until boycotts ended after the act was repealed; the manufacturers reported laying off men.[15]

After such preparation, Franklin's lengthy (three to four hour) testimony of February 13, 1766, was masterful, full of *bon mots* and arguments that would lead members of Parliament, already supportive of repeal, to rescind the act. Franklin answered 174 questions, nearly equally divided between those posed by supporters and opponents of repeal.[16] Four themes emerged from his testimony: the burdensome taxation the Stamp Act imposed, the impossibility of enforcing the Stamp Act, the willingness of colonists to forego amenities and replace British manufactures with their own, and the proper relationship between the colonies and Britain in the empire.

Pennsylvanians, particularly poor frontier farmers, Franklin insisted, already paid high taxes; much of this tax money had paid for troops during the Seven Years' War. The Stamp Act aimed at the poor and would further impoverish them. Nor was there enough specie in the colonies to pay for

[14] Wolf, "Franklin's Stamp Act Cartoon," 389–90; "Magna Britannia: Her Colonies Reduc'd," Jan.–Feb. 1766, in *PBF*, 13:66–69, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-13-02-0023; BF to Jane Mecom, Mar. 1, 1766, in *PBF*, 13:189, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-13-02-0055.

[15] R. C. Simmons and P. D. G. Thomas, eds., *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America, 1754–1783*, vol. 2, *1765–68* (Millwood, NY, 1983), 95–97 (quote 96), 108–10, 115, 118–23, 185–218.

[16] "Examination before the Committee of the Whole of the House of Commons, 13 February 1766," in *PBF*, 13:124–62, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-13-02-0035; Peter Charles Hoffer, ed., *Benjamin Franklin Explains the Stamp Act Protests to Parliament, 1766* (New York, 2016).

the stamped paper. When asked about enforcing the Stamp Act, Franklin repeatedly replied that colonists would never pay for the stamped paper "unless compelled by force of arms," nor would they accept any pared-down stamp or similar direct tax. If everyone refused to buy stamped paper, military force would backfire. If Britain invaded, "they will not find a rebellion; they may indeed make one."[17]

Franklin insisted that colonists deemed any parliamentary tax "unconstitutional and unjust" because they elected no representatives to Parliament. Playing down his more radical assertions implying that Parliament could not legislate for the colonies, he suggested that Parliament could pass and enforce any laws, as long as they did not directly tax the inhabitants. He pretended that colonists objected to internal taxes but not to external ones, like duties on imported goods used to pay for maintaining freedom of the seas. When the colonies needed to finance war, provincial assemblies would provide for it, in response to voluntary parliamentary requisitions.

Questioners pushed Franklin, toward the end of his testimony, to relate the constitutional underpinnings for his assertion that Parliament had no right to impose internal taxes on the colonies. Although Parliament had the sole right to tax the realm, it did not extend across the ocean, he answered. Colonies had their own assemblies and took on, in this regard, the rights of Parliament. Even if Pennsylvania's charter allowed Parliament to tax the colonies, he argued, that charter had granted Pennsylvanians "all the privileges and liberties of Englishmen," which included the right "not to be taxed but by their common consent."[18]

Franklin invented a mythic, industrious, American public—one able to prosper without paying for stamped paper. If the act was not repealed, he predicted, colonists would "take very little of your manufacture in a short time." He did not "know a single article imported into the Northern Colonies but what they can either do without, or make themselves." They had made progress in cloth manufacture—the key British export—having increased wool production enough to become self-sufficient in three years: "Before their old clothes are worn out, they will have new ones of their own making." Of course, if Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, colonial manufactures would be discouraged.[19]

[17] "Examination before the Committee," in *PBF*, 13:134 (question 31), 142 (questions 82–83).
[18] Ibid., in *PBF*, 13:155–56 (questions 152–53).
[19] Ibid., in *PBF*, 13:139–40 (question 60), 143 (questions 84–87).

Twice during the session, Franklin was asked by supporters of repeal to compare the "temper of America toward Great Britain" in 1763 with that of 1766. Ignoring rampant smuggling, he insisted that the "temper" in 1763 had been "the best in the world." Colonists had "submitted willingly to the government of the Crown" and obeyed parliamentary acts. They considered "parliament as the great bulwark and security of their liberty and privileges." But now, the temper was "much altered" and their "respect for parliament" "greatly lessened." Franklin asserted at the end of his testimony that before the Stamp Act, the pride of Americans was "to indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain," but now they took pride in wearing "their old cloaths over again, till they can make new ones."[20]

Mulford persuasively argues that Franklin had become disillusioned with Parliament and the ministry years before 1774, when Alexander Wedderburn excoriated him before the Privy Council for leaking Massachusetts governor Thomas Hutchinson's correspondence. In 1767, Franklin complained to Lord Kames that "Every Man in England seems to consider himself as a Piece of a Sovereign over America . . . and talks of OUR *Subjects in the Colonies*" (214). His argument that colonists ought to control taxation and legislate on internal issues fell on deaf ears. As he wrote to his son William in 1768, he was "weary of suggesting them to so many different inattentive heads, though I must continue to it while I stay among them." Only two alternatives existed: either Parliament "has a power to make *all laws* for us" or "*no laws*"—and he thought the latter more persuasive (218). Such musings inevitably justified rebellion.

Mulford demonstrates that even before Franklin visited Ireland in 1771, he had used British oppression there as an example of what might happen to the American colonies. By the 1750s, he had read William Molyneux's *The Case of Ireland's being Bound by Acts of Parliament* (1698), which argued that because England had never conquered Ireland, Parliament could not legislate for it—an idea Franklin applied to the colonies. His 1771 trip there horrified him; he saw the racked rents, poverty, and hunger Irish peasants suffered at the hands of their absentee landlords and Parliament, whose members cared not at all for either the Irish or the American colonists. The oppression the Irish faced might thus become the fate of the colonists.

[20] Ibid., in *PBF*, 13:135–36 (questions 36–37, 40–41), 159 (questions 173–74).

Franklin developed a theory of divided sovereignty in the empire, details of which he laid out in a June 1770 letter to the Reverend Samuel Cooper of Boston's Brattle Street Church. Parliament enjoyed sovereignty over Britain; since "colonies originally were constituted distinct States," colonial assemblies ruled over their own territories. Such rights were not only consistent with the liberties the English had always enjoyed, but colonial charters granted the colonies the same rights. Given this divided sovereignty, Britain had no right to keep a standing army in any colony, unless its assembly agreed. He had tired of hearing "*The supreme Authority of Parliament; The Subordinacy of our Assemblies to the Parliament and the like*," claims "founded only on Usurpation," and words without meaning if assemblies and the king shared legislative authority.[21]

As Mulford documents, no one in Parliament, even Franklin's allies, shared his vision. Not even his 1773 hoax "Edict of the King of Prussia"—which threw British arguments back at them by claiming that the British owed the Germans, who had colonized Britain, obedience and taxes—made any difference. Franklin's parliamentary opponents, who read the same writers as he did, came to vastly different conclusions about the empire. In the name of parliamentary sovereignty, their ancestors had overthrown two kings, executing one of them, and fought a bloody civil war. Parliament had the right to legislate for colonies and to enforce laws it passed. Far from indulging in self-interest, its members insisted, parliamentary laws benefitted everyone in the empire. Hardly essential to the prosperity of the empire, the continental colonies had become intransigent and unwilling to pay for their own defense.

Franklin stayed in London more than a year after Wedderburn's attack and continued to lobby his remaining parliamentary friends. He knew that his vision of an empire of equals lacked parliamentary support and that most members remained ignorant of colonial conditions. As Wedderburn impinged his integrity, Franklin stood erect, showing no emotion—a conventional genteel practice. He and his allies orchestrated a campaign in the London press vilifying Wedderburn and defending Franklin's stoic behavior at the Privy Council; Wedderburn's allies took months to respond to this onslaught.[22]

As Mulford demonstrates, decades before the break with Britain, Franklin's loyalty to this empire had become contingent on its British

[21] BF to Samuel Cooper, June 8, 1770, in *PBF*, 16:162–63, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-17-02-0090; Mulford examines and quotes part of this letter on 242–43.

[22] This assertion is based on articles about the controversy found in the Burney newspaper database, http://www.gale.com/17th-and-18th-century-burney-collection.

rulers defending the liberty of all citizens, no matter their residence, and allowing them to pursue whatever opportunities they might find, unconstrained by regulations that prohibited any industry or closed any part of the world to trade. His vision of empire resembles a constitutional monarchy, much like the mid-twentieth-century British Commonwealth of Nations, with its political independence under a ceremonial monarch. In this imagined empire, colonists would choose their leaders and enjoy the same rights as voters in Britain. When the empire refused to abide by these standards, Franklin's loyalty loosened and finally broke.

The evidence Mulford presents challenges conventional understandings of Franklin's class position and thereby suggests a different accounting of the origins of Franklin's spacious empire—one that she might reject. Franklin's ambiguous class identity—his search for a place in a world dominated by aristocrats or would-be aristocrats throughout the Atlantic world—may have driven his desire for an egalitarian empire. Franklin's search for his family's historical roots, the portraits he sat for, and his decision to stay in London well after his political effectiveness ended provide evidence for this argument.

Franklin's ideal empire embraced an anti-aristocratic polity, one in which his class origins played a significant role. He first learned about his ancestors from his uncle Benjamin. His search took on urgency when he reached London and learned that his supposedly low origins reduced his political influence. During his 1758 visit to his ancestral home in Ecton, he discovered that his family stood near the top of the English social hierarchy, just below the gentry; they were members of a class that aspired to gentility, even aristocracy. It was unheard of for such a family as the Franklins to persist in a single village for three centuries. His family owned thirty acres, a huge holding, and enjoyed the patronage of the local gentleman, available to few villagers. His ancestors included intellectuals, local notables, yeoman landowners, and substantial artisans. Less than one in twelve Englishmen—clergy, gentlemen, lawyers—acquired his uncles' level of literacy. Nor did his status as youngest son, descended from youngest sons over five generations, suggest downward mobility. Two uncles, sons of a youngest son, did well. In this they were representative; English yeomen often gave land to younger as well as oldest sons.[23]

[23] Leonard W. Larabee et al., eds., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven, CT, 1964), 45–50; BF to Deborah Franklin, Sept. 6, 1758, in *PBF*, 8:133–38, 143–46, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-08-02-0034; Peter H. Lindert, "Unequal English Wealth since 1670," *Journal of Political Economy* 94 (1986): 1136–39; Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974), 85–87, 104–11, 161–64.

Franklin imagined a new ruling class—a new gentility—one far from the leisured wealth and luxury of aristocrats. He chose not to build a rural estate—the symbol of aristocracy or aristocratic pretensions in the Atlantic world. Instead, like city merchants, he constructed a large townhouse. The paintings he sat for showed a similar anti-aristocratic sensibility. The two London portraits pictured Franklin in genteel (but not aristocratic) clothing, conducting electrical experiments. French images depict him in the clothing intellectuals wore or in a plebeian fur cap, one that symbolized American republican virtue.[24]

Images Franklin designed himself—the "Join, or Die" cartoon (1754), "Magna Britannica" (1765–66), and the small value Continental bills (1776)—exemplified Franklin's bourgeois conception of empire. The divided snake and the central trope of "Join, or Die" deliberately left Britain—and ideas of superiority—out; each colony is shown as separate from but equal to the others. Snakes evoked the virile American wilderness and the equality supposedly found there. "Magna Britannica" depicts the colonies as the severed limbs of a female Britannia—each colony viewed equally. No aristocratic imagery appears, and the empire appears as a subset of the entire world. The design of four Continental bills suggests unity and the absence of hierarchy. They depict each new state as an interlocking ring, attached to its neighbor; in the center of the thirteen rings, the words "American Congress" and "We Are One" radiate outward from the sun.[25]

Franklin's continued residence in London complicates Mulford's analysis of Franklin's vision of empire. Why did he stay in London long after he realized his political effectiveness had ended? He surely wanted to argue, against all odds, for colonial self-governance in a constitutional empire and to repair his reputation after Wedderburn's savage attack. But he also stayed to participate in the imagined community of enlightened people that formed around him—friends, other scientists, political thinkers—at his clubs or their homes.

A vision of a spacious empire that encompassed the Atlantic world helps explain Franklin's extended stay in London. This reading suggests that Franklin viewed the British empire as a part of the Atlantic republic of letters and science, one that united enlightened men in the colonies of

[24] The best description of these images remains Charles Coleman Sellers, *Benjamin Franklin in Portraiture* (New Haven, CT, 1962).

[25] Lester C. Olson, *Benjamin Franklin's Vision of American Community: A Study in Rhetorical Iconology* (Columbia, SC, 2004).

European powers to the British and French monarchies, along with others throughout Europe. These politically independent empires, monarchies, and republics shared Enlightenment views of the world. The science of governance, much like the science of electricity, required experimentation, evidence, and a collaborative community. The rulers of enlightened states—well-read men of letters—might resemble Franklin. They would preserve the economic independence, political rights, and religious freedom of the citizenry. Verily, Franklin became, as the late eighteenth-century term had it, a citizen of the world.

University of Georgia ALLAN KULIKOFF

BOOK REVIEWS

The Road to Black Ned's Forge: A Story of Race, Sex, and Trade on the Colonial American Frontier. By TURK MCCLESKEY. (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2014. Maps, illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. 324 pp. $29.95.)

The Road to Black Ned's Forge is a compelling economic history of the colonial frontier told through the life of Edward Tarr, an enslaved Pennsylvania ironworker who purchased his own freedom and moved to Virginia in 1752. Through a meticulous study of financial and court records, McCleskey gives his "tale of unpaid bills" in the colonial backcountry a coherent narrative drive (58). While the story seems to flow effortlessly, McCleskey's painstaking research is demonstrated by over fifty pages of appendices for readers who wish to pick up the archival trail.

Part 1, "The Yeoman's Dilemma," traces the economic life of Thomas Shute, Edward Tarr's last owner, and the generational economic struggles at the heart of colonial life. Part 2, "The Safety Valve," recounts Tarr's education and the remarkable accomplishments of his first years of freedom: his move to the Virginia frontier, his marriage to a white woman, and his community status, which was established by his landholdings, blacksmith shop, and church membership. But a decade of frontier wars disrupted his life and that of his community, and in part 3, "Individuals and Social Change," McCleskey traces the expansion of slavery on the frontier and how the consequent racial dynamics complicated Tarr's status as a free man of color.

The dramatic events purported to be at the center of the book—the attempt to fraudulently re-enslave Edward Tarr—seem anticlimactic when they finally occur. The entire episode, while no doubt harrowing for Tarr, takes only a few pages; Tarr brought his legal documentation to court, the man claiming to own him failed to appear, and Tarr left court with further legal certification of his freedom.

Tarr's personal life also became a subject for the courts. Ann Moore, a white woman who lived in his household, was charged with engaging in adultery with Tarr. Tarr himself was not accused; because his "uncomplaining wife" lived in the house, an adultery charge against him could not be sustained (146). Moore forfeited judgment by not appearing in court, so we do not have her testimony. There is little exploration of whether Moore was indeed guilty of adultery or if the charges were an attempt to control an unruly woman guilty of disturbing the

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peace; the charge may also have been an attempt to undermine an unconventional interracial household. McCleskey does the best he can with the information available, but the book would have benefitted from a more sustained exploration of these questions. The book's abrupt conclusion that Tarr's failure as a "prominent free black role model" may have hurt the status of other free blacks seems speculative and unsupported (169–70). While McCleskey does cite classic texts by Ira Berlin, Kathleen Brown, and Winthrop Jordan, the book would have benefitted from an immersion in the scholarship on interracial intimacies and intermarriage bans, including work by such authors as Martha Hodes, Peggy Pascoe, and Joshua Rothman.

In all, at its best, *The Road to Black Ned's Forge* balances historical precision with strong storytelling about the colonial frontier. Edward Tarr and his community are worth getting to know, and this book changes our understanding of frontier societies and lays a strong foundation for future scholarship.

Worcester State University KAREN WOODS WEIERMAN

Governed by a Spirit of Opposition: The Origins of American Political Practice in Colonial Philadelphia. By JESSICA CHOPPIN RONEY. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014. 252 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $59.95.)

At least since Alexis de Tocqueville's 1832 tour of the United States, students of the early American republic have described that period as one in which private voluntary organizations proliferated. Jessica Choppin Roney's *Governed by a Spirit of Opposition* locates the origins of American voluntary culture, and thus of widespread civic participation, in an earlier period.

The book begins as a study of colonial Pennsylvania government, in which Roney's key argument is that, because Penn's colony had no established church and its capital only very limited government, churches stepped in to do the work—establishing schools and organizing poor relief, for example—that was elsewhere done by the formal state. However, churches were limited by their inability to hold property in common, and thus Philadelphians turned early in the eighteenth century to what Roney terms a "new civic technology"—the voluntary organization.

Roney identifies three distinct stages of associational life before 1776. First, she writes, Philadelphia's white men banded together to provide services that neither unincorporated churches nor a weak city government could provide, such as fire protection. By the 1740s, Roney finds, associationalism had entered a new stage, wherein Philadelphians began to establish narrower, more controversial, and more explicitly political voluntary organizations. An association to erect a structure in which itinerant minister George Whitefield could preach and a Defense Association were new forms of voluntary organization because they explicitly

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served one segment of the population while excluding and alienating others ("old light" Protestants and Quakers, for example). While serving a wider public, the Pennsylvania Hospital and the Academy (later College) of Philadelphia became entwined in factional fights between the proprietary Penn family and the Quaker Assembly. At the same time, Roney argues, voluntary associations played a key role in the urban economy. Because they turned to moneylending as a way to raise funds, and in the absence of banks, these groups provided much-needed infusions of cash and expanded the availability of credit, thus stimulating economic growth.

Finally, in the 1750s, Philadelphians began creating associations that interfered in matters where the formal institutions of government were already active. The colonial Assembly passed a militia law during the Seven Years War, for instance, but Philadelphians formed Independent Companies outside the law; similarly, government officials conducted formal negotiations with Indians, but Quakers in the Friendly Association showed up (uninvited) to those treaty talks to exert their own influence.

The deep roots of extralegal association suggest, in Roney's interpretation, that the Military Association formed in response to the crisis of 1775 was a logical outgrowth of the developments she traces, rather than a radical break with Quaker tradition. She reads the events of the revolution as reshaping rather than creating associationalism. Whereas the eighteenth-century model was diffuse governance in the hands of a range of sometimes overlapping and sometimes competing private groups, the coming of the revolution brought an emphasis on transparency, unity, and majority rule. This reading suggests that Tocqueville's riot of democracy was in fact more coercive than the colonial civic culture that preceded it.

Governed by a Spirit of Opposition is tightly organized and narratively driven. Its compact length will make it accessible in both graduate and undergraduate classrooms, while scholars of Philadelphia, civic life, and both the colonial and revolutionary eras will appreciate this fresh interpretation of associational culture.

Muhlenberg College LYNDA YANKASKAS

Jacob Green's Revolution: Radical Religion and Reform in a Revolutionary Age. By S. SCOTT ROHRER. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014. 304 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, $79.95; paper, $34.95.)

Jacob Green's Revolution is the latest offering in a recent surge of scholarship reassessing the relationship between religion and the American Revolution. Independent historian Scott Rohrer's book is part biography and part microhistory, telling the story of Presbyterian minister Jacob Green and the important role he played in revolutionary-era politics and reform efforts in northern New Jersey. The book's argument is straightforward: Edwardsean Calvinism was an important

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source of "revolutionary energy" in the mid-Atlantic, propelling Jacob Green to support the rebelling colonists' cause and producing "a strong reform drive during the American Revolution" (1, 7).

The book is organized into three parts. The first covers Green's New England childhood, his education at Harvard, his participation in the series of mid-eighteenth century revivals commonly called the "Great Awakening," and his entrance into the ministry. Influenced by Jonathan Edwards's theology, Green rubbed shoulders with George Whitefield and Gilbert Tennant and then, in 1745, accepted an appointment as pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in Hanover, New Jersey. Part 2 picks up in the late 1760s, when Green published his first tracts. Though his earliest writings focused on "how to construct a pure church," they laid the groundwork for his political writings that followed in the 1770s (108). In early 1776, Green published an influential pamphlet arguing against colonial reconciliation with Great Britain and urging the colonists to pursue independence. Based largely on the success of his writings, the Presbyterian pastor was elected to New Jersey's Provincial Congress, continuing to champion the colonists' cause for the remainder of the war. The book's third and final part follows the final years of Green's life and reform efforts in the early American republic. Green continued his pastorate at Hanover, working to reform both the church and the new nation. He conservatively opposed slavery, championed religious liberty, and pushed for economic and monetary reforms in New Jersey and beyond.

Scott Rohrer employs an unorthodox device in narrating each stage of Jacob Green's life, briefly comparing it to that of a clerical contemporary, Thomas Bradbury Chandler. Like Green, Chandler was reared a Congregationalist in Massachusetts. From there, their paths diverged. Chandler attended Yale, left Congregationalism, and joined the Anglican ministry, championing the appointment of an American bishop and ultimately supporting the Loyalist cause during the revolution. Although Rohrer's analysis of Chandler's life is significantly shorter and less nuanced than his treatment of Green, the comparison successfully highlights the divergent ways in which Christianity impacted the religious and political paths pursued by American colonists in the late colonial and revolutionary years.

Some readers might wonder about the identification of Jacob Green with "radical religion." Rohrer recognizes the "slippery nature" of defining such terms, but he maintains that Green's support for "voluntarism and democratic rights," along with his pro-revolutionary writings, were, indeed, radical (15–16). Compared to Thomas Chandler's, they were. But Green looks quite conservative when contrasted with the more explicitly evangelical and enthusiastic Baptists and Methodists of the revolutionary era, to say nothing of the Moravians or even the Covenanters, a Presbyterian sect that championed a Christian nation and opposed slavery far more aggressively than Green. *Jacob Green's Revolution*, then, points to the spectrum of religious and political radicalism that existed during

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the revolution and the sometimes surprising ways in which they intersected with one another. Jacob Green may not have been as radical as others, but he was an important revolutionary and reformer, one we now know much more about thanks to Scott Rohrer's book.

Brigham Young University CHRISTOPHER JONES

Founding Friendships: Friendships between Men and Women in the Early American Republic. By CASSANDRA A. GOOD. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 289 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95.)

With *Founding Friendships*, Cassandra Good joins the ranks of such scholars as Fredrika Teute, Catherine Allgor, Richard Godbeer, and Lorri Glover, who have analyzed the private worlds of the founding generation in order to recapture and reconfigure the connections between their experiences as wives, salonnières, fathers, sons, brothers, or friends, and the political realms within which they moved. Through a series of thematic chapters analyzing private letters, novels, advice books, and friendship albums, along with social ideals and gift-giving practices, Good considers the phenomenon of nonsexual, cross-sex friendships between educated elite white women and men in the early years of the republic. Acknowledging that most advice writers cautioned strongly against mixed-sex friendships—there was the ever-present danger of the "seduction of women by men who pretended to be their friends"—Good asks readers to look beyond published literary representations to examine how individuals shaped their feelings in diaries and letters, and to enter the spaces where they created platonic relationships: churches, literary and other circles, and the homes of married friends and fictive kin (46). This extensively researched, thoughtful book will rest comfortably on the shelf with its compatriots.

Although conceding that men's fraternal bonds remained the model type of republican friendship throughout the era, Good makes two claims for the importance of mixed-sex friendships. First, she argues that, under the right circumstances, mixed-sex friendships had the potential to empower elite women, who might experience "a form of gender relations closer to equality than any other relationship between men and women in American society" (187). Through connections to their male friends, she suggests, women could "pass along political intelligence," acquire "political power," and use "persuasion and influence" to facilitate patronage appointments (164, 171). They might even become "female politicians," to use Rosemarie Zagarri's term, joining the "civic body more directly and equally than they ever could have done through marriage" (189). In the context of the early republic's gender system, however, terms such as "equal" or "political power" may not capture both the opportunities and the constraints that elite women

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encountered. After all, the salience of male-female friendships was vastly greater for women than for men, because they had the most to gain or lose. Women, not men, bore the burden of embodying the platonic quality of the pair's tie.

Beyond possible benefits to individuals, Good envisions a broader political significance for platonic friendships. They "could, with careful work, become part of the social glue that held the new republic together" (106). Over the fifty-year period of her study, Good finds, rather surprisingly, that the pattern of such ties "did not change significantly" (10). Only in the 1820s, with the arrival of a "more democratic political system," did their established uses lose traction (189). By the 1820s, however, women of all social and racial groups had already begun to weave new forms of social cohesion through their voluntary associations and to use political petitioning to rework both individual and collective forms of social networking. Even if readers share my skepticism about the book's broad claims, they can and will enjoy the author's ease at conveying the texture and charm of early-republic heterosociality.

University of Delaware ANNE M. BOYLAN

The Adams Papers. Series II: Adams Family Correspondence. Volume 12: March 1797–April 1798. Edited by SARA MARTIN et al. (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015. 630 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendix, chronology, index. $95.)

Each time a member of the Adams family sat down and wrote a letter to another member of the family, they made a precious contribution to their national descendants. The correspondence among members of the family constitute a gift to the American people and to the historians and other scholars who study their lives and times. The editors and the Massachusetts Historical Society are to be warmly congratulated for the good work they have done in carrying forward the *Adams Papers* project.

Volume twelve of the *Adams Family Correspondence* provides scholars with a front-row perspective on the late eighteenth-century Atlantic world. The tumultuous times that characterized the first year of the John Adams administration are discussed and analyzed by interested and informed family members on both sides of the Atlantic.

Eighteenth-century American life is well-documented in this volume, and for that reason alone, this volume is a must in every academic library. That we get a view of the period from a family so integral to the formation of the revolutionary American republic and its early national development is to revel in a vicarious experience that will bring great pleasure to the historian.

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In 1918, the great-grandson of John and Abigail Adams, Henry Adams, wrote in his *Education of Henry Adams* that the "study of history is useful to the historian by teaching him his ignorance of women and the mass of this ignorance crushes one who is familiar enough with what are called historical sources to realize how few women have ever been known" (353). The volume under review constitutes a corrective to the problem Henry observed. In volume twelve, there are 276 letters; nearly three-quarters of those letters (74 percent) are written by Abigail Adams. A significant portion of Abigail's writing is directed to family members beyond her husband. In her informative and beautifully written introduction to the volume, editor Sara Martin explains to readers that the "correspondence allowed Abigail to maintain her connections to family and community, while at the same time it afforded a reliable means of transmitting information from the seat of national government" (xx).

For those interested in the political culture of the United States during the 1790s, Abigail's trenchant descriptions are invaluable. Consider her depiction of the pro-French Republicans in Congress in a letter to her sister dated April 4, 1798, the day after the XYZ Affair became public: "The Jacobins in senate & House were struck dumb, and opened not their mouths, not having their cue, not having received their lessons from those emissaries which Talleyrand made no secret of telling our Envoys are Spread all over our Country; and from whence they drew their information" (485). This sentence, which vividly conveys the distrust that permeated the polarized politics of the 1790s, is representative of the descriptive chronicle of a family and a nation that is richly captured in the pages of this worthwhile volume.

Indiana University Northwest CHRISTOPHER J. YOUNG

Pennsylvania Hall: A "Legal Lynching" in the Shadow of the Liberty Bell. By BEVERLY C. TOMEK. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. 206 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $14.95.)

On May 17, 1838, the Liberty Bell rang out, summoning help as anti-abolitionist mobs attacked and destroyed the newly constructed Pennsylvania Hall. Christened a "Temple of Liberty," the hall had come into existence in a rare moment of cooperation between groups of abolitionists with divergent interests. The abolitionists who supported the construction of the hall wanted to awaken American citizens to the cause of slavery, while their opponents wanted to stop abolitionists from discussing the issue. *Liberator* editor William Lloyd Garrison, who barely escaped the melee, described the destruction of the hall as a "legal lynching."

In her study of Pennsylvania Hall, Beverly C. Tomek uses the story of the hall to examine the larger narrative of the American antislavery movement. Indeed, as

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Tomek notes, the story of the hall is the story of that movement "in microcosm," shedding light on the competing agendas of gradualist and immediatist abolitionists (xiii). Moreover, the story of the hall reveals much about the racism that permeated the North as states abolished slavery and blacks gained their freedom.

The book opens with an overview of the history of the antislavery movement, tracing the efforts of Quakers, the founding of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, the beginnings of the free produce movement, the arguments for colonization, and the rise of immediatism. With this basic background in place, Tomek then turns her attention to the story of the hall. Highlighting the diversity and the complexity of the board of managers that oversaw fundraising and construction, she emphasizes the complexity of the antislavery movement. Although the money for the construction of the hall was raised primarily by women, the project was supervised by the men of the Pennsylvania Hall Association. As Tomek narrates the construction of the hall, she contextualizes the story within the broader history of the antislavery movement, recounting, for example, the murder of abolitionist editor Elijah P. Lovejoy and the "amalgamation wedding" of Theodore Dwight Weld and Angelina Grimké. In the months and years after the destruction of the Hall, the building became a martyr for the antislavery cause, much as Lovejoy had after his death. The "lynching" of the hall was an important shift in the antislavery movement and in American society.

Pennsylvania Hall is part of the Critical Historical Encounters Series published by Oxford University Press. Books in this series focus on major critical moments in American history. In this short but thorough biography of Pennsylvania Hall, Tomek gives us a well-researched and well-written narrative of the hall and the antislavery movement. Significantly, she persuasively argues that the hall's destruction marked not only a key moment in the antislavery movement but also revealed the tensions of the past and hinted at the challenges to come as Americans wrestled with the challenge of establishing a more equal society. The "lynching" of Pennsylvania Hall ultimately backfired, as abolitionists used its destruction to argue that fundamental American values, such as free speech, were at stake.

Baylor University JULIE L. HOLCOMB

Emancipation, the Union Army, and the Reelection of Abraham Lincoln. By JONATHAN W. WHITE. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2014. 275 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $39.95.)

Over three million men fought in the American Civil War, two million of whom donned the Union blue. In recent decades, historians have provided a proliferation of scholarship on soldiers from the North and South, considering their motivations for enlistment, wartime experiences, and the aftermath of their ser-

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vice. Yet, for Union soldiers, Jonathan W. White proposes that there has been inadequate coverage of their politics, especially in relationship to the presidential election of 1864. Traditionally, according to White, historians have surmised that the high percentage of votes cast for Lincoln by Union soldiers indicated a strong preference for both "Honest Abe" and the Republican Party (1–4). The usual evidence for this comes from the overwhelming support Lincoln received in 1864 from the soldier vote. White argues, however, that these numbers, if not outright lies, only tell part of the story. Forty percent of Union soldiers did not cast a ballot for Lincoln in 1864. Rather, through examining a combination of actions—direct support for Democratic candidate George McClellan, resignation from the army, or purposeful abstentions from voting—White argues that the politics of a significant and neglected portion of Union soldiers requires scholarly attention.

Those understudied soldiers form the crux of White's monograph. Over the course of five chapters, White lays the groundwork for a discussion that highlights how Republicans in and outside of the army intentionally manipulated soldiers into supporting Lincoln or punished discontents through forced resignations or intimidation. The main source of the tension between Republicans and Democrats in (and out of) the Union Army was, unsurprisingly, the issue of emancipation. Unlike Chandra Manning's recent work, *What This Cruel War Was Over*, White takes umbrage with the idea that Union soldiers largely came to support the necessity of emancipation (77–79). While many Union soldiers did support the destruction of slavery, many Democrats—as well as some Republicans—disliked the prospects of fighting for the end of the peculiar institution. Union officials responded swiftly and severely to such disdain, removing officers who opposed emancipation and limiting the franchise of deserters and political opponents both during and after the war.

White has provided a solid monograph, which he deeply researched to enrich the discussion of emancipation and Civil War soldiers. Along with William Blair's *With Malice Toward Some*, White demonstrates how allegiance functioned as a political weapon during and after the war. In doing so, White clearly demonstrates that Republicans manipulated policy and events in the army, either through forced dismissals from service, limitations placed on voting, intimidation, or policies that disgusted and chased Democrats away from the Union Army.

The result of White's short work is a call for continued reevaluation of not just the election of 1864 but much of what historians "know" about Civil War soldiers. By highlighting the coercion used by Republicans as well as the large number of deserters who abandoned the Union Army, White has questioned cherished assumptions about the politics and commitment of Union soldiers. Historians of the Civil War era must consequently reconsider our understanding of the Union soldier and his role in the politics of the period.

West Virginia University CHARLES R. WELSKO

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Lincoln's Autocrat: The Life of Edwin Stanton. By WILLIAM MARVEL. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. 611 pp. Illustrations, tables, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $35.)

Civil War scholar William Marvel has authored a lengthy and extensive biography of Lincoln's shrewd and flamboyant secretary of war. Chronologically and topically arranged, this meticulously researched work, which is the first study to appear about Stanton in over fifty-three years, depicts him as an aggressive, erudite, and imperious lawyer. Marvel also shows that Stanton developed effective leadership skills during the presidency of the Pennsylvanian James Buchanan. The author cogently explains how this moderate Democrat gradually embraced the cause of the Radical Republicans.

The first two chapters concentrate on Stanton's early career in eastern Ohio. Born on December 19, 1814, to Lucy Norman and the physician David Stanton, Edwin was privately tutored and then attended the town's "Old Academy." After his father's unexpected passing, Edwin entered the workforce. By 1831, the serious and diligent Stanton attended Kenyon College, exhibiting interests in history, political science, and debate. After his apprenticeship in the Steubenville law office of Benjamin Tappan, Stanton became his partner. He married Mary Lamson on December 31, 1836.

The next four chapters illustrate his success as a lawyer and his interest in politics. He achieved victories in civil and criminal cases in Steubenville and Cadiz, Ohio, where he became Harrison County's prosecuting attorney. In 1844, he supported James Polk for the presidency. Moving to Pittsburgh after his wife's death, he entered the practice of Charles Shaler. Stanton won a major victory in the *Pennsylvania v. Wheeling and Belmont Bridge* case in 1850, demonstrating that this company violated the interstate commerce clause. Stanton also vindicated the patent rights to Cyrus McCormick's reaper. In 1856, he married Ellen Hutchinson, whose family wealth would enhance his career. Of particular interest is a section about Stanton's meticulous legal work with California land claims during Buchanan's presidency.

The seventh chapter especially describes Stanton's ties to the Buchanan administration. Stanton denounced the Dred Scott decision, thus revealing his moderate antislavery stance. Succeeding his friend Jeremiah Black as attorney general in late 1860, he admonished Buchanan to repudiate Southern secessionist activities. Lincoln appointed Stanton to serve as secretary of war in early 1862.

The next eight chapters explore Stanton's activities during the Civil War. In 1862, he convinced Lincoln to remove George McClellan as commander in chief of Union armies and became McClellan's enemy. That September, he also exerted pressure on the president to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. That same year, Stanton ordered additional troops to General Ulysses S. Grant to enable a Union victory at Vicksburg. Marvel maintains that the autocratic Stanton exerted enor-

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mous influence upon Lincoln in 1864 to appoint Grant as Union commander in chief. There also are detailed accounts about Stanton's dislike of General William T. Sherman and of other Union generals, about his imperious control of the war department, and about his excessive and abusive use of military tribunals.

The last four chapters reveal much about Stanton during Reconstruction. Marvel depicts Stanton's grief after the 1865 assassination of Lincoln and his swift actions in thwarting other Confederate conspirators. Marvel presents cogent explanations for Stanton's aggressive activities as a Radical Republican, for his defense of the Reconstruction Acts, and for his support of the impeachment efforts against President Andrew Johnson, who had attempted to dismiss him as war secretary. After being appointed to the Supreme Court under President Grant, the fatigued Stanton, who had suffered from asthma, died on December 24, 1869.

This biography is an illuminating study. Marvel has consulted government sources, memoirs, and autobiographies to reveal that Stanton was a cunning and effective leader. Massively detailed and gracefully written, this biography well might have had subtitles in each chapter and might have contained a glossary. This revisionist study perceives Stanton quite differently from the biography by Benjamin Thomas and Harold Hyman. Marvel's work will prove to be controversial to some scholars, but ultimately it will be recognized as a significant study of this prominent Civil War leader.

Butler County Community College R. William Weisberger

City in a Park: A History of Philadelphia's Fairmount Park System. By James McClelland and Lynn Miller. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015. 375 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $39.50.)

This is a chatty and lavishly illustrated volume that will enhance anyone's coffee table. In chapters that combine a historic overview with focused accounts of such topics as recreational activities, transportation, historic houses, and public art, the authors offer helpful information about Philadelphia's incomparable park system. The three final chapters in particular provide a detailed account of the reorganization of park administration following disestablishment of the Fairmount Park Commission (FPC), as well as a survey of current sustainability and improvement projects. A list of parks in the appendix is especially useful.

Unfortunately, the book does not fulfill the promise of its title. Imprecise statements and factual errors intrude, as in the introduction—Penn's plan of Philadelphia was published in 1683, not 1688 (1). Other examples include the following: the Schuylkill is still a source for the city's water supply; Lemon Hill came "on the market" in 1843, not 1844, and the city did not buy it from an "absentee

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New York owner"—Isaac Loyd was a Philadelphian (6, 20, 103). Fiske Kimball was not the "first director" of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art (incorrectly referred to as the Pennsylvania Museum of Art and Industry), renamed the Philadelphia Museum of Art (70). Ladies were not "beginning to try the sport" of ice skating in the 1860s—they were skating long before this—and children collected chestnuts on Nutting Day, not walnuts and hazelnuts (109–10). Quibbles perhaps, but these and other misstatements leave the reader unsure of the text's overall reliability. The authors cite only secondary sources in their notes, and they often perpetuate previous errors. It's a pity that they did not delve into some of the extensive primary sources that are still relatively untapped—beginning with the records of the FPC. They also overlooked several recent studies that might have improved the narrative.

McClelland and Miller encounter the same challenge experienced by Esther Klein, whose 1974 history of Fairmount Park is an important precedent (though nowhere mentioned in this volume). Philadelphia's park system and its history are so extensive and so diffuse that it is difficult to write a synthetic treatment. Like Klein's, McClelland and Miller's "history" devolves into a sometimes disjointed compilation of (not always accurate) anecdotes and is often repetitive. Because they locate the origins of Philadelphia's park system entirely at the Fairmount waterworks, these authors also fail to fully explain how the history of Penn's squares affected park development, and they give only passing attention to such important non-riparian parks as Independence Square and Hunting Park.

The photographs are of high quality (thanks to a generous subvention from the William Penn Foundation) and offer a lively tour of sites and structures within the park system. Curiously, however, there are no maps that might document the park system's evolution, making it difficult for anyone who is not familiar with Philadelphia to understand the spatial context of places the authors celebrate. Readers may also be confused by the book's title, since, as McClelland and Miller point out, the new Parks and Recreation Department has officially retired the term "Fairmount Park system." The authors' love of their subject is nonetheless palpable, and we can only hope that the optimistic tone with which they wrote this volume bodes well for the future of Philadelphia's green spaces.

Drexel University ELIZABETH MILROY

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Knight of Philadelphia: The Life and Times of Albert Monroe Greenfield. By Serena Shanken Skwersky. (Philadelphia: Kopel Publishing, 2012. 250 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $15.)

The Outsider: Albert M. Greenfield and the Fall of the Protestant Establishment. By Dan Rottenberg. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014. 361 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $35.)

These two recent publications offer valuable insight into the career and contributions of Albert Monroe Greenfield, a remarkable Philadelphia businessman, developer, and politico. Born in imperial Russia in 1887, Greenfield was brought to America in 1892 by Jewish émigré parents who soon settled in Philadelphia. By 1905, he entered into a real estate partnership and over the next decade accrued both wealth and reputation acting as broker for numerous high-profile transactions. In tracing these early years, Rottenberg delineates important themes for Greenfield's later career: he "refused to be pigeonholed by his Jewishness," made a virtue of self-reinvention, seized opportunities "that seemed . . . to abound wherever a young man of limitless energy might turn," and exhibited characteristic foresight by recognizing the future of motion pictures and the ties of that fledgling industry to real estate (31, 22, 28, 34). Greenfield's confidence and power grew in the 1920s, and he soon advanced from broker to developer—seeking to help Philadelphia remake its anachronistically underdeveloped Center City. In the process, he became realtor to Dennis Cardinal Dougherty and forged lifelong ties to the Catholic hierarchy, became an important voice within the state Republican machine, and helped J. David Stern purchase the *Philadelphia Record* and transform it into a widely read organ of liberal Democratic reformism.

By the late 1920s, Greenfield was a board member and leading depositor of the Bankers Trust, which swiftly became one of Philadelphia's largest banks. After the stock market crash of October 1929, Bankers Trust was unable to secure a lifeline from the Philadelphia Clearing House Association—portrayed by Rottenberg as not only the organized banking power of Philadelphia but also the financial arm of the city's Protestant establishment. The bank's failure was a cataclysm affecting one-fifth of Philadelphia households, and both authors interrogate the reasons why the Clearing House Association reneged on an earlier offer to save Bankers Trust. Rottenberg deftly negotiates the intricacies of this important moment—why did the establishment back away from an apparent deal? What were the motivations of E. T. Stotesbury, the Drexel & Co. partner who "alone commanded the combination of resources, experience, and esteem capable of credibly questioning a decision that had seemed preordained" (126)? What was the balance of philosophical objections, stylistic differences, and raw anti-Semitism? Rottenberg's answers are appropriately complex—a mix of personal and stylistic objections to Greenfield's methods and cultural concerns with the outsider populations Greenfield seemed

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to represent. Skwersky takes a similarly multifaceted view of matters—"a triple whammy of culture clash, mistrust, and possibly anti-Semitism," she concludes (93).

While Greenfield's banking career thus met an unceremonious end, he was not finished as a major player in Philadelphia's development or American economic and political life. Greenfield still had his investment house, Bankers Securities; during the early 1930s, his firm established control over the debt-ridden City Stores Company, and by the end of the decade Greenfield had returned the chain to profitability and started acquiring other retailers. Indeed, notes Rottenberg, the Depression was flush with such opportunities: "As properties . . . teetered on the brink of bankruptcy, Greenfield repeatedly appeared to snap them up for Bankers Securities at bargain prices and then pump new blood into them. . . . In this way Greenfield gained control of Philadelphia's Ben Franklin and Bellevue-Statford hotels, the Steel Pier in Atlantic City, and any number of downtown Philadelphia office and loft buildings" (163–64).

By the post–World War II period, Greenfield commanded a sprawling empire, but he had not yet succeeded in transforming Philadelphia from what Rottenberg dubs a "national embarrassment" marked by a decaying Center City (235). In 1956 Mayor Richardson Dilworth granted Greenfield power to pursue his envisioned renaissance by making him chairman of the planning commission. Here Greenfield followed what Rottenberg calls "a unique surgical approach to urban renewal" that eschewed the meat-ax tactics of many contemporaries and ultimately yielded a "subsequent reinvention of downtown Philadelphia" (243, 248). Indeed, agrees Skwersky, nearly all of Greenfield's twenty-year predictions for impressive hotels, offices, and infrastructure, came to pass—"indicative of a truly remarkable vision" (188).

Politically, Greenfield was an early pragmatist and long-run liberal. When he entered public life, Philadelphia was a Republican city run by the Vare machine, so Greenfield made himself useful to the Vares through the late 1920s. Credited with helping secure Pennsylvania Republican support for Herbert Hoover's nomination in 1928, Greenfield slowly evolved into a liberal Democrat during Franklin Roosevelt's first term, and in 1936 he helped bring that party's national convention to Philadelphia. He later cultivated a strong enough relationship with Harry Truman to have his son Albert Jr. plucked off of a Marine transport ship in the middle of the Pacific Ocean by executive order and spared from service in Korea. He was an early supporter of Lyndon Johnson, whom Skwersky reveals "felt the personal loss of Albert's loyalty and the national loss of his leadership" upon Greenfield's death in 1967 (5).

Both books have clear merits. Rottenberg's well-researched narrative gracefully traces Greenfield's story through the theme of his "outsider" status. The author appreciates the subtleties of what this would have meant to his subject, who seems to have aspired to "mainline" acceptance but without sacrificing his Jewish heritage wholesale, all while vehemently rejecting the "rags-to-riches" label. This is

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also very much a story of a rising social and economic actor being confronted repeatedly by old-stock snobbery in a city dominated by a lineage-obsessed Protestant establishment—whether it meant his children being rejected by the Germantown Friends School or his own humbling at the hands of the Clearing House Association (55). Ultimately, however, Greenfield won: he would "help transform Philadelphia . . . from an exclusive oligarchy based largely on bloodlines into an inclusive meritocracy. . . . in the face of this upheaval, the WASP establishment . . . relinquish[ed] its leadership role in almost every facet of American life" (267).

Skwersky's work is less analytical and more of a straight biographical exploration. Skwersky draws rich anecdotes from the Greenfield manuscripts at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to create an intimate portrait of her subject as "a democratic knight . . . not dressed in armor nor with lance in hand . . . but seated round a table, considering all men his peers, showing respect to all, serving equally his president, senator, governor, mayor, and John Doe" (2). While less inclined to interpretation, Skwersky still contextualizes her story in broader trends to demonstrate Greenfield's many contributions—ranging from United States recognition of the state of Israel to the making (both physically and culturally) of modern Philadelphia. The book is arranged thematically rather than chronologically, with many chapters spanning from the 1910s to the 1960s. This is sometimes challenging, although this approach allows a more intimate conception of Greenfield's family life on its own terms (chapter seven). The author provides a generous collection of photographs, which greatly enhance the book.

Both works will be of interest to readers of this journal and to students of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania history. Those interested in better understanding Greenfield's extraordinary contributions should purchase and read both books. Rottenberg's work, with its thoughtful, nuanced analysis and readable, lively prose, should command a broader audience still, and could be a useful monograph for collegiate courses on ethnic relations, urban politics, or the intersection of class, culture, and business.

University of Maryland, College Park ROBERT CHILES

Church and Estate: Religion and Wealth in Industrial-Era Philadelphia. By THOMAS F. RZEZNIK. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013. Illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index. $72.95.)

Thomas Rzeznik's *Church and Estate* provides readers with an overview of the dynamic relationship between the economic elite and their religious communities in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Across seven chapters of crisp narrative, the author describes the rise and fall of upper-class influence on the

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religious sphere, including attention to such topics as philanthropy, church governance, and ecclesiastical architecture. The author pays attention to patterns of religious affiliation and disaffiliation, noting the elite's trend toward the Episcopal Church during the period under consideration. Later chapters detail the impact that economic and social change wrought on moneyed interest in churches and society. Rzeznik's recounting and analysis of Progressive Era challenges to the wealthy and politically powerful is especially engaging. In the conclusion, the author thoughtfully considers the contemporary implications of and the lessons to be learned from the activities of this period.

As the title of the book makes plain, Rzeznik focuses on Philadelphia, an apt choice given the city's financial and religious prominence during the industrial era. With respect to the latter, the author convincingly shows how religious institutions, including the Society of Friends, of course, but also the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Jewish communities, favored the city in terms of population and resources. These religious communities contributed to the city's importance by headquartering important boards and other governing bodies there. Given its prominence, the Philadelphia story is treated as representative of broader national trends, with reference made to relevant scenarios elsewhere in the country when such parallels are warranted. For example, Bishop Philip Mercer Rhinelander's ill-fated proposal to build an Episcopal cathedral in Philadelphia is considered in reference to similar projects then underway in New York City and the nation's capital.

For readers unfamiliar with the history, *Church and Estate* provides an engaging introduction to key individuals, families, and institutions that vaulted Philadelphia and the surrounding area, especially the Main Line, into national prominence during this period. For those already familiar with the history, Rzeznik's attention to the religious dimension of wealthy Philadelphians' contributions to social, cultural, and ecclesiological growth in the period adds an important dimension otherwise neglected in standard histories of the period. Indeed, his acknowledgement of the integrity and sincerity of religious sensibility among Philadelphia's elite—what he refers to as the "motivational complexity" of the elite's role in religious matters—adds depth and nuance to existing literature on the subject. At the same time, the author reckons frankly with the limitations of their exclusivist perspective and the impact of changing fortunes over time. Rzeznik's balanced treatment of the George Chalmers Richmond and Scott Nearing trials, respectively, effectively illustrates this point. Ultimately, *Church and Estate* points to the inherent tension between the spiritual mission of religious institutions and the viability and execution of that mission in the social, political and economic situation in which the church finds itself in any era. Rzeznik challenges readers to identify and subsequently grapple with the attendant advantages and disadvantages of what inevitably and invariably will be a messy and complicated affair between church and world.

Cabrini University NICHOLAS RADEMACHER

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In the Shadow of Kinzua: The Seneca Nation of Indians since World War II. By LAURENCE MARC HAUPTMAN. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014. 415 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $45.)

Scholarly inquiry into the post–World War II experiences of the Seneca Nation of Indians has focused on the consequences of the construction of the Kinzua Dam in the 1960s. To build the dam, the US government violated a 1794 treaty and condemned some 10,000 acres of Seneca lands, roughly one-third of the nation's territory. Laurence Hauptman, Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History at the State University of New York, New Paltz, acknowledges the devastating impact of the Kinzua crisis but calls for a broader view of the difficulties facing the Senecas at a time when "everything was stacked against them" (268). Hauptman chronicles the nation's recovery from the nadir of the 1960s to becoming a major economic force in western New York in the 2010s. He regards that journey as part of the much larger and longer history of a people who have endured as a nation for centuries.

Hauptman notes that, in the years after World War II, the Senecas encountered government officials and private citizens hostile to their sovereign rights and uninterested in their many challenges, including unemployment, limited educational opportunities, and a desperate need for healthcare. Seeking to terminate the US government's treaty obligations, federal officials ceded civil and criminal jurisdiction over the Seneca Nation to the state of New York. Politicians and business interests in Pennsylvania and New York regarded the Seneca Nation as an obstacle to regional economic development. The nation's lands were objects of desire; its treaty rights were a relic of a forgotten past best ignored.

The Senecas surmounted many of these problems. During the 1970s and 1980s, the US Congress, federal courts, and some state officials proved amenable to American Indians' claims and concerns. The Indian Gaming and Regulatory Act of 1988, which allowed for the operation of casinos, played a key role in the nation's economic development. Most important, argues Hautpman, were the actions of the Senecas, "truly heroes and heroines who faced problems head on and devoted their energies for tribal survival" (xxvii). The nation's leaders used compensation monies from the Kinzua taking to construct community centers and create an educational foundation. Seneca women formed the Health Action Group to battle tuberculosis, alcoholism, and diabetes. Inspired by the Red Power movement, Senecas mounted public protests against violations of their sovereign rights.

In examining politics and protests, Hauptman dismisses the argument that the nation was riven by factionalism. Rather, he identifies the Senecas' ability to recover from adversity as the result of "a permanent condition of shifting alliances based on kinship, locality, and other factors" (xxiii). In Hautpman's eyes, divisions provide flexibility and are a strength, not a failure. As a result, he is hesitant to

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offer criticism when warranted. For example, he characterizes the dispute over gaming that erupted in the 1990s as at times "mean-spirited," mild indeed given the bombing and three shooting deaths that occurred. Yet Hauptman might be forgiven any biases he has for the Senecas. In the decades since his first visit to the nation in 1972, he has researched their history, served as their consultant, and testified before the US Congress on their behalf. His affection and admiration for them is evident in this work, which he acknowledges is "part memoir" (xiii).

San Antonio College THOMAS CLARKIN

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Contributors

Patrick Anthony is a graduate student in the History Department at Vanderbilt University, where he studies the history of science and modern Germany. He began his article on William Duane while studying at Montana State University, where he received his Bachelor of Arts in History in 2015.

Keith Marshall Jones III, great (three times over) grandson of Supreme Court chief custice John Marshall, became local author and founding president of the Ridgefield (Connecticut) Historical Society after thirty years as a consumer products marketing excecutive. He collaborated with Richmond's John Marshall Foundation to author *"Congress as My Government"* (2008), the definitive account of Marshall's Revolutionary War service as a Virginia infantry officer in George Washington's Continental Army. His next book project, the first full biography of Army Judge Advocate John Laurance, is being readied for publication later this year.

Frederick Knight is associate professor and chair of the history department at Morehouse College and author of *Working the Diaspora: The Impact of African Labor on the Anglo-American World, 1650–1850* (2010). His article on Jarena Lee is based on research he conducted while holding a Mellon Short-Term Fellowship in African American History at the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Allan Kulikoff, Abraham Baldwin Distinguished Professor in the Humanities, emeritus, University of Georgia, is the author of three books and numerous articles on early American social relations and political economy. He is at work completing a book project, tentatively titled *The Many Masks of Benjamin Franklin*, that uses Franklin's writings, Franklin iconography, and the voluminous literature on Franklin to examine Franklin's class location and position in the Atlantic world.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
Balch Institute Fellowships in Ethnic and/or 20th-Century History and Albert M. Greenfield Fellowship in 20th-Century History
2017–2018

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania will award two one-month Balch Institute fellowships to enable research on topics related to the ethnic and immigrant experience in the United States and/or American cultural, social, political, or economic history post-1875. HSP will also award one Albert M. Greenfield fellowship for research in 20th-century history. The fellowships support one month of residency in Philadelphia during the 2017–2018 academic year. Past Balch fellows have done research on immigrant children, Italian American fascism, German Americans in the Civil War, Pan-Americanism, African American women's political activism, and much more.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, enriched by the holdings of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, holds more than 19 million personal, organizational, and business manuscripts, as well as 560,000 printed items and 312,000 graphic images concerning national and regional political, social, and family history.

The Historical Society's archives richly document the social, cultural, and economic history of a region central to many aspects of the nation's development from colonial times to the 20th century. The Balch Institute collections bring HSP strength in documenting ethnic and immigrant history, with significant holdings of ethnic newspapers, records of benevolent societies and other local and national ethnic organizations, and personal papers of prominent leaders in ethnic and immigrant communities.

The stipend is $2,000. Fellowships are tenable for any one-month period between June 2017 and May 2018. They support advanced, postdoctoral, and dissertation research. Deadline for receipt of applications is March 1, 2017, with a decision to be made by April 15. **To apply**, visit http://www.librarycompany.org/fellowships/coversheet.htm, fill out a required electronic cover sheet, and submit one portable document format (PDF) containing a résumé and a 2–4 page description of the proposed research. One letter of recommendation, in PDF format, should be submitted at http://www.librarycompany.org/fellowships/letters.htm. If you wish to apply for more than one fellowship, simply check more than one box on your electronic cover sheet. For more information on applying, contact Christina Larocco, Editor and Scholarly Programs Manager at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (215-732-6200 x208 or clarocco@hsp.org).

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Call for Papers
Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography
Special Issue: Incarceration in Pennsylvania History

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is issuing a call for articles to be included in a special issue on incarceration in Pennsylvania history, scheduled for publication in October 2019.

The editors seek submissions of the following two sorts.

- **Scholarly Articles:** The editors seek submissions of scholarly articles (25–35 pages, double spaced) featuring new research on the history of incarceration in Pennsylvania. Manuscripts may offer fresh perspectives on Pennsylvania's role as the pioneer of the penitentiary system, including the Quaker legacy in shaping carceral structures, the tension between religious reformers and state officials, and the debate between the Pennsylvania and Auburn systems. We are also interested in submissions that explore differences between urban and (expanding) rural carceral spaces. Finally, we seek articles that address racial disparities, including the disproportionate incarceration of African Americans and Latinos; gender systems and the gendered division of labor within sites of incarceration; and the criminalization of LGBTQ individuals. Selections will be based on both quality and the need to represent the full range of research in the history of incarceration.
- **Hidden Gems:** The editors seek submissions of short articles (250–750 words) featuring hidden gems highlighting some aspect of incarceration in Pennsylvania history. We invite articles focusing on both written and non-written sources, including but not limited to diaries, manuscript collections, novels, government documents, oral histories, newspapers, photographs, artifacts, and monuments. These items may or may not be found in the state, but they must illuminate some aspect of Pennsylvanians' experiences with incarceration. See http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5215/pennmaghistbio.140.issue-3 for examples of such essays.

Submission details: Submissions should be addressed to Christina Larocco, Editor, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107 or, by email, to pmhb@hsp.org.

Guest editors: Potential contributors are strongly encouraged to consult with one of the two guest editors for this issue of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* before submitting: Jen Manion, Associate Professor of History, Amherst College (jmanion@amherst.edu); Keith Reeves, Associate Professor of Political Science, Swarthmore College (kreeves1@swarthmore.edu).

Deadline for submissions: January 1, 2018

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