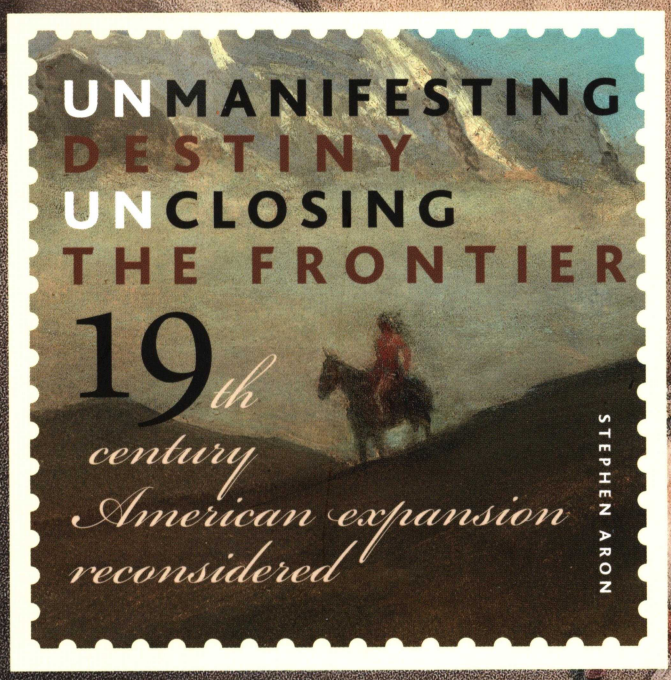
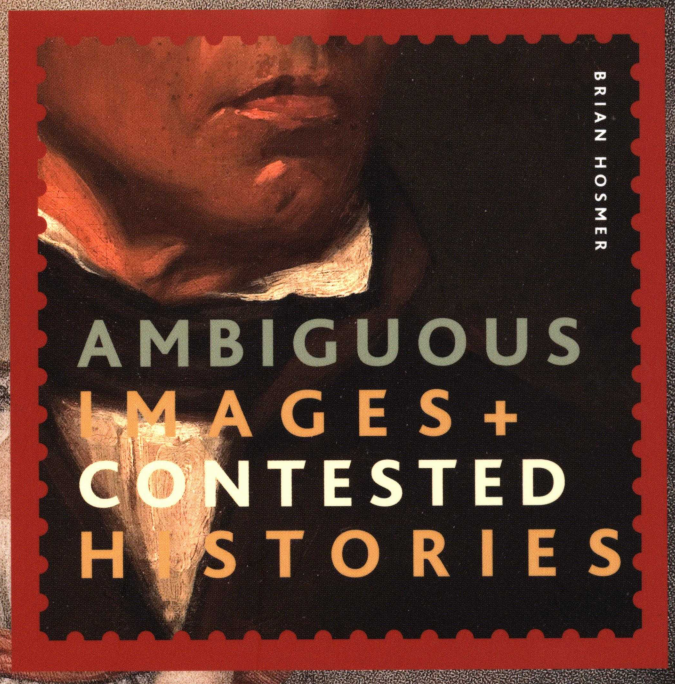
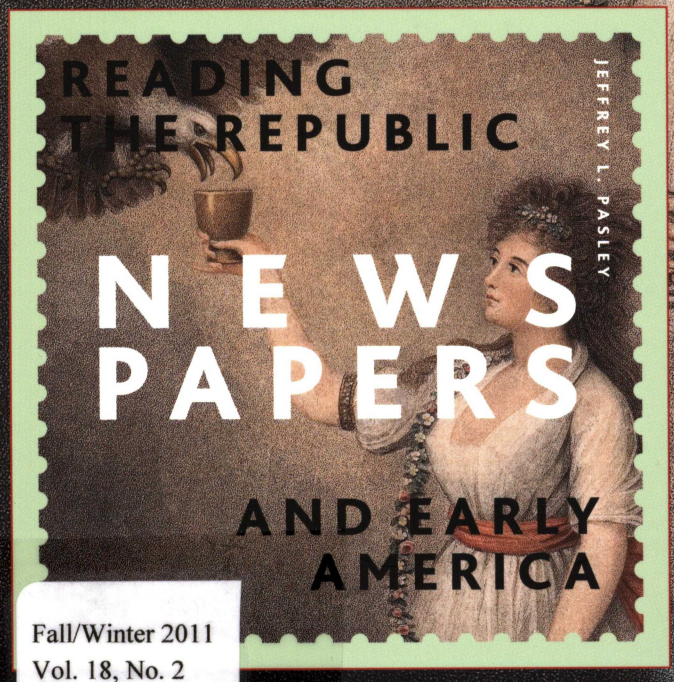
gilcrease

THE JOURNAL OF GILCREASE MUSEUM

XVIII
2









Fall/Winter 2011
Vol. 18, No. 2
c. 1

THE SYMPOSIUM ISSUE

Fall/Winter 2011
Vol. 18, No. 2
c. 1

ISSUED TO

Fall/Winter 2011
Vol. 18, No. 2
c. 1

Gillie Library

GAYLORD F

POET's CORNER.

For the NEW-YORK JOURNAL, &c.

MR. GREENLEAF,

By depoſiting the few ſubſequent lines in your Poet's Corner, you will oblige

A CORRESPONDENT.

CONNUBIA NON FLORENT SINE BACCHO.

'TIS not the wine alone I prize,
A very little will ſuffice;
To quench my thirſt, or eaſe my taſte,
A pint you'll ſay is very chaſte.

Thro' wine we reconcile a foe;
To wine we laſting friendſhips owe;
Her advocates may truly boaſt,
Wine relithes ev'ry toaſt.

In youth a pretty wife, in age,
Thoſe quitting (like ourſelves) the ſtage
Of life; and thoſe whoſe patriot zeal,
Is active for their country's weal.

STEPHEN ARON IS PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UCLA,
AND CHAIR, INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF THE AMERICAN WEST,
AUTRY NATIONAL CENTER





Previous pages: *California Crossing, South Platte River.* William Henry Jackson, 1867, oil on canvas. GM 0136.1208.

Above: *American Progress.* John Gast, 1872, oil on canvas. Courtesy of the Autry National Center, 91.126.1.

In their pursuit of happiness, Americans are not constrained by the chains of the past. Our future as individuals and as a nation remains unwritten. By contrast, the American past has been written—and rewritten—countless times. As this essay details, writings about nineteenth-century American expansion have over time dramatically shifted their interpretive stance. But whether cast as triumph or as tragedy, these interpretations have tended to treat the course of American expansion as an inexorable force. That is unfortunate, because it deprives this history of its confusions and contingencies. Better to build from the premise that just as nothing about the future is inevitable, so, too, nothing about the past is either.

Armed with that insight about the unpredictability of history, this essay reconsiders the westward expansion of the United States. In particular, it focuses on the period from the 1840s to the 1890s. These decades witnessed the completion of the spread of the United States across the North American continent. The era began with declarations of "Manifest Destiny" and of war against Mexico. It ended with the United States military's final campaigns against independent Indian peoples and the Census Bureau's announcement that the frontier had closed. Together, the subordination of Indians and the settlement of the supposed last line of the continental frontier manifested the triumph of the expansionist destiny that Americans had proclaimed a half-century earlier.

This reconsideration engages both historical scholarship and popular depictions. In rhetoric and in the visual arts during (and for several decades after) these years, Americans generally celebrated their nation's expansion. But the title of this article suggests an inversion of those perspectives on that era. That would be in keeping with the more simplistic revisionism that has recently gained favor in our popular culture.

For historians, the greater challenge is not to simply invert perspectives, but to broaden and complicate them. To these ends, in reconsidering the history of nineteenth-century American expansion, we need to attend to the complex and dynamic concerns of Mexicans and Indians. Doing so allows us to recover a history that speaks to contraction as well as spread, that spotlights contestation as well as consecration, and that challenges how we perceive national destinies and closed frontiers.

The maps found in any U.S. history textbook illustrate the most common ways in which information about American westward expansion was and still is imparted. These typically show the dates when territories were acquired and states were admitted to the Union. What they do not show are the alternative ways in which these borders were imagined. Such maps almost always prematurely erase the domain of Indians and sanitize the invasion of Mexico, which is usually registered only as territory "ceded by Mexico, 1848."

Even more than maps, paintings captured the ways in which Americans conceived their nation's westward expansion in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Emblematic of the celebratory view is Emmanuel Gottlieb Leutze's 1861 homage to American exploration and expansion, *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way* (pages 2–3). It neatly distills the American sense of Manifest Destiny, presenting transcontinental exploration and colonization as a divinely ordained pilgrimage from sea to shining sea.

Similar in spirit is John Gast's widely reproduced 1872 painting *American Progress.* Like Leutze's mural, Gast's work encapsulates how Americans in the latter half of the nineteenth century understood their nation's enlargement and improvement. Read as a historical map, the painting displays the advance of Americans across the continent. At the western edge, on the far left, it shows Indians and bison sliding into the shadows and off the canvas. In their place comes a parade of pioneer types and the vehicles that carried them westward: prospectors and farmers, a covered wagon, a stagecoach, and a railroad train. Above floats an angelic female figure carrying a schoolbook and stringing a telegraph wire to uplift and connect the nation from coast to coast.

A few decades after Leutze and Gast, Frederick Jackson Turner turned their pictures into several thousand words that told a similar tale about territorial expansion and national progress. Like Leutze and Gast, Turner, most famously in his 1893 paper

OUR FUTURE AS INDIVIDUALS AND AS A NATION REMAINS UNWRITTEN. BY CONTRAST, THE AMERICAN PAST HAS BEEN WRITTEN— AND REWRITTEN— COUNTLESS TIMES.



Copyright, 1898, by HARPER & BROTHERS.
All Rights Reserved.

entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," depicted the westward expansion of the United States as a parade of types representing progressive stages of social development. Yet Turner introduced a pessimistic note by beginning his paper with the Census Bureau's 1890 announcement that the frontier had closed. This was a passing that defied earlier predictions. At the beginning of the century, Thomas Jefferson had prophesized that there would be "room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation."[1] Barely three generations later, Turner mourned the passing of the "existence of an area of free land," which he regarded as the driving force of American history. What shaped the course of American history and differentiated America from Europe, according to Turner, was "the advance of American settlement westward." In the "colonization of the Great West," Turner claimed, could be found the seed of American democracy and the soil of American distinction. And now the area of free land was gone.[2]

Thanks to the era's new technologies for reproduction and dissemination, Leutze's and Gast's paintings gained a wide audience. They became in the latter decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth the most familiar representations of westward expansion. The impact of Turner's words was greater still. His "frontier thesis" soon emerged as the most influential interpretation of American history, and it remained the reigning paradigm of western American history for a good part of the twentieth century.

Notably absent in both Gast's and Leutze's paintings and Turner's essay is evidence of the violence that accompanied the westward expansion of the United States. Each expunged or considerably downplayed this aspect of American frontier history. In

Facing: "Theodore Roosevelt" from *Harper's Weekly,* September 24, 1898. GM 5026.4456.

The Battle of Buena Vista. James Walker, oil on canvas. GM 0126.1633.





Battle of War Bonnet Creek. Frederic Remington, ca. 1897, oil on canvas. GM 0127.2310.

Leutze's scene, some of the pioneers carry guns, but these are props used to point the way to the western light. The obstacles that they are shown overcoming are not human but natural, not current occupants but mountains to be hurdled and forests to be axed. In Gast's picture, Indians retreat quietly from the canvas; no sign of armed struggle explains their disappearance. This accorded with the belief of nineteenth-century Americans that Indians had reached the end of the trail, that their vanishing was inevitable, a matter of a lower civilization yielding to a higher, as was the natural outcome of Darwinian evolution. Likewise, Turner paid little attention to the bloody conflicts that ejected Indians from their lands. In his scheme, the frontier brought Indians and pioneers into close, if temporary, contact. Pioneers encountered Indians, traded with them, and even borrowed clothes and survival techniques from them in process of adapting to new American environments. But these adaptations were only a transitional stage that laid the groundwork for taming the wilderness and transforming it into productive farms and bustling towns.

Gast, Leutze, and Turner also took no notice of the war with Mexico that transferred so much territory to the United States. The lower left hand quadrant of Gast's painting, the part that would correspond on a map to what had been Mexico, bears no sign of its previous national attachment. For his part, Turner did discuss the negotiations with France that led to the Louisiana Purchase and the vast expansion of the United States. Yet Turner entirely omitted the conflict with Mexico, though it brought about a similar enlargement of the nation's territory.

To be sure, not all historical presentations and representations turned a blind eye to the violence that ushered in American expansion from the 1840s through 1890s. Turner's contemporary, Theodore Roosevelt, he of the big stick, allowed that the shedding of blood was not always "agreeable," but it was the "healthy sign of the virile strength" of the American people. Here, Roosevelt chose not to speak softly, exalting in "our manifest destiny to swallow up the land of all adjoining nations who were too weak to withstand us." This was not something for which Roosevelt apologized. Quite the opposite, Roosevelt deemed it "desirable for the good of humanity at large that the American people should ultimately crowd out the Mexicans from their sparsely populated Northern provinces" and wrest the rest of the West from Indians too.[3]



VIEW IN THE RUINS OF THE ALAMO.

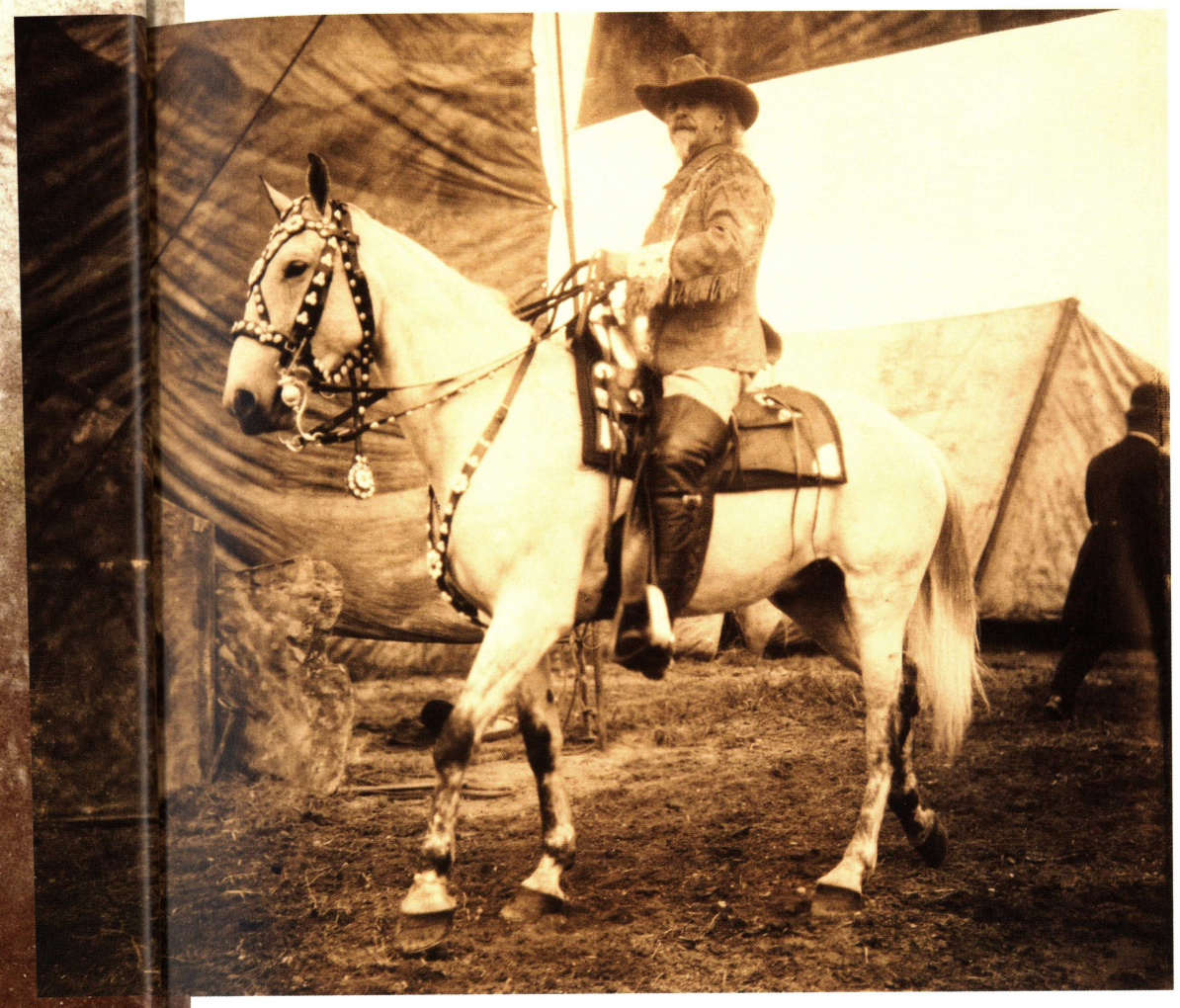
"Never, in the world's history, had defense been more heroic; it has scarce been equaled, save at the Pass of Thermopylæ."--PAGE 365.

"View in the Ruins of the Alamo" from *Historical Collections of the Great West* by Henry Howe, 1851. GM 2526.1548.

Nor did all artists follow Leutze and Gast in eliminating battle scenes. Many painters put the major battles of the Mexican War on canvas, glorifying the victories that manifested American destiny. Fights with Indians were also a favorite subject, as Frederic Remington's *Battle of Warbonnet Creek* illustrates. Particularly popular were depictions of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, which gained its widest audience on both sides of the Atlantic thanks to "re-enactments" in Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show. Cody began restaging the battle a few months after it occurred. His duel with the Cheyenne Chief Yellow Hair became a set piece of Cody's Wild West Show, the scene's climax coming when Buffalo Bill displayed the "first scalp for Custer." Audiences thrilled to the spectacle, taking little notice of the historical inaccuracies introduced by Remington's paintings or Cody's dramatization. What mattered was that Remington and Buffalo Bill delivered vengeance on Indians, no matter if it distorted historical reality. By painting and staging Indians as aggressors, violence against them became retaliatory, not preemptive; the hostility and savagery of Indians justified the taking of their lives and their lands.

Consider how in the annals of nineteenth-century American westward expansion, the two most remembered battles—at the Alamo and Little Big Horn—shared in this inversion of history. At both, Americans were encircled by enemies and decimated to







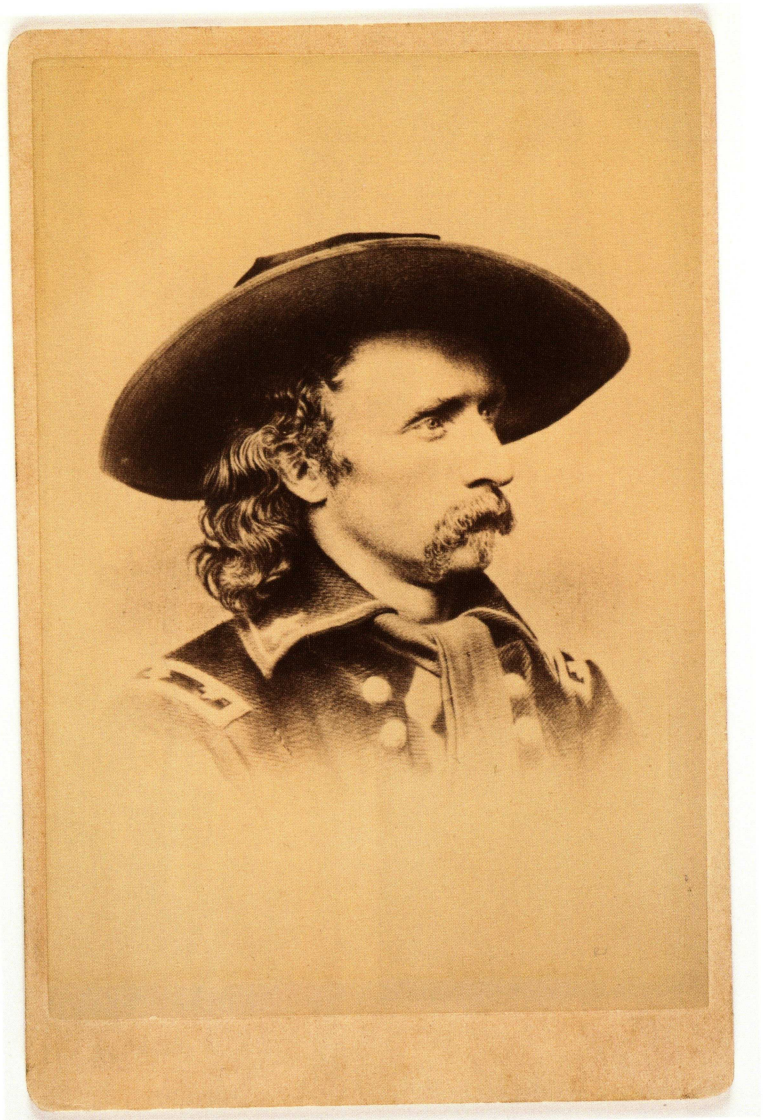
Buffalo Bill photographs. GM 4327.2050, above left, and GM 4327.2052, above.

Facing: Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull. Photograph. GM 4326.4830.

the last man. In the larger scheme, of course, these were aberrations, exceptions to a history in which it was Americans who did the encircling. But by focusing on these moments, by remembering the battles of the Alamo and Little Big Horn, Americans rendered conquest as retribution, removing the taint of wrongful expropriation from their history of righteous expansion.

As this myth made its way from canvas and stage to screen, its key elements remained largely in place and intact through the first half of the twentieth century. John Wayne inherited Buffalo Bill's mantle, his films, like most Hollywood westerns of the era, presenting a history that ennobled American expansion. To be sure, the past presented in westerns, like that in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and Theodore Roosevelt's prose, was a lot rougher and a lot bloodier than that distilled by Emmanuel Leutze, John Gast, or Frederick Jackson Turner. But Wayne's West, no less than Turner's, Gast's, Leutze's, Roosevelt's, or Cody's, was constructed to make Americans feel good about their nation and its spread across the continent.

More recently, in the last fifty years and especially in the last twenty-five, the tone and tenor of academic and popular imaginings have shifted. Of late, scholarly and cinematic interpretations have often inverted older perspectives on the history of the American West. Now these likely lament what Patricia Limerick labeled the "legacy of conquest." That is the title of Limerick's 1987 book, which heralded the arrival of a



George Custer. Photograph.
GM 4326.1538.

Indian on Horse in Mountains.
Albert Bierstadt, oil on paper.
GM 0136.18.

"new western history"—one that has challenged celebratory accounts of the winning of the West. In its place, Limerick and fellow New Western historians have constructed an interpretation that makes the ethnic diversity of the West its centerpiece and spotlights the victims of expansion—those for whom the making of the American West was an unmaking of their homelands. The triumphant progression envisioned by Gast and Turner has been replaced by a tragic procession through a land scarred by the legacy of blood-splattering, people-scattering, world-shattering conquests. All of which left Americans not feeling good, but feeling guilty.

No surprise that this reversal has generated a backlash, with a museum exhibition, the National Museum of American Art's 1991 *The West as America,* becoming the focal point of the era's "culture wars." Taking their cues from New Western historians, the curators of *The West as America* announced that "seeing is not believing" when viewing art about westward expansion. "The paintings" in this exhibition, the curators maintained, "should not be seen as a record of a time and place." Rather, the works of painters such as Albert Bierstadt, George Catlin, Thomas Moran, George Caleb Bingham, Charles Russell, and Frederic Remington "are contrived views" that drew a veil over the unsavory aspects of frontier life. Substituting a myth of secular progress and divinely ordained expansionism, the works of western artists excused the violent displacement of the land's prior inhabitants and served the purpose of Manifest Destiny. This reinterpretation infuriated political and cultural conservatives, who accused the curators of focusing only on the "dark side" of American expansion. Some called for defunding the museum; others demanded that plans to travel the exhibition be canceled. In the face of these attacks, the directors of the Smithsonian decided to call off the show's national tour.[4]

I used to explain the inversion and the backlash to my students by talking about the transition in cinematic westerns from John Wayne in any number of his films to Kevin Costner in *Dances with Wolves.* Indeed, *Dances with Wolves* won the Academy Award for Best Picture in the spring of 1991, the same time that *The West as America* opened in Washington. For years, I trotted out this analogy—until I realized that the puzzled faces of my audience indicated that Wayne had waned in the popular imagination and *Dances with Wolves* had premiered when most of them were still in diapers. If *Dances with Wolves* no longer resonates as it once did, my students have seen James Cameron's *Avatar,* which shares a sensibility with Costner's film. Both venerate the Edenic worlds of indigenous peoples and then invert our take on imperial agendas. Of course, there are several key differences. Costner's film is set in a recognizable landscape, the northern Great Plains (though never has summer seemed so long on the northern Plains as it does in *Dances with Wolves*), and in a recognizable past (or at least in a past the westerns have taught us to recognize); Cameron's takes place on a fantasy planet in a fantasized future. The endings of the films are also different: in *Avatar,* after all, the indigenes win. But the differences of time, place, and ending matter less than the similar ways in which both films upend our perception of American expansion.

My purpose here is not to rehash the debates among art critics and film critics about the merits of *The West as America* exhibition or *Dances with Wolves* and *Avatar.* As morality tales, these inversion narratives have their satisfactions and can, I suppose, encourage cross-cultural empathy and understanding. But in terms of advancing historical understanding, they are quite limited. In merely reversing the roles of victors and victims, of heroes and villains, they create stick figures and stock players instead of grappling with complex cultures and complicated politics. In fabricating pristine paradises that predate the entrance of Europeans and Americans, they pretend that





GENERAL D. ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA-ANNA,

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.

By **A. Hoffy**, from an original likeness taken from life at **Vera-Cruz**.

The above is a correct likeness from our personal observation

H. W. Moore
Com^r late Texas Navy

Alex^r C Bloomfield

Published July 1847, by **A. HOFFY**, N° 20, South Third S^t near Chesnut, Philad^a
& by **JOHNSON & BROCKETT**, N° 28, South Seventh S^t bet. Chesnut & Walnut.

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1847 by A. Hoffy, & Johnson & Brockett, in the Clerks office of the district Court of the Eastern district of Pennsyl^a

Indians lived in timeless and perfect worlds prior to the invasion of outsiders. And that when the invaders arrived, Indians didn't so much act as react to external forces.

Much of the same can be said of treatments of citizens of Mexico, especially of its northern provinces. Most famous and most enduring was the portrait of California society in the mid-1830s penned by Richard Henry Dana. "The men are thriftless, proud, and extravagant," wrote Dana, while "the women have but little education . . . and their morality, of course, is none of the best." He then bemoaned how "a country embracing four or five hundred miles of sea-coast, with several good harbors; with fine forests in the north; the waters filled with fish, and the plains covered with thousands of herds of cattle; blessed with a climate, than which there can be no better in the world; free from all manner of diseases, whether epidemic or endemic; and with a soil in which corn yields from seventy to eighty fold," could be left to such people. After all, "in the hands of an enterprising people, what a country this might be!"[5]

For a long time, American historians quoted Dana's words approvingly. Like other distillations of Manifest Destiny, Dana's view affirmed the benefits of American expansion, which allowed enterprising people to supplant indolent folk. More recently, however, the virtues of Mexican culture and society in those parts of northern Mexico that became the American Southwest have gained more sympathetic treatments, particularly when contrasted with the avarice of American adventurers. But once more, the inversion has left intact the essential simplicity that Dana assigned to northern Mexico's citizenry. Theirs is a colorful society, but not a dynamic or sophisticated one. As with Indians, the forces that changed northern Mexico come from external forces, first from the presence of American outsiders and then from their predominance.

Instead of inversions, our aim should be to broaden and complicate historical narratives. That entails moving beyond the view that those displaced by American expansion were either backward villains (the old version) or helpless victims (the new, inverted version). It also requires us to recognize that the United States was not the only nation in North America that sought and fought to enlarge its realm. Indeed, a broader history of the Mexican-American War treats it not as the fulfillment of one nation's destiny, but in the context of the comparative and connected histories of North American nations. The coming of the war, its combat, and its consequences involved both the United States and Mexico, engaged the interests of a number of European states, and played out across Indian countries (including borderlands where the power of Indians decisively shaped the outcome of the war).

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the Congress of the United States, by virtue of the constitutional authority vested in them, have declared by their act, bearing date this day, that, "by the act of the republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that government and the United States:"

Now, therefore, I, JAMES K. POLK, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the same to all whom it may concern; and I do specially enjoin on all persons holding offices, civil or military, under the authority of the United States, that they be vigilant and zealous in discharging the duties respectively incident thereto: and I do moreover exhort all the good people of the United States, as they love their country, as they feel the wrongs which have forced on them the last resort of injured nations, and as they consult the best means, under the blessing of Divine Providence, of abridging its calamities, that they exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, in maintaining the authority and the efficacy of the laws, and in supporting and invigorating all the measures which may be adopted by the constituted authorities for obtaining a speedy, a just, and an honorable peace.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to
[L. S.] these presents. Done at the city of Washington the thirteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, and of the independence of the United States the seventieth.

JAMES K. POLK.

By the President:
JAMES BUCHANAN,
Secretary of State.

Proclamation Declaring a State of War between the United States and Mexico. May 10, 1846. GM 3526.257.

Facing: *General D. Antonio Lopez de Santa-Anna.* A. Hoffy, 1847, color lithograph. GM 1526.83.



TO FACE P. 187–VOL. II.



Comparisons and connections flow from the recognition of the common problems that the United States and Mexico faced as they navigated the transitions from colony to nation and confronted the challenges of consolidating their hold on vast territorial claims. In both cases, claiming territory was the easy part; controlling it and integrating it into a national political order was far more difficult. Contrary to the confident rhetoric that Americans employed later in the nineteenth century, the control of the United States over the domain Britain awarded it in 1783 appeared very tenuous in the first decades after independence. During the 1780s and early 1790s, the United States seemed on the verge of losing its claim to all or part of the territory between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River. Only later could Americans realistically boast of their destiny to occupy and incorporate these lands and the lands beyond, and only in retrospect did their expansion seem so much more certain than Mexico's.

What we need, then, is a more contingent understanding of historical change, one that heeds the confusions of the past and the uncertainties of the future. We must explain, not assume, the success of the United States in its westward incorporation and the failure of Mexico in its northward consolidation. That pushes us to reconsider what factors weighed in favor of the one and not the other, and how these shifted over time. It also forces us to examine the extent to which these were the result of deliberate policies and how much they rested on fortuitous timing and fortunate circumstances.

This is not a history of manifest destiny, but of good luck.

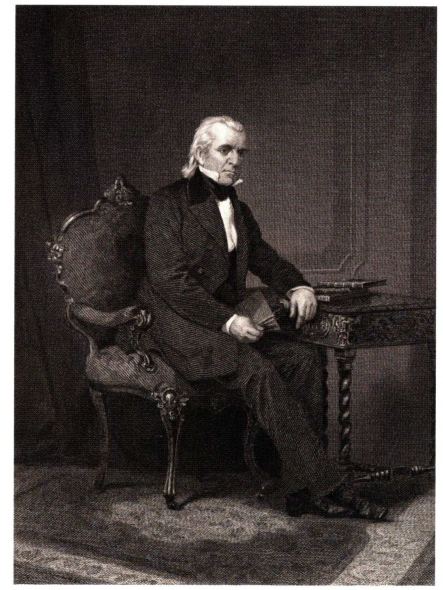
Consider the problem of peopling frontiers, which authorities in Washington, D.C. and Mexico City both understood as crucial to consolidating control over their western/northern territories. For a variety of reasons, this proved a tougher test for Mexican officials, who ultimately decided to encourage the immigration of Americans to their northern provinces. In retrospect, this policy, which aimed to secure the Mexican North from being taken over by the United States by inviting citizens of the United States to settle there, seems a shockingly stupid case of bringing the fox in to guard the henhouse. At the time, however, there was more reason for optimism about the immigration policy. Elsewhere in North America, most notably in Upper Canada, generous land terms and unobtrusive government had successfully detached Americans from what were still tenuous national attachments to the United States. Had Mexico's national government been more stable, it might have been able to do the same with the increasing number of Americans who crossed into northern Mexico in the 1820s and 1830s.

The incursions of Americans certainly contributed to increasing secessionist sentiments in the Mexican North, but an even greater factor, and one that until recently historians have not sufficiently appreciated, was the power of Indian nations across Mexico's northern territories. Two recent books, Pekka Hämäläinen's *The Comanche Empire* and Brian Delay's *War of a Thousand Deserts*, have opened up this dimension of North American frontier history. In giving his book that title, Hämäläinen challenged the convention that reserved empire-building to Europeans, at least north of Mexico. As *The Comanche Empire* points out, on the southern Plains "European imperialism not only stalled in the face of indigenous resistance,

Facing, top: "Valley of Mexico" from *The War with Mexico* by R.S. Ripley. Harper Brothers, NY: 1849, vol. II. GM 2526.1522.

Facing, bottom: "Bombardment at Vera Cruz" from *The War Between the United States and Mexico* by Carl Nebel, 1851. GM 2526.3008a.

James K. Polk. After Alonzo Chappel, 1862, engraving. GM 1526.951.



Facing, detail: *The Attack on the Wagon Train.* Charles Marion Russell, 1904, oil on canvas. GM 0137.902.

it was eclipsed by indigenous imperialism."[6] "Comancheria" continued to expand well into the nineteenth century and posed an persistent challenge first to Spanish and then to Mexican efforts to exercise authority in the north. As Delay's book shows, the raiding of Comanches (as well as Kiowas, Apaches, and Navajos) nearly depopulated parts of northern Mexico, weakened the inhabitants' attachment to the Mexican nation, and is crucial to understanding how this territory was lost to the United States.

By unmanifesting our national destiny, by opening up the common frontier history we share with Mexico, and by treating Indians not as pawns but as powers to be reckoned with, we gain a fresher, larger, and more contingent view of the history of American expansion. From this vantage point, the history of American progress looks very different than how Emmanuel Leutze or John Gast painted it or how Frederick Jackson Turner and Theodore Roosevelt penned it. Yet it should also look quite different from the inverted takes on conquest and cultural demolition that have become staples of our popular culture.

1 Thomas Jefferson, "First Inaugural Address," March 4, 1801, in Merrill D. Peterson, ed., *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 494.

2 Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921), 4, 1.

3 Theodore Roosevelt, *Thomas Hart Benton* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1886), 35, 40, 175.

4 Quotations from text panels from "The West as America" at: http://people.virginia.edu/~mmw3v/west/images/labels/intro.gif.

5 Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast: A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1840), 214, 215.

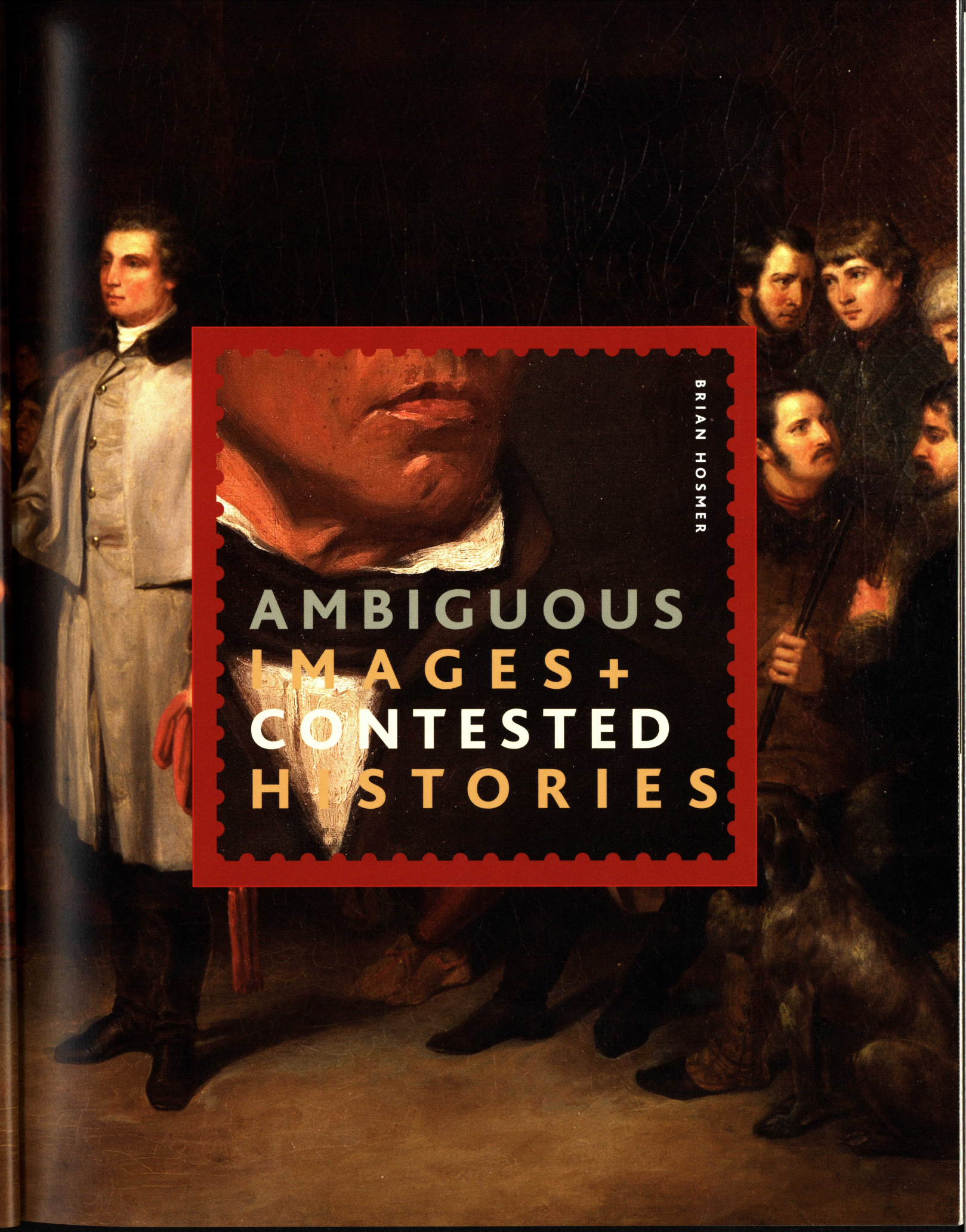
6 Pekka Hämäläinen's *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 2.



22 GILCREASE.11

BRIAN HOSMER, PH. D., HOLDS THE H.G. BARNARD CHAIR IN WESTERN AMERICAN HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TULSA





BRIAN HOSMER

AMBIGUOUS IMAGES+ CONTESTED HISTORIES

NATIVE WOMEN OFTEN ACTED AS CULTURAL INTERMEDIARIES AT CRITICAL MOMENTS IN HISTORY. BUT THERE IS AN AMBIGUITY TO THEIR STORIES TOO. WERE THEY HEROINES, AND IF SO FOR WHOM?

As generations of Americans well know, a young Native woman we've come to know as Pocahontas defied her father, saved the life of John Smith, and preserved Jamestown, England's tenuous foothold in North America. It is an act so very familiar to us. From Doña Maria, Indian ally of the conqueror Cortéz, to Pocahontas, savior of John Smith, to Sacajawea, guide to Lewis and Clark, Native women often acted as cultural intermediaries at critical moments in history. But there is an ambiguity to their stories too. Were they heroines, and if so for whom? Were they benevolent guides or traitors to their people?

John Gadsby Chapman was among the first artists to depict that moment when Pocahontas defied her father, Powhatan, to save the life of the foreign intruder. Chapman formalized the tale through imagery perhaps analogous to biblical scenes represented in the stained glass of European cathedrals, painting Pocahontas in a saintly light, which historian William Gilmore Simms interpreted as "appropriate for the savior both of Smith's life *and of the Indians*, who are *saved* from the savage act of executing their prisoner.[1] Perhaps the savage's redemption comes through the birth of a new nation.

The act of saving John Smith, and thus Jamestown, was followed by her marriage to John Rolfe in 1614 and her baptism as Rebecca Rolfe. Her tragic death far from home in England completes the arc of this story. It's about forbidden love and heroism, the hint of interracial harmony and a pure beginning for America. But in the context of 1836, it also hints at disappearance, at contemporary events. After all, the young Pocahontas saves English America, but at the price of her people, her culture, and herself.

Of course, the history is more ambiguous and contested. What, exactly, were the circumstances accompanying Pocahontas's defiance of her father? Some scholars interpret the "execution" as an elaborately staged event, designed to spare Smith, not kill him—for a price. If this is so, Smith effectively owed his life to Powhatan, who may have considered him a *werowance*, or subordinate chief. This meant Jamestown had become subject to Powhatan's authority.[2] If Pocahontas played this role, as some scholars argue, then she was a *player* in a diplomatic chess game, a young girl precocious in ways other than we might consider. Some say she was a diplomat, others a spy who reportedly moved freely amongst Jamestown residents, gathering information.[3] Was she virginal princess, or Mata Hari?

A second image of Rebecca/Pocahantas from the Gilcrease collection, a 1616 engraving by Simon van de Passe, figuratively and perhaps even literally obscures as much it reveals. Rebecca is portrayed as the civilized Christian and mother to mixed blood and—perhaps—prototypical American, Thomas Rolfe. Depicted shortly before her death in 1617, she was a victim of European infectious disease and thus a symbol of the inevitable decline and disappearance of her people. She is the "last" Mohican, and her pathway the triumph of civilization over savagery; the tragic and inevitable end for the Indian; the birth of America. Notice the high neckline worn by Rebecca. Does it communicate "the chaste image the Virginia Company no doubt wanted to project" as some historians argue? Probably, but it also is likely that the ruffles "hid tattooing that would have troubled, if not appalled,"[4] English audiences.

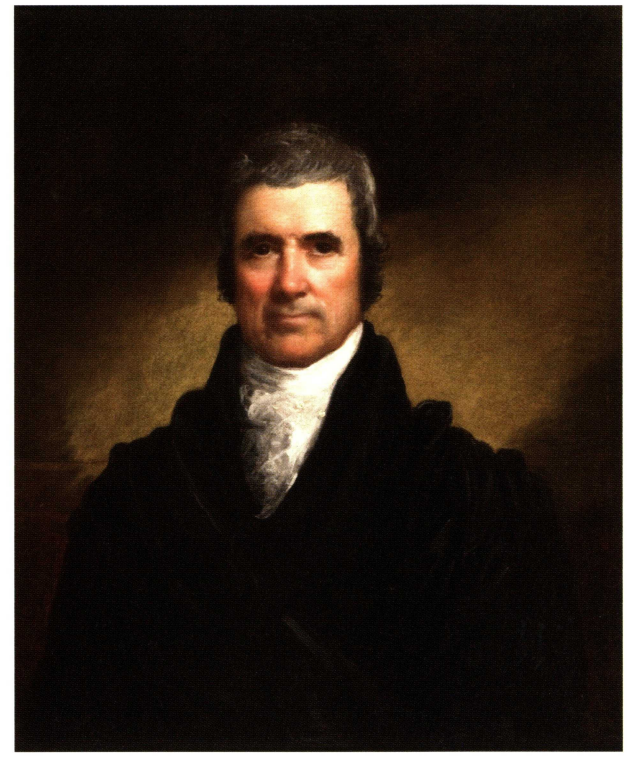
Previous pages: *Washington in Conference with Representatives of Six Nations.* Junius Brutus Stearns, oil on canvas. GM 01xx.1514.

Facing: "Pocahontas" from *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* by John Smith. London: 1624. GM 2576.2014.











The Marriage of Pocahontas by John Lossing. 1887. GM 2327.98.

Facing, top left: *William Penn.* Henry Inman, engraving. GM 1526.72.

Facing, top right: *Chief Justice John Marshall.* John Wesley Jarvis, oil on canvas. GM 0126.1011.

Facing: *Penn's Treaty.* Edward Hicks, oil on canvas. GM 0126.1008.

We consider this the most true-to-life image of Pocahontas ever painted, but its meanings are multiple. Was it a publicity tool where "the sponsors of the Jamestown colony saw marketing possibilities in this regal, converted, English-speaking princess," as historian John F. Ross argues? Given the difficulty of luring settlers to a disease-ridden swamp on the other side of the world, not to mention raising capital for the perpetually insolvent enterprise, could it be that Rebecca/Pocahontas was a "poster girl" for Jamestown, a Madison Avenue–type job well before there was a Madison or an Avenue?[5]

As Americans in the antebellum period contemplated their own national identity, they sought iconic events from the past through which a reassuring story of American nationhood could be told. Though the van de Passe engraving dates from the seventeenth century, it or a similar image would have been familiar to them. Like the Chapman painting, the image speaks to history and *through* history.

The theme of reconciliation appears in other antebellum representations of colonial history, including Edward Hicks's *Penn's Treaty.* In 1682 at Shackamaxon in present-day Pennsylvania, William Penn and the Delaware (Lenape) Tamenend were brought together with the "Treaty of Amity and Friendship," notable for its reputation as one of the few to have been agreed upon and upheld by both parties. "Penn's Holy Experiment" is presented by Hicks as a bucolic utopia where all of creation lives in



Penn's Treaty with the Indians.
Benjamin West, 1809, oil on canvas.
GM 0126.1021.

peace. His iconic representation of interracial harmony offers an attractive alternative narrative for Indian-white relations. For a moment, peace and harmony, goodwill and fair dealing reigned.

This could have been reassuring by the 1830s. Not long before, conflict between Indians and settlers raged from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, as Red Stick Creeks in the South and Tecumseh in the North attempted to halt, and reverse, the disastrous combination of land loss and economic dependency that had undermined Native nationhoods, their people's lives, liberties, and pursuits of happiness. That history informed, or was perhaps informed by, the gnawing recognition that *American* nationhood had been purchased at a dear price. As a result, the thought of past harmony, a more innocent birth for the American democracy, and reconciliation through its retelling could have seemed particularly attractive.

This image so resonated in antebellum America that Hicks placed the same scene in the background of his most famous work, *The Peaceable Kingdom* of 1834, and when Chief Justice John Marshall received a box created from the Treaty Elm, he spoke to the moment's symbolic importance:

> The box is to me an inestimable relique. I know no inanimate object more entitled to our reverence than the tree of which it was a part, because I think few events in history have stronger claims on our serious reflection, on our humanity, our sense of rights, and on our judgment, than the treaty which was made under it, and the consequences which followed that treaty. The plainly marked difference of intercourse between the colonists of Pennsylvania and the aborigines, and that which other colonists maintained with them, furnishes a practical lesson on the influence which intelligence, real friendship, and justice may acquire and preserves over their untutored minds which ought not even yet to be forgotten.[6]

How very notable in light of the chief justice's attempt just a year later to forestall removal. His stinging opinion in *Worcester v. Georgia* invalidated that state's efforts to legislate the Cherokee Nation out of existence, but fell, so his adversary Jackson said, "still born." The previous year in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, the Chief Justice had effectively reduced the reach of Indian sovereignty by attaching "domestic dependency" to Native nationhood. Was he reflecting on removal when handling this box, made of a tree that watched over true justice and fair dealing?

Despite its symbolism, historians disagree on whether the event actually occurred. We have documents marking other treaties negotiated by Penn, one from 1701 with the Susquehanna Indians. And historian Francis Jennings argues that Penn signed the treaty, never broke it and established "chains of friendship" with Indian nations, including the Lenape.[7] Perhaps the details matter less than the message that peace, goodwill, and fair dealing lay at the core of the American experience with Indians. That conditions changed was regrettable, but it could be seen as a natural evolution, not the result of ill will.

A similar theme is seen in Julius Brutus Stearns's *Washington in Conference with Representatives of the Six Nations.* The League of Iroquois, otherwise known as the Six Nations, or Haudenosaunee, was considered one of the most important political forces in Colonial America. Stearns offered this painting as part of a popular series detailing George Washington's life. The general is shown negotiating peace with Iroquois delegates, who are seen as primitive, in contradistinction with frontiersmen. It is a meeting of civilized and savage, you might say, and one that speaks to past and future, history and identity.

Underneath this, however, is a far more complex picture. Most Iroquois nations sided with the British, who were more likely to respect their independence. This uncomfortable juxtaposition of liberty against tyranny may be apparent to us, and so too the historical fact that the Revolutionary War proved disastrous for the Haudenosaunee. Nations ultimately fought against one another, and in the end, regardless of alliances, all Iroquois suffered the same fate and were forced to cede land, and accede to national expansion.

Genre paintings are not the only artworks to reveal multi-layered histories and narratives. Portraits also tell such stories, and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Indians often stood for portraits. Charles Bird King produced many of the most famous portraits of American Indian leaders, including several now in the Gilcrease collection. Commissioned by Thomas L. McKenney, superintendent of Indian trade before becoming the first head of the Indian Office, the King oeuvre exceeded 140 paintings produced between 1822 and 1843. McKenney had a general interest in Indians, but more particularly saw this work as a mission to preserve what he could of peoples assumed to be rapidly headed for extinction. The irony is that McKenney's policies of using trade as a lever to pry land from Indians, and the creation of a "civilization fund" in 1819 that promoted cultural transformation, hastened just the type of disappearance he lamented.

GENRE PAINTINGS ARE NOT THE ONLY ARTWORKS TO REVEAL MULTI-LAYERED HISTORIES AND NARRATIVES. PORTRAITS ALSO TELL SUCH STORIES, AND IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES, INDIANS OFTEN STOOD FOR PORTRAITS.





David Vann. Charles Bird King, oil on wood panel. GM 0126.1193.

Prophet—Shawanese, Brother of Tecumsi. Charles Bird King, 1829, oil on wood panel. GM 0126.1197.

Because McKenney obtained the consent of the Native Americans who came to Washington to conduct business with the United States government, King was able to paint portraits in his home studio. The business proved profitable too, as King charged at least $20 for a bust, and $27 for a full figure portrait, allowing him to collect an estimated $3,500 from the government.[8]

Many of these images are familiar to us. Striking in their use of color and attention to detail, they seem—and are to a degree—ethnographic. They also speak to history. It's almost as if the act of painting constituted an act of claiming for posterity, ownership of the images *and* the histories and destinies of those people represented. They became integrated into a historical narrative of reconciliation at precisely the same moment that their lands were overrun with settlers, and their nationhood*s* forgotten.

Of course, those portrayed likely saw themselves differently. They were diplomats and ambassadors, representing their nations in international dealings. Treaties formalized those arrangements, and represented efforts to manage westward expansion, and perhaps an imaging of American nationhood that embraced multiple nations, and alternative futures. They saw America in the plural, alongside the singular.

Two Charles Bird King portraits reveal aspects of this narrative. The first is of of David Vann, a Cherokee, represented in western civilized garb. He belonged to a prominent family of educated, prosperous, slaveholding Cherokees. He is Native American, but ambiguously so. Does he represent the triumph of American republican ideals, enshrined in an Indian policy that promised liberty at the price of Indian traditions? Or is his a false assimilation—wardrobe-deep only—that masked the inner savage?

Or, is he a sad character, an imitation white man, *between* two cultures yet belonging to neither, the particular affliction of the mixed blood? Does he represent a dashed hope or a false promise? What is his place in the American narrative? Can it be that he lived in his world, not between worlds, with the between-ness as a function of the historical narrative constructed around him? Does it matter that he too signed the Treaty of New Echota in defiance of his countrymen?

In stark contrast is the King portrait *Prophet, Shawanese—Brother of Tecumsi,* of the man also known as Tenskwatawa, the Open Door, Shawnee Prophet, and brother of the celebrated Tecumseh.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, Tenskwatawa, then a drunken ne'er-do-well, received a vision that called upon Indian peoples living in the Ohio Valley to cast off the corruptions of European civilization, restore their values, and revitalize their communities. Given the increasingly chaotic Ohio Valley, a world of refugees and growing poverty, Tenskwatawa spoke to shared frustrations of Indian peoples, from multiple communities now under assault—yet less by armies than agents of American expansion: settlers, commerce, and civilization.

The Prophet's vision spoke to those conditions and resonated with people accustomed to religious understandings of cause and effect. On the other hand, the Prophet's brother, the more famous Tecumseh, is understood to have transformed this spiritual revival into a political and military alliance. It was Tecumseh who challenged Native peoples to stand their ground and to fight, who believed that Indian land was the collective property of all Native peoples and that no individual or tribal nation had the authority to sell a single acre. Although no visual image of Tecumseh is known to exist, his impact was immense. He openly defied William Henry Harrison, who likened the Shawnee to Napoleon or Caesar. But when the movement faltered at Tippecanoe in 1811, and when Tecumseh died two years later at the Battle of the Thames River, history took over. Harrison rode "Tippecanoe" to presidential victory in 1840. Voters learned of "Tyler too," but not of Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa.



Battle of the Thames, October 5th, 1833. Philip Banks, color lithograph. GM 1526.119.



Battle of Tippecanoe. Kurz and Allison, 1889, color lithograph. GM 1526.267.

The Shawnee brothers' histories diverged as well. The legendary Tecumseh became "the greatest Indian who ever lived" to some. But history proved unkind to Tenskwatawa. By the time of this image, he had been discredited and forced to accede to the pressures for removal, eventually to Kansas. In this contrast lies the ambiguity and contested history. By all accounts Tecumseh was a remarkable man. Yet, as historian R. David Edmunds pointed out years ago, he became famous in part because his actions fit a developing narrative. His actions were rational. Americans could appreciate the logic of Indians acting in concert. And it fit a familiar arc—nobility in defeat. Tenskwatawa also played his part as the object of ridicule, a charlatan whose religious vision was a cruel hoax, and a fool who had ruined his brother's plan by acting rashly. He seemingly demonstrated the limits of Indian resistance to what was the inexorable triumph of American nationhood. He experienced the misfortune of outliving his time, so it can be said.[9]

So which one, Vann or Tenskwatawa, is the real Indian? Which one represents the place of Native peoples in the development of an American national identity? Which is the more ambiguous, the most contested? The civilized Vann, seemingly relegated to the margins of history, or the defeated Tenskwatawa, forever marginalized by the limitations of his character?

Two portraits of Red Jacket offer similar revelations and obscurities. In 1824, John Neagle painted the then seventy-year-old Red Jacket, who had only recently acquiesced to portrait requests at the convincing of a tribal blacksmith. Catlin painted him two years later, in one of the first Indian portraits of his long career. It is said that "Catlin sympathetically recorded the Indian's defiant pride but . . . he acknowledged the grave, somber expression of his sitter's face," speaking we presume to the melancholy fate of a once-great Indian, a once-great people, whose history now belonged to a larger nation.[10] Although Red Jacket was rendered in oil for the first time in the 1820s, he had long been a well-known figure. Born around 1750, he was a member of the Seneca nation, the westernmost of the Iroquois, or Haudenosaunee. At that time, they were a powerful people who had achieved a position in the fur trade and rapprochement with the English through skillful diplomacy and a practice of making war on neighbors and adopting them into the Longhouse.

By the time of the Revolution, Red Jacket found himself influenced by Seneca leader Cornplanter and the Mohawk Joseph Brant (Thayendenagea or Tayadaneega), who negotiated an alliance with Britain. Red Jacket served as a runner for the British Army at Niagara in 1779–80, for which he received a red military jacket, and the name by which English people knew him.

War and defeat damaged personal and political relationships so that by the early 1780s he had fallen out with Brant, who accused Red Jacket of cowardice, and then Cornplanter, who had negotiated a disastrous land surrender treaty at Fort Stanwix.

As Red Jacket emerged as a harsh critic of Cornplanter, he gained popularity for eloquent speeches denouncing both capitulation and the outrages committed by settlers. For this, he received the name Sa-go-ya-watha, He Who Keeps Them Awake, and the admiration of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, who observed that

> For readiness to perceive the true position of the Red Race, as civilization gathered around them curtailed their hunting grounds, and hemmed up their path in various ways: for quickness of apprehension and breadth of forecast and . . . sharpness of reply, no one of the leading groups of the tribes of North America has equaled the Seneca orator.[11]

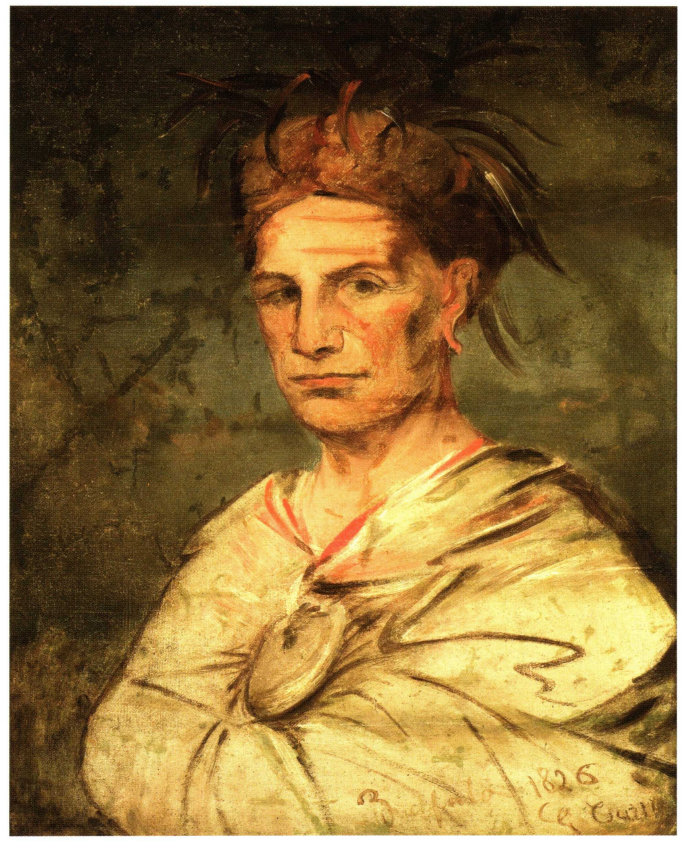


Joseph Tayadaneega, Called the Brant, the Great Captain of the Six Nations. G. Romney, 1779, mezzotint. GM 1576.198.

Below, left: *Red Jacket.* John Neagle, 1824, oil on canvas. GM 0126.1211.

Below, right: *Red Jacket.* George Catlin, 1826, oil on canvas. GM 0126.2182.







Kee-O-Kuck, First War Chief of the Sauks (Watchful Fox). Charles Bird King, 1825, oil on wood panel. GM 0126.1199.

Settlement proceeded, however, and Red Jacket slipped into alcoholism and despair. Or so the story goes. By the time of his death in 1830, narratives of defeat and disappearance were well ensconced in American cultural history. The alcoholic Indian was a familiar trope, a confirmation of the inevitability of cultural conflict and of Indian defeat. A sort of reconciliation through resignation.

But what of these images? Red Jacket doesn't look defeated and seems a vigorous man of some seventy years. He comfortably wears a mixture of western and Indian clothing and displays a peace medal given to him by Washington in 1792. He looks right at us, defiant, fully at ease displaying what American audiences might regard as physical deformity. He is a person living in the world, not between two worlds, I think. And speaks to survival, and adaptation.

Finally, there is John Wesley Jarvis's *Black Hawk and His Son Whirling Thunder,* painted in 1833 and again familiar to antebellum audiences. In 1832, Black Hawk and Whirling Thunder (Na sha we ska ka), were captured and ultimately imprisoned at Fortress Monroe in Norfolk, Virginia following the end of Black Hawk's War. This portrait was painted there while they were captives.

Black Hawk's War was linked to removal but also to the spasms of violence, which had spawned the Shawnee brothers. It had its origins in a disputed treaty, political rivalries (Keokuk in particular), an effort to return home that aroused fear among settlers and conflict, and finally the disaster at Bad Axe River in 1832 when hundreds of Sauk and Pottawatomi, men, women, and children were maimed and killed by United States cannon fire.

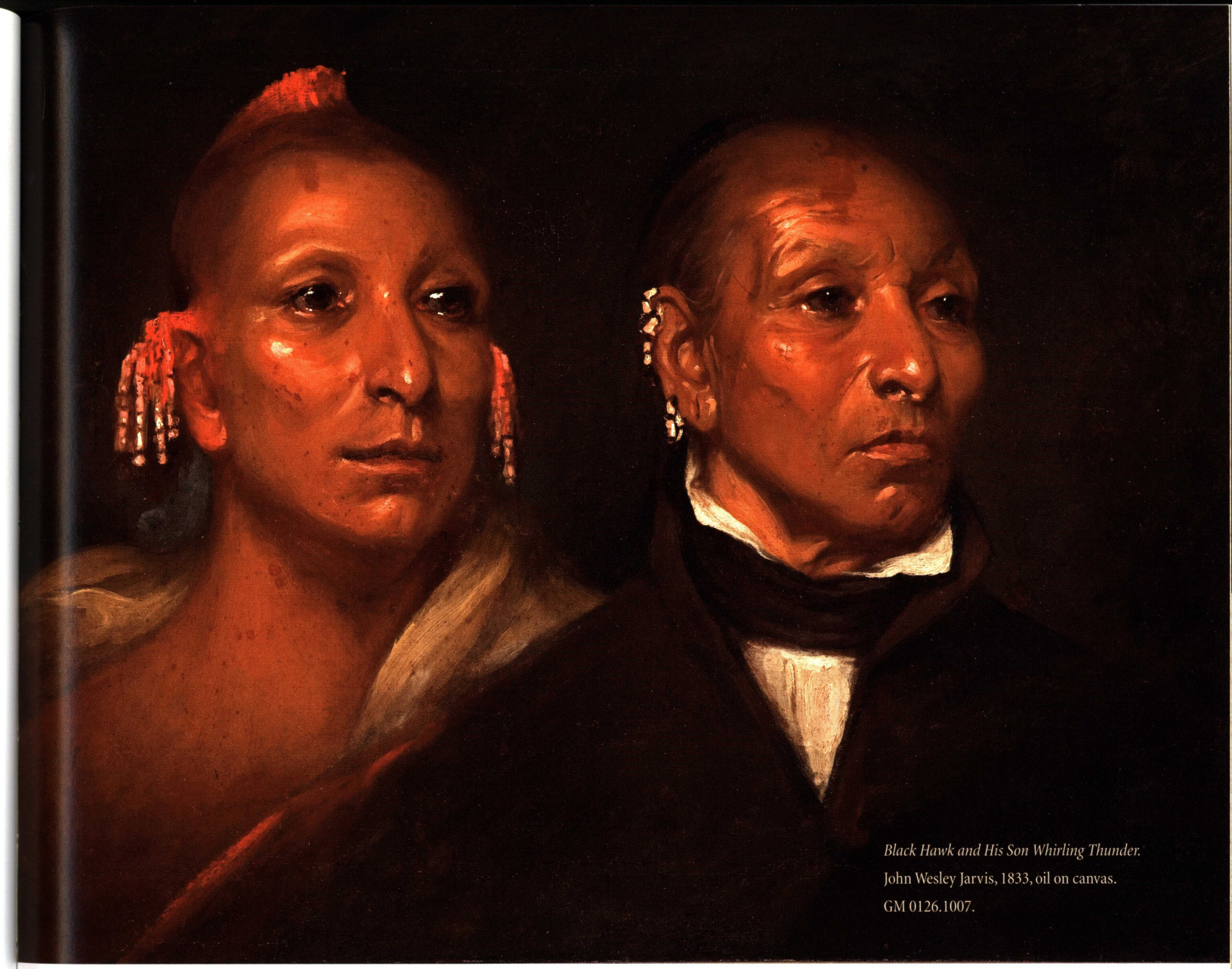
After several months of confinement, officials decided to return the prisoners to their homes, but not before taking them on a tour of cities and a display of American might. Yet history is not so simple, nor is fame and infamy. As during their previous journey east to Washington and prison, huge crowds greeted the war captives, "treating them more like conquering heroes than prisoners of war." One woman even described Whirling Thunder as a "noble specimen of physical beauty."[12]

Black Hawk's celebrity continued when, near the end of his captivity, he related his life story to Antoine LeClaire, a government interpreter. Edited by the local reporter J.B. Patterson, *The Autobiography of Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak, or Black Hawk,* was the first Native American autobiography published in the United States, and an immediate best seller.[13]

So, what of this painting? It is arresting in so many ways. From Black Hawk's dignified bearing to the civilized finery he wears. Is it a juxtaposition of past and future, symbolized here by generational reversal? Or are both figures really Black Hawk, as a young man looking confidently to the future; and later the older man, seasoned perhaps, but not defeated.

Antebellum America was awash in contradictions, and the search for national identity spoke to those very insecurities. That this quest for national definition should also focus on the place of American Indians in American history causes us to consider the power of imagery, certainly, but also the intertwining of Indian and non-Indian experiences that lies at the core of this search for national definition. It asks us to consider ambiguous images and contested histories, as America was defined not only in contrast to, but also alongside, Native Americans. American Indian history is not something exotic, other, or different, but is United States history.

Author's Note: I am indebted to Kelly Wadsworth for conducting background research, Deborah Burke and Michelle Maxwell for providing images and organizing the October 9, 2010 symposium at which a version of this paper was delivered, and Duane King, Director of the Gilcrease Museum and Vice President for Museum Affairs, University of Tulsa, for inviting me to participate.



Black Hawk and His Son Whirling Thunder. John Wesley Jarvis, 1833, oil on canvas. GM 0126.1007.

1 William Gilmore Simms as quoted by William M.S. Rasmussen and Robert S. Tilton. *Pocahontas: Her Life and Legend* (Richmond, VA: Virginia Historical Society, 1994), 15.

2 David A. Price, *Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas, and the Heart of a New Nation* (New York: Knopf, 2003), 67–68. The Latin around the border reads: "Matoake, alias Rebecca, daughter of the most powerful prince of the Powhatan Empire in Virginia."

3 Paula Gunn Allen, *Pocahontas: Medicine Woman, Spy, Entrepreneur, Diplomat* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 2003).

4 William M.S. Rasmussen and Robert S. Tilton. *Pocahontas: Her Life and Legend* (Richmond, VA: Virginia Historical Society, 1994), 32.

5 http://www.smithsoniansource.org/display/primarysource/viewdetails.aspx?

6 John Conners, "Preface," in Kenneth Milano, *The History of Penn Treaty Park* (Charleston, SC: History Press of Charleston, 2009).

7 Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire,* (New York: Norton, 1984), 155-56.

8 For more detail, see Herman J. Viola, *The Indian Legacy of Charles Bird King* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1976).

9 R. David Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

10 Jadviga da Costa Nunes, "Red Jacket: The Man and His Portraits," *The American Art Journal,* Vol. 12 No. 3 (Summer, 1980), 5, 14.

11 Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States,* vol. III (Philadelphia, 1853), 196. Quoted in Nunes, p. 6.

12 Herman J. Viola. *The Indian Legacy of Charles Bird King* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1976).

13 See Donald Jackson, ed., *Black Hawk: an Autobiography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990); Patrick J. Jung, *The Black Hawk War of 1832* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007).

JEFFREY L. PASLEY IS AN ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA AND A SPECIALIST IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PRESS

FOR SALE,

OR TO LET FOR A TERM OF YEARS.

THAT well



proved im-

ateand Eaft

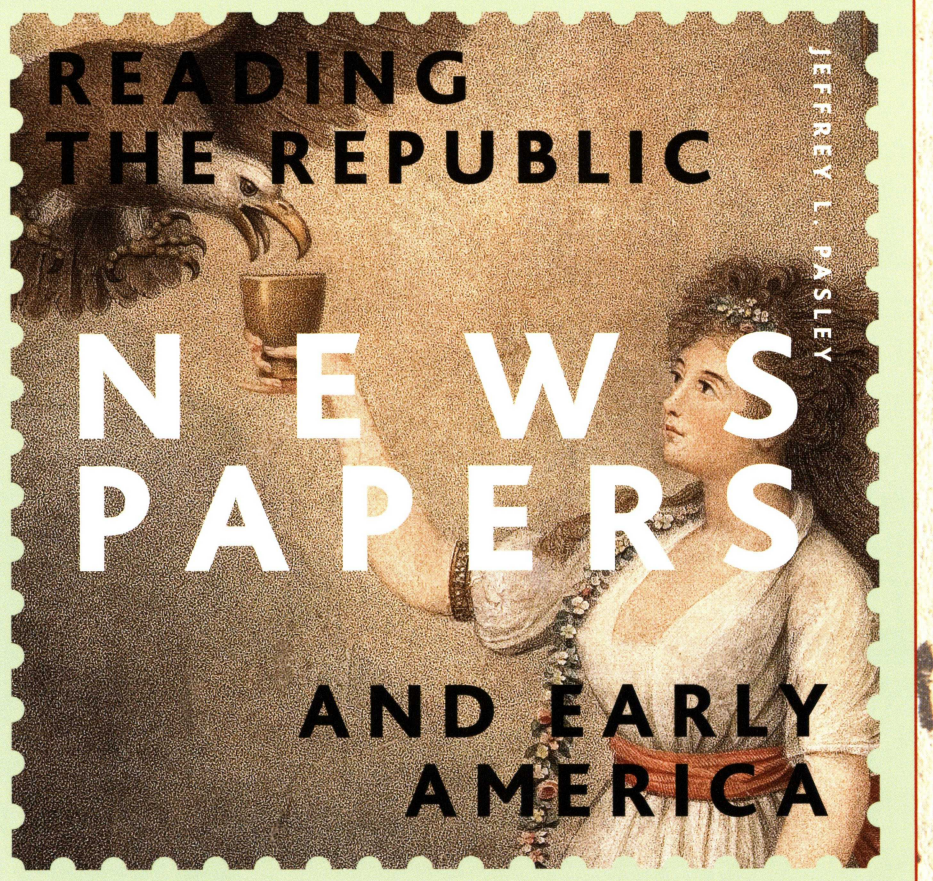
Camp, ty of

Albany, the

roperty of the Rev. Dr. Provoft, at

resent occupied by Mr. Schermerhorn,

ontaining 115 acres of land, with all



FOR SALE,
R TO LET FOR A TERM OF YEARS.



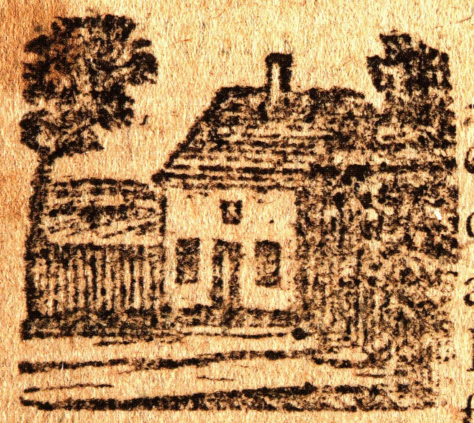
THAT well known and improved ESTATE, situate and lying on the East Camp, in the county of Albany, heretofore the operty of the Rev. Dr. Provoſt, at eſent occupied by Mr. Schermerhorn, ntaining 115 acres of land, with all

FOR FREIGHT,
To the WEST INDIES or ROPE,



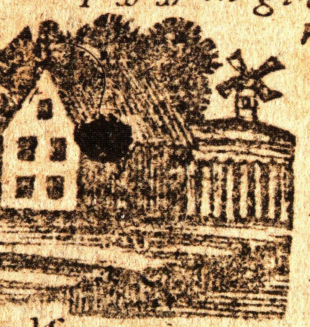
THE TIN
MOND, Sa Jones
Maſter, B den 140
tons or upw rds; now
lying at an er, oppo-
ſite the Coffee-houſe Slip.
For terms apply to the aſter on
board.
Alſo for Sale, a SHIP's BARGE, 22

FOR SALE.



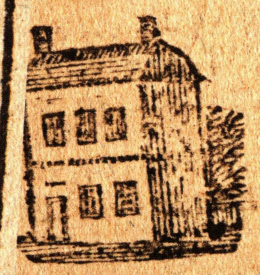
A Valuable FARM, ſituated in the town of Eaſt Cheſter, and county of Weſt Cheſter, about eight miles from Kingſbridge, and within four miles of Eaſt Cheſter and New Rochelle landings. This Farm conſiſts of 180 acres of excellent Land, well proportioned, with Arable Meadow, Paſturing, and Wood Land.

TO BE SOLD,
And poſſeſſion given the 1ſt of April next.



THE FARM known by the name of Continental Village, in Dutcheſs county, within 53 miles of New-York, and 2 miles of udſon or the North River, containing 9 acres of land, one hundred of which, e cleared and in fence, the remainder

TO BE SOLD,
AT PRIVATE SALE.



THAT VALUABLE HOUSE and LOT, the corner of Rutger Catharine-ſtreets; HOUSE in Lumber Enquire of ARON B Lumbert-ſtreet, No. 35. 25

☞ The propoſ leaf's Office, whe ceived.

FOR CHARLESTON (S.C.)



THE SLOOP RUBY, William Daviſon, Maſter, lying at Jones' Wharf, having good accommodations for paſſengers, and will ſail in one week. For freight or paſſage apply on board, or to
WM. and S. ROBINSON,
No. 92, Murray's Wharf.

TEN DOLLARS REWARD.



RUN AWAY from the Subſcriber on Saturday night the 29th of November, a mulatto-fellow, named *Moſes*, about 19 years of age, pretty tall, and ſlender built, of a yellowiſh complexion, has a bold look, and ſpeaks proper: had on when he went away, a mixed grey homeſpun ſhort coat and trowſers of the ſame; a blue jacket, a ſtrip-

THIRTY DOLLARS REWARD.

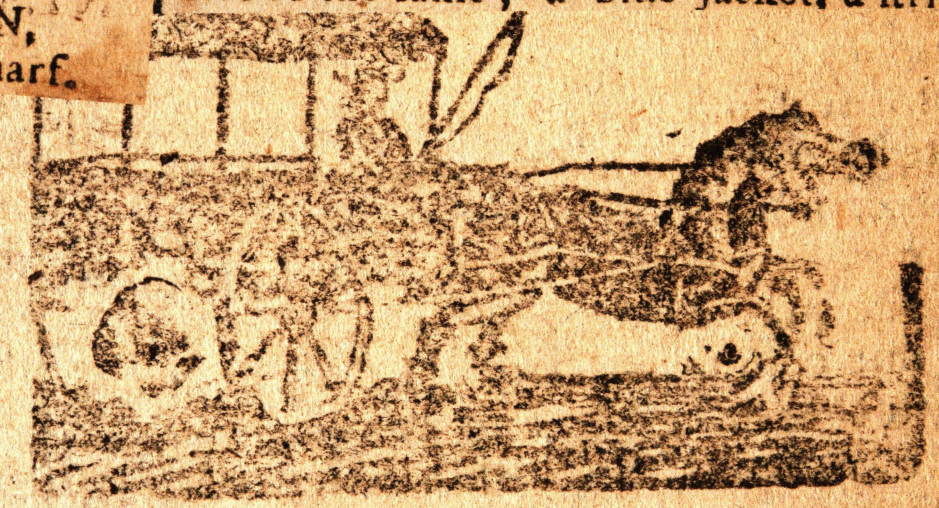


RAN WAY from the Subſcriber, on the 19th day of October laſt, a NEGRO MAN named FORTEN, but is for ſome time gone by the name of Forten Bayley:—29 years of age, about five feet ten inches high, of a ſlender make, but remarkably ſtrong, is conſiderably marked with the ſmall pox:

BOURDA
Man-mid- apply
to the public. He practices at
Chirurgical operations, and cures the
Venereal diſeaſe in a manner moſt effectual.

The ſucceſs which he has had during ſixteen years in the art of healing all kinds of diſeaſes, enable him to aſſure thoſe who may conſide in his abilities, that he treats the different diſeaſes that attacks the *Anus* and *Perinæum* with ſkillfulneſs and ſafety.

Thoſe who wiſh to have his advice, may find him at Mr. Boardin's, No. 117, Cherry-ſtreet, or on board the French frigate, La Semillante, at New York.



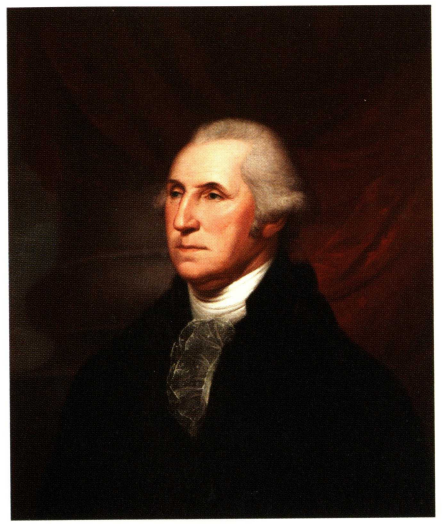
THE PROPRIETORS of Hackney Carriages, inform the Ladies and Gentlemen, that to prevent

In fall 2010, I was asked to speak on the Early Republic period at a symposium held at Gilcrease Museum in conjunction with its recently opened America *exhibit. As a specialist in the history of the American press, I was particularly drawn to one of the objects in the exhibit: a single page of one early American newspaper, the December 17, 1794 edition of* Greenleaf's New York Journal and Patriotic Register. *I decided to demonstrate just how much could be learned about early America from such a seemingly unimpressive source. Newspapers were so central an institution in the Founders' world that it is possible to see almost the whole of their republic in this one example. What follows is a kind of tour of this journalistic artifact, sketching its background and just a few of its connections to its world.*

In the late eighteenth century, the American press was not just "biased," as we say now. Newspapers and their printers and publishers participated *directly* in politics, helping to create and cement the two-party system. The American revolutionaries we now call our Founders had used the press to smear the royal governors and the British government before 1776, and when they divided into political parties after the Revolution, they again enlisted the newspapers to promote their ideas and attack their opponents.[1]

It was not a discourse that would win prizes today for political civility. The spirit of the debate is captured in a phrase used to head an item from the inside pages of the December 17, 1794, issue of *Greenleaf's New York Journal & Patriotic Register*: "Razor cut razor." *Greenleaf's New York Journal* was an "opposition newspaper," taking positions and printing material that many contemporary Americans would hardly find patriotic. It rallied so strongly against ratification of the Constitution during the debates of 1787–88 that when that document was formalized, some citizens of New York celebrated by ransacking the newspaper's office. The *Journal*'s editor and printer, Thomas Greenleaf, looked with an equally critical eye at George Washington's and John Adams's presidential performances, and like most Democratic-Republicans, he thought New York's Alexander Hamilton was one of the greatest threats American liberty had faced since the redcoats themselves. He was a much bigger fan of Thomas Paine, who during this period was becoming increasingly radical in his politics and bitter toward his old American colleagues. In 1796, Paine wrote a notorious public letter to George Washington that was excerpted in the *New York Journal* and other newspapers. Paine accused Washington of betraying his former French allies and having a "cold hermaphrodite" personality to boot.[2]

That was the sort of language that journalists of the Early Republic dealt in, and it took a tough man to wield it and then accept the consequences. When the mob of Constitution supporters attacked his office, Thomas Greenleaf stood his ground with just an apprentice by his side and shot the fingers off one of his assailants. More importantly, he kept publishing. In 1798, Greenleaf would literally work himself to death to keep the paper's indictments of President Adams flowing when he stayed in New York to get out his paper in the middle of a yellow fever epidemic. It was largely because of men and women like Greenleaf that the infamous Alien and Sedition Acts failed in its intended goal of shutting off free political debate in the press. I say "and women" because after Greenleaf died, prosecutors came after his widow Anne Greenleaf, the new publisher of his paper.



Portrait of George Washington. Charles Willson Peale, oil on canvas. GM 0126.1013.

Facing and previous pages: *Greenleaf's New York Journal and Patriotic Register,* 1794. GM 4126.777.

NEWSPAPERS WERE SO CENTRAL AN INSTITUTION IN THE FOUNDERS' WORLD THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO SEE ALMOST THE WHOLE OF THEIR REPUBLIC IN THIS ONE EXAMPLE. . .

GREENLEAF's

New York Journal & Patriotic Register.

NUMB. 101, of VOL. XLVIII.] WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1794. [TOTAL NUMB. 2093.

"HERE TRUTH UNLICENS'D REIGNS; AND DARES ACCOST—FREE KINGTHEMSELVES, OR RULERS OF THE FREE."—*Thompson's Liberty.*

LANDS,

Late the Property of Sir William Johnson, Baronet, deceased.

THE subscribers deem it necessary to inform the public, and all purchasers of lands, that they are possessed, in fee simple, of two certain tracts (formerly part of the estate of the late Sir William Johnson, deceased) one, known by the title of *Adaughtarogy*, or *Charlotte River*, then situated in the county of Tryon, now Montgomery, in the then province, now state, of New-York; the other, by the name of *Byram's Patent*, near Scholharie, in the county of Albany, except such parts thereof as had been devised by the said Sir William Johnson to the present occupants, previous to his decease.

That their title is in a direct line, conformable to the last will and testament of the said Sir William Johnson, who bequeathed the said tracts of land (excepting such parts as were by him sold in his life time) to his executors, Daniel Campbell, Esq. of Schenectady, and others, to be disposed of, and the proceeds divided among his brothers and sisters.

That the same was accordingly disposed of in purtuance of the will of the said Sir William Johnson, by the said executors, and the subscribers became purchasers of the said Lands, for a valuable consideration, and now hold the same by regular conveyances.

That this public communication is proper on account of the interference of some misinformed or ill-intentioned persons, who, presuming to be the heirs or representative of the associates of the said Sir William Johnson in the original patent, affect to believe and do assert, "that all the mesne conveyances from the said associates to the said Sir William Johnson were not made nor completed."

Now, in order to prevent imposition on unsuspecting purchasers, information is hereby given, That the Subscribers are, in law and equity, justly possessed of the tracts of Land aforesaid, except as before excepted, and that those who presume to interfere with their property, will necessarily meet with disapointment and loss.

JOHN JACOB ASTOR,
WILLIAM LAIGHT,
PETER SMITH.

New-York, Dec. 6, 1794. 30—2aw.t.f.

FOR FREIGHT,

To the WEST INDIES or EUROPE,

THE BRIGANTINE DIAMOND, Samuel Jones Master, Burden 140 tons or upwards; now lying at anker, opposite the Coffee-house Slip.

For terms apply to the Master on board.

Also for Sale, a SHIP'S BARGE, 22 feet keel—Apply as above.

29, 2aw.2w.¶

FOR SALE.

A Valuable FARM, situated in the town of East Chester, and county of West Chester, about eight miles from Kingsbridge, and within four miles of East Chester and New Rochelle landings. This Farm consists of 180 acres of excellent Land, well proportioned, with Arable Meadow, Pasturing, and Wood Land. There is thereon a good Orchard and DWELLING-HOUSE, also a Barn and several other Out-houses.

For further particulars enquire of Hunt and Ward, at No. 168, Water-street, New-York, or of the Subscriber on the Premises, east Chester.

BARTHOLOMEW WARD.

Nov. 17, 1794. 25, 2aw.t.f.

TO BE SOLD,
AT PRIVATE SALE.

THAT VALUABLE HOUSE and LOT, the corner of Rutgers and Catharine-streets; also, a HOUSE in Lumbert-street. Enquire of

ARON BURK.

Lumbert-street, No. 35. 25 2aw. 4w.

FOR SALE,
OR TO LET FOR A TERM OF YEARS.

THAT well known and improved ESTATE, situate and lying on the East Chester Camp, in the county of Albany, heretofore the property of the Rev. Dr. Provoft, at present occupied by Mr. Schermerhorn, will necessarily meet with disapointment and loss.

JOHN JACOB ASTOR,
WILLIAM LAIGHT,
PETER SMITH.

New-York, Dec. 6, 1794. 30—2aw.t.f.

FOR FREIGHT,

To the WEST INDIES or EUROPE,

THE BRIGANTINE DIAMOND, Samuel Jones Master, Burden 140 tons or upwards; now lying at anker, opposite the Coffee-house Slip.

For terms apply to the Master on board.

Also for Sale, a SHIP'S BARGE, 22 feet keel—Apply as above.

29, 2aw.2w.¶

FOR SALE.

A Valuable FARM, situated in the town of East Chester, and county of West Chester, about eight miles from Kingsbridge, and within four miles of East Chester and New Rochelle landings. This Farm consists of 180 acres of excellent Land, well proportioned, with Arable Meadow, Pasturing, and Wood Land. There is thereon a good Orchard and DWELLING-HOUSE, also a Barn and several other Out-houses.

For further particulars enquire of Hunt and Ward, at No. 168, Water-street, New-York, or of the Subscriber on the Premises, east Chester.

BARTHOLOMEW WARD.

Nov. 17, 1794. 25, 2aw.t.f.

TO BE SOLD,
AT PRIVATE SALE.

THAT VALUABLE HOUSE and LOT, the corner of Rutgers and Catharine-streets; also, a HOUSE in Lumbert-street. Enquire of

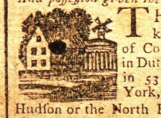
ARON BURK.

Lumbert-street, No. 35. 25 2aw. 4w.

FOR SALE,
OR TO LET FOR A TERM OF YEARS.

THAT well known and improved ESTATE, situate and lying on the East Chester Camp, in the county of Albany, heretofore the property of the Rev. Dr. Provoft, at present occupied by Mr. Schermerhorn, will necessarily meet with disapointment and loss.

TO BE SOLD,
And possession given the 1st of April next.



THE FARM known by the name of Continental Village, in Dutchess county, within 53 miles of New-York, and 2 miles of Hudson or the North River, containing 439 acres of land, one hundred of which, are cleared and in fence, the remainder is in a state of nature covered with wood; there is on the place, 3 dwelling houses, and 2 barns, a number of various kinds of fruit trees, and a never failing stream of water running through said farm, sufficient for a Grist-mill, or iron-works; what makes it convenient for the latter, is, iron ore being in abundance within 3 quarters of a mile of the most suitable place to erect the forge. For further particulars enquire of Thomas Oakly on the premises, or of the subscriber, New York, No. 299 Broad Way, who will give an indisputable title for the same.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

92 tf.

NOTICE.

ANY persons wishing to contract for HOUSE-FRAMES, to be delivered next spring; will please to enquire of the Printer.

87 2aw.t.f.

American Manufactures.

Made at the New-York Cotton and Linen Manufactory, and for sale by ANDREW STOCKHOLM, at No. 303, Pearl-Street, formerly Queen-Street, near Peck-Slip,

A GREAT variety of striped and plain nankeens, suitable for summer season, calculated for ladies or gentlemen, which will be retailed for the present.

Also will be ready in a few days,

German Stripes, Thickets, Brigetts, or Rib Delures, Sattinets, Jeans, Pillow Fustians, Dimities, Croffovers, Checks and Bed Ticken, Stocking Yarn of different qualities, and Candle Wick.

Orders for cotton goods of any quality made to pattern, on the shortest notice.

Wanted, workmen in the cotton line, and likewise a number of apprentices, either girls or boys, from 7 years old and upwards.

May 3. 68—2aw.tf

By order of Egbert Benson, Esq. one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Judicature of the people of the state of New-York.

NOTICE is hereby given to Jeremiah Coleman, formerly of the county of Orange, in the state of New-York, but now of Wyoming, in the county of Luzerne in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and all others whom it may concern, that upon application and due proof made to the said Justice, pursuant to an act, entitled an act for the relief against absent and absconding debtors, passed the fourth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty six; he hath issued his warrant to the sheriff of the city and county of New-York, commanding him to attack, seize, take and safely keep all the estate as well real as personal of the said Jeremiah Coleman an absent debtor, of what kind or nature the same may be, in whatsoever part of his Bailwick, the same can be found, with all evidences, books of accounts, vouchers and papers relating thereto, and that unless the said Jeremiah Coleman shall return and discharge his debts within one year after the publication of this notice, all the real and personal estate, of him, the said Jeremiah Coleman, will be sold for the payment, and satisfaction of his creditors. Dated this tenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety four. 15—2aw.t.f.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE partnership of Samuel Broome and Jeremiah Platt, under the firm of Broome, Platt and Co. is this day dissolved; all persons indebted to them on bond, note or book accounts, are requested to make immediate payment to either of them, in the city of New-Haven, and state of Connecticut, or Daniel Phœnix, merchant, No. 138 Water Street, New-York, whose receipt will be a sufficient discharge. Those who neglect, will have their accounts put in suit without discrimination, it being out of their power to grant any further indulgence.

SAMUEL BROOME.
JEREMIAH PLATT tf.

New-Haven, July 21, 1794. 92—92w.

AT HODGSON'S PA-

THIRTY DOLLARS REWARD.



RAN WAY from the Subscriber, on the 19th day of October last, a NEGRO MAN named FORTEN, but is for some time gone by the name of Forten Bayley:—24 years of age, about five feet ten inches high, of a slender make, but remkably strong, is considerably marked with the small pox: has a small scar just under one of his cheek bones (but whether the right or left is not certain) and as a remarkable look out of his eyes, is being able to open them as wide as common, speaks good English, and read and writes tolerably well: he understands taking care of horses and driving a carriage, it is particularly handy with joiners tools, at which business he will probably engage to work. Had on whe he went away, either a short blue cloth coat, or a long green one, with nankeen jacket and breeches, wore his hair cued, ribbons in his shoes, a round hat and a watch in his fobb. Whoever will secure said Negro, so that he may be recovered, or will deliver him to the subscriber, No. 171, William-street, will be entitled to the above reward, with reasonable charges. Masters of vessels and others, are hereby cautioned not to take off, employ, or harbour the said Negro.

JAMES ALNER.

New York, Nov. 26 97 2aw.t.f.

PIERRE EGRON, L. L. D. formerly a magistrate in France, lately from St. Doming, and now a resident of America, has issued proposals for publishing a *periodical work*, entitled, "THE LEVEL OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA" to consist of 52 numbers in a year, delivered weekly and monthly, the two first numbers of which have been published.

This Work, useful to the Merchants, is conceived on a plan quite new, it will CONTAIN—I. Meteorological Observations made every day, as well on the continent of America as in Europe.

II. Prices Current of every species of Merchandize exported from America to Europe, and imported from the several European markets to America.

III. Observations on the establishment to be made of several advantageous Manufactories in America, &c.

☞ The proposals may be seen at Greenleaf's Office, where subscriptions are received. 13.2aw.t.f

BOURDARIE, Surgeon and Man-mid-wife, tenders his services to the public. He practices all kinds of Chirurgical operations, and cures the Venereal disease in a manner most effectual.

The success which he has had during fifteen years in the art of healing all kinds of diseases, enable him to assure those who may confide in his abilities, that he treats the different diseases that attacks the *Anus* and *Perinæum* with skillfulness and safety.]

Those who wish to have his advice, may find him at Mr. Boardin's, No. 117, Cherry-street, or on board the French frigate, La Semillante, at New York.

28, 2aw.st¶

NOTICE.

IN the month of June or July last, a TRUNK and some BEDDING, were left at my house at Little Falls, on the Mohawk River, by two boatmen, who infifted that they were right in leaving them with me, saying, that the owner would call for them. NO owner having yet called, and it being my with that he may re-possess them, he is quested to describe his property and take it away—he paying charges.

FREDERIC A. DE ZENG.

Little Falls, Nov. 24, 1794. 29, w3w¶

To the MERCHANTS.

THE COLLECTOR of the CUSTOMS, *having received from the Secretary of State, certain papers, respecting American vessels captured by British ships of war and privateers, thinks it proper to inform the merchants, that the same are lodged at the Custom House for their inspection.*

N. York, Dec. 3, 1794. 89—2aw 3w.

SHEEP SKINS.

A FEW dozen of excellent sheep skins, prepared for book binding in the English mode, for sale at this office.

TO BE SOLD,

No. 31.
NASSAU-STREET.

WILLIAM MOONEY,
UPHOLSTERER,
HAS FOR SALE,

ELEGANT and common looking-glasses, a general assortment, from 100l. per pair down to 30s.

GIRANDOLES,
4000 pieces of paperhangings, from 32s. down to 4s. per piece,
Plain blue, green, pink, yellow and straw ditto,
Black, white and blue marble ditto,
Dado or pannel paper,
Pillars and figures for parlor paper,
Elegant and common borders of all widths and prices for ditto,
Superb ornamental jars for chimney pieces,
Bed and window-curtains, with every article in the Upholstery line, made in the most elegant and fashionable stile.

Paper hangings put up, ship's cabins furnished with curtains, mattrasses, &c.

Every article of Camp Equipage, from the Generalissimo's marker, down to the drum case, made in the most portable and approved manner.

Wanted, a large quantity of curled hair, and Carolina moss.

A Journeyman Upholsterer, who is a perfect master of his business in all its various branches, will meet with constant employ and generous wages.

Orders from any part of the continent gratefully received, and punctually executed.

New-York, June 18, 1794. 81. 2aw.tf

Worthy your Notice, Fellow Citizens.

Cut-Nail Manufactory.

NAILS of every size up to that of 8d. are Manufactured and sold from 30 to 40 per cent. cheaper than wrought ones. Those suitable for lathing, short shingling, and nailing hoops on casks, are sold at 3s. per thousand, or by the pound, from 12 to 15d. which is determined by the size, as may best suit the purchaser, but shall not exceed the above price of 3s per thousand, 6d. nails at 1s. per lb. or 4s. per thousand, and 8d. from 10 to 12d. per lb.

The public will please to observe, that it is not the number of pounds that is required to lay any number of laths or shingles, but the number of nails; that one thousand wrought nails suitable for the purposes, will cost at the lowest price by the cask, at least 5s. and will not answer the purpose any better than the above at 5s. per thousand. The difference, therefore, in favor of the above, is as 3 to 5s. The difference is equally as great with 6d. and 8d.

The manufacturer will only observe, that the different manner in which they are manufactured, and the superior quality of the iron, renders them far superior to any yet introduced—appealing to his fellow citizens. All kegs of nails of his manufacturing, exposed for sale, will be branded with his signature (to prevent deception) and are only sold at his Manufactory in this city, and also by Mr. William Lorman, Baltimore; Mr. Joseph Galligo, Richmond, Virginia; Mr. Robert Bolton, Savannah, Georgia, merchants.

JOSIAH G. PIERSON.

N. B. Eight shillings to a dollar.]

New-York, White-Hall Street, opposite the Government-House.

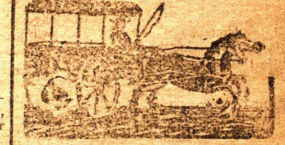
June 4. 76-2aw.t.f.

JOHN WOODS,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law,

CONSTANTLY attends at his office, No. 398, corner of Rutgers and Pearl-streets, late Queen-street, and on the usual early fees, gives the most candid advice in all cases of Law.—Also perfects deeds and other writings, where on a satisfactory opinion will be given as to the validity; Executors and Administrators instructed in the due execution of their office, whereby to avoid the trouble and expence which often happens from the want of knowledge therein.

Money at most times ready to discount good Bills, Bonds, or Notes; Also to be had on freehold securities in this city.

Deeds, wills, memorials, petitions,



THE PROPRIETORS of Hackney Carriages, inform the Ladies and Gentlemen, that to prevent impositions by the Coachmen the fare is as follows:

To take up and set down one or two passengers within the town, to the s. f. fourth of the tea-water-pump,
For every passenger exceeding two,
To take up and set down one or two passengers one hour after sun down,
For every one exceeding two,
For waiting for company in town, each hour,
To carry or fetch one passenger to or from Belvidere, by day,
For every one exceeding one,
To carry or fetch one or four passengers to or from Belvidere, by night,
For every one exceeding four
To carry or fetch one or two passengers to or from Brannon's or Campbell's, by day,
For every one exceeding two,
To carry or fetch one or four passengers to or from Brannon's, or Campbell's, by night,
For every one exceeding four,
To go to the two mile stone, and round by Campbell's,
For stopping within one hour
For stopping each hour,
To go round the tower by Horns's
For stopping within one hour,
For stopping each hour,
To go round by Lake's,
For stopping within one hour,
For stopping each hour,
To go to Bell-View,
For each hour waiting,
To go to Oakley's, or Somerindyk's,
To go to Brevoort's or thereabouts,
To go to Hardenbrook's,
To go round Anthony's tour,
To go to Harlaem, one day,
To go to Harlaem, half a day,
To go to the fort,
To go to King's-Bridge.

As much time is taken up by Coachmen in calling for the fare, the proprietors would thank Ladies and Gentlemen, if convenient, to pay on being served.

52. 2aw. t. f.

THE subscribers beg leave to inform the public, that they are now running a LINE OF STAGES, between BOSTON and ALBANY, *three times a week.*

The stages leave Boston and Albany, on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday of every week, at 5 o'clock in the morning. The stage from Boston, on its way to Northampton, tarries the first night at Spencer, and the second at Northampton. The stage from Albany, on its way to Northampton (passes by the New-Lebanon Springs) tarries the first night at Pittsfield, and the second at Northampton; where they exchange passengers—and the next morning, at 5 o'clock, leave Northampton for Boston and Albany—tarry the first night at Spencer and Pittsfield, and the second in Boston and Albany.

The price of each passenger is 3d. per mile, lawful money of Massa. 14lb. baggage gratis; 150lb. of baggage charged the same as a passenger.

The proprietors of this Line of Stages, from the new arrangements which they have made, to accommodate all who wish to travel between Boston and Albany, and from their obliging careful attention, hope to merit the public's encouragement.

PEASE, HUNT, & Co.

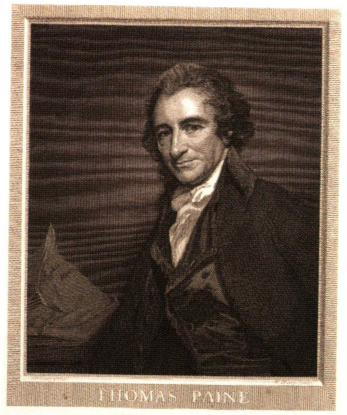
Pittsfield, May 15, 1794. 22w.tf.

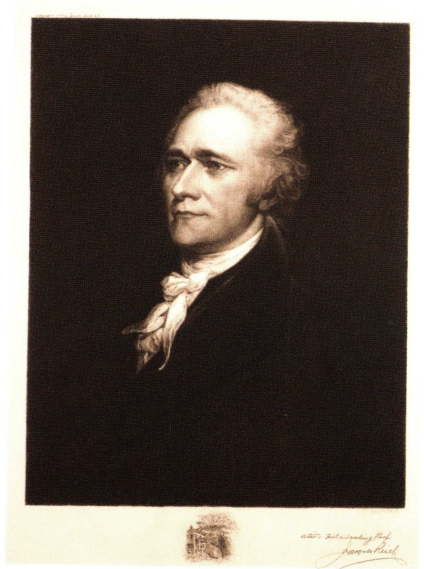
New-York and Philadelphia Stages.

NEW LINE DISPATCH,

Lower Stage-Office, No. 7, Cortlandt-street (formerly No. 50) and at No. 124 Broad-Way, directly opposite the City Tavern, where there may be seats engaged at any time.

THIS Line sets out every day (Saturdays excepted) at three o'clock in the afternoon, and arrives at Philadelphia the next day about the same hour.—The Proprietors of this Line, assure their friends and the public, that





Thomas Paine. G. Romney, 1793, mezzotint. GM 1576.199.

Alexander Hamilton. Jacques Reich, etching. GM 1427.10.

Right: *The Battle of Lexington.* M. Swelt, color lithograph. GM 1526.123.

Facing: "Paul Revere" from *The Royal American Magazine,* July 1774. GM 5026.4457.

Thomas Greenleaf was in some respects raised to do this work. His father, Joseph Greenleaf, had written stridently against the British back in Massachusetts before the Revolution, and lost his job because of it. Even so, Joseph had sent young Thomas to train as a printer to help keep the words flowing. Together father and son produced the *Royal American Magazine*, also in the Gilcrease collection, among other publications intended to promote revolutionary ideals. Note the date: July 1774, after the Boston Tea Party and just months before Lexington and Concord. It was an optimistic time to start a new magazine, and it was not long before Joseph Greenleaf was fleeing Boston to escape the British army while Thomas was joining the American one.

Thomas would later come back to the work because he believed it essential to liberty that citizens and the press should be unafraid to take sides, even to be bitter and hostile on occasion. "In a free country," Greenleaf argued in one of several mission statements he wrote, "every member of the community" needed to be "informed of its political manouvres [sic]," and to take a stand. No good citizen could remain "indifferent or lukewarm" when vital issues were at stake. How could "any remain neuter at such a season! Rouse then . . . NEWSPAPERS ARE THE GUARDIAN OF FREEDOM; by NEWSPAPERS only are ye made acquainted with . . . the Freedom or the Slavery of your own species."[3]

Early American newspapers, including *Greenleaf's Journal,* were seldom specimens of graphic or organizational excellence. But among members of the founding generation it was common to subscribe to several such publications. In the format that had become standard by the time the Constitution was ratified, a typical newspaper edition was only four pages long. Half that space consisted of what looks like classified advertising, only without the helpful classifications: just boxes and text with occasional standardized illustrations. A relatively successful newspaper like the *New York Journal* bore a front page that was covered with these very basic ads—crude woodcuts of generic houses if a house or farm was offered for sale, a generic ship for a ferry or a packet service, what looked like a child's drawing of a horse-drawn carriage (complete



THE

Royal *American* Magazine,



OR UNIVERSAL

Repoſitory of Inſtruction and Amuſement.

For JULY, 1774.

CONTAINING

The Barbarity of the Spaniards.	Page 235	A Proceſs for ſeparating Gold and Silver from Lace without burning it.	260
Good Effects of Silence.	237	Queſtions in Arithmetic.	ibid.
Why Princes ſeldom come at Truth.	238	The Fortune-hunter, continued.	261
An Eſſay on Union.	ibid.	A Love Letter.	266
On Public Spirit.	239	POETICAL ESSAYS.	
Comments on ſeveral texts of Scripture.	241	Extract from the ingenious Mr. SCOT's Sublime Poem —the Book of JOB—	267
On Cowardice.	242	Good Kings Happy.	268
A remarkable Adventure at the Quick-ſilver Mines of Idra.	243	The Lecher.	ibid.
A Deſcription of the Polype.	244	A Rebus.	ibid.
Of Education.	245	In Superbiam.	ibid.
The Bees, A Fable.	246	The Ladies Choice.	ibid.
A Mathematical Queſtion.	ibid.	HISTORICAL CHRONICLE.	
LOT's advice for the taking off all reſtraints from Ladies of Pleaſure.	247	Remarkable paragraphs Foreign and Domeſtic.	269
A Striking piece of Hiſtory.	248	Marriages and Deaths.	271
A Queſtion.	252	The Governor's Proclamation for the encouragement of Piety, Virtue, &c. &c.	ibid.
Maxims of State.	253	Meteorological Obſervations on the Weather.	272
Paradox.	254	Governor Hutchinſon's Hiſtory, &c.	
Of the Perſecutions in the Reign of Queen Mary.	255		
An Allegory.	257		

With the following EMBELEISHMENT, viz.
SPANISH Treatment at CARTHAGENA Elegantly engraved.

AMERICA:

BOSTON, Printed and Sold at GREENLEAF's Printing-Office in Hanover-ſtreet, near the ORANGE-TREE, where Subſcriptions continue to be taken in.



"Charleston in 1780" from *The New Complete History of the United States of America* by John Clark Ridpath, 1913. Volume 6. GM 2527.4864.

with anatomically suspect horses) to go with the schedule of cab fares that ran week after week. By the standards of the day the *New York Journal* of December 1794 was a standout. The woodcuts of houses in its ads do not all look exactly the same, as would usually be true, even if they are almost certainly not depicting the actual place being sold, or not very well. The farm in Kinderhook looks as if it has palm trees in the front yard.

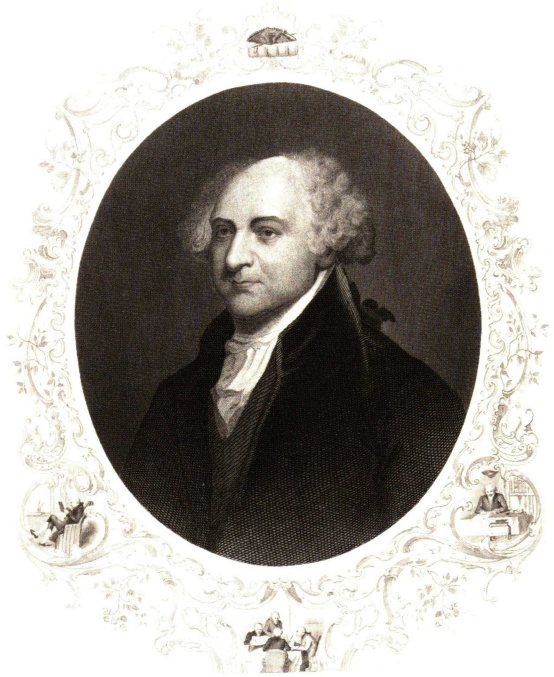
The rudimentary visual and organizational nature of early American newspapers was evidence of the rude conditions that produced them. Newspapers were published by printers, craftsmen working with human-powered equipment who had all they could do just to get the ink on paper. For each page of each copy, hand-set type had to be physically wet with ink and pressed on the paper by pulling on a crank. That was a lot of cranking, even if you only sold 2,000 to 4,000 copies an issue, the likely range of Greenleaf's circulation and a very high number for an early American newspaper. Type wore out, producing more and more smudgy results as the wear began to show. Buying a new set was a major investment. Illustrations required artists skilled in graphic arts and woodwork, and such artists might not or might not be available even if the printer could afford their services.[4]

Despite the primitive nature of the early Republic's newspapers, we can learn a great deal about the society that produced them, even from this one newspaper's random selection of advertisements. In it we can read details of early American life rarely seen even in such relatively realistic popularizations as, say, the HBO series *John Adams*, to say nothing of the gauzy patriotic fantasy that many Americans imagine when they look back on the era of the founding fathers.

For instance, take the cab fare ad whose horses I made fun of. It tells you that this was not a society where the "free market" and "private enterprise" as we know them yet fully existed, despite what a man dressed up in colonial outfit at a "Tea Party" rally might tell you today. Most commodities and services had established prices that were set by law or peer pressure within a certain trade or industry. Where flexibility for free enterprise and sharp trading did exist, business owners and citizens seldom embraced it. Millers who tried to sell flour or bakers who tried to sell bread for more than the regulated rates might have a riot on their hands. This ad provides a detailed schedule of the acceptable prices for every route, service, or circumstance that a person hiring a carriage might need "to prevent imposition by coachmen." Later, of course, cab fares would become entirely regulated by government. This was only part of a whole universe of local "police" regulations done in the name of the people's welfare and public order. The federal government may have been smallish, but local government ruled with a fairly heavy hand, mostly without benefit of elections.[5]

On the other side of the public-vs.-private divide, several advertisements offer transportation for people and freight by private conveyances. We have the Brigantine Diamond taking freight to Europe or the Caribbean, the Sloop Ruby carrying people and goods down the coast to Charleston, South Carolina, and several stagecoach lines such as the Federal, Diligence, and Industry taking passengers and packages to Philadelphia. New York and Philadelphia probably had the best ground transportation links in the country in 1794, but check out the details. Once you got yourself across a mile or more of Hudson River to Paulus Hook in present-day Jersey City, the Federal Line would take only a whole day and night to move you the 250 miles or so to the City of Brotherly Love. But your bags traveled free! Still only a town of 50,000 people in 1794, New York City would not really come into its own until after government intervention dramatically improved its transportation facilities. Two notable actions were the granting of a public monopoly on Hudson River steamboat transportation to Robert R. Livingston, Robert Fulton, and partners beginning in 1797 (1807 for the actual operation of the *Clermont*), and the construction of the Erie Canal by the state of New York beginning in 1817. It was only after that latter bit of stimulus spending, creating an all-American connection from the Atlantic Ocean and New York Harbor to the Great Lakes and the farmland of the American interior, that New York would surpass Philadelphia as the nation's commercial and financial metropolis, and its largest city. It was absolutely crucial that New York state government got the job done first, enabling New York City to steal a march on many other cities and routes that might have done the same.[6]

Elsewhere on the front page of *Greenleaf's New York Journal*, and elsewhere in the issue, you will notice examples of other, less important types of businesses. There are a few stock prices on the back page, under "The Poet's Corner" (reproduced on page one of this publication). On the front, there is a nail factory touting its goods, an upholsterer, and a cloth dealer advertising under the heading "American Manufactures"—all indications of the healthy state of commerce and the strenuous, though still quite limited, efforts going on to establish manufacturing at the time. Wage levels for adult male workers were very high because of the plentiful opportunities for young men to work as craftsmen or farmers. Profitable mass production depended on paying relatively low wages to less-skilled laborers, so a would-be manufacturer had to cut some corners. One of Greenleaf's advertisers, Mr. Andrew Stockholm, showed he was using Alexander Hamilton's recommended method of saving labor costs (as seen



John Adams. After John Singleton Copley, engraving. GM 1526.948.

Facing: *Liberty.* Edward Savage, 1796, engraving. GM 1526.272.

in his famous *Report on Manufactures*): hire children. Stockholm sought "apprentices," boys or girls as young as seven years old. Clearly these were not genuine apprenticeships, because traditionally an apprenticeship did not start until age eleven and carried with it an employer's commitment to train, clothe, house, and feed the child for seven years.[7] That was too much expense and commitment for a factory. What Stockholm wanted was what we now call a "sweat shop," where low-skilled workers sewed cheap clothes for little pay and could be hired and fired at will. The owner would acquire workers with few other options and little leverage against whatever demands they wanted to make regarding workload, pay, hour, conditions, and so on: women and children without families or with families too poor to support them; landless people migrating from the countryside; and desperate, brand-new immigrants. The latter two were not such numerous groups in the 1790s, but their ranks were growing and many had debts that needed to be paid. It was through such "sweating" that the traditional handicraft system was eventually destroyed, leaving the word *artisan* to become an adjective used to sell expensive coffee and bread.[8]

Another advertisement suggests the prevalence of some even freer enterprises than that. One Bourdarie, ship's surgeon on a French frigate and male midwife, "tenders his services to the public." These include curing "the venereal diseases in a manner most effectual," as well as treating "the different diseases that attack the Anus and Perinaum with skillfulness and safety." It is an ad for a specialist who cures sexually-transmitted diseases, and as such an ad that would not be printed in most modern American daily newspapers. STDs were apparently so common a problem in the early Republic as to be featured alongside upholstery and building materials, or above a lost and found notice concerning an errant trunk.

THIS RELAXED APPROACH TO SUCH AN INTIMATE SUBJECT INDICATES THAT WHAT WOULD NOW BE CALLED "TRADITIONAL FAMILY VALUES" WERE NOT ONLY NOT TRADITIONAL IN 1794, BUT WERE LARGELY THINGS OF THE FUTURE.

This relaxed approach to such an intimate subject indicates that what would now be called "traditional family values" were not only not traditional in 1794, but were largely things of the future. Prostitution and other aspects of the sex trade were legal and tolerated in the towns and cities of the early Republic, a part of life for men and women of all classes. Sailors and soldiers patronized dockside brothels and streetwalkers, but so too did congressmen, students at Columbia College, and innumerable gentlemen seeking sexual release outside marriage. There were outlets to fit every budget and sensibility, from elegant bordellos to seedy flophouses in the area of New York City called Five Points. Among the classier places were the third-tier balconies of the theaters that dotted New York and nearly every other early American city, even Puritan Boston by this time. Theater owners made a good business selling tickets to men who surveyed the professional women in the balcony before arranging to meet at a nearby house. Many of the Founders, including John Adams, were avid theatergoers, and while they were not all patrons of that sort, they certainly knew what went on above them.[9]

Though some people might have liked to avoid these areas, it was impossible in the early Republic. The darker, grittier side of life was well integrated into the mainstream. Cities and society had yet to be morally or spatially differentiated and separated. On the streets and in taverns and boardinghouses, sex talk and bawdy songs would have been commonplace. In a beautiful allegorical image of "Liberty" from the Gilcrease collection, we see a well-endowed young lady in a loose-fitting garment. The image was probably meant to be hung on walls, but it was also used in servingware, where it may have incited feelings other than the purely patriotic. If Italian renaissance painters could use religious art as pin-ups, as some scholars suggest, then why not American patriotic artists?[10] Some of New York's most prominent families were secret or not-so-secret

investors in the sex business. One of the most noted, John R. Livingston, was a partner in the steamboat monopoly and a brother to state chancellor Robert R. Livingston and Edward Livingston, who in December 1794 had just been elected to Congress with the help of this very newspaper, *Greenleaf's New York Journal.* In return, the Livingstons took out ads to help support the newspaper.[11]

As the city grew, women in need of shelter and clothing provided the sex trade with workers, while young men new to the city and too poor to marry became paying customers. Prostitution worked as a safety net for the poor and middling classes of women, but this arrangement could also make their daily lives problematic. Upper-class women were expected to guard their chastity and reputations, but less privileged women were included in this system. Men were wholly exempt, the evangelical Christianity that would later demand the same of them still far over the horizon. As a result, in New York and other towns, a woman walking the streets alone was considered available and could expect to be accosted by men in various ways, some better or worse than being invited into prostitution.[12]

Many situations fell short of literal prostitution but involved wealthy men who took advantage of women in need of money and protection. Just before and after the ratification of the Constitution, a rash of pregnancies occurred among the usually widowed landladies of the boardinghouses where the legislators lived.[13] In another incident that summarizes the attitudes of the men of the time, when Alexander Hamilton was accused of using his inside knowledge for speculative investments in government debt, he explained that the money in question was instead being paid to the husband of a woman he was having an affair with, Mrs. Maria Reynolds. The congressional committee, as fellow gentlemen, accepted this excuse without question. When the accusations later became public and Hamilton wrote a book telling the same story in much greater detail, the scandal did little to impair his status as leader of the Federalist party, just then offering itself as the last defense of Christianity against the alleged atheism of Thomas Jefferson.[14]

More social history can be picked up from perhaps the most visually striking advertisement on our page of *Greenleaf's New York Journal.* Centered just beneath the banner is a dynamic little picture of a running man, illustrating a $30 reward for a runaway slave. Placed uncomfortably adjacent to Greenleaf's ringing motto about the truth of his paper being willing to accost any foe, "e'en king themselves, or rulers of the free," the advertisement pretends to be just another notice of lost property, but in this case "property" that can dress, move, and speak. The slave's name was Forten, but his master complains that he has given himself a last name as well, Forten Bayley. Power over the slave's very identity was one of the most fundamental issues between masters and slaves. The slave owner, James Alner, describes his lost property in intimate detail: Alner lets the presumably resentful white reader know that Bayley was a sharp dresser, with two coats, a short blue and a long green one, his hair worn in a queue with ribbons, and "a watch in his fob." Cruelly and vividly, Alner also informs us that Forten Bayley was the survivor of a life-threatening bout with smallpox that left his face disfigured, with "a remarkable look out of eyes" because he could not fully open them. We also discover that Forten Bayley was a highly skilled worker—with horsemanship and carpentry among his other talents.[15]

Like many city slaves, Bayley was probably working on his own, hiring himself out to employers and turning over his wages, or most of them, to his owner. In modern terms, Bayley was *rental* property, an investment that James Alner probably held for the

income it brought, the way houses are rented in aging neighborhoods. No wonder Alner wanted him back. To me, this is one of the most stomach-turning details about slavery as an economic system: if a human being was held as property, the owner could do anything with that person that one could do with a house or car: sell (and get a receipt), rent, even use as collateral for a loan.

Runaway slave ads show us just how important freedom was to American slaves, how much they risked to seek it, and how that undermined the whole system. Forten Bayley's taste of independence as an urban rental slave made his status all the more galling, and urban slaves like Bayley sought occupations where the conditions and labor were even harder, if that meant they could be free. Alner worries in the ad that Bayley might ship out as a sailor, like many black men did, and warns captains not to take him. Yet in a growing commercial city, with diverse population in and out and plenty of places to hide, it was difficult to hold someone for long.

Here is something else to notice: This is New York City, the heart of the North, not the slave South. Before the American Revolution, slavery had existed in all the colonies and was especially important in New York. In 1790, the population of New York City was around 10 percent African American, most enslaved. The ratio was closer to 20 percent in surrounding rural communities. Historian Shane White has estimated that about one in five white households owned at least one slave, and the use of slavery actually expanded a bit during the prosperous 1790s. These numbers would not have been out of place in many parts of the South. Because it was so economically important, slavery was also very slow to end in New York and New Jersey. Abolition would be a very expensive proposition.[16]



Shackles. GM 66.228.

However, the end was clearly in sight. All Americans understood on some level that slavery was inconsistent with revolutionary principles. Even in the Upper South, people were considering its gradual elimination, possibly through compensation to slaveholders and re-colonization of blacks to Africa. Quakers in the Middle States were lobbying for slavery to be abolished outright, and the New England states had already done so. Conditions of life in commercial cities were undermining slavery, as were blacks themselves by their determined resistance. The response of many New York area slaveholders just after the Revolution was to sell their slaves further south while they could, but this avenue was blocked by 1788. So a small but powerful group of New York slaveholders organized the New York Manumission Society and began to press for a way to end slavery in the city. Alexander Hamilton was a member, and among the leaders was a former revolutionary veteran named Matthew Clarkson, the subject of a wonderful portrait in the Gilcrease exhibit. The solution that Clarkson and other Middle States abolitionists promoted was a gradual abolition law that did not immediately free slaves, but instead freed their children born after a certain point and once they reached a certain age. New



Matthew Clarkson. Ralph Earl, 1787, oil on canvas. GM 0126.1010.

York's version, passed in 1799, was so very gradual that even by the time New York congressmen James Tallmadge and Rufus King sparked the Missouri Crisis twenty years later by trying to block slavery's expansion into the West, there were still thousands of slaves in their home state.[17]

Modern American newspapers tend to have monopolies in their markets and like to pretend they serve the public or the community in general. They shy away from sharp political commitments and support motherhood, the troops, and good government. For an early American newspaper like *Greenleaf's New York Journal*, things were not so easy. Thomas Greenleaf passed along the news and took advertisements, but he also had serious political commitments. His commitment to democracy—peaceful criticism of his city and country's governing elite, the organization of an opposition party, and campaigning to get its candidates voted in—was strong enough to help inspire and then defeat the Sedition Act of 1798. Thomas Jefferson won the presidency in 1800–01 despite the effort to suppress the newspapers that supported him.

But the rise of Jeffersonian Democracy was fraught with contradictions that can be read in the pages of party organs like *Greenleaf's New York Journal*. Thomas Greenleaf promised to "guard the rights of man" and his writers declaimed against slavery, but he took money from slaveholding advertisers like James Alner and worked to elect a southern slaveholder president. He was also no friend of Matthew Clarkson and other leaders of the Manumission Society. They were wealthy Federalist politicians, and the suspicion was they were out to get free black votes for themselves. The poorer whites and immigrants who voted Democratic-Republican and read the *Journal* hated the Federalist grandees and many resented the black workers they sometimes had to compete with for jobs. It was remembered that many New York slaves had gone over to the British during the Revolution.[18]

The problem was the racism exposed or even exacerbated by the practice of democracy and the ideal of equality. Even as they celebrated the equal "rights of man," white Democrats had difficulty acknowledging the full and equal humanity of African Americans. This basic lack of sympathy skewed their language and perceptions in ways that we can only wince at today. Thomas Greenleaf and his writers hated slavery with a passion, but when they really got exercised about it they were often talking about something other than holding African Americans in bondage. "That pernicious system of slavery" in the *New York Journal* was slavery to government debt, as established by Alexander Hamilton's system of public finance, or political slavery to a king or a king-like president.[19]

So newspapers were much more and much less than we might expect them to be in the early Republic. Hemmed in by fewer limits on their political advocacy than modern journals, they accomplished much and showed fierce independence when pushed by the authorities of their time. Press freedom as we know would be nothing without the Thomas Greenleafs who stood up to rioters and prosecutors, and the slaveholders, sweat shop owners, and venereal disease doctors helped by buying ads and paying the bills. But there was no escaping the society that the newspapers were part of, or the voters whose support they sought. Thus the early American press is better looked on as a source on social and political history than as an engine for social reform.



The Tea-Tax Tempest, or the Anglo Revolution. Carl Guttenberg, 1778, engraving. GM 1576.203.

1 For my general take on this topic, see Jeffrey L. Pasley, "*The Tyranny of Printers*": *Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001). On this newspaper specifically, see my forthcoming article, "Thomas Greenleaf: Printers and the Struggle for Democratic Politics and Freedom of the Press," in Alfred F. Young, Gary B. Nash, and Ray Raphael, eds., *Revolutionary Founders: Rebels, Radicals, and Reformers in the Making of the Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), 357-375, 428-429. Specific references for the events of printer Thomas Greenleaf's life can be found in the latter article.

2 Thomas Paine, *Letter to George Washington, President of the United States of America, on Affairs Public and Private* (Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin Bache, 1796). For my take and more details, see Jeffrey L. Pasley, "Thomas Paine and the U.S. Election of 1796: In Which It Is Discovered That George Washington Was More Popular Than Jesus," paper presented at the conference, "Thomas Paine and American Civil Liberties," Università degli Studi di Milano, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, Milan, Italy, 20 October 2008, published online at http://www.common-place.org/pasley/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/pasley_paine1796.pdf, July 2009. Quotations and praise of Paine appear in *Greenleaf's New York Journal,* 3 Nov., 27 Dec.

1796. Greenleaf announced Paine's letter to Washington was for sale in his shop beginning with the December 24 issue of his other paper, *The Argus.*

3 *New York Journal,* 29 May 1788; John P. Kaminski and Gaspare J. Saladino, ed., *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 18:375; Paul A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763–1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1987), 97–99.

4 On general conditions in the printing trade, see Clarence S. Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen: A Contribution to the History of Early American Newspapers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950); Stephen Botein, " 'Meer Mechanics' and an Open Press: The Business and Political Strategies of Colonial American Printers," *Perspectives in American History* 9 (1975): 127-225; Milton W. Hamilton, *The Country Printer: New York State, 1785–1830* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); Rollo G. Silver, *The American Printer, 1787–1825* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967); Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1964).

5 William J. Novak, *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); William J. Novak, "The Myth of the 'Weak' American State," *American Historical Review* 113 (2008): 752–772; Richard R. John, "Governmental Institutions As Agents of Change: Rethinking American Political Development in the Early Republic, 1787–1835," *Studies in American Political Development* 11 (1997): 347-380; Brian Balogh, *A Government Out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

6 On transportation in the early U.S., see Curtis P. Nettels, *The Emergence of a National Economy, 1775–1815* (White Plains, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1962), 251-262; George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968); John Lauritz Larson, *Internal Improvement: National Public Works and the Promise of Popular Government in the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Ronald E Shaw, *Canals for a Nation: The Canal Era in the United States, 1790–1860* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990); Ronald E. Shaw, *Erie Water West: A History of the Erie Canal, 1792–1854* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990).

7 On early U.S. manufacturing, see Nettels, *Emergence of a National Economy,* 122–126, 263–280; Drew R. McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 1982), 148–152.

8 Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 346. On the decline of the traditional craft system, especially in New York, see Paul A. Gilje and Howard B. Rock, eds., *Keepers of the Revolution: New Yorkers at Work in the Early Republic* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992); Bruce Laurie, *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); William S. Pretzer, "Tramp Printers: Craft Culture, Trade Unions, and Technology," *Printing History* 6 (1984): 3-16; W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and especially, Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

9 On sexuality in early America, Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1820* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 1992); Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1989), 191–203; Richard Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (Baltmore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Clare A. Lyons, *Sex Among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2006); Roger Thompson, *Sex in Middlesex: Popular Mores in a Massachusetts County, 1649–1699* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986).

10 Lisa Jardine, *Wordly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1998).

11 On the Livingstons' various activities, see Gilfoyle, *City of Eros,* 20, 42–46, 53, 167, 317–320; George Dangerfield, *Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York, 1746–1813* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1960); William B. Hatcher, *Edward Livingston, Jeffersonian Republican and Jacksonian Democrat* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1940).

12 Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Gilfoyle, *City of Eros,* 55-75.

13 Kenneth R Bowling, "New York City, Capital of the United States," in Stephen L. Schecter and Wendell Tripp, eds., *World of the Founders: New York Communities in the Federal Period* (Albany, NY: New York State Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, 1990), 12-13.

14 The Reynolds affair is covered in all the many biographies of Alexander Hamilton, but this account is most influenced by two biographies of less famous participants who exposed the scandal, journalist James Callender and House of Representatives Clerk John Beckley: Michael Durey, *"With the Hammer of Truth": James Thomson Callender and America's Early National Heroes* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 97-102; and Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, *John Beckley: Zealous Partisan in a Nation Divided* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1973), 74-85, 93, 95, 162-171, 181.

15 A huge literature has developed over the years on runaway slave advertisements, which are considered an important source on early African-American history. For some of the most recent titles most relevant to this discussion, see David Waldstreicher, "Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic," *William & Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 56 (1999): 243–272; Robert M. Owens, "Law and Disorder North of the Ohio: Runaways and the Patriarchy of Print Culture, 1793–1815," *Indiana Magazine of History* 103 (2007): 265–289; and Jonathan Prude, "To Look Upon the "Lower Sort": Runaway Ads and the Appearance of Unfree Laborers in America, 1750–1800," *The Journal of American History* 78 (1991): 124-159.

16 Shane White, *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770–1810* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991). Other important works covering slavery in northern cities include Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York & East Jersey, 1613–1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Donald R. Wright, *African Americans in the Early Republic, 1789–1831* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1993); Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); and Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham.*

17 White, *Somewhat More Independent,* 24–55, 81–88; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham,* 285–287, 347–349; Hodges, *Root and Branch,* 166–171.

18 On race and the northern Democratic party in the 1800s, see Jean H. Baker, *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983); Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (London & New York: Verso, 1990); and Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York & London: Routledge, 1995).

19 Quotation from "A Rural Citizen," *Greenleaf's New York Journal and Patriotic Register,* 12 February 1794.



The New-York Times. Friday, March 8, 1861 (Vol. X, No. 2952). GM 4126.781.

The New-York Times.

VOL. X....NO. 2952 — NEW-YORK, FRIDAY, MARCH 8, 1861.

AFFAIRS OF THE NATION.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS IN WASHINGTON

No More Nominations Sent to the Senate.

Who the Candidates are and their Relative Chances.

Interesting Debate on the Inaugural Address.

Messrs. Wigfall and Mason Consider it a Declaration of War.

Mr. Douglas Again in the President's Defence.

The Diplomatic Corps Introduced at the White House.

The Southern Commissioners Conclude to Defer Action.

GROWING UNION SENTIMENT IN VIRGINIA.

OUR WASHINGTON DISPATCHES.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, March 7.

SPARRING BETWEEN DOUGLAS AND WIGFALL.

The Senate spent nearly all day in the discussion of the President's Message. The sparring was principally between DOUGLAS and WIGFALL. The latter wished to commit DOUGLAS to the present Administration by asking leading questions, which DOUGLAS declined to answer, on the ground that even if he knew the policy of the Administration, and exposed it, WIGFALL, having violated his oath, and on the floor of the Senate announcing himself a subject of a foreign nation, might take advantage of such information, and use it to the injury of the country. WIGFALL was nonplussed by the answer, and by this sharp rebuke of treason. The course of DOUGLAS is generally commented on all sides.

THE NEW-YORK SURVEYORSHIP.

The competition for Surveyor at New-York seems to have narrowed down to WAKEMAN and CAMP. It is urged that CAMP ought not to have the position, as he, being a member of the Legislature, is disqualified from holding any Federal appointment. GREELEY presses him very strongly, as he pressed GREELEY at Albany, but WAKEMAN's chances are decidedly the best.

THE DEPUTY-COLLECTORSHIP OF NEW-YORK.

D. O. BRADLEY, of Brooklyn, has the best chance for First Deputy Collector at New-York He has a singularly strong combination of influences at work in his behalf, and is a good man for the place.

APPRAISERSHIP.

THOMAS MCELRATH, of the *Century,* is universally conceded the General Appraisership. Judge DORSHEIMER and Senator KING called upon all the Cabinet officers to-day. DORSHEIMER is still pushing for Naval Officer.

THE BOSTON COLLECTORSHIP.

GEO. W. MCLELLAN, of Cambridge, Mass., who was very strongly backed for the Collectorship of Boston, is to receive the appointment of Second Assistant Postmaster-General. The delegation from that State had indorsed J. Z. GOODRICH for Collector, and this *coup d'état* disposes of them both amicably. MCLELLAN has been Secretary of the State Republican Committee a long time, and eminently qualified for his new position.

GEO. G. FOGG, late Secretary of the National Republican Committee, and FRANK P. BLAIR, have gone to New-Hampshire, to remain until after the State Election.

It is settled that the Massachusetts delegation will make no further recommendations until they have been home.

THE MISSION TO MEXICO.

It seems to be pretty generally understood that CASSIUS M. CLAY will receive the mission to Mexico, if he will accept. This is regarded by the Administration as being, at the present juncture of affairs in that country, and our own, as the most important mission in the Government. It requires a brave, discreet man, and such a man Mr. LINCOLN and his Cabinet regard Mr. CLAY.

THE MISSION TO ENGLAND.

The pressure for CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS as Minister to England grows stronger every hour. If the appointment is made, Mr. BURLINGAME will be provided for at home, taking some good pari[illegible] berth.

vention in making their report to the Governor, accompany it with no recommendation; they only detail the proceedings and the result.

DECISION OF A VIRGINIA COURT.

The Court of Henrico County, Va., yesterday, decided unanimously that an attorney could not be required to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, prior to his admission to practice.

MR. SEWARD GOING TO VIRGINIA.

Mr. SEWARD talks of going to Richmond, Va., and if he does not go, it will be because the pressure of business will not allow him.

VACANCIES TO BE FILLED FORTHWITH.

Vacancies in all the Departments will be filled at once. The Constitution allows the President to fill no vacancies during the recess that do not occur at that time, and in order to secure the appointments at once, the above decision has been made. A batch of subordinate appointments, agreed upon to-day, will be sent in to-morrow.

MR. LINCOLN'S HEALTH.

Mr. LINCOLN is rapidly recovering from the fatigue of his journey, and subsequent annoyance at the hotel, where he had no means of shutting him self up. At the White House he has adopted a systematic routine, and all callers have first to see NICOLAY, the Secretary, who now bears the brunt of the labor. Mr. LINCOLN rode on horseback to the Soldiers' Home this morning before breakfast.

RECEPTIONS AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

The President gives his first general reception to-morrow night. The rush to see him promises to be terrific. Mrs. LINCOLN receives her friends in general reception on Saturday morning, as was the etiquette under Miss LANE'S administration of the honors of the White House.

THE LADIES OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

The ladies have not been out to-day, though they have received many cards. Mrs. BAKER and Miss EDWARDS, the accomplished nieces of Mrs. LINCOLN, are overwhelmed with attentions, and of popularity. The reception, to-morrow night, will be a very brilliant affair. The entire Diplomatic Corps will be present, and many Army and Navy officers.

THE OVERLAND MAIL SERVICE.

I learn that the Butterfield Overland Mail Company, whose service is transferred [illegible] route, by [illegible] of State of Panama, and so distinguished for his activity and energy in support of the Federal Government in New-Granada has been appointed Commissioner for the Convention under the Cass-Herran Treaty. He is expected here by the close of this month.

Judge CAMPBELL, of the Supreme Court, has not resigned as reported.

No nominations were made to-day by the President to the Senate. Neither was there any Executive session.

Passed Assistant Surgeon CARRINGTON, of Virginia, Lieut. SIMMS of South Carolina, and Midshipman HALL of Georgia, all of the Navy, have resigned.

There is to be a public reception at the Executive mansion to-morrow evening.

Mr. CARTTENDEN was serenaded to-night by the citizens of Washington. There was an immense crowd of people who most enthusiastically responded to his utterances of fervent Union sentiments. He said the troubles were fomented and kept open by petty cross-road politicians for selfish purposes. Preserve the Union and the Union will preserve us. The Roman veteran, when called upon to fire at the end of thirty years, but he had been in public service forty years. He exhorted all friends to uphold the Union and the Constitution which have conferred unnumbered blessings upon us all.

Gen. SCOTT, Senator JOHNSON and others, were afterward serenaded, and oratorically responded to the compliment.

President LINCOLN said to Southern gentlemen, who called upon him to-night to know how his Inaugural was to be understood, that it meant peace.

THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

SENATE—EXTRA SESSION.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, March 7.

The Vice-President laid before the Senate a letter from Mr. CHASE, resigning his seat as Senator from Ohio, and asking him to have the goodness to make this known to the Senate and the Governor of Ohio.

On motion of Mr. LANE, of Oregon, (Dem.,) a copy was ordered to be furnished to the Governor of Ohio.

The Senate then resumed the consideration of Mr. DIXON'S resolution, that there be printed the usual number of the President's Inaugural.

Mr. WIGFALL, of Texas, (Dem.,) said that as Mr. DOUGLAS yesterday had entered into a discussion of the meaning of Mr. LINCOLN'S Inaugural Address, it was proper that his (WIGFALL'S) construction of it should also be given to the country. It was impossible for an Administration dealing in generalities, whether glittering or not, to give peace to the country. It is [illegible] seven States [illegible] conclusion that the Senator did not regard the question of peace as he did. The Senator had told them more than once that they could take their choice between peace and war, and that he did not care, out he arrived at his conclusion candidly and fairly, and had expressed his gratification at the result. If he had arrived at the conclusion that the inaugural meant war, he would have denounced it. He was with the President so far as the President was for peace, and would be against him when he departed from this line of policy. The Senator from Texas was right when he said words will not answer much longer. We may as well look at the facts in the case. He feared that forts Pickens and Sumter could not remain in possession of the Federal Government much longer. There was a time when Fort Sumter could have been reinforced. He believed it could not be reinforced now without the use of at least 10,000 men, by land and sea. There were but few men to serve the guns, who would soon be exhausted, and they had not bread and salt enough to last for thirty days. There should it be done? He thought the President must commence the reinforcement in the direction of peace. How mean peace it was time for Congress to be in session and 200,000 men in the field, and that arrangements were made for war. If peace, we can all rejoice; but if war, he could not contemplate or predict what will be the state of the country. The Senator from Texas said he was a foreigner. His affections were his own. The Senator from Texas said he was a foreigner. His affections were his own.

Mr. WIGFALL explained, that why he remained here was, that he had no official information that Texas has abolished the office of United States Senator. When he should be so notified, he would give notice of his withdrawal at the desk, and if after being so informed, his name should continue to be called he should answer to it if it suited his convenience. And if called upon to vote he would probably give his reasons for voting, and regard this as a very respectable public meeting. As the Senator from Ohio seemed to be speaking for the Administration, and as "masterly inactivity" would not do, he would ask whether the Senator would advise the withdrawal of the troops from Forts Sumter and Pickens, and the withdrawal of the Federal flag from the borders of the Confederate States, and that no effort be made to levy tribute on foreign goods?

Mr. DOUGLAS replied that he was no part of the Administration, and therefore could not speak for it, although he hoped he spoke for the same sentiments which animate it on this subject. He would, while he was [illegible] its counsels or confidence, be always ready to [illegible] advice until it [illegible] will, by the unanimous consent of the Senate, be allowed to withdraw from the service of the United States, and that his letter of resignation be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and Militia.

Mr. DOOLITTLE, of Wisconsin, said that he was a party to the resolution, and in further discussion of that Mr. LINCOLN'S Inaugural Address, he would say that it was the knowledge of the [illegible] Fort Sumter, and the [illegible] as would be required to [illegible] sion of Congress.

Mr. DOOLITTLE—Why not [illegible] November? I would [illegible] must refer him to the [illegible] constitutional duties. [illegible] lected without further [illegible]

Las proceeded to say [illegible] signed to do so by the [illegible] the arrival of the [illegible] not pressed to a vote [illegible] patriotic purpose. Congress [illegible] them, without the [illegible] even the President [illegible] could push him to [illegible] policy, but also the [illegible] policy, under present [illegible] best. If the Administration [illegible] signed to do so by the [illegible] sion of Congress, in order [illegible] interesting the regular [illegible] into the field to such an [illegible] ity may exist to [illegible] Without further action [illegible]

THE CLAYTON REPORTER.

Mr. CLAYTON reported [illegible] event of a conflict or the [illegible] to recognize the independency, that no Court of the [illegible] have cognizance of civil [illegible]

A resolution was adopted, [illegible] instruct the Commissioner [illegible] ers to enter into a treaty for [illegible] tional copyright privileges.

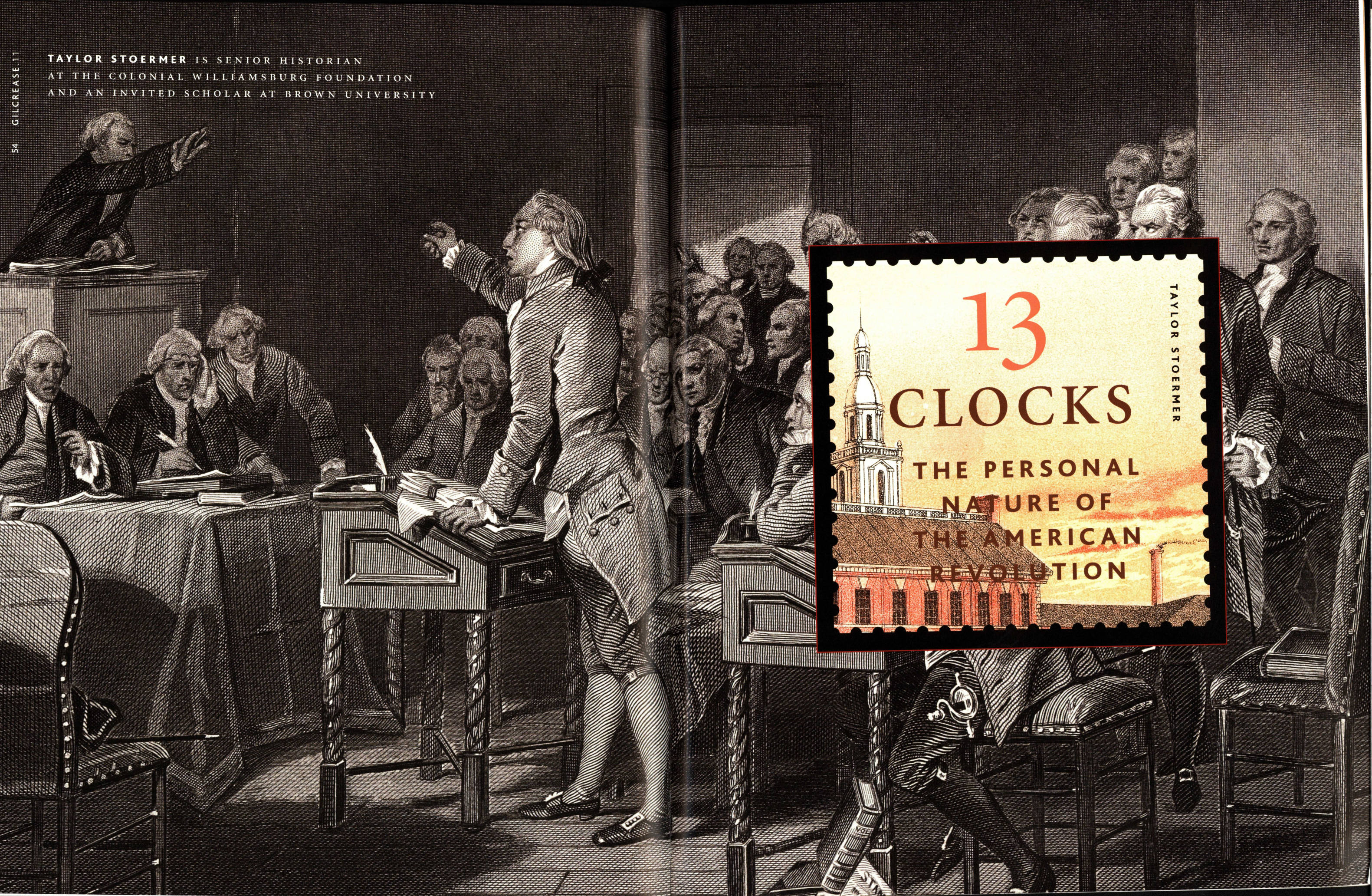
BRAXTON BRAGG was confirmed [illegible] al. WM. J. HARDEE was confirmed [illegible] First Regiment of Infantry.

GEN. BEAUREGARD AND [illegible]

WASHINGTON, [illegible]

The Charleston *Courier* [illegible] that Brig.-Gen. BEAUREGARD has [illegible] dence, after viewing the fortifications [illegible] ton harbor, that [illegible]

TAYLOR STOERMER IS SENIOR HISTORIAN
AT THE COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG FOUNDATION
AND AN INVITED SCHOLAR AT BROWN UNIVERSITY



IN A HIGHLY EVOCATIVE. . . TURN OF PHRASE FOR THE EARTHY ADAMS, HE MARVELED TO A CORRESPONDENT IN 1818 THAT JULY 1776 WAS THE KEY MOMENT WHEN "THIRTEEN CLOCKS WERE MADE TO STRIKE TOGETHER [IN] A PERFECTION OF MECHANISM, WHICH NO ARTIST HAD EVER BEFORE EFFECTED."

What was John Adams getting at when he wrote that "the revolution was effected before the war commenced" because "the revolution was in the hearts and minds of the people"? While the phrase is oft-quoted, its meaning in this context eludes us, primarily because historians today presuppose unity and perpetuate debates over who led "the people" into revolution—elites from above or "plainspoken, inconspicuous, and roughened colonial insurgents" from below?[1] But if we take a step back and attempt to understand the American Revolution as it was experienced by the people who lived through it, we might see that discussions over who led it and how miss the key point: that there may not have been any such thing as the American Revolution. What makes the personal nature of the events of 1776 worth exploring is that they represent the distillation of remote abstractions and principles concerning sovereignty, loyalty, and freedom into divergent personal choices and individual decisions.

Adams wrote that there had not been one revolution but thirteen of them, one in each of the colonies that seceded from the empire, and each of those revolutions needed to be understood before we could fully grasp the import of what happened in 1776 and, more interestingly, why and how what happened had happened at all. Those questions why and how remained important to Adams throughout the rest of his long life. In a highly evocative, even uncharacteristically lyrical, turn of phrase for the earthy Adams, he marveled to a correspondent in 1818 that July 1776 was the key moment when "thirteen clocks were made to strike together [in] a perfection of mechanism, which no artist had ever before effected."[2]

It is an apt metaphor for historical considerations of this sort, for the outside of a clock records the passage of time, history itself. In fact, the face of a clock traces the path of a revolution. But tracing the making of the American Revolution is a somewhat different matter. Open the face of a clock and one encounters instruments and devices of different shapes, sizes, and purposes, some working in close concert, others connected only because they form part of the larger system, but each of them must do its part or time does not move forward, history cannot be made. For Adams, these clockworks reflect the striking differences of each colony from another in terms of religion, social structure, economics, and culture. Take, for example, the differences between Massachusetts and Virginia. Massachusetts originated as a settlement for men and women seeking religious freedom rather than as a commercial project, like Virginia. Fish was the region's most valuable export throughout the colonial period, and by 1768, few of its goods were headed to Britain; they were instead going to the West Indies. New Englanders received sugar and molasses in return for their growing rum distilling industry, thereby connecting the region more closely to the broader Atlantic economy, but less commercially to Britain. As importantly, the development of Massachusetts had direct impacts on the relationship of the people who lived there to what we see as the triggers of the revolution—those British policies that so energized colonial opposition: stamps acts, sugar acts, tea acts, and coercive acts.[3]

A look at the personal experience of the people of Massachusetts with those measures makes one wonder why they wouldn't rebel against Britain. Historians have shown how the imperial measures pushed all sorts of New Englanders into rebellion, especially after the passage of the Coercive Acts in 1774.[4] The Stamp Act upset newspaper editors, lawyers, and political thinkers, and the sugar acts certainly enraged molasses smugglers and merchants trading rum with the West Indies, but the ordered closure of the Boston port in response to the Boston Tea Party and limitations placed on their famous town meetings brought people throughout Massachusetts to a clearer understanding of what was personally at stake for them. Add to that heady concoction the actual presence of red-coated troops—a standing army in all but name—and the revolutionary paths taken by people in Massachusetts becomes pretty clear.Now look at Virginia, where none of the factors that so engaged New Englanders were present. Tobacco was at the heart of the Chesapeake's economic success throughout the colonial period and remained, from 1620 until 1776, mainland Colonial America's most valuable export to Britain. The constitutional issues at stake in the crises of the 1760s and 1770s were largely abstractions to Virginians. The Stamp Act and Tea Act had little direct impact. The Boston Tea Party initially reinforced the idea held by many Virginians that New England bred malcontents who got what they deserved. Even the infamous navigation acts, which required the most valuable colonial exports to go first through Britain, did not impact all Virginians the same, for a significant segment of the population had an imperial monopoly on supplying tobacco to English smokers. Those planters had very little quarrel with regulations that required their exports to go where they had to go anyway.[5] The first direct sign of imperial force, if one can call it that, in Virginia, was part of the same set of orders that led to the battles of Lexington and Concord, a directive from the British government to secure gunpowder stores in each colony. But in Virginia the affair was botched so completely by the royal governor that it emboldened Virginia patriots into thinking that opposition to British authority was a simple matter.[6] Thirteen clocks cannot therefore mark the history of a single revolution. By personalizing our understanding of the American Revolution we can see how the revolutions in the hearts and minds of the people before 1776 did not lead those people down a single revolutionary path. For many people, the road to revolution led back to his or her own history, back to England and loyalty to its constitution. It led to confirmation of political creeds perhaps as often as it led to conversion.

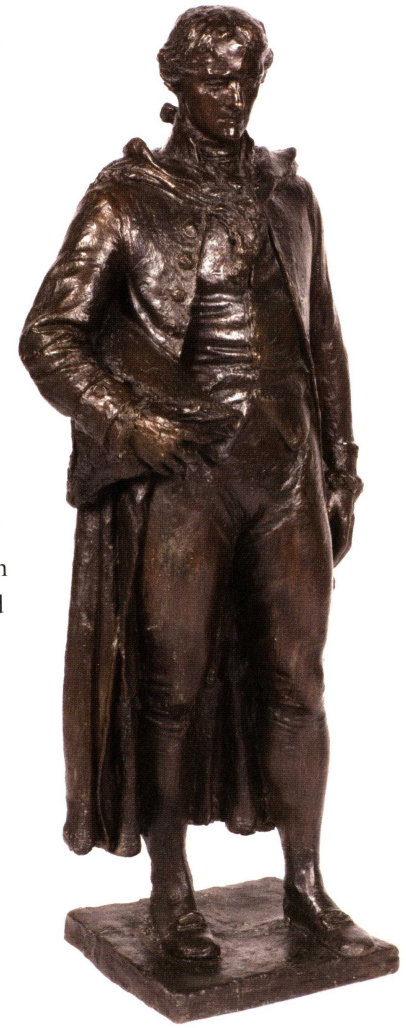
For this, it helps to return to Virginia's revolutionary experience, not only because Virginia had the largest and most ethnically diverse population in the colonies, or because the indirect relationship between its people and the events we see as triggers to the conflict still has no satisfactory explanation, or because Virginians did so much to shape the political culture of the Early American republic by providing four of the first five presidents, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court who defined that branch's constitutional role, and the drafters of the Declaration of Independence and much of the Constitution. But also because their experience approximates our own distance from the issues of their time, abstractions that we must somehow personalize for ourselves in order to understand the difference between the ideal and the reality of the American Revolution.

Take, for example, the case of John Randolph, Thomas Jefferson's friend and cousin. Randolph, although fifteen years Jefferson's senior, was someone whom

Previous pages: *Patrick Henry Addressing the Virginia Assembly.* After Alonzo Chappel, 1858, engraving. GM 1526.978.

Inset, page 58: *John Adams.* After Gilbert Stuart, 1857, engraving. GM 1526.605.

Inset, page 59: Detail, signature of Thomas Jefferson, from a letter written to William Fleming by Thomas Jefferson, dated July 1 and 2, 1776. GM 3826.71.



Thomas Jefferson. James Earle Fraser, bronze. GM 0817.168.

Jefferson learned with, often lived with, and shared a mutual love of books and music and the other sociable aspects of life that make it worth living. Like Jefferson, Randolph was born and raised in Virginia, and he lived what we might call the average life of those in the small circle of people we know as the Virginia gentry. But in 1775, Randolph pointed out to Jefferson that "both of us seem to be steering opposite Courses; the Success of either lies in the Womb of Time," an insight that was literally and figuratively true. Their opposite courses were about to lead, for Randolph, his wife, and both daughters, to a ship bound for Britain, while Jefferson would soon be on his way to Philadelphia to attend the Continental Congress. Randolph was convinced that whatever was broken in the imperial relationship between Britain and the colonies could be fixed. All that was needed was the right people to be brought to a proper understanding of their common connections to a shared history and to each other.[7] Jefferson saw things quite differently. He did not think anything could fix what was broken.

So there they were in 1775, taking opposite revolutionary paths, with each making public pronouncements of his private political creed, Randolph by leaving behind his country, his friends, his property, and everything he knew to remain loyal to his constitutional faith, the other by retaining all he had while converting to a new one.



John Adams

Although alike in so many ways, the two men's personal histories and circumstances shaped two different revolutionary experiences. While Jefferson was honing his patriot credentials, Randolph was confirming a creed that lent itself more to English history than to Enlightenment philosophy. To him, the recorded experience that emerged from the political battles of Late Stuart England defined the true patriot and defender of the English constitution as one who protected it from the kind of ideological threats that tore England, Scotland, and Ireland apart in the 1600s, and the partisan conflicts that posed the same danger in the early 1700s. The "distant dangers of abstract principles" that had threatened the very existence of liberty could be consigned to the dustbin of history, or at least swept under the historical rug, so long as reasonableness and prudence, rather than violence and passion, governed political behavior.[8]

Randolph's moderate political creed did not declare an end to passion or extremism. It did, however, demand that passions be filtered through the spirit of moderation before one chose to act on them in destructive ways. Politics was therefore reinvented as a polite conversation among friends "joined to one another in mutual benevolence and intimacy," as the most effective way to accommodate differences and avoid bloodshed. Abstract ideological extremes only led to combat which, in the end, decided nothing that could not have been better resolved over a friendly glass of Madeira. Political differences were best addressed in private. It was the constitutional equivalent of not seeking to open windows into men's souls.

Both Randolph and Jefferson were committed to representative government as the bedrock of liberty, but it was Randolph who became targeted by Virginia patriots. He, and others who retained their commitment to the British constitution and its history, faced the loss of their lives, fortunes, and own sacred honor as a result of what one writer called the "violence, passion, and intemperance" of "false patriots." They were forced to publicly declare their personal political creeds or face being hounded into quiescence or aggressively purged from the body politic by their former friends.[9]

Virginia had always maintained a reputation for its "cool and deliberate" political temperament, but cracks in that Augustan political culture had begun to appear on both sides of the Atlantic after the defeat of Bonnie Prince Charlie's rebellion in Scotland. A writer in 1751 observed that "The very Idea of a common Danger ought to" have constituted "a common Cause" among Britons everywhere to attend to threats to their constitutional rights and liberty, now that they had been returned to a proper appreciation of them. Instead, the author worried, it had "become apparent from many Years Experience, that the whole Study of Those in Power, (next to the keeping the Hold they have got) is to empoverish, harass, and over-awe their Fellow-Subject." Faith in reason as the bastion of veracity appeared to be rapidly eroding. As Horace Walpole explained to a friend, "Man can give an appearance of reason to every thing he says. He can lend falsehood the semblance of Truth; he can establish false principles, draw false conclusions, form false hypotheses, and yet continue to seem a rational Being. One cause of these deceptions is the mysterious & fugitive nature of Truth." Charges of corruption and illegitimacy, of falsehood and immorality, were levied at political leaders on both sides of the Atlantic with increasing frequency.[10]



Decades of political politeness and mistrust of passion began to give way to a growing reliance on feeling as a more accurate barometer of morality and truth than was sense and reason. For Virginians such as Patrick Henry and Jefferson, men who spent little time outside of the colony, "the empire was more remote" as they were "more likely to deal with resident factors at Scottish stores in their own neighborhoods and in a relationship based more on suspicion than on longtime confidence. When they became concerned with imperial issues, their response stood to be quick, direct, and not especially subtle."[11] Their personal experiences placed them on the opposite side of a growing divide in constitutional faiths that ran through the British world.

Along with the social and economic changes that transformed British America in the eighteenth century came the development of a new constitutional faith, a revolutionary sensibility more universal because it was not tied to a particular understanding of English history. The disconnection from the history laid out by thinkers like Hume laid the groundwork for a political creed that was more accessible, and therefore more inclusive, to peoples such as Scots, the Irish, other Europeans, who were products of different political histories that had nothing to do with English traditions. It was this constitutional faith that shaped the political creed of American provincials such as Jefferson.

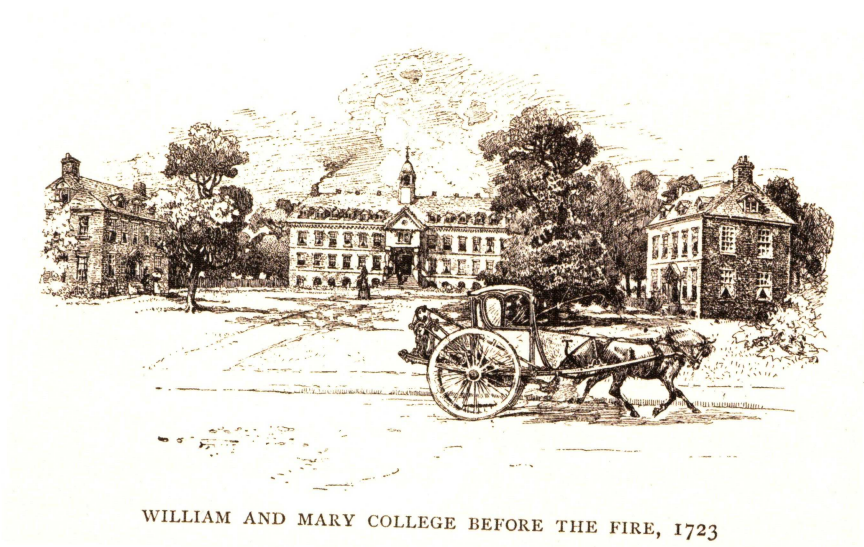
In feeling, and being, disconnected from Britain, Jefferson was hardly unique among his Virginia contemporaries. In the absence of a more direct personal relationship with English history, Jefferson's experience was with an abstract, idealized imperial relationship, a view of the connection between Britain and the colonies that was, as the political economist Adam Smith put it, of an empire that "existed in imagination" only. Jefferson's vision of the imperial relationship was a far cry from the mixed constitution and unseverable authority of King, Lords, and Commons adhered to by John Randolph, who described himself as "nurtured" in such "mixed Principles."[12]

How did Jefferson become so disconnected from a direct relationship with English history that his personal revolution led him to declare his independence from it? In 1775, he was a reputable but not terribly well-known lawyer and member of the Virginia assembly. At thirty-two years old, he was a married father of two who lived in a half-finished house on top of his "little mountain," and who had only recently become a member of the exclusive club of his county's largest slaveholders and landowners as the result of a bequest to his wife from the estate of her late father.

Jefferson's view of the world was not yet that from the perspective of his mountaintop retreat. His understanding of Virginia's place in the British world, and of his place in both, was formed where he had spent most of his life before 1775, only a few miles down the mountain from Monticello, at Shadwell, a two-story, wood-framed house

situated on a slight rise next to the Rivanna River. He was born there in 1743 and the house remained home for his mother, four of his sisters, and his younger brother. He was at Shadwell when his father died in 1757 and it was to Shadwell that he returned from Williamsburg where he attended the College of William and Mary and briefly studied law. He returned after his only trip outside of Virginia before the Revolution, a short three-month journey in 1762 to be inoculated against smallpox. He lived there the first time he tried a legal case, the day he was elected to the assembly, and when he took his first political act in the controversy with Great Britain, signing the 1769 non-importation association. To make a long story short, in 1775 there was much more Shadwell than sage in Thomas Jefferson.

His journey to Shadwell began in the 1720s when his father, Peter Jefferson, settled in western Virginia, on land inherited from his own father. To trek that far west in the second decade of the eighteenth century was to fall, almost literally, off the British imperial map. Detailed in a 1721 report, Virginia then contained an estimated population of 84,000 souls. Williamsburg and James Town were the only towns "in the whole Country," the rest of the colony consisting of a number of plantations separated from each other by substantial distances.[13]



WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE BEFORE THE FIRE, 1723

The most conspicuous absence in these early eighteenth-century representations of Virginia is the almost total absence of British imperial authority. No one without direct experience with Britain could be faulted for assuming that London's reach extended only to the form in which it appeared on the 1723 map, as a symbol. The government maintained no military presence in Virginia and, according to the accounts of the British Treasury, spent almost no money there. Maps revealed neither military garrisons nor naval stations. If one adds to this lack of imperial presence the fact that Virginia was separated from London by 3,000 miles of ocean and three months of travel, then Peter Jefferson's Goochland home must have seemed a rather long way from the metropolitan center of Britain.

London was brought a little closer to Peter Jefferson in the 1730s when he met and married Jane Randolph. Her father, Isham Randolph, was the son of an Englishman, William Randolph, who had emigrated to Virginia from Ireland in the 1670s. Isham had become captain of a merchant ship and spent most of his time in London where he managed his business in transporting tobacco and enslaved Africans to markets across the Atlantic. It was in the shade of the Tower of London, in a maritime neighborhood called Shadwell, that Randolph met his wife, Jane Rogers. They were married at Whitechapel Parish in 1717 and lived in Shadwell for the next eighteen years. A daughter, Jane, was born there in 1720. In 1725, Isham Randolph returned to Virginia with his English family and settled them at Dungeness, a property on the James River. Isham's daughter, Jane, at age eighteen, married the thirty-one-year-old Peter Jefferson in October 1739.[14]

Together Jane and Peter moved to a 200-acre plot of land that Peter bought from Jane's uncle in exchange for the "biggest bowl of Arrack punch" at a tavern in Williamsburg. Her only dowry appears to have been £200, but she did bring a permanent reminder of her connection to London by calling their new home Shadwell, despite the bucolic setting's stark contrast to the crowded maritime neighborhood on the Thames.

At Shadwell, Jefferson could literally see the mid-century transformation of Virginia from a fairly homogenous English population to an extraordinarily diverse, multi-ethnic society. Hanging on the wall of his father's study was a massive representation of the colony in 1751 that Peter Jefferson helped draw. The growth of new settlements and the non-English names of new counties spoke to the diversity of colonial Virginia. Jefferson also experienced the diversity in his education as Scots emigrants figured prominently in it. When he was nine, Jefferson's first school experience was at the Latin School of the Reverend William Douglas where he learned the "rudiments" of Latin and Greek, along with French, for five years, until Peter Jefferson's death in 1757.

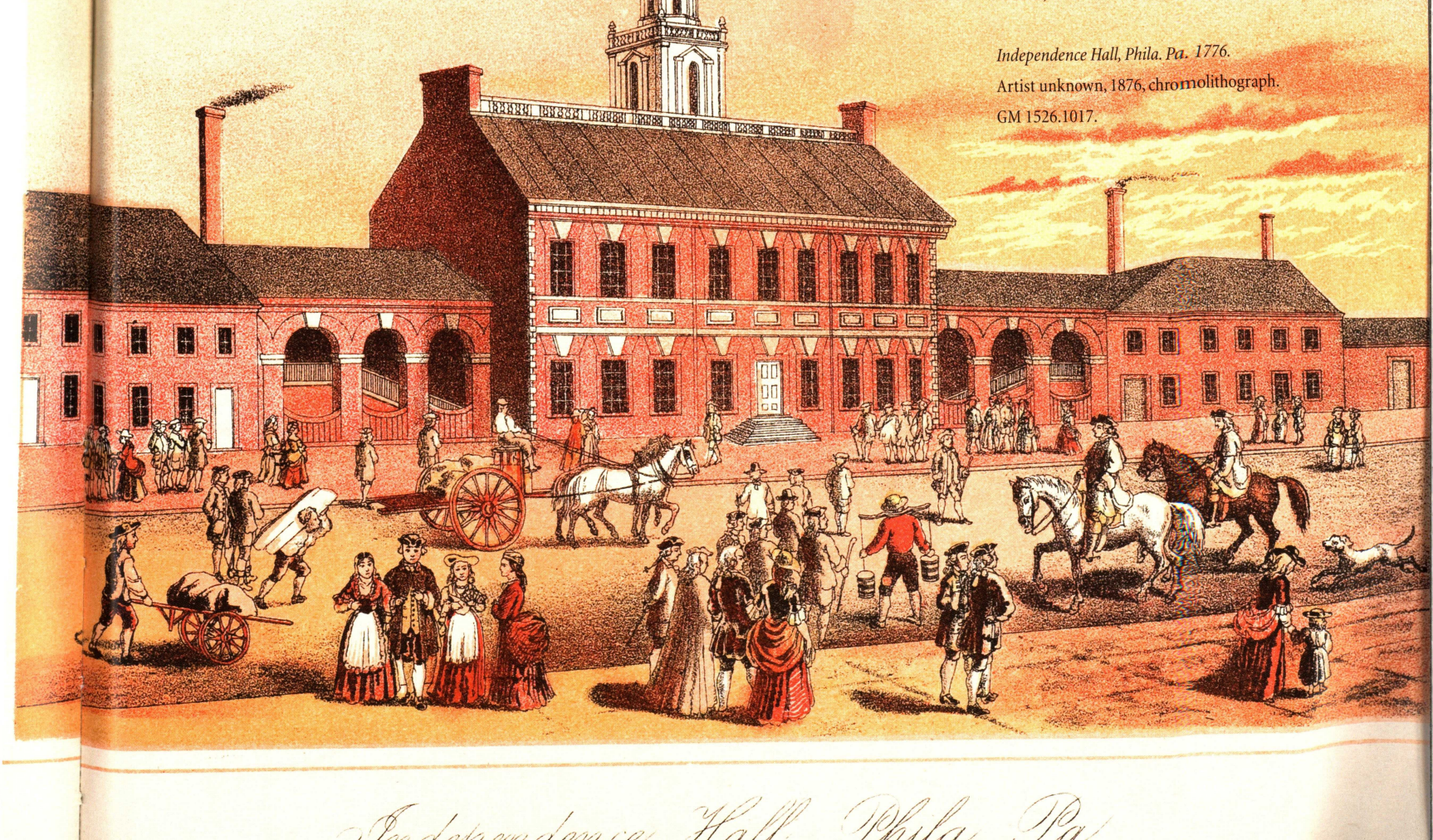
According to Jefferson's later recollections, the greatest influence on his learning came from another Scot, William Small, professor of natural philosophy at the College of William and Mary. According to Jefferson, Small was the man who "probably fixed the destinies" of his life. During Jefferson's two year stint at William & Mary, Small introduced him to both George Wythe and Governor Francis Fauquier. The four often dined together and Jefferson wrote later that "to the habitual conversations on these occasions" he owed much instruction.[15]

It was a gathering of rather unorthodox men. Small was a young Scots intellectual at war with his college colleagues over curriculum reforms. Wythe was an esteemed lawyer, but had received little formal education, and had not been out of the colony in his more than forty years, earning a reputation as a tiresome pedant. Fauquier, who arrived in Williamsburg at the same time as Small, was a Londoner who had served as a director of the South Sea Company, as a governor of the Foundling Hospital, and was a member of the Royal Society whose reputation as "the ablest man who ever filled" the governor's office may have rested on his tendency to ignore instructions from his metropolitan superiors.[16] The twenty-year-old Jefferson eagerly absorbed all the lessons this odd triumvirate had to teach.

For the next several years, Jefferson lived at Shadwell, practiced law in the neighborhood, and started to construct the house that would later become Monticello. His only experience with anyone in London consisted of his occasional correspondence with his bookseller, Thomas Adams, whom Jefferson knew because Adams happened to be a transplanted Virginian. Jefferson's personal experience therefore remained that of a provincial. The position of disaffection from England and its political creed in which Jefferson so inconveniently found himself was

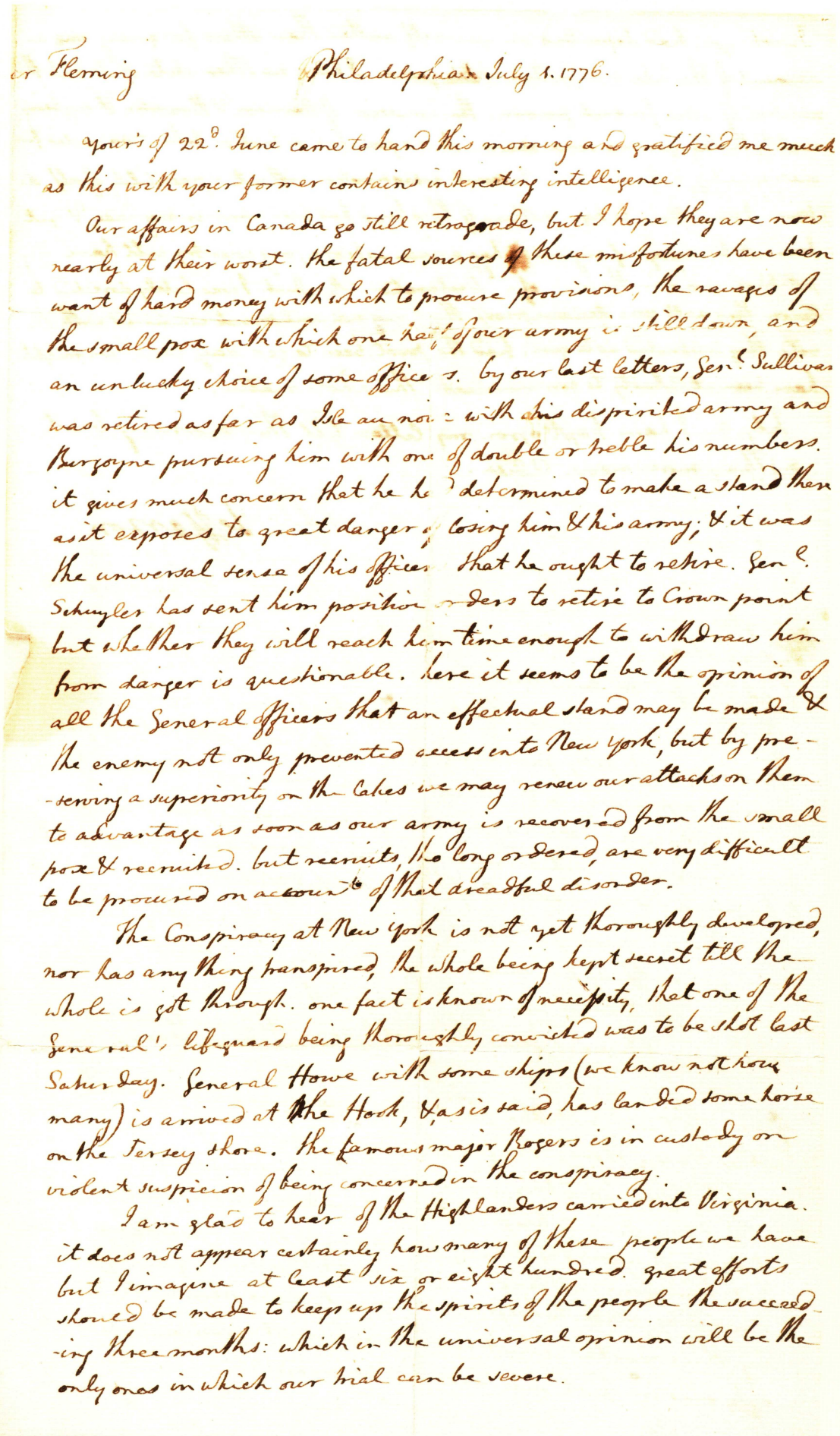
Facing: "William and Mary College" from *A History of the American People* by Woodrow Wilson, 1902. Volume 2. GM 2527.4879.

Independence Hall, Phila. Pa. 1776.
Artist unknown, 1876, chromolithograph.
GM 1526.1017.



Letter written to William Fleming by Thomas Jefferson, dated July 1 and 2, 1776. GM 3826.71.

Facing: "Monticello" from *Life and Times of Thomas Jefferson* by Thomas E. Watson, 1903. GM 2317.891a.



er Fleming Philadelphia July 1. 1776.

your's of 22d. June came to hand this morning and gratified me much as this with your former contains interesting intelligence.

Our affairs in Canada go still retrograde, but I hope they are now nearly at their worst. the fatal sources of these misfortunes have been want of hard money with which to procure provisions, the ravages of the small pox with which one half of our army is still down, and an unlucky choice of some officers. by our last letters, Genl. Sullivan was retired as far as Isle au noix with his dispirited army and Burgoyne pursuing him with one of double or treble his numbers. it gives much concern that he he determined to make a stand there as it exposes to great danger of losing him & his army; & it was the universal sense of his officers that he ought to retire. Genl. Schuyler has sent him positive orders to retire to Crown point but whether they will reach him time enough to withdraw him from danger is questionable. here it seems to be the opinion of all the General officers that an effectual stand may be made & the enemy not only prevented access into New York, but by preserving a superiority on the lakes we may renew our attacks on them to advantage as soon as our army is recovered from the small pox & recruited. but recruits, tho long ordered, are very difficult to be procured on account of that dreadful disorder.

The Conspiracy at New York is not yet thoroughly developed, nor has any thing transpired, the whole being kept secret till the whole is got through. one fact is known of necessity, that one of the General's lifeguard being thoroughly convicted was to be shot last Saturday. General Howe with some ships (we know not how many) is arrived at the Hook, & as is said, has landed some horse on the Jersey shore. the famous major Rogers is in custody on violent suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy.

I am glad to hear of the Highlanders carried into Virginia. it does not appear certainly how many of these people we have but I imagine at least six or eight hundred. great efforts should be made to keep up the spirits of the people the succeeding three months: which in the universal opinion will be the only ones in which our trial can be severe.

representative of many of his fellow provincials. Of thirty-six delegates to the First and Second Continental Congress, twenty-six had never seen England.

John Randolph was a particularly apt representative of those who remained loyal to the traditional view of the British constitution as a reflection of his personal experience. His father was educated for the law at Gray's Inn in London and spent much of the next twenty years of his life shuttling between London and Virginia on various political missions for the colony, and was one of only several native Virginians to have been knighted. Both John and his older brother, Peyton, the first president of the Continental Congress, attended Middle Temple in London and were members of the London bar.

John Randolph's experience in London must have profoundly shaped his constitutional faith, as powerfully as Jefferson's experience at Shadwell. John reached London in 1745, in the midst of the citywide response to Bonnie Prince Charlie's invasion, when "Loyalists" in the city reacted with a flurry of expressions of support for the monarch as the symbol of parliamentary sovereignty. He was there when news arrived in April 1746 of the victory over Charlie at Culloden. This personal experience lends a great deal of meaning to Randolph's later statement that he "was nurtured in the mixed Principles of Obedience and Freedom, as they stand ingrafted in the English Constitution."[17] To be a Loyalist, in the parlance of the Augustan political faith in which John had been deeply immersed, was to remain loyal to the freedom secured by a sovereign parliament and symbolized by a king appointed by that parliament—and, by definition, opposed to Tories and royalists wherever they might be found.



MONTICELLO, JEFFERSON'S HOME NEAR CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

Randolph's constitutional faith infused his own declaration, a pamphlet entitled *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia*, written in 1774. "A more pleasing and natural Connection never subsisted between any different Bodies of Men than did of late," he wrote, "between Great Britain and her Colonies." British peoples on both sides of the Atlantic were "not only allied by Blood" but "still farther united, by the extensive Trade and Commerce carried on between us." Randolph saw their "Manners Religion, and Language, the same." There was "no Diversity between the Laws of each Country but such as local Circumstance" required. Given such a congenial, multivalent relationship between the colonies and Great Britain, surely, Randolph argued, some practical accommodation could be reached between the two so long as men who possessed "a serene Mind, and sound Understanding" did not give way to "those who are running the Race of Popularity."[18]

In the 1770s, men such as John Randolph believed that British America was a term comprised of two words that were not only compatible but complementary. The combination of the two produced a relationship of far more strength and value than either could achieve separately. They could not envision a world in which the two did not go together. Yet, in August 1775, writing in his study at Monticello, Jefferson apologized to Randolph that "the situation of our country should render it not eligible to you to remain longer in it." Randolph was no longer "eligible" to stay in Virginia because the predominant constitutional faith of the colony, and therefore its entire political culture, had indeed changed, it had undergone a major reformation of sorts. Patriots such as Jefferson, could see a way to maintain the fundamental principles of constitutional liberty only by converting to a new political faith. John Randolph and many other Virginians could not accept that new creed—and its violent repercussions—and chose to confirm their faith in an English history that their reason and experience proved was the only reliable way to protect freedom.[19]

Jefferson and Randolph are only two examples of the ways in which the American Revolutions were personal

matters in many salient ways and of the changes in political culture that demanded that private political creeds be made public. Until his death in London in 1779, John Randolph never stopped trying to repair the break between Britain and America. A letter from Lord George Germain, the British secretary of state for America, contains the only extant description of Randolph during his years of exile in London. Germain remarked in 1778 that "I always look'd upon Mr Randolph as an intelligent, well informed and well-affected man" and "he is particularly knowing in the affairs of Virginia." But, Germain added, "whoever now forms his notions of America from the State that Country was in, a few years agoe will proceed upon very uncertain grounds."[20] Shortly after, Randolph underscored the personal nature of the American revolutions in one last letter to Jefferson. "Wou'd it not be prudent," Randolph very unrealistically asked his friend and cousin, "to rescind your Declaration of Independence, be happily reunited to your ancient & natural Friend, & enjoy a Peace which I most religiously think w'd pass all Understanding?" The letter was never sent. Randolph died in London in 1784.[21]

When Randolph was in London in the 1740s, he bought a very special violin. In 1771, he and Jefferson entered into a very personal agreement about that violin, one that they believed would last the rest of their lives. If Randolph were to die first, Jefferson would receive "the violin which the said John brought with him into Virginia" from England, together with all his music composed for it. If Randolph survived Jefferson, then "100 pounds sterling of the books of the said Thomas, to be chosen by the said John" would belong to Randolph. By 1775, however, another personal arrangement that many of their contemporaries thought would also last their lives—British America—had dissolved. Recalling their agreement but recognizing how problematic its terms had become, Randolph offered the prized instrument to Jefferson for £13. On 17 August 1775, Jefferson bought the violin and recorded in his memorandum book: "This dissolves our bargain"—a statement as apt for the relationship between Virginia and Britain as it was for that between Randolph and Jefferson. At his death, Jefferson owned two violins. One of them he still called, more than fifty years after he bought it, the "Randolph violin"—a testament to the personal nature of the American revolutions and the sincerely held political creeds that drove them.[22]

1 John Adams to H. Niles, 13 February 1818, in *Annals of the American Revolution* (1824), 217–218.

2 Adams to Niles, 218.

3 John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 91–116.

4 Robert A. Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001).

5 McCusker and Menard, 117–143

6 John E. Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia 1775–1783* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988), 1–7.

7 John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson, 31 August 1775; *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. Julian P. Boyd, vol. 1 (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1950), 244.

8 Edmund Randolph, *History of Virginia,* ed. Arthur H. Shaffer (Charlottesville: Virginia Historical Society, 1970), 219.

9 Robert Munford, "The Patriots," in *A Collection of Plays and Poems by the Late Col. Robert Munford* (Printed by William Prentis: Petersburg, Va., 1798).

10 An Appeal to the Public in Relation to the Tobacco * * * [Bill] (1751), 55, 58; An Essay on Political Lying, &c. (1757), 4; Horace Walpole to Lady Ossory, 6 January 1772, in unpublished correspondence of Horace Walpole, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

11 Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, *Colonial Virginia: A History* (White Plains, NY: KTO Press, 1986), 301.

12 Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (New York: Bantam Dell, 2003), 1027–1028; John Randolph, *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia* ([Williamsburg, Va.], 1774).

13 Council of Trade and Plantations to the King, 8 September 1721, Calendar of State Papers: Colonial North America and the West Indies, 1574-1739, vol. 32 (2000), 408–449.

14 Dumas Malone, *Jefferson the Virginian* (New York: Little Brown and Company, 1948), 128–153.

15 Malone, 31; *Autobiography of Thomas Jefferson, 1743–1790: Together with a Summary of the Chief Events in Jefferson's Life,* ed. Paul Leicester Ford (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 5–7.

16 Fairfax Harrison, "A Portrait of Governor Fauquier," *Fauquier Historical Society Bulletin* 4 (1924), 343-350.

17 Randolph, *Considerations.*

18 Ibid.

19 Boyd, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* 241.

20 Lord George Germain to Sir Edward Walpole, 17 August 1778, Virginia Historical Society.

21 Leonard L. Mackall, ed., "A Letter from the Virginia Loyalist John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson Written in London in 1779," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* 30 (1920), 30.

22 Sandor Salgo, *Thomas Jefferson: Musician & Violinist* (Charlottesville, VA: Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Inc., 2000).

actual service, was read a third time passed.

Mr. Heath next read the following resolution.

Resolved, that the secretary of the treasury cause to be laid before the house a statement of the balances remaining unpaid, if any, which may have been due by individuals to the United States, previous to the 4th of March, 1787, and whether any, and what steps, have been taken to recover the same. And also a statement of the sundry sums of public money, which may have been trusted to individuals previous to the 1st day of March, 1794, and have not been accounted for.

Mr. Heath introduced this resolution with some remarks on the impropriety of making new loans, if any thing could be raised from the debts due to the United States.

It was agreed to take up the resolution.

Mr. Sedgwick moved to refer it to a select committee. He observed that a gentleman who was not at present here, Mr. Jeremiah Wadsworth) and who knew more of the public accounts of the United States than any gentleman in the house, had always opposed motions of this kind. He gave as a reason that people could not get their accounts settled with the Treasury after waiting months. This arose from the confusion and loss of documents; and it would be wrong to be hasty in publishing them as debtors.

Mr. Fitzsimons said that ever since the new government had been established, ten or twelve clerks had constantly been employed in endeavouring to settle these accounts between the United States and individuals. He was not sure but what these debts had cost more trouble to the United States than they are worth. Some people are stated in the books of the United States as debtors to the extent of millions, who call themselves creditors to the United States. He moved another resolution which would answer all the purposes intended by Mr. Heath, and this was that a committee should be appointed to enquire what progress had been made, in the settlement of public accounts, whether any further measures were wanted to expedite the business, and to get a state of balances due. Mr. Heath withdrew his motion, and a committee of five was appointed agreeable to the resolution proposed by Mr. Fitzsimons.

The House then went on the following resolution laid on the table yesterday by Mr. Blount, that a committee be appointed to bring in a bill for regulating the pay of commissioned officers of the militia of the United States. Mr. Blount said that the low pay of the soldiers in the militia, was not a cause of greater discontent, than the high pay of the commissioned officers.

Mr. Blount moved that the House should go into a committee of the whole on this subject.

Mr. Parker was for the House going into a committee.

Mr. Fitzsimons was for a select committee, in the first place, because he thought it improper to plunge into so wide a subject at once, without any rule or principle to direct them.

Mr. Claiborne argued for a select committee in the first place. He said that four thousand and fifty seven dollars per annum were given to a Major General, which would be sufficient for paying twenty eight or twenty nine men. This was an absurdity and the army were sick of it. He wanted a select committee first, that some kind of shape might be given to the resolution.

Mr. B. Bourne had never heard any complaints against the pay of the militia officers as too high. He had heard complaints on many other payments made by government, such as the six dollars a day to members of that House. He would think it very improper to make any distinction between the pay of officers in the militia, and the other troops. We have been raising the pay of the privates in the militia somewhat above that of the regulars: and now it is proposed to reduce the pay of the militia officers below that of the regulars. He thought that all this had some what of an odd appearance.

The resolution was referred to a committee of the whole on Monday.

Mr. B. Bourne moved that the House should go into a committee on his resolution, as to transferences of debts due to individual States. The House went into a committee, Mr. Cobb in the chair. The resolution past without amendment. The House then took the report of the committee into consideration, and agreed to it, and a committee was appointed to bring in a bill.

There was a message from the Senate approving of the amendment in the twenty second section of the bill for establishing the judicial court of the United

brands and reached the banks of the Tenesee at two o'clock in the morning. Whitely directed the men to make their passage across with all safety and expedition possible; the common method was by rafting, some on logs, poles, bunches of cane, &c. At seven o'clock in the morning, he paraded two hundred and fifty men, including officers, on the south side of the Tenesee. This was performed with so much care, that the arms were kept dry and fit for action. He then marched rapidly on the spurs of the mountain, up the river (under the direction of Mr. Findlestone, a half-bred) in three columns, surrounding the town, called Nico Jack, at which time he had a small party in ambush opposite the town, ready to receive them on their flight.—He rushed precipitately into the town, where were about forty warriors present, and a considerable number above the town, some of which were crossing the river, as they had much corn on the north side. At the salute, (which was the first hint they got) the war shrieks rung through the town, and they made battle with great spirit; but finding themselves repulsed, they took to the river, some in canoes and some swimming—The water was soon stained with blood and mingled with brains!

"The action continued half an hour; our damage was two slightly wounded, we killed 54 and took nineteen prisoners, among the killed, was Old Chief Breath, he had a commission from the Spaniards. The prisoners said we killed all but twelve that were there.

"Colonel Whitley left a sufficient number to take care of the prisoners, and to keep possession, and marched himself with the balance of the men, up the river, for Running-water-town. The Indians collected on the gap of a mountain, and gave him a fire; he ordered his men to form the line, flank up a steep mountain, while he was amusing them briskly in the center. He killed one and wounded two, and they broke and run. He had one badly wounded, but he is likely to recover. He pressed on to the town, but they had fled. It was newly built and in good repair, a large Town-house, Council-house, War-post, May-pole, and silk colours eight feet square.

"In this town was ninety houses, well fixed on the plunder from the Wilderness road, and our settlements: the Squaws and children were well dressed in good striped cloaths, cotton, linsey, &c.—All was laid in ashes, and full spoil made of every thing except 1200 dollars worth divided amongst the men. There was a sufficient quantity of articles found to prove incontestibly that these Chicamaugee rascals had long been our avowed enemies.—He burned in all 150 houses."

AMERICAN OCCURRENCES.

NORFOLK, November 26.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the Inhabitants of Norfolk, held at Mr. Lindsay's room, the 24th inst.

James Ramsay, *Esq. Mayor, in the Chair.*

RESOLVED, unanimously, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that LANDS, as well as all other property, ought to be subject to the payment of debts; and that our delegate be directed to vote for the same, and use his influence to accomplish the end; and that the chairman transmit the said resolution to him immediately.

JAMES RAMSAY, *Chairman.*
Thomas Willock, *Secretary.*

It having been understood, that the meeting of the inhabitants, last Monday, was with intent to petition the assembly, instead of instructing their representative, the following resolve was drawn out to lay before them:

"And whereas it is found, by experience, that very great frauds are committed against creditors by executors and administrators, under colour of law, and it is evident that no man ought to have a right to direct or apply the property of another; and that a man hath no equitable property in what he possesseth, until his debts are paid:

"Resolved, That it is the wish of this meeting, that a law pass to authorize the creditors of every person dying insolvent, to take the care, management, and disposal of the decedent's estate, and manage and sell the same, and divide the proceeds amongst themselves equitably, where it shall not be sufficient to discharge the whole debts; and that the act of insolvency be at the refusal of the executors or administrators, to pay the creditors. Nevertheless, the creditors, previous to their taking possession, shall be obliged to give security to make the most of the estate, and in case there be a surplus, to

continue to derogate from some of the articles of treaty of commerce and amity, subsisting between them. I am in hopes soon of being able to inform you of Mr. Monroe's complete success.

A pilot who came up with the sloop Mary, from Charleston, informs, that on Thursday last he saw about 35 sail of outward bound vessels, which got outside of the capes, between Keedy Island and the Fort—he also says, that he passed about 40 sail bound out.

Capt. M'Neran, on Sunday morning last, spoke the ship Clarentine, Captain Steward, of Charleston, from London, in the Roads—Capt. S. informed him, that on Saturday morning, off Chincoteague, he heard a heavy firing for several hours.

ALBANY, December 8.

From a CORRESPONDENT.

Mr. HAMILTON having notified his intention of resigning the office of secretary of the treasury, we should be pleased to hear he was a candidate for the government of this state: No doubt our fellow-citizens would universally unite their suffrages for so able a statesman as Mr. H———. Judge Jay (our correspondent observes) is not expected to return to this country in season to be a candidate.

New-York, December 17.

VIEW *of the* ELECTION,

FOR Representatives in the FOURTH CONGRESS, from the state of New-York. The CANDIDATES were:

DISTRICT *of New-York.* Mr. J. Watts (present member) and Mr. E. Livingston—Mr. LIVINGSTON is said to be elected.

Long-Island. Havens, Smith, Cornell, Jones, 2 and 2—all interests split—Mr. HAVENS probably elected.

Westchester and Stater-Island. Mr. Van Cortlandt (present member) and Mr. Morris—Mr. VAN CORTLANDT probably elected.

Dutchess. Mr. Baller (present member) and Mr. Brooks—Mr. BAILEY said to be elected by a respectable majority.

Orange and Ulster. Mr. Hathorn and Mr. Elmendorf—Mr. HATHORN said to have a large majority.

Columbia. Mr. Gilbert (present member) Mr. Bay, and Mr. Adgate. A divided interest—Mr. GILBERT probably elected.

Albany. Mr. GLENN (present member) had no competitor.

Rensselaer and Clinton. Mr. Van Allen (present member) and Mr. Tredwell, present member from Long-Island, whose future residence is to be in that district—Mr. VAN ALLEN probably elected.

Saratoga, &c. Mr Gordon (present member) Mr. Russel, Mr. Webster. Mr. WEBSTER may possibly be elected.

Otsego, &c. Mr. Winn, Mr. Cooper, and Mr. Cochran.—Our accounts divide between Mr. Winn and Mr. Cooper.

Thus the public may ANTICIPATE the following probable REPRESENTATION—Messrs. Livingston, Havens, Van Cortlandt, Bailey, Hathorn, Gilbert, Glenn, Van Allen, Webster, Winn [or Cooper.] On which prospect we might with propriety congratulate the *true republicans* of the United States.

Last Sunday morning a fire broke out in a wooden house in Batavia lane, which it damaged considerably, but was fortunately prevented from further communication.

Same morning a negro woman was found in the Old-slip, by examination of whose body by the jury it appeared, that she had been *beaten to death*, and probably deposited there to conceal the guilt.

Reciprocal congratulations, and mutual thanks have been passed between the *War department*, the *Congress*, the *Legislature*, of Pennsylvania, and the *General Officers*, on the joyful subject of "the restoration of law, order, and tranquillity, in the western counties."

Great ceremonies, and brotherly love, have also been expressed by the citizens of Philadelphia, towards their returning brethren, from their—"*bloodless*" victories.

There have been various reports of *sea-fights*, of *fleets*, and of *convoys*, off the Chesapeak, but we can state no particulars for want of authentic documents—it is pretty well ascertained, however, that a number of French provision vessels have lately sailed from the southern states, and we fear they have been chaced back, after (perhaps) some disagreeable rencounter.

Capt. Lewis, in 13 days from Bermuda, saw, 3 days out 15 sail of vessels standing westward, supposed men of war,

tia, to Governor Lee, highly expressive of his attachment and disposition. After informing that he had heard that *David Bradford*, of Washington, was going down the river in a small canoe, he describes the manner in which he sent three men and a subaltern to overtake him; which they did, 30 miles below Big Scioto, where he found protection, and so many friends that they could get no one to aid in taking him alive, and it is "a matter of great chance," says he, "if he can be *killed* without fatal consequences." He says, "Captain Jolly communicated to me the orders issued by your Excellency to take Bradford, or to *kill* him rather than to suffer him to escape;" he sent Jolly, &c. but his undertaking proved unsuccessful.

[*It is probable, that the order ran, "to take him *dead or alive*," which the well-meaning Frenchman construed as above expressed.]

The Governor's answer to this letter expresses his concern at the ill-success, his reasons why he is concerned, viz. least he should still excite tumults, and hopes he will still be taken, but not *killed*, "or even treated with unnecessary severity or cruelty," &c.

This paper also contains a certificate of Mr. Chief Justice M'Kean, that *Edward Cook*, of Fayette county, had *voluntarily* entered into a recognizance of himself in 3000 dollars, and one surety of 1500 dollars for his personal appearance before the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, at their next special circuit-court in Pennsylvania—holding "himself liable (says Mr. Cook for himself) to answer any thing that may be alledged against him, notwithstanding the *insinuations* that may be to the contrary."

Next follows an important paper, viz. a proclamation of the Commander in Chief of the Western army, dated Elizabeth Town, November 29, granting a free pardon to those concerned in the late insurrection, excepting such as are actually in custody, or bound by recognizances; excepting also all persons avoiding fair trial, by abandonment of their homes, and excepting particularly the following persons, whom all officers are required to endeavour to apprehend and bring to justice, viz.

Benjamin Parkinson, Arthur Gardner, John Holcroft, Daniel Hamilton, Thomas Lapsley, William Miller, Edward Cook, Edward Wright, Richard Holcroft, David Bradford, John Mitchell, Alexander Fulton, Thomas Spiers, William Bradford, George Parker, William Hanna, Edward Magner, jun. Thomas Hughes, David Lock, Ebenezer Gallagher, Peter Lyle, John Shields, William Hay, William M'Elhenny, Thomas Paiton, Stephenson Jack, Patrick Jack, and Andrew Hilands of the state of Pennsylvania, and William Sutherland, Robert Stephenson, William M'Kinley, John Moore, and John M'Cornick of Ohio county in the state of Virginia.

COMMUNICATION.

RAZOR *cut* RAZOR.

SOME of the funding scheme newspapers mention, that "Mr. Jay had applied to the Convention at Paris, for permission of a packet boat to pass, *unsearched*, between England and France; and that, it was said, he was to go over in said packet boat as *a negociator* for the restoration of peace between the two countries!"—But a later account, of equal probability, from London, mentions, that, "as Lord Macartney had failed in his embassy to the Emperor of China, the British ministry had turned their thoughts towards Mr. Jay, as a suitable person to effect what Lord Macartney had failed in, and that a sharp sailing sloop was preparing to carry him, for that purpose, to India." If either of these articles of intelligence be true, we shall be disappointed of his abilities as our governor, at the ensuing election. It is truly wonderful that we never discovered what an able statesman we had amongst us, and of our own growth too. Had Pitt known what a great *negociator* he was, he would have had him over at his right hand several years ago—He certainly will have the negociating a settlement of the *Manilla ransom* with Spain!

He has done wonders in the business he was sent upon; he arrived safe; he kissed the queen's hand; he dined with Pitt; he sent a spirited note to Grenville; and he has already got as far as STATU QUO, and there he holds fast! For more than *six hundred* acts of robbery and piracy, not *one shilling* of *restitution money* is yet come over; which money *(when it does come)* will be good for mercantile sore-eyes!—His friends and partizans *(felices errore)* expect all this, and more, from him!

attempt of the party to throw the odium of their own unpopular measures upon their opposers, who think that in a government like ours, some attention ought to be paid to the opinions and even to the prejudices of the people, is too barefaced to impose upon the enlightened republicans of this country. [*Gen. Ad.*]

For the NEW-YORK JOURNAL, *&c.*

A CARD.

IT is with admiration that strangers, and with most agreeable sensations that the citizens of New-York must view the daily improvements of this place;—the years 1791 and '92 have complicated one of the most pleasant *walks* and prospects in America *(perhaps in the world)* and this season has nearly finished an elegant *steeple*, and other ornaments, to St. Paul's Church, which does honor to the designer and executors: But among all these improvements, it has been matter of surprize, that this city has been so long without a *chime of bells*; and numbers are not without their hopes, that the tower of St. Paul's is destined as the repository of so great an acquisition: It is true, some have observed, that so great an expence ought not to be borne *by one society*—granted; yet no person (I am persuaded) will a moment doubt, but that, should a *subscription* be set on foot *for the express purpose*, at the *Tontine Coffee-house*, it would be filled in one month, with a sum adequate to the accomplishment of it.

MARRIED,

By the Rev. Mr. Brower, Mr. GEORGE EVERSON, merchant at Pleasant Valley, to Miss CORNELIA TAPPEN, of Poughkeepsie.

DIED,

Of a paralytick shock, on the 27th ult. at his seat in Steuben-ville, Baron FREDERICK DE STEUBEN, Major General in the late army of the United States of America.

THEATRE.

BY THE OLD AMERICAN COMPANY.

TO-MORROW EVENING, Dec. 18,
Will be presented, A TRAGEDY *called*,

Venice Preserved;

OR,

A PLOT DISCOVERED.

Mr. MARRIOTT, *from the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh [his first appearance here,] in the character of* Pierre.

To which will be added, a Comic Opera, *called*,

THE HIGHLAND REEL.

To conclude with a HIGHLAND REEL, *by the Characters.*

With the original Overture *and* Accompanyments.

Box 8s.—Pit 6s.—Gallery 4s.

Places in the boxes may be taken of Mr. Faulkner, at the box-office, from ten to twelve, A. M. and on the days of performance from three to five, P. M. where also tickets may be had, and at Mr. Caine's book-store, at the Bible, in Hanover-square.

The doors will be opened a quarter after five, and the curtain drawn up precisely a quarter after six o'clock.

Ladies and gentlemen will please to send their servants at 5 o'clock to keep places.

Vivat Respublica.

RICKETT'S's
NEW AMPHITHEATRE,
BROADWAY.

THIS EVENING, 17th December, 1794,
Will be performed, a great variety of EQUESTRIAN EXERCISES;
And other Pleasing Amusements.

☞ The particulars will be expressed in the bills and advertisements of the day.

Tickets to be had at the Tontine Coffee House; Mr. London's, Water-Street, and at the Amphitheatre—where a box-book is kept from ten o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon.

Those ladies and gentlemen who wish to secure seats in the boxes, will please to bespeak them in time, and send a servant to secure them at the opening of the doors.

Doors to be opened at half past five o'clock. BOX, one dollar—PIT, half a dollar.

TEN DOLLARS REWARD.



RUN AWAY from the Subscriber on Saturday night the 29th of November, a mulatto fellow, named *Moses*, about 19 years of age, pretty tall, and slender built, of a yellowish com-