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The Periodical Origins of the American Self

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Jordan M. Wingate

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Professor Christopher J. Looby, Co-Chair

and Professor Richard A. Yarborough, Co-Chair

My project examines the historical ideas of American identity that developed in early U.S. periodicals, the most popular form of print in the 18th- and 19th-century U.S. In periodicals, I show, American identity was often imagined as a category distinct from nationality or U.S. citizenship, and expressed a host of local and contingent meanings. I look beyond the book form to historicize U.S. writers' ideas of the relationship between the American, the U.S. government, and the nation it purportedly represented.

The dissertation of Jordan Michael Wingate is approved.

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To Ivy, Vincent, and Elise
mom, dad, and sister

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Vita

Jordan Wingate grew up in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. He graduated from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2010 with Highest Honors for his undergraduate thesis on Herman Melville. From 2010-2011 he taught English in Aurillac, France. In Fall 2011 he matriculated into the doctoral program in the English Department of the University of California, Los Angeles.

Introduction

"American" Literature Beyond Books

With the exception of the Bible, if people read in the eighteenth- or nineteenth-century United States, they most likely read periodicals. Periodicals (that is, print which is published periodically, like newspapers and magazines) grew in number, frequency, circulation, format, and readership specificity in the U.S.'s early decades, evolving to suit the lives and interests of a growing number of readers. This proliferation of periodical print into the daily lives of people across the U.S. did not go unnoticed. In 1835, in the midst of a wave of romantic nationalist book publications in the U.S., famous theorist of U.S. democracy Alexis de Tocqueville reflected on the state of U.S. print. "The only authors whom I acknowledge as American," he wrote, "are the journalists. They indeed are not great writers, but they speak the language of the countrymen, and make themselves heard by them. Other authors are aliens…They amuse the mind, but they do not act upon the manners of the people."[1] For Tocqueville, "American" was less an aesthetic characterization than an indicator of a text's proximity to the "language" of the author's "countrymen." The most distinctively "American" writers were also "not great writers."

If this valuation expressed a generic European cultural chauvinism toward writing in the U.S., Tocqueville's description of non-"journalists" in the U.S. as "aliens" also alluded to the strong aesthetic influence of European texts on U.S. print, specifically on novels and history books.[2] This claim – that if one print form spoke to, for, and like the "American," it was a

[1] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* trans. Henry Reeve (2002): 536. Penn State Electronic Classics Series Publication < http://seas3.elte.hu/coursematerial/LojkoMiklos/Alexis-de-Tocqueville-Democracy-in-America.pdf >. Accessed May 8, 2019.

[2] Joseph Rezek, *London and the Making of Provincial Literature: Aesthetics and the Transatlantic Book Trade, 1800-1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015). By contrast, Tocqueville noted the apparent contrasts between French and U.S. newspapers: "A single glance upon a French and an American newspaper is

periodical – stood in counterpoint to an increasingly book-centric U.S. literary nationalism that was often promoted in periodicals themselves. The aesthetic elevation of novels, biographies, and histories over shorter, more ephemeral print forms persisted even as the financial panic of 1837 bankrupted many U.S. publishers, leading rising U.S. authors to embed themselves further in periodical print markets, not just as writers but as editors, too.[3] The popularization of the literary "magazine" – a term which, etymologically, denotes a storehouse – reflected some editors' efforts to present their periodicals as durable vessels for texts worthy of preservation and cultural memory, distinct from, say, a daily four-page newspaper. However, even as books increasingly came to occupy – and still do occupy – a privileged place in the canon of U.S. national literature, periodicals remained crucial rather than ancillary to developing the texts and networks that enabled U.S. literary culture to form. Periodicals kept U.S. writers in print; they multiplied the hands that their texts passed through; and, in reviews, they told readers whom to read.[4] Few writers directly published books without first publishing in a periodical. In many cases even their book-length texts were published serially in periodicals. Writing to match the periodic temporality of publication and production was a standard condition of entry into the

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sufficient to show the difference which exists between the two nations on this head. In France the space allotted to commercial advertisements is very limited, and the intelligence is not considerable, but the most essential part of the journal is that which contains the discussion of the politics of the day. In America three-quarters of the enormous sheet which is set before the reader are filled with advertisements, and the remainder is frequently occupied by political intelligence or trivial anecdotes: it is only from time to time that one finds a corner devoted to passionate discussions like those with which the journalists of France are wont to indulge their readers" (Tocqueville, *Democracy*, 208). Tocqueville only slightly exaggerated the prevalence of advertising content in the standard 4-page antebellum U.S. newspaper. There were pragmatic as well as economic motivations for selling plenty of ad space in a daily periodical. Newspaper publishers often eased the demands of timely production by filling the first and fourth pages (the outside) of the newspaper with ads, which could then be left in pre-set "standing" type, and printed in advance over several issues.

[3] A short list just of authors who also served as periodical editors would include: Charles Brockden Brown, Lydia Maria Child, Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Benjamin Franklin, Margaret Fuller, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Walt Whitman, and John Greenleaf Whittier.

[4] Many nineteenth-century books did include a self-puffing "Advertisement" toward the beginning of the book, but these texts were less for prospective customers than for readers who had already purchased the book, as most antebellum U.S. bookstores did not allow customers to browse or leaf through books before purchase.

emerging category of professional authorship in the early nineteenth-century U.S. Periodicals were notoriously insolvent ventures, beset constantly by the difficulties of timely delivery and timely collection of subscription payments. Despite these economic challenges, they were one of the primary forums for some of the most influential authors of the period.

The advent of book history methodologies in early U.S. literary studies has begun to transform depictions of the print markets that writers of the period sought to enter and turn to personal and political advantage. Critical attention to the infrastructural and technological impediments to mass circulation, as well as the international travels and marketing of authors across the Americas, has recovered an image of U.S. print culture that is at once more regional and more cosmopolitan than previously recognized. Growing interest in economies of nonbook forms of print has also brought to light more diverse sets of readers, writers, and canons that contributed to early U.S. literary history. Periodicals were unprotected by copyright and far cheaper by weight to mail than letters or books. From the subscriber's viewpoint, the economic accessibility of periodical correspondence opened up new possibilities for communication and collective thinking between different groups of people. Periodical studies have been particularly generative for African American literary history, which, for most of the nineteenth century, was a literature primarily energized and embodied in periodical print.[5] Reading beyond books brings into view the unannounced exclusions of the nineteenth-century book market, and poses new questions about the relationship between print and the collective identities imagined through it in the early U.S.

[5] For two recent studies of black periodicals in the nineteenth-century U.S., see Eric Gardner, *Black Print Unbound: The Christian Recorder, African American Literature, and Periodical Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) and Benjamin Fagan, *The Black Newspaper and the Chosen Nation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2016).

"The Periodical Origins of the American Self" pursues an adjacent line of inquiry into print's role in identity formation by exploring the history of "American" identity as imagined in periodical print. By limiting this inquiry to periodicals composed, printed, and read in the U.S., "Periodical Origins" underlines the widespread, enduring disagreements *within* the U.S. print corpus about who and what was "American," whether there existed an "American" nation, and if so, what relationship that nation bore to the U.S. government. Benedict Anderson's seminal *Imagined Communities* (1983) identified two textual "forms of imagining" essential to the formation of nationalisms in the revolutionary Americas: the novel and the newspaper.[6] Both, he argued, demanded that readers perform mental acts of closure, imagining the unstated, non-observable communities uniting the concurrent textual contents they presented to readers. The "nation" was the implicit context or "socioscape" within which the discrepant contents – characters, events, places – of a newspaper or novel could logically interact in the minds of readers.[7] Because novel and newspaper alike required readers to supply the "imagined linkage" between their contents, Anderson spoke unironically of the "novelistic format of the newspaper," asserting that "the newspaper is merely an 'extreme form' of the book, a book sold on a colossal scale, but of ephemeral popularity," and that "[r]eading a newspaper is like reading a novel whose author has abandoned any thought of a coherent plot."[8] The result of the imaginative work solicited by the novel and the newspaper was the same: belief in the existence of a non-immediate nation, the precursor of nationalism.

[6] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition (New York: Verso, 2006 [1983]): 24.

[7] Ibid. 32.

[8] Ibid. 33, footnote 54.

Since Anderson's landmark text, the postnational turn in Americanist literary scholarship has demonstrated the many – to quote Anderson – "forms of imagining" available to readers and writers beyond national frameworks, and across a host of bibliographic forms. As "Periodical Origins" shows, the nation was just one among many units of identification for newspaper and magazine readers in the early U.S., for whom "nation" had many meanings. The collective autopoesis experienced by newspaper readers cannot be said to have an inherently nationalist orientation. Further, a periodical's readership, content, and ideological agenda could evolve serially in time; each new issue did not necessarily reiterate the same "form of imagining" as the previous one. Though some novels were written serially for periodical publication, a novel bound as a book was a complete, static text.

"Periodical Origins" traces the different forms of collective imagining available in periodicals through a rhetorical analysis of the "American" as imagined in those periodicals. We will see that there was no single conceptual origin for the "American," no singular cultural or political meaning that all writers uncritically assigned it. Rather than providing readers with metonymic nations, periodicals hosted a wide spectrum of "American" affiliations that placed them in different relations to the U.S. government and the peoples of the Americas. The emphasis on the many historical idioms of the "American" grows out of a long-recognized need in Americanist studies for a more textured historicization of the "American" as a term and concept. In the multicultural turn of the 1980s and 1990s, which grew out of pressures from postcolonial scholarship and the deeper-rooted radicalisms of the 1960s, U.S. literary scholars began interrogating the implicit arguments encoded in this foundational critical terminology. The objectives and poetics of Americanist discourse were due for revision, and for connected reasons. As Sacvan Bercovitch put it in 1986, the field's persistent "effort to define the

'Americanness' of American literature" presumed "an ideological fiction, 'Americanness,'" an effort which doomed scholars to define American literature, tautologically, as precisely that literature which exemplified their particular conception of "'Americanness.'"[9] In following years scholars candidly weighed the value of maintaining "American" as a field descriptor for American Studies and American Literature, offering several alternatives: "Writing in the United States," "Comparative American Literature," "United States Studies," "Inter-American Studies," and the "Society for Intercultural Studies," to name a few.[10] Janice Radway's 1998 American Studies Association Presidential Address directly posed "the question of whether or not to use the word, 'American'" to designate the discipline's objects of study – before concluding that "in the end, the name 'American studies' will have to be retained."[11] In the current postnational turn, now unmoored from traditional nation- and government-based metrics of analysis, Americanists are posing anxious questions about their objects of study: "What Does It Mean When American Studies is Transnational?"; "American Studies After American Exceptionalism?"; "A New Beginning?"; "What is the object of American studies?"; *Where is American Literature?*[12]

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[9] Sacvan Bercovitch, "The Problem of Ideology in American Literary History," *Critical Inquiry* 12.4 (1986): 631-653, 651.

[10] Gregory S. Jay, "The End of 'American' Literature," *College English* 53.3 (1991): 264-281; Peter Carafiol, "After American Literature," *American Literary History* 4.3 (1992) 539-549, 546; Carolyn Porter, "What We Know That We Don't Know: Remapping American Literary Studies," *American Literary Studies* 6.3 (1994): 467-536; Janice Radway, "What's in a Name? Presidential Address to the American Studies Association, 20 November 1998," *American Quarterly* 51.1 (1999): 1-32, 18, 20, 22; Paul Lauter, "Is American Studies Anti-American?" In *(Anti)Americanisms,* edited by Michael Draxlbauer, Astrid M. Fellner, and Thomas Fröschl, 18-31. Vienna, Austria: LIT, 2004; Sophia A. McLennen, "Inter-American Studies or Imperial American Studies?" *Comparative American Studies* 3.4 (2005): 393-413.

[11] Radway, "Presidential Address," 4, 6, 14, 17-18.

[12] Emory Elliott, "Diversity in the United States and Abroad: What Does It Mean When American Studies in Transnational?" *American Quarterly* 59:1 (2007): 1-22; Donald E. Pease, "American Studies After American Exceptionalism? Toward a Comparative Analysis of Imperial State Exceptionalisms," in *Globalizing American Studies,* edited by Brian T. Edwards and Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, 47-83. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010; Winfried Fluck, "A New Beginning?: Transnationalisms," *New Literary History* 42.3 (2011): 365-384; Caroline F. Levander, *Where is American Literature?* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013); "What is the object of

These ongoing reassessments have already productively transformed Americanist scholarship, bringing into focus new geographies, chronologies, and objects of analysis (including periodical print). Few scholars seek to define the quintessential features of a U.S. or American literature, acknowledging literature's unruly relations to borders. The ascendancy of book history methodologies has further propelled this anti-essentialist trend, turning critical attention strongly toward form's inflection of content and away from arguments about culturally-motivated subject matter or aesthetic features that transcend form. "Periodical Origins" lays out a methodology for Americanist scholars to speak of "Americans" and "American" texts in a way that more faithfully represents these terms' historicity and semiotic openness.

Through an analysis of several idioms of the *American* figuring in several early U.S. periodicals, "Periodical Origins" recovers the deep epistemic uncertainties about the *American* self that continued well into the era of Romantic nationalism that began to shape U.S. novels and histories at the turn of the century. These periodicals imagined a host of distinctive *American* affiliations whose meanings openly conflicted with nationalist sentiment, critiqued federal policy, or cast the American nation and the U.S. government as distinct – even antagonistic – entities. By historicizing *American* identity in an underexplored print form, "Periodical Origins" highlights the aspirational quality of book-based literary nationalism in the U.S. by contextualizing those works within a periodical culture undecided about the national status of Americans and the United States. The periodical format was conducive to this epistemic pluralism. Compared to books, periodicals had a lower threshold for entry, were multi-authored, and made fewer prescriptions on which content readers encountered or in what order. A text did not have to be fully drafted to begin appearing in a periodical. Unlike novels or histories, a

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American studies?" is the opening line of Russ Castronovo's and Susan Gillman's *States of Emergency: The Object of American Studies* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

periodical did not need to tell just one narrative for readers to parse its contents. "Periodical Origins" formally replicates this narrative overlay. Its chapters are not component parts of a unified, comprehensive chronological narrative about the history of periodicals or the "American"; rather, they serially revisit overlapping discourses – of race, natural history, sovereignty, nationality, the category of the "native," and others – that may be examined independently, but which also enhance one another when read in concert. Collectively, these chapters show that the rhetorical power of the "American" derived precisely from the flexibility – rather than universality – of its meaning.

"Periodical Origins" grapples with the markedly contingent, local, plural meanings of the *American* in four case studies of early U.S. periodical debates that illuminate the *American*'s vibrant semiotic history in U.S. print, and capture the many different exceptionalist ideologies that this term has underwritten. The first chapter, "Carey's *Museum* and the Natural History of the American," argues that in post-Revolution-era U.S. print, to be American was a designation not of nationality, but of natural history: a prominent Atlantic-world epistemological paradigm that drew a physiological connection between humans and the land they inhabited. This chapter examines Philadelphia's monthly *American Museum* (1787-92), the most widely-consumed magazine of its day, edited by the Irish exile printer Mathew Carey. Similar to Charles Willson Peale's brick-and-mortar "American Museum," which arrayed for visitors the flora and fauna of America, Carey's *Museum* provided a curated exhibit of American natural history, offering readers excepts from famous natural history texts like Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, discussions of agricultural methods suited to different American climates, and commentaries on the physical effects of life in America on European immigrants. This epistemology was especially useful for recent immigrants like Carey, who embraced theories of environmental

influence on human bodies in order to claim that they had become ontologically "American" without claiming a new nationality or citizenship.

Chapter 2, "Americans, *americanos*, and Literary Exceptionalism, 1808-1832," turns to Boston's quarterly *North American Review* (est. 1815), the preeminent literary periodical of the early 19th-century U.S. While the *Review* was instrumental in building the literary reputations of native-born U.S. authors, its editorials also championed the Spanish American revolutions (1810-25) in which Spain lost its entire mainland American empire and many new *americano* countries were created. The *Review*'s extensive coverage of *americano* periodical reporting and books instilled its discussions of an emergent American literature and colonial history with hemispheric rather than national meanings. This chapter also recovers Washington Irving's years of exposure to *americano* politics in the *Review* as well as in U.S. newspapers, tracing how these periodicals influenced his politics of composition in his writings on American history. I offer a revisionary reading of Irving's bestselling 1828 biography of Christopher Columbus that reveals the work's self-presentation as a text belonging to a hemispheric American literature, rather than reiterating traditional views of the work as an appropriation of Columbus as a U.S. national icon. The biography captures an instructive example of how reading popular U.S. books within their periodical contexts enriches our discussions of the politics of U.S. authorship.

From this hemispheric analysis of American identity's formation, my focus turns inward to communities within U.S. borders in Chapter 3, "Nation Versus State: Nullification and National Sovereignty in the Southern and Cherokee Presses." If American identity could capture a hemisphere of anti-imperial peoples, it could also appear as an imperial imposition upon smaller communities trying to remain sovereign under U.S. jurisdiction. I begin by examining the *Charleston Mercury*'s (est. 1822) arguments for South Carolina's secession from the U.S. during

the Nullification Crisis (1830-32), in which the state rejected the legal supremacy of the federal government. At the heart of the daily paper's calls for secession, I show, was an originalist reading of the U.S. Constitution that claimed that the United States had always been a confederacy of sovereign *American* nations, each represented by a state. Further, this chapter juxtaposes the *Mercury*'s coverage of *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) – the Supreme Court ruling which denied the State of Georgia's sovereignty over the Cherokee nation within Georgia's borders – with *The Cherokee Phoenix*'s (1828-34) reporting on the same case. I show how the *Phoenix*'s arguments for Cherokee sovereignty looked beyond the Constitution to argue for a sovereignty based in inalienable natural rights, which argument was further developed in Pequot author William Apess's *Indian Nullification* (1835). Comparing the two newspapers' theories of nullification highlights how race shaped the arguments articulated against U.S. federal supremacy in the idiom of U.S. law.

Building on this analysis of periodical communities conceived in opposition to the U.S. government, Chapter 4, "Colonization, Emigration, and Colored American Nativism," reads New York's *The Colored American* weekly newspaper (1837-41) in light of the growing debates about colonizing Liberia with the U.S.'s black population. To refute these colonizationist arguments, the paper's editors and readers insisted that the "American" was an internally-diverse category, encompassing a multiracial Christian nation that exceeded the white limitations of U.S. citizenship. By grounding American identity in birthright, religion, and personal character, *The Colored American* critiqued U.S. state policy as unrepresentative of the nation it purported to defend. Studying *Colored American* nationalism in the age of colonization provides an example of a periodical readership that offered an alternative to civic membership, rather than an occasion for its readers to perform their civic allegiance. Unlike the cases of the *Mercury* and the *Phoenix*

of Chapter 3, the Americans named in this paper did not designate an oppressive imperial government, but rather the oppressed American nation that went unrepresented by the U.S. state.

Examining these moments in the "Periodical Origins" of the "American," we see that self-described American authors in the U.S. also understood that the various meanings of an "American" text and an "American" person affected one another, a connection explored by writers in each chapter. These writers understood that their "American" identity was one among many seeking recognition, and they wrote because they believed in the possibility of shaping the term's popular meaning – a task they each pursued through periodical print. And when looking out from within these writers' historical vantages, we see the mutability of the "American," the lively openness of its meaning, the sense of urgency to control it: the serial history of the term that developed out of periodical culture.

Chapter 1

Carey's *Museum* and the Natural History of the American

Decades before Mathew Carey ran the biggest bookselling enterprise in the early 19th-century United States, he printed and edited the most seditious newspaper in British imperial Dublin. The radical *Volunteers Journal; or, Irish Herald* (1783-84) drew down arraignments against its contributing essayists, against editors of newspapers who cited it, against Carey, and against each of the three men who, at different times, he hired to pose as its printer.[13] Carey shrewdly transformed this legal assault into politicized content for his "2 to 3000" Dublin readers, continuously writing articles that were variations of a core narrative of native Irishmen oppressed by England's puppet "misrepresentatives" in the Irish Parliament.[14] The *Journal* reported on itself as an object of British tyranny – a feature manifest in the tax stamp on the paper used to

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Abbreviated periodical titles in citations are: *AM – American Museum; or, Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces* (Philadelphia: 1787-92); *PEH – Pennsylvania Evening Herald, and American Monitor* (Philadelphia: 1785-86); *NEM – The New-England Magazine* (Boston: 1831-35); *VJ – Volunteers Journal; or, Irish Herald* (Dublin: 1783-84). Unless noted, articles have no identified author.

[13] The three were William Corbett (from October 13 to December 18 1783); Patrick Donnelly (from December 19 1783 to June 6 1784); and James Dowling (from June 7 to October 8 1784). As Carey later explained in an editorial for his *Pennsylvania Evening Herald*, in Dublin "the name of a journeyman, or some such individual is generally put as printer of almost every bold speculating paper. In this manner has the vengeance of government been eluded. […] I had to the Volunteers Journal, at the time of my persecution, the name of Patrick Donnelly (a person who had never served a single hour to the printing business) and afterwards James Dowling" ("Be thou then as chaste as ice," *PEH* 2.46 [December 31 1785]: 2). Corbett was called to testify before the House of Lords on December 11 1783 ("Dublin, December 12," *VJ* 1.27 [December 12 1783]: 4). A warrant was issued for Donnelly but his arrest is not mentioned in the *Journal* ("To the People of Ireland," *VJ* 1.81 [April 16 1784]: 1). For reporting on Dowling's arrest, see "Postscript. Dublin, August 30," *VJ* 1.139 (August 30 1784): 3 and "To the Public," *VJ* 1.146 (September 15 1784): 1. Handy Pemberton, author of the "True-Born Irishman" series, recounts his own prosecution in "The True-Born Irishman, No. 18," *VJ* 1.114 (July 2 1784): 4. Carey's arrest and trial received extensive coverage during and after his imprisonment: "House of Commons. Monday, April 19," *VJ* 1.82 (April 21 1784): 3; "Postscript. Wednesday, April 21. Dublin," *VJ* 1.83 (April 21 1784): 4; "To the Citizens of Dublin," *VJ* 1.84 (April 23 1784): 1; "Thursday, April 22. Dublin," *VJ* 1.84 (April 23 1784): 2; "House of Commons. Wednesday, April 21," *VJ* 1.84 (April 23 1784): 2-3; Mathew Carey, "An Appeal to the Public," *VJ* 1.84 (April 23 1784): 4; "Monday, May 17. Dublin," *VJ* 1.94 (May 17 1784): 4.

[14] "To Advertisers," *VJ* 1.95 (May 19 1784): 1; "Wednesday May 19. Dublin," *VJ* 1.95 (May 19 1784): 4. The *Journal* had the second largest circulation of any newspaper in Dublin, after the *Dublin Evening Post*, established in 1778 by John Magee (James Kelly, "Mathew Carey's Irish Apprenticeship: Editing the *Volunteers Journal*, 1783-84." *Éire-Ireland: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Irish Studies*, 49:3-4 [2014]: 201-243: 212).

print it – and as a salient symbol of Ireland's threatened national sovereignty. One woodcut even depicted an allegorical Irish "Liberty" as the paper's own printer, "dragooned" in view of Parliament by a British soldier, holding both a liberty pole and a freshly-printed *Journal* (Image 1). Ireland, Carey warned readers, had become "a step-mother country," where the people awaited a time when "the genuine sentiments of the nation will be conveyed through the medium of [a] parliament, really, not nominally, the representatives of free-born Irishmen."[15] For an Irish patriot, British imperial Dublin was an instructive context for understanding differences between groups defined by national and civic allegiances.

To contrast the imperial grip on Dublin's Irishmen, Carey opened transatlantic exchange agreements with newspaper editors in New York and Philadelphia, reprinting reports of social and economic prosperity in "the American republics."[16] As presented to Carey's readers, the newly "free, united, happy, and independent States" modeled a post-British future of industrious citizens guarded by protective tariffs and living peaceably in religious pluralism.[17] Yet Carey reeled when Dubliners began immigrating to the United States rather than emulating a war for independence. Mass immigrations to America were "foundation for alarm" in a country it would "speeddily [sic] depopulate."[18] With "near one million of souls in the kingdom [of Ireland] ready to quit their native soil," he wrote, soon "England shall have a new America to plant and people."[19] This Lockean *America* underlines a key distinction between Carey's conceptions of

[15] Mathew Carey, "Postscript. Dublin," *VJ* 1.73 (March 29 1784): 2; Mathew Carey, "Dublin, April 5," *VJ* 1.76 (April 5 1784): 1.

[16] "Extension of Suffrage," *VJ* 1.13 (November 10 1783): 2.

[17] "America," *VJ* 1.28 (December 15 1783): 4; "Postscript. Yesterday's Packet," *VJ* 1.62 (March 3 1784): 2; "Tuesday, May 11. From the *Dublin Gazette*," *VJ* 1.92 (May 12 1784): 4.

[18] "Dublin. Friday, January 9," *VJ* 1.40 (January 12 1784): 4; Untitled, begins "An authentic letter," *VJ* 1.69 (March 19 1784): 3.

his native Ireland and the United States: Ireland was a nation; the United States were not. As reiterated in the *Journal*'s two popular essay series written "To the Irish Nation" and by "A True-Born Irishmen," Ireland's "ancient inhabitants" predated England's "ancient claims of conquest *of* [Irish] *ancestors*," and marked a national past anterior to British imperial history.[20] The United States had former British settler colonials rather than natives, people who evoked *natural* laws instead of history to justify their independence. To the Irish nationalist, the United States were governments without nations. We will see that this view was in fact common in the United States as well, and consider how it inflected the meanings of what it meant to be *native* and *American* in early U.S. print. With the existence of an *American* nation appearing questionable to many, alternative forms of communal identity began to employ the *American* as their epistemic marker.

Despite his concern for the depopulation of Ireland, Carey, too, left Ireland permanently, fleeing sedition charges in Dublin for Philadelphia on September 7 1784.[21] He did not, like his contemporary Philadelphia expatriate Thomas Paine, accept that "[o]ur citizenship in the United States is our national character."[22] He did not neatly transpose his Irish nationalism onto an incipient United Statesian nationalism. Instead, like many late-century immigrants to the U.S., he maintained personal commitments to his native country while strengthening ties to a new

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[19] "Dublin. Thursday, April 9," *VJ* 1.78 (April 9 1784): 2.

[20] "Political Reflections," *VJ* 1.36 (January 2 1784): 4; "To the Irish Nation," *VJ* 1.61 (March 1 1784): 1; "The True-Born Irishman. No. XIX," *VJ* 1.131 (August 11 1784): 4. Emphasis original.

[21] Mathew Carey, "Autobiography of Mathew Carey. Letter I," *NEM* 5.5 (Boston: J.T. Buckingham, November 1833): 412. In his 1833 serialized *Autobiography*, Carey notes that he determined to emigrate to Philadelphia instead of New York or Baltimore "because I had lately received a parcel of papers from this city; among others the Pennsylvanian Packet of June 10, 1784, and Bradford's Weekly Advertiser, of about the same date," which contained sympathetic reports of his prosecution by the Irish House of Commons. See Mathew Carey, "Autobiography of Mathew Carey. Letter II," *NEM* 5.6 (Boston: J.T. Buckingham, December 1833): 489.

[22] Common Sense [Thomas Paine], "The Last CRISIS, No. XIII," *The Pennsylvania Packet; or, the General Advertiser* 12.1030 (Philadelphia: David C. Claypool, April 19 1783): 2.

government.[23] These activities could be coterminous. Elected Secretary of Philadelphia's "Hibernian Society for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland," Carey printed the Society's constitution (both in broadside and in his *American Museum*), which announced its goal that "emigrants…[be] rendered happy in their situation, and useful citizens" of the United States.[24] He even idealized the relationship between emigrants and the U.S. state to the point that he argued in print against the necessity of "test laws, and oaths of allegiance" as prerequisites of citizenship:

> Oaths of allegiance [he wrote in 1786] may possibly still be necessary in Europe, where there are so many contenting powers contiguous each to the other: But what is their use in America? To secure fidelity to the state, it will be answered. But where is the danger of defection? [...] Will they rebel? Will they join the savages, and overthrow the state? No […] My countrymen, if a state has any thing [sic] to fear from its inhabitants, the constitution or the laws must be wrong.[25]

Carey would not become a naturalized citizen until February 20 1798, and only did so because he rightly felt targeted by Federalists' anti-Irish Alien and Sedition Acts (1798) and increasingly

[23] Carey was also a prominent member of the Lately Adopted Sons of Pennsylvania, a mutual relief "society of foreigners established in Philadelphia, from various nations, English, Irish, Scotch, French, and West-Indians" (Mathew Carey, "Autobiography of Mathew Carey. Letter II," *NEM* 5.6 [Boston: J.T. Buckingham, December 1833]: 492).

[24] "Constitution of the Hibernian society for the relief of emigrants from Ireland," *AM* 7:6 [June 1790]: Appendix 2, 33-35. From 1789-93, Carey received four personal applications for assistance in letters of introduction from recent Dublin émigrés. One, sent by Patrick Quinn from "Philadelphia Prison," requested "a few sheets of paper" and a "Vol. of Volunteers Journal." See Letter to Carey from Patrick Quinn in Philadelphia on March 14 1789, Lea and Febiger Collection 227B; Letter to Mathew Carey from James Walsh on June 12 1790, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, Box 27, Folder 3; Letter to Carey from John Chambers in Dublin on April 30 1793, Lea and Febiger Collection 227B, Box 4, Folder 22; Letter to Carey from J. Byrne, Lea and Febiger Collection 227B, Box 3, Folder 8, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[25] "Bill for public consideration," *PEH* 2.100 (January 7 1786): 4; Mathew Carey, "For the P Evening Herald, to the Public," *PEH* 3.118 (March 11 1786): 3.

restrictive Naturalization Acts (1798).[26] His early period of residence in Philadelphia is not defined by a steady inculcation of nationalist sentiment that culminates in his naturalization. His civic pride in the United States came from the utopian potential he envisioned for them, rather than a shared prerevolutionary national past.

Similarly in Carey's new Philadelphia paper, the *Pennsylvania Evening Herald* (1786-88), crisp conceptual divisions remained between nation and government. One early *Herald* poem, "An Epitome of Irish History," chronicled a "rough, independent" people "ty'd" in a "union" "nearly like our American government," and who by "virtue and glory" became "a nation of saints." Addressed to "Sons of St. PATRICK in Philadelphia" and headed by a Gaelic epigraph, the poem stressed Irish nationality's durability but evoked only the political union of the plural "states of Columbia."[27] By contrast, other articles emphasized the tenuousness of the states' federal connection at a time when "each state is jealous of its neighbor."[28] "The federal constitution of the American empire is intended to preserve a union of its parts," explained one reader, "Americus," in July 1785, "and such union is essential to the peace, liberty and independence, of the states, separately and collectively."[29] In language reminiscent of *Federalist* essays 5, 6, and 9, "Americus" argues that the states comprising the "empire" are united not only to promote peace with other governments, but to keep peace among themselves.[30] Even after Carey's resigned the editorship of the *Herald* on February 10 1787 due to his new duties

[26] The document certifying the 1798 "oath" of "Mathew Carey a Native of Ireland" to the United States is in the Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, Box 27, Folder 11, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Naturalization Acts passed on June 18 1798 raised the period of residence in the U.S. required for naturalization from 5 to 14 years.

[27] Ollam Fodlah, "An Epitome of Irish History," *PEH* 1.16 (March 19 1785): 4.

[28] Untitled, begins "Since the declaration…" *PEH* 5.217 (February 21 1787): 1.

[29] "Americus," "For the P. Evening Herald," *PEH* 2.2 (July 30 1785): 3.

[30] Edward Larkin, *The American School of Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016, 27-28.

managing the month-old *American Museum*, the paper continued to print articles warning readers to reject "the dangerous principles of SELF-INTEREST, or the interest of any particular state which may effect a DISUNION of the whole!"[31] In one case, a fictional article of "Anticipations" of the year 1880 (likely written by Carey) projected an imperial rather than national future for the United States.[32] In this future, the states had reformed into "Imperial Columbia," annexed "the whole domain of South America," coined their own "Imperial *eagles*," and divided into *domains* like the "Domain of Massachusetts" or the "Domain of Frankliana (formerly called the Ohio country)."[33] This forecast highlighted the internal improvements – a strait at Darien, "imperial mines," new universities, large-scale manufacturing – and military power – a "fleet" of ships, a standing army of 40,000 "Imperial troops," an active "corps of State Guards" that "suppressed… insurrection" – of the "Columbian Empire." Written from the vantage of 1787, when the United States were still unconnected under a sovereign federal government, the article understandably did not mention a nation in this imagined future empire.[34]

Carey's paper's dismissal of oaths of allegiance and a U.S. nationality grated on nativist pressmen like the *Independent Gazetteer*'s (Philadelphia: 1782-90) editor Eleazer Oswald, a Revolutionary War veteran who had attempted to outbid the tyro Irish printer for a used printing press in late 1784.[35] Oswald's invective often inspired ironic caricatures of nativists in Carey's paper, such as a conversation between "*Yankee Doodle*" and "*Sawney*" (an English pejorative for

[31] "Americanus," "Look out!" *PEH* 5.226 (March 24 1787): 3.

[32] Carey had previously written a "Chronicle of the Year 1850" for the first issue of his co-edited *Columbian Magazine* 1:1 (September 1786): 5-6.

[33] "Anticipation" *PEH* 5.268 (August 18 1787): 2.

[34] The state-by-state ratification of the drafted 1787 Constitution did not conclude until Rhode Island ratified it in May 1790. North Carolina had only agreed to ratification after the addition of a Bill of Rights in 1789.

[35] Mathew Carey, "Autobiography of Mathew Carey. Letter II," *NEM* 5.6 (Boston: J.T. Buckingham, November 1833): 491.

Scotsmen). "A nation's strength consists in men," Sawney admonishes Yankee, thus "your doors should open wide / To emigrants from every side," like Dutchmen, Frenchmen, Jews, and "Hibernians."[36] Yet Yankee retorts with an analogy: in the "custard" "of the "commonwealth," "cit'zens" are eggs while the "rotten ones are refugees," and a "single rotten egg shall spoil" the whole. Yankee speaks last, but only to amplify the unreason of his arguments, leaving a space for readers to insert their own rejoinders. Their disagreements were often more direct (indeed, Oswald eventually challenged Carey to a duel and shot him in his already bad leg in January 1786 outside of Camden).[37] When an Oswald editorial promoted a demographic study of the "substantial difference…between absolute *aliens* and *natives*" in the United States, Carey himself replied in the *Herald* as "A Citizen of the World":

> National reflections are in every case as *illiberal* as they are *unjust*. But from Americans, they are something worse. […] They are, sir *ungrateful* to the highest degree. […] In a land which was purchased from the *natives* only about 90 or 100 years ago, the oldest family has no great room to boast of its great antiquity.[38]

The nativist "contest relative to antiquity in this country" seemed "risible" to a recent emigrant versed in centuries of Irish history.[39] By Carey's historical reasoning, America's *natives* were peoples he typically called *Indians*, not white settler colonials. Perhaps Carey was compelled to

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[36] "The Custard. A Modern Simile," *PEH* 4.187 (November 8 1786): 4.

[37] A nurse had dropped the infant Carey on his leg, which did not heal correctly, causing Carey to walk with a limp for the rest of his life. Mathew Carey, "Autobiography of Mathew Carey. Letter II," *NEM* 5.6 (Boston: J.T. Buckingham, November 1833): 493-95.

[38] [Eleazer Oswald] "Philadelphia, November 5," *Independent Gazetteer, or Chronicle of Freedom* 5.210 (November 5 1785): 3; A Citizen of the World [Mathew Carey] "To Colonel Eleazer Oswald," *PEH* 2.83 (November 9 1785): 3. Emphases original.

[39] Carey's greatest historical work would be his *Vindiciae Hiberniae, or Ireland Vindicated* (Philadelphia: M. Carey and Son, 1819), which refuted anti-Catholic accounts of Protestants massacred in the 1641 Irish Rebellion. He had already displayed his knowledge of Irish history in editorials for his *Volunteers Journal*, whose masthead quoted Donald "O'Nial," a 14th-century King of Ulster.

deny settler colonials' *native* status in the United States because he recognized a parallel imperial logic begin deployed by English administrators in Ireland.[40] In fact, until 1783, Ireland's and America's natives had been fighting for sovereignty against the same empire.

Oswald tartly dismissed Carey's rebuttal, citing his ignorance of "the rude genius of America."[41] Yet their brief paper war bespoke a widespread epistemic crux: what did it mean to be *native* and *American* in the United States in the early years of political independence from the British Empire? The *American* had been a British designation for an imperial fringe and, across the 18th century, a figure represented by America's *Indians*. As I argue in a later section of this chapter, this is why *Columbian* identity, popularized in 18th-century North America as the *American*'s white semiotic alternative, never designated *Indians*.[42] At the same time, white settler colonials sought to appropriate a *native* status in America by "playing Indian," as Philip Deloria put it in a seminal study.[43] This historiography of appropriation explains white cultural mimicry much in the way that literary historians have traditionally explained the social function of print in the early United States: as a means of consolidating an incipient *American* nationalism. By contrast, this chapter argues that natural history rather than nationality supplied the exceptionalist framework for many late-century writers' ideas of the unity of white *Americans* with each other and with native peoples. Further, it reveals how Carey's *American*

[40] Weeks after Carey fled Dublin, the *Volunteers Journal* printed an original poem by "Las Casas," purporting to be "a Translation of a Speech delivered by an antient [sic] Mexican Chief to his soldiers, previous to an engagement with their oppressive invaders, the Spaniards," voicing anti-British sentiments through the lens of a colonized American native. See "Postscript. Dublin," *VJ* 1.151 (September 27 1784): 3.

[41] [Eleazer Oswald] "To Mr. Mathew Carey," *Independent Gazetteer, or Chronicle of Freedom* 5.217 (December 24 1785): 3.

[42] Barbara E. Lacey, *From Sacred to Secular: Visual Images in Early American Publications* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2007): 99-116; Thomas J. Schlereth, "Columbia, Columbus, and Columbianism," *Journal of American History* 28.3 (1992): 941-42, 937-968.

[43] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

Museum (Philadelphia: 1787-92), persistently cast by scholars as a nationalist publication, in fact exemplifies the natural historical origins of *American* identity in U.S. print.[44]

I. Native Nature in the *American Museum*

Writers in the early United States knew to distinguish nations and empires. A lesson of the revolution in the North American colonies was that even white British imperial subjects had not been granted the same protections as English nationals. For at least a century prior, settler colonials had habitually discussed European and indigenous peoples as *nations*, but most turned to other idioms of affiliation – *union*, *empire*, *continent*, and *country* – to describe the new United States. Seen as a *union* or *empire*, "The United States of America" bore certain parallels to "The United Kingdom of Great Britain," formed by the 1707 Acts of Union. In this view, like the U.K., the United States were adjacent states united in *empire* for mutual benefit, not states re-formed into something with the historical, ethnic, or cultural distinctiveness of a nation. *Continent* and *country* cited a common geography as evidence of unity instead of evoking a political order, tapping into a core tenet of 18th-century natural history: that the qualities of a land, like climate, topography, and latitude, shaped the qualities of the wildlife and human culture formed on that land. This assumption was encoded in several genres of early U.S. texts. Early U.S. poetic tropes – appeals to the "genius" of place, as well as "prospect" poems, which envisioned the U.S.'s future while extolling the rural landscape – emphasized the land's

[44] Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770-1870* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 15-18; James D. Drake, *The Nation's Nature: How Continental Presumptions Gave Rise to the United States of America* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 281-82; Robb K. Haberman, "Provincial Nationalism: Civic Rivalry in Postrevolutionary American Magazines" (*Early American Studies* 10.1 [2012]: 162-193), 175-177, 183.

connection to creative and social achievement.[45] The first popular U.S. schoolbooks – some published by Mathew Carey – appeared as geographies, and travel writing became a generic vehicle for empirical research because geographical study was considered a propaedeutic to other analyses.[46] As geography gained new significance from natural history, an appeal to *continent* or *country* could assert a meaningful connection between the *American* land and its inhabitants. It bears emphasis that in this epistemic paradigm, geographical unity was not tantamount to national unity. Soon after Carey printed the first volume of an "American Edition" of William Guthrie's *System of Modern Geography* (1794), a New York subscriber wrote to Carey to suggest the "propriety of an alteration" in his edition's new subtitle. "As all nations have governments," the subscriber wrote, "but all governments are not nations," it was misleading of Carey's subtitle to claim that *Modern Geography* – which included new content on the United States – described the "Present State of the Several Nations of the World."[47] Less than a decade

[45] "Genius" and "prospect" poems appeared regularly in Carey's *American Museum*. For representative examples, see "Address of the genius of Columbia to the members of the continental convention," *AM* 1:6 (June 1787): 482 and David Humphreys, "The Genius of America. A Song," *AM* 3:3 (March 1788): 289.

[46] Mathew Carey, *Carey's Americas Atlas; Containing Twenty Maps and One Chart* (Philadelphia: 1795). Carey subsequently published *Carey's American Pocket Atlas* (1796), which competed with Jedidiah Morse's ubiquitous *American Universal Geography* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas, 1796). See James N. Green, *Mathew Carey, Publisher and Patriot* (Philadelphia: The Library Company of Philadelphia, 1985): 17. On early U.S. geography school texts, see chapters 7 and 8 of Martin Brückner's *The Social Life of Maps in America, 1750-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017) and chapters 3 and 4 of his *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006). For studies of how geography ordered Enlightenment epistemology, particularly in encyclopedias, see Drake op. cit. 17-66; Charles W. J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically about the Age of Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); David Bates, "Cartographic aberrations: epistemology and order in the encyclopedic map" *SVEC* 5 (2002): 1-20; Matthew H. Edney, "Reconsidering Enlightenment Geography and Map Making: Reconnaissance, Mapping, Archive" in *Geography and Enlightenment*, eds. Daniel N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999): 165-199.

[47] Emphasis original. Letter to Mathew Carey from "A.M." in New York, February 14 1794. Lea and Febiger Collection 227B, Box 18, Folder 3, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The subtitle of the original edition of Guthrie's *Modern Geography* (London: John Knox, 1776) claimed it described the "present state of the several kingdoms of the world"; and in a 1789 edition by Dublin printer John Chambers, the "present state of all the empires, kingdoms, states, and republics in the known world."

after the Constitution's ratification, a reader of *Modern Geography* could recognize that U.S. state power had not originated in an antecedent *American* nation.

With the events of U.S. state formation still a memory in many minds, Carey's *American Museum* promoted a natural-historical conception of *American* identity, circulating exceptionalist thinking about the United States without evoking a U.S. nation. The *Museum* contained texts usually written by settler colonials about America, including political documents, essays, letters, advice for agriculturalists, poems, parables, and scientific treatises. Binding together the magazine's generically diverse contents was their natural-historical unity, curated by the *Museum* – a telling title in this respect. In late 18th-century Europe and the United States, museums were institutions of natural history. An architectural analogue to Carey's *Museum* was the brick-and-mortar "American Museum" of Charles Willson Peale, who was himself a subscriber to Carey's *Museum*.[48] Founded in Philadelphia in 1786, Peale's museum arrayed for visitors the natural history of the Americas along with foreign curios. In his later "The Artist in His Museum" (1822), Peale portrayed his museum's interior, with specimens of birds shading horizontally into taxonomically adjacent species and vertically into a bald eagle and portraits of U.S. statesmen (Image 2). This arrangement showcased the salubriousness of American nature,

[48] Despite the dearth of direct correspondence between Carey and Peale, much biographical and paratextual evidence connects the two Philadelphians. Carey's bookstore at 122 Market Street (between today's 3rd and 4th Streets) was located a third of a mile from Peale's Museum at the Pennsylvania State House, though I have found no record of Carey visiting the Museum. Peale was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society on July 21 1786 and Carey in the late 1790s. Through the engraver James Trenchard, Peale contributed four drawings to the *Columbian Magazine* Carey co-owned in 1787 (Lillian B. Miller, *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family, Volume 2, Part 1: Charles Willson Peale: The Artist as a Museum Keeper, 1791-1810* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988]: 578). Ads by Carey and Peale appeared on the same page in Eleazer Oswald's *Independent Gazetteer* (5.255 [September 16 1786]: 1; 6.274 [October 26 1786]: 1; no. 1483 [January 25 1794]: 3) and in Samuel Harrison Smith's *The New World* (2.122 [October 25 1796]: 4). The *American Museum* twice mentioned Peale's efforts at painting "a man in the 109th year of his age," but not his Museum ("A Phenomenon," 12.2 [August 1792]: 76; "Account of John Strangeways Hutton," 12.3 [September 1792]: 184-185). Peale's Museum was mentioned in *Carey's United States Recorder*, edited by Carey's brother James ("New-York, February 22," 1.15 [February 24 1798]: 2). In his *Historical Disquisition on the Mammoth* (1803), Peale's son Rembrandt cited an "Indian Tradition" printed "in Cary's [sic] Museum for 1789" explaining the origins of fossils. The article was actually printed in 8:6 (December 1790): 284-85.

and emphasized a common *American* ontology uniting its political and biological productions. In Peale's *Introduction to a Course of Lectures on Natural History,* first delivered at the University of Pennsylvania on November 16 1799, he emphasized that even though "[t]he world is a museum," "it is only by method in collecting and storing our ideas, when a multiplicity is presented to us," that "the great book of nature may be opened and studied."[49] Contemplating a system of *American* parts, Peale believed, even "Foreigners" could induct principles concerning the whole – a process facilitated by his ordered Museum.[50]

Peale had written to Carey on the day of the "Introductory Lecture on Natural History" and "particularly requested" his attendance, perhaps believing that Carey already held views similar to his own.[51] Carey's *Museum* neatly captured Peale's principle of arrangement. "Collecta reviscunt [The collection revives]," one motto insisted; the other, that its articles were "From various gardens cull'd with care" – both advertisements that the *Museum* was a curated display of American specimens.[52] Scholars focused on the *Museum*'s political impetus – citing its samplings from Paine and the *Federalist Papers* and its printing of the Constitution – have overlooked the magazine's sheer quantity of nuts-and-bolts discussions of agricultural methods, native species, and climates across the United States.[53] Writers writing on the U.S. discussed the states in physical terms at least as much as in political terms. Along with natural histories of

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[49] Charles Willson Peale, *Introduction to a Course of Lectures on Natural History, Delivered at the University of Pennsylvania, Nov. 16, 1799* (Philadelphia: Francis and Robert Bailey, 1800): 17, 25.

[50] Ibid. 21-22.

[51] Letter to Mathew Carey from Charles Willson Peale in Philadelphia, November 16 1799. Lea and Febiger Collection 227B, Box 28, Folder 11, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. To my knowledge, this is the only piece of correspondence between Carey and Peale at HSP.

[52] I have not found a source text for either, though the first motto was also the motto of John Harrison's 4-page *New-York Weekly Museum* (1788-1811).

[53] See, for example, Carol Smith-Rosenberg, *This Violent Empire: The Birth of an American National Identity* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010): 28, 36.

Kentucky, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Vermont, the *Museum* printed many submissions from "A Farmer" – a pseudonym foregrounding the writer's intimate knowledge of American land.[54] Crèvecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer*, first printed as a book in the U.S. by Mathew Carey (1793), is a well-known example of this phenomenon.[55] In fact, one of two pieces by Crèvecoeur printed in the *Museum* was his "Instructions for the culture and use of maize, or Indian corn," a translated section of an unpublished essay manuscript.[56] This excerpted text illustrates the natural-historical rather than national criterion that determined what belonged in the *American Museum*: the American provenance of "Indian corn" was more significant than the foreign nationality – not to mention the Loyalist politics – of the author.[57]

Debates concerning the origins of certain flora and fauna are regular occurrences in the *Museum*. Distinguishing the native from the foreign was at once a political and a scientific project. Antislavery subscribers to the *Museum*, for example, would read approvingly an article showing that "sugar-cane, the basis of the whole trade of the West Indies, is not a native of

[54] Lionel Chalmers, "A sketch of the climate, water and soil in South Carolina," *AM* 3:4 (April 1788): 316-334; "The state of Pennsylvania," *AM* 7:6 (June 1790): 294-301; "Sketch of the Present Situation of Vermont," *AM* 12:6 (December 1792): 307-308. For "Farmer" articles, see "Cause of, and cure for, hard times," *AM* 1:1 (January 1787): 11; "Caution against insects," *AM* 1:5 (May 1787): 365; "On agriculture," *AM* 2:3 (September 1787): 296; "On bee keeping," *AM* 2:5 (November 1787): 457; and "On the culture of turnips," *AM* 8:1 (July 1790):143.

[55] Larkin op. cit. 45.

[56] The article appeared in *AM* 2:5 (November 1787): 449. Originally translated by James Bowdoin for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Crevècoeur's widely-read article had already been printed in Boston's *Independent Chronicle* on July 12 1787, Philadelphia's *Independent Gazetteer* on July 18 1787, Providence's *United States Chronicle* on July 19 1787, the *Worcester Magazine* 3:16 (July 1787): 201, and the *Newport Herald* on July 26 1787 (Julia Post Mitchell, *St. Jean de Crevècoeur* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1916]: 170). The other excerpt of Crevècoeur's printed in the *Museum* was his grisly account of discovering a Charleston slave dying in a cage suspended from a tree branch ("Extract from 'letters from an American farmer,' by J. Hector St. John, a farmer in Pennsylvania," *AM* 1:3 [March 1787]: 210-211).

[57] For an account of the "strategic misreading" of Crevècoeur's *Letters* as "evidence of the existence of an American national identity prior to the Revolution," see Edward Larkin op. cit. 49-62. Further, as Larkin notes, in *Letters* "Crevècoeur never employs the term *nation* to describe the colonies and their inhabitants"; rather, "empire and country, not the nation, provide the crucial terms for understanding the unity" that Crevècoeur observes among "Americans" (61).

America," but an "East Indies" transplant.[58] American natural history could also validate white settler colonialism. The *Museum* published one subscriber's critique of a passage from Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1783) which claimed that "The honey-bee is not a native of our continent," and that "The bees have generally extended themselves into the country, a little in advance of the white settlers. The Indians therefore call them the white man's fly, and consider their approach as indicating the approach of the settlements of the whites." Citing Spanish and English colonial histories to refute Jefferson's assertions, the subscriber counters that the bee is "a native of America," and that bees "delight in the near neighborhood of 'the white settlers'" because "where the land is cultivated, bees find greater plenty of food suited to their nature, than [they find] in the forest…and are able to increase their tribes."[59] Whereas, in Jefferson's account, "white settlers" are indexed by a foreign invasive species that they introduced to America, the subscriber argues that white settlement benefits America's native nature. Along with Carey's excerpt from Crèvecoeur, the writer's argument with Jefferson's *Notes* illustrates how natural history was not an esoteric discourse of the American Philosophical Society – whose *Transactions* Carey also excerpted in the *Museum*[60] – but a means for readers to

[58] "On the culture of tea in America," *AM* 2:2 (February 1788): 177.

[59] "Remarks on a passage in mr. [sic] Jefferson's notes on Virginia respecting bees," *AM* 7:2 (February 1790):74-75.

[60] "Some account of a motley coloured, or pye negro girl and mulatto boy," *AM* 3:1 (January 1788): 37-39; Hugh Henry Brackenridge, "Extracts from a 'memoir to the American Philosophical Society,'" *AM* 4:2 (August 1788):133-135 and 4:4 (October 1788): 368-371; "An account of communications and donations, made to the American philosophical society," *AM* 6:3 (September 1789): 218; "At a meeting of the committee appointed by the American philosophical society," *AM* 11:6 (June 1792): 285-287. Jeremy Belknap chastised Carey for excerpting from the APS's 1786 quarterly *Transactions*, which, he claimed, diminished its sales (Letter to Carey from Jeremy Belknap in Boston on May 7 1788, Lea and Febiger Collection 227B, Box 2, Folder 4, Historical Society of Pennsylvania). Carey countered that the APS's expensive, quarto-sized publication was inaccessible to most U.S. readers, and thus failed to disseminate practical knowledge. He later reiterated this point in an 1824 broadside to the APS ("Sir, Convinced, on the most mature reflexion…" [Philadelphia: s.n. May 7 1824]). See Edward C. Carter II, *The Political Activities of Mathew Carey, Nationalist, 1760-1814* (Bryn Mawr College Ph.D. Thesis, 1962): 115-116.

engage exceptionalist views of state policy and of North American nature without invoking a U.S. nation.

In this natural historical colonialist discourse of American nativity, the peoples whom the *Museum*'s writers alternatively termed *indigenous, aborigines, natives, Indians, American Indians,* and *Native Americans* were instrumental to setter colonials' appropriation of *American* and *native* identities as humans. In what follows, I describe the natural historical theories of the *native*-ness of people in North America that appeared in the *Museum* throughout its monthly publication from 1787-92. In these discussions, *native* American bodies supplied evidence of how a people became physically assimilated to America, which in turn supported arguments that cited comparable changes in settler colonials as evidence of their becoming *American*. The *Museum* did not uniformly feature texts endorsing a particular theory. Instead, Carey's periodical was itself a context for the evaluation of different theories of the origins of natives in America, often combining biblical and empirical evidence. Studying the *Museum*'s curated set of natural history texts helps us more faithfully represent the different exceptionalist logics of post-revolutionary *American* identity, without simplifying those logics into mere versions of U.S. nationalism.

By the 1790s, more books had been produced about the history and cultures of America's natives than about North American settler colonials, largely due to European interest in systematically analyzing American nature and the "red" *Homo americanus* identified by Linnaeus in 1756.[61] Prominent multivolume critiques of American nature by the Comte de Buffon (1749), Cornelius de Pauw (1768), and Guillaume Raynal (1770) discussed native bodies as proof of America's degenerative effects on animal life, while settler colonial populations went

[61] Described as "red, choleric, erect; hair black, straight, thick; nostrils wide; face harsh; beard scanty; obstinate, content, free; paints himself with fine red lines; regulated by customs," *Homo americanus* was one of five "varieties" of humans, a distinction Linnaeus first made in the tenth (1756) edition of his *Systema Naturae*.

comparatively unanalyzed.[62] In this transatlantic colonialist discourse, theories of a native origins or *original* also provided explanations for the eighteenth-century appearances and cultures of America's native peoples. Depending on whom one read, America's natives issued from a second Creation that followed the account of Genesis (Kames), or were the surviving progeny of a lost tribe of Israel (Adair; Edwards); natives' ancestors migrated to America across a land-bridge from Asia (Barton; Charlevoix), or descended from shipwrecked Carthaginians (Bartram; Webster); contemporary natives could comprise one homogeneous nation (Buffon; Ulloa), or an internally-diverse set of nations (Colden).[63] It is not my purpose to enumerate fully the printed arguments supporting different theories of native origins, or even to read these writings as articulations of fully-formed epistemologies with static terminologies.[64] Rather what I suggest is that these theories' proliferation from the middle of the 18th century onward indicates the

[62] Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, *Histoire Naturelle, générale et particulière, avec la description du Cabinet du Roi* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1749); Cornelius de Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains, ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'histoire de l'espèce humaine* (Berlin: 1768); Guilliaume Thomas Raynal, *Histoire Philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (Amsterdam: 1770).

[63] Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada* (London: T. Osborne, 1747): 1-11; John Bartram, *Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers, Productions, Animals, and Other Matters...Made by John Bartram, in his Travels from Pensilvania* [sic] *to…Canada* (London: J. Whiston and B. White, 1751): 74-77; Pierre de Charlevoix [trans. unknown], *Journal of a Voyage to North-America* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1761 [1744]): v. 1 47-49; James Adair, *The History of the American Indians* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1775): 15-61; Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man* (Edinburgh: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1788) v. 2 555-580; Jonathan Edwards, "Observations on the language of the Muhhekaneew Indians…" (*AM* 5:2 [February 1789]): 143; Noah Webster, "To the Editor of the Amer. Mus." (*AM* 8:1 [July 1790]): 11-12; George Louis-Leclerc, Comte de Buffon [trans. William Smellie], *Natural History, General and Particular* (London: A. Strahan and T. Cadwll [sic], 1791 [1749]): v. 3 188; Antonio de Ulloa, "Of the indigenous inhabitants of both parts of America" (*AM* 12:1 [July 1792]): 44-49; Benjamin Smith Barton, *New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America* (Philadelphia: John Bioren, 1797): 14-17.

[64] For discussions of the development of New World historiography, see Antonello Gerbi [trans. Jeremy Moyle], *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1700-1900* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973 [1955]); Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America: An inquiry into the historical nature of the New World and the meaning of its history* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1961); and a later work that draws on Gerbi and O'Gorman, Jorge Cañizares-Eguerra's *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001). Cañizares-Eguerra makes an important correction to Gerbi's and O'Gorman's accounts by emphasizing the "vast amounts of scholarship put forth by Spanish American Creoles" in response to European theories of a degenerate American nature, compared to which "British colonial historiography appears negligible and derivative" (6).

growing interest of Europeans and Americans in the pre-colonial history of the natives of America.

Philip Freneau's poem "The Rising Glory of America. Written 1771," included in his poetry collection "*Written Chiefly During the Late War*" and published in Philadelphia in 1786, highlights the emergent vogue for "philosophical enquiry into the origin of the savages of America" by staging a discussion among three figures – Acasto, Eugenio, and Leander – on the subject.[65] Citing "brutal" Spanish practices in "*Mexico*," Acasto insists that "[b]etter these northern realms demand our song / Design'd by nature for the rural reign," and with this geographical limitation, Eugenio asks "How first these various nations, north and south, / Possest [sic] these shores, or from what countries came[?]" (43). He wonders how America's natives survived "the general deluge [which] drown'd the world," speculating that "some chosen few / High on the Andes 'scap'd the general death," only to refute this theory, citing "Philosophers" who claim that the biblical flood itself created the Andes (43-44). Instead, he asks if "hardy tribes / Of Jews, Siberians, Tartars wild" crossed through "the northern pole" into "America's north point, and finally he cites the Book of Genesis to claim that the earth was "cleft in twain" by the "Atlantic," finding "traces indisputable"

> Of this primaeval [sic] land, now sunk and lost. –
> The islands rising in our eastern main
> Are but small fragments of this continent,
> Whose two extremities were Newfoundland
> And St. Helena. […]

[65] Philip Freneau, *The Poems of Philip Freneau, Written Chiefly During the Late War* (Philadelphia: Francis Bailey, 1786): 42-58. Freneau's poem was initially read as a commencement address by Hugh Henry Breckenridge at his and Freneau's graduation from Princeton on September 25 1771, and in 1772 was printed as a pamphlet by Joseph Crukshank for bookseller Robert Aitken in Philadelphia.

> […] Bermuda's isles,
> Cape Verd, Canary, Britain, and the Azores,
> With fam'd Hibernia, are but broken parts
> Of some prodigious waste, which once sustain'd
> Nations and tribes of vanish'd memory[.] (44)

Leander rejoins that Eugenio's theories are the "flimsy cobwebs of a sophist's brain," asserting that "the voice of history proclaims" that sailing "Carthaginians," caught by trade winds, were "hurried on / Before the unceasing blast to Indian isles, / Brazil, La Plata, or the coasts more south" (44-45). "[S]tranded" in these "virgin climes," the Carthaginians bore "numerous progeny," the ancestors of "those whom we call Brazilians, Mexicans, [and] Peruvians," who established "Cusco, Lima, and / The town of Mexico – huge cities form'd / From Europe's architecture" (45). Yet Leander qualifies that "*here* [viz. North America], amid this northern dark domain / No towns were seen to rise" – only peoples living off "the unaided genius of the ground," which "indicates they were a different race; / From whom descended 'tis not ours to say" (46-47). Since that time, he notes, "what a change is here! – what arts arise! […] / where silence reign'd before!" (47). Thus, while their discussion has served to array contemporary theories of native origins, Leander ultimately deems these theories inapplicable to the "northern dark domain" that included – depending on when you read the poem – the British colonies or the United States.

The fact that Freneau could mobilize these contending theories – albeit through multiple speakers – indicates the diversity of theories of native origins to which an individual could be exposed. The characters' argument testifies to an ongoing process of discussion rather than a consensus on the subject. Leander's description of a Carthaginian American "progeny" writes

European ancestry into the history of American civic achievements in pre-Columbian-era cities and governments. It serves an imperialist ideology that finds European antecedents to explain away the commendable aspects of colonized peoples. Eugenio's figure of the now-"sunk" "continent" in the Atlantic is also an imperialist fiction that seeks to connect Europeans to the Americas. By describing a common "primaeval" geography, a single "continent" where the Atlantic now "cleft" the land, the sunken continent suggests a natural historical unity among – at the very least – islanders now divided by the Atlantic. Europe's "Britain" and Ireland, Africa's Cape Verdes, and America's Caribbean islands are all "fragments" of the same land that supported the same lost "nations and tribes." The implicit statement is that perhaps the Americas are after all natural environments for anglophone European settler colonials, whose ancestors ranged across a "lost" land that spanned in the west from "Newfoundland" to "Saint Helena." Importantly, while this continent held "nations and tribes," the poem does not express a nationalism (certainly not one that could, in 1771, be ascribed to the British colonies), but rather a natural historical exceptionalism, which elevated the colonial claims of English-speaking European countries over those of others.

The theories expressed by Freneau's characters were not confined to poetry or a particular print medium, but rather circulated and recombined in newspapers and magazines, including the *American Museum*. We see the porosity of theories of native origins in the arguments offered in two original articles by *Museum* contributors. In the first, a Connecticut subscriber traced America's "southern Indians" to a "Carthaginian original…much more highly civilized, than when we discovered the country," and the "northern and western Indians" to an "entirely different extraction": the "tribes of Israel" combined with Asian "nations," who had crossed the "narrow pass betwen [sic] the northeast of Asia, and northwest of America," and then inland "to

a more temperate climate."[66] In a second article, from Delaware, another contributor affirmed the "Jewish descent" of "the aborigines of North America," citing cultural parallels that included "extreme cruelty," funerary rites, dietary customs, and linguistic homophones, suggesting "that paradise was at first near the northwest boundary of the united states," an area the Bible calls "Arsareth."[67] "Would not this name," he asks, rhetorically, "better become this continent, than the harsh, stolen, and barbarous name of America?" These accounts illustrate the idiosyncrasy of late-century discussions of native origins and the imperialist politics of assigning a national status to native peoples. By presenting America's natives as degraded remnants of biblical or classical nations, settler colonial writers could assert the homogeneity of native populations as well as deny their sovereign rights because of this allegedly degraded state. In these discussions, nationhood could in fact become a disempowering designation when applied to America's natives, a means of effacing distinctions among native peoples and fixing them in a non-white, pre-colonial, pre-Christian past.

The white supremacist logic recognizable in all national and natural histories written about America's natives also produced anxious discussions of the effects of American nature on white settler colonial bodies. In the *Museum*, the interest in natives' origins was catalyzed by theories of environmental influence on biology and culture in part because many writers believed that studying America's long-term effects on native peoples could help anticipate America's future effects on its white population. Single-line queries submitted by readers and printed in Carey's *Museum* expressed anxieties about the future of white bodies through questions about America's natives:

[66] "Lucius," "A few observations upon the western and southern Indians," *AM* 5:2 (February 1789): 144-45.

[67] "M.W." "Some conjectures respecting the first peopling of America," *AM* 10:6 (December 1791): 261-64.

> If the blackness of the Africans and the East Indians within the torrid zone, be the effect of climate – why are not the original natives of America, within the same latitude, equally black?[68]
>
> […]
>
> Are there any facts which prove, that there is a diminution of the size of the human body, in successive generations in America?[69]
>
> […]
>
> Is the population among the Indians, out of the sphere of European settlements, on the increase, or the contrary?[70]

The *Museum* catered to these concerns by adding meteorological charts of Philadelphia in each monthly issue starting in 1789, and by excerpting three sections from a pamphlet by Benjamin Rush on "the climate of Pennsylvania, and its influence upon the human body."[71] In these excerpts, Rush cited information from Carey's *Columbian Magazine* and from APS minutes to argue that "fevers have lessened or disappeared, in proportion as the country has been *cultivated*," and that the "number [of species], [their] height, and vegetable productions…afford a favourable prognosis of the future healthiness of the state."[72] (Rush's diagnosis also spoke to the local interest in the pathological effects of environment generated by Philadelphia's yellow fever epidemics, which continued across the 1790s.) Still, the presumed plasticity of the human

[68] Untitled, *AM* 7:1 (January 1790): 78.

[69] Untitled, *AM* 6:1 (July 1789): 23.

[70] Ibid. 23.

[71] Benjamin Rush, "Account of the climate of Pennsylvania, and its influence upon the human body. From medical enquiries and observations," *AM* 6:1 (July 1789): 25-27; *AM* 6:3 (September 1789): 250-254; *AM* 7:3 (March 1790): 333-341. The source pamphlet was Rush's *Medical Inquiries and Observations, by Benjamin Rush, M.D. professor of Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Pritchard and Hall, 1789). Carey also began printing almanacs in the mid-1790s, capitalizing on the popularity of Franklin's almanacs of previous decades.

[72] *AM* 7:3 (March 1790): 338-339.

body kept discussions of racial coding and anxieties about racial boundaries at the fore. The *Museum,* for example, printed a letter describing the "whiten[ing]" skin of an "Indian student" at Yale, who was "pleased with the transmutation."[73] Instead of raising concerns about the effects of *America* on white bodies, the writer emphasized that settler colonial culture could "whiten" native bodies, turning environmentalist logic into a tool of imperial propaganda, but also in terms that presented a flexible notion of whiteness. One of the *American Museum*'s most frequently excerpted texts, Samuel Stanhope Smith's "An essay on the variety of complexion and figure in the human species" (1787), also cited a "young Indian" enrolled at "[t]he college of New Jersey," whose whitened skin and "refined" expression led Smith to conclude that "the same state of society, united with the same climate, would make the Anglo-American and the Indian countenance very approximate" to each other.[74] What assumptions were encoded in that vague claim? Attention to Smith's *Essay* reveals the explanatory power of natural historical thought in hardening the boundaries of whiteness in North America while, at the same time, rendering the "Anglo-American" body pliant enough to acclimatize to America: to become ontologically *American*.

Reprinted over 56 pages across six numbers of the *Museum,* Smith's work originated as an oration before the APS, and was recommended to Carey for serial republication in a letter from another APS fellow.[75] Written to refute Lord Kames's theory of a second Creation of non-white

[73] "Remarkable change in the complexion of an Indian: in a letter from mr. [sic] Benedict, of Lebanon, to the rec. president Stiles, of Yale College," *AM* 4:6 (December 1788): 557-58.

[74] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:4 (October 1789): 276.

[75] Letter to Carey from Michael Helligas, no date, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, Box 26, Folder 4, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. At the time, Michael Helligas was also serving his fourteenth year as Treasurer of the United States. In his letter to Carey, he misidentifies Samuel Stanhope Smith as "W. Smith" and "C.W. Smith," though correctly names Robert Aitken as the printer of a 1787 pamphlet of Smith's *Essay*. A later published *Catalogue of the Library of M. Carey, 1822* (Philadelphia: Joseph R. A. Skerrett, 1822) still listed "Smith on the Complexion of the Human Species" among Carey's personal holdings. Smith's work appeared in the *Museum* in six

humans, it proves the "unity of the human race…by explaining the causes of its variety," all examples of the body's physiological adaptation to its climate "by the ordinary laws of nature."[76] In Smith's *Essay*, these climatic factors included "distance from the sun," "elevation of the land," "vicinity to the sea," "the nature of the soil" and its "degree of cultivation," but properly encompassed the "infinite combinations of circumstances" to which humans were exposed, "both moral and physical," including "the state of society."[77] Smith asserted that "a savage state contributes to augment the influence of climate; or, at least, to exhibits its worst effects upon the constitution; [while] a state of civilization, on the other hand, tends to correct it, by furnishing innumerable means of guarding against its power."[78] For example, cold experienced without "succulent nourishment" and "comfortable lodging and clothing," left "savages…discolored," whereas life in a cold climate with the comforts of "civil society… renders the complexion clear and florid."[79] For the same reason, "the poor labouring classes of the people…are always first and most deeply affected by the influence of climate," more "than in families of…fortune, who possess the means…to protect their complexion."[80] These arguments implicitly affirmed that affluent settler colonial societies in the United States protected – perhaps enhanced – the health and fairness of their inhabitants, mitigating the full effects of American nature. Even when white bodies became "accommodated to the climate,…Anglo-Americans, however, will never

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parts: "An essay on the causes of the variety of complexion and figure in the human species. To which are added strictures on lord Kaims's [sic] discourse, on the original diversity of mankind. By the reverend Samuel Stanhope Smith, D.D. vice-president and professor of moral philosophy, in the college of New Jersey; and M.A.P.S." *AM* 6:1 (July 1789): 30-53; *AM* 6:2 (August 1789): 123-129; *AM* 6:3 (September 1789): 181-186; *AM* 6:4 (October 1789): 272-279; *AM* 7:4 (April 1790): 195-202; *AM* 7:5 (May 1790): 247-254.

[76] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:1 (July 1789): 31; Smith, "Essay" *AM* 7:5 (May 1790): 253.

[77] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:1 (July 1789): 31-32.

[78] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:3 (September 1789): 185.

[79] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:1 (July 1789): 35.

[80] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:2 (August 1789): 125.

resemble the native Indians," because "Civilization will prevent so great a degeneracy, either in the colour, or the features."[81]

Despite the protections of "civilization," the "law of climate" ultimately affected every body.[82] Smith explained sickness as a form of adaptation in which "nature, [was] breaking down and changing the [body's] constitution, in order to accommodate it to the climate."[83] This ontological "assimilation" was, according to Smith, a primary means by which nations of people became distinguished from others, but "national features, like national manners, become fixed, only after a succession of ages," and "by very imperceptible gradations."[84] By his estimate, it had taken "ten centuries" for each of the European nations' ancestors "to melt down the whole into one uniform and national countenance," and it was "plain" that "the inhabitants of these united states" had yet to achieve such national homogeneity.[85] In part this was because "the frequency of [internal] migration [in the U.S.] has not permitted any soil, or state of local manners, to impress its character deeply on the constitution" of the people.[86] The Americanizing process had also been "retarded by the arts of society, and by the continual intermixture of foreign nations" into the U.S.'s settler colonial population.[87] "[H]ow easily climate would assimilate foreigners to natives in the course of time, if they would adopt the same manners, and equally expose themselves to its influence," Smith wrote, but foreigners in "the united states [sic], who live chiefly among themselves, and cultivate the habits and ideas of the countries from which they

[81] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:2 (August 1789): 125fn.

[82] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:2 (August 1789): 124.

[83] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:1 (July 1789): 34.

[84] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:1 (July 1789): 32; Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:2 (August 1789): 126.

[85] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:2 (August 1789): 126.

[86] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6.4 (October 1789): 274.

[87] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:2 (August 1789): 126.

emigrated, retain, even in our climate, a strong resemblance to their primitive stocks."[88] Social and linguistic integration appear here as prerequisites for a *native* American status, highlighting the utility of natural historical thought in devising exclusionary strategies for policing the U.S.'s changing population. Indeed, Smith asserted that "notwithstanding the shortness of the period, since their first establishment in America" and "notwithstanding the continual mixture of Europeans, with those born in the country," the "inhabitants of the united states [sic]" had "already suffered a visible change."[89] Though settler colonials descended from "the fairest people in Europe," they now bore a "degree of sallowness" that increased in the Southern states, and "curled locks, so frequent among their ancestors, are rare in the united states," where "strait lank hair" already predominated.[90] The generations needed to produce national differences had not yet elapsed, but these incremental changes made Smith qualify that when he referenced "Anglo-Americans," he meant "natives of the second or third generation…[with] a clear American descent by both parents."[91] These emergent traits were not presented as threats to whiteness; rather, they became exclusionary criteria, attached to lineage and birthplace, by which settler colonials understood themselves as "assimilated" to America, to the extent that Smith "cannot say with certainty, whose ancestor was the native of the clime, and whose the intruding foreigner."[92]

In Smith's *Essay,* natural history supplied an epistemology flexible enough for self-described "Anglo-American" settler colonials to distinguish themselves both from new immigrants and

[88] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:2 (August 1789): 125; Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6.4 (October 1789): 279.

[89] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:2 (August 1789): 124.

[90] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:2 (August 1789): 124, 128.

[91] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:2 (August 1789): 125, 126fn.

[92] Smith, "Essay," *AM* 6:1 (July 1789): 33.

from native peoples whose histories predated a colonial presence. At the same time, for immigrants like Carey the *Essay* presented a generational path to becoming *American* that did not require citizenship or ethnic origins in the United States – indeed, an *American* identity that preceded and exceeded such limiting factors. Yet the *American Museum*'s attention to patterns of change in white and native bodies was not an endorsement of a progressive racial politics. The *Museum*'s articles on native physiology and origins appeared alongside poems memorializing "The dying Indian," fictional "Indian Anecdotes" that parodied native historical traditions, accounts of native marauding and of New England's "Indian Wars," and captivity narratives (which Carey published as a compiled volume in 1794).[93] These texts highlight the prevailing white supremacist logic among settler colonial writing on America's natives. As part of this oeuvre, natural historical analyses of America's natives wrought rhetorical and conceptual changes of settler colonial ideas of what it meant to be *American*, rather than changes to U.S. law or politics. Over the course of the eighteenth century, Europe's tradition of representing *Americans* as nonwhite natives, combined with New World natural histories' ontological connection of native bodies to the *American* land, had made America's native peoples rather than

[93] The collected volume of captivity narratives was the *Affecting History of the Dreadful Distresses of Frederic Manheim's Family: To which are added, the Sufferings of John Corbly's Family: An Encounter between a White Man and Two Savages: Extraordinary Bravery of a Woman: Adventures of Capt. Isaac Stewart: Deposition of Massey Herbeson: Adventures and Sufferings of Peter Wilkinson: Remarkable Adventures of Jackson Johonnot: Account of the Destruction of the Settlements at Wyoming* (Philadelphia: Printed for Mathew Carey by D. Humphreys, 1794). Significantly, these excerpts described recent conflicts in New York and Pennsylvania during the Seven Years' War (1756-63), rather than reprinted colonial-era texts. For two examples of these texts' earlier appearance in the *Museum*, see "Cruelty of savages," *AM* 1:4 (April 1787): 295-96; "The narrative of capt. Isaac Stewart: taken from his own mouth in March, 1782," *AM* 2:1 (July 1787): 92-93. For "dying Indian" poems, see Philip Freneau, "The death song of a Cherokee Indian," *AM* 1:1 (January 1787): 77; "The dying Indian," *AM* 2:4 (October 1787): 414; Philip Freneau, "The dying Indian, or the last words of Shalum," *AM* 3:2 (February 1788): 190. For fictional "Indian Anecdotes," see "Indian Anecdote," *AM* 2:6 (December 1787): 594; "Origin of the island of Nantucket. An Indian tradition," *AM* 4:3 (September 1788): 276; "An Indian Anecdote," *AM* 5:3 (March 1789): 216-218; "Indian Anecdote," *AM* 6:3 (September 1789): 204-205. For reports of warfare between natives and settler colonials, see "Letters relative to the incursions and depredations of the Indians in the state of Georgia," *AM* 2:6 (December 1787): 580-84; "Lexington, March 27," *AM* 3:5 (May 1788): 491; "Account of the late murders and depredations committed by the Indians, in Harrison county, Virginia," *AM* 6:4 (October 1789): 346; "Observations on the Indian War," *AM* 11:4 (April 1792): 165-169; "A Friend of Government" [anon.], "Indian War," *AM* 11:5 (May 1792): 235-36; "On the Indian War," *AM* 12:2 (August 1792): 128-29; "Indian War," *AM* 12:5 (November 1792): 255-56.

settler colonials the primary *Americans* in Atlantic print. As my next section shows, the eighteenth-century development of *Columbian* identity in North America was underwritten by settler colonials' desire for a white alternative to *American* identity in a name attached to a white European colonizer. We will see that for *Columbia*'s advocates, the fact that America, too, was named for a European was insignificant compared to the prevailing non-white connotations of the *American*, especially in the early United States.

II. White Columbia, Native America, and the Case of Tammany

Columbia, a Latinized cognate of *Columbus* (which was already a Latinization, coined by Columbus himself, of his *Colon* surname), possibly originates in print in 1738 in the English periodical *The Gentleman's Magazine* (London: 1731-1914), whose editorial motto – *e pluribus unum* – later became a political motto on the U.S. government's seal.[94] The name *Columbia* was part of the magazine's verbal evasion of "the late Resolution of the House of Commons, whereby we [the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the English press generally] are forbidden to insert any Account of the Proceedings of *British Parliament*."[95] Instead, editor Edward Cave alleged, the magazine would reprint excerpts from an unpublished "Appendix to Capt. GULLIVER'S Account," detailing "the DEBATES of the *Lilliputian* Senate."[96] This alleged Appendix was thus

[94] Robert Ferguson, *The American Enlightenment, 1750-1820* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994): 154. However, Ferguson mistakenly asserts that "Columbia" first appeared in "the first volume of the English *Gentlemen's* [sic] *Magazine* of 1731" (154). "Columbia" in fact did not first appear until Volume 8, Number 6 (June 1738) of the periodical. The *Magazine* did not print an article on Christopher Columbus until July 1764: "An Account of the Discoveries of COLUMBUS," v. 34 no. 7 (1764): 307-309. The article was a clipped description of Columbus's transoceanic voyages that emphasized his imprisoned return to Spain by Spanish government officials.

[95] Anon. "Debates in the Senate of MAGNA LILLIPUTIA," *The Gentleman's Magazine: For June, 1738*, v. 8 no. 6 (London: Edward Cave, 1738): 283.

presented to readers as a coded but accurate report of English Parliamentary debates – a nonfictional report couched in the form of a fiction that, like Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1725), presented itself as nonfiction. In this transparently nonfictional fiction, the toponym or place-name "*Columbia*" was "the *Lilliputian* Name for the Country that answers our *America*."[97] Yet while the toponym or place-name *Columbia* was part of an imperialist vocabulary, the unnamed writers of the earliest "Debates" defined it as a "whole Quarter of the World" rather than as the British Empire's North American territories, and in fact anxiously emphasized Columbia's contested territorial status and unruly settler colonial populations.[98]

The "Debates" often simply enumerated the causes of the "continual War betwixt the *Lilliputians* [English] and *Iberians* [Spanish] in *Columbia*, while both Powers were at Peace in *Degulia* [Europe]."[99] These articles acknowledged "that the Law of nations gave the *Iberians* a Right to a large Part of *Columbia*…founded upon their Right of Discovery," but that Spain also unjustly "claim[ed] a Right to all *Columbia* exclusive of other Nations"; they critiqued the "dreadful Massacres and Devastations" of New World peoples by "the *Columbian Iberians*"; and they compared Spanish colonization to English colonization, the former's overeager territorial

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[96] Anon. "Debates in the Senate of MAGNA LILLIPUTIA," *The Gentleman's Magazine: For June, 1738*, v. 8 no. 6 (London: Edward Cave, 1738): 283, 287.

[97] Anon. "Debates in the Senate of MAGNA LILLIPUTIA," *The Gentleman's Magazine: For June, 1738*, v. 8 no. 6 (London: Edward Cave, 1738): 285.

[98] Anon. *The Gentleman's Magazine: For June, 1738*, v. 8 no. 6 (London: Edward Cave, 1738): 286. Several of the earliest studies of *The Gentleman's Magazine*'s "Debates in the Senate of Lilliput" attributed the authorship of the articles to Samuel Johnson. See Benjamin Beard Hoover, *Samuel Johnson's Parliamentary Reporting* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953); Donald J. Greene, "Some Notes on Johnson and the *Gentleman's Magazine*," *PMLA* 74 (1959): 75-84; and F.V. Bernard, "Johnson and the Authorship of Four Debates," *PMLA* 82 (1967): 408-419. Thomas Kaminski's *The Early Career of Samuel Johnson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) suggests that the Scottish historian William Guthrie was the primary author of the "Debates" from 1738-40, and that Johnson revised Guthrie's drafts.

[99] Anon. *The Gentleman's Magazine: November, 1738*, v. 8 no. 11 (London: Edward Cave, 1738): 559.

speculations having "exhausted their Mother Country of its Inhabitants."[100] England, too, practiced unwise colonial policy by exiling criminals "from the Prisons of *Mildendo* [London]" to "Columbia," an "Art of civilizing their remote Dominions without…much Injury to their Native Country" but with negative consequences for "*his Majesty's Subjects in* Columbia."[101] Such comments clarify that the *Magazine* claimed Columbian identity neither for England nor for the British Empire, but applied it to all New World lands and settler colonials. Rather than serving as a jingoistic designation for British North America, Columbia in the "Debates" defined a capacious area of conflict that served both as a proxy for European politics and as a site of internal tensions among settler colonial populations.

Even a consideration limited to eighteenth-century Anglophone print thus captures the dramatic semantic transformations that this *Columbian* identity underwent among New World settler colonials, who repurposed it with more geographically targeted and exceptionalist meanings. Rather than an imperial center's designation for an unruly periphery of competing territorial conquests, *Columbia* was domesticated into a North American symbol of self-definition both against British imperialists and eventually against native peoples in North America. Phillis Wheatley's invocation of "Columbia" in her October 1775 poem "To His Excellency George Washington" illustrates the emergent trend of deifying a symbol of settler colonial sovereignty. In this manuscript poem sent in a letter to Washington, Wheatley vividly evoked "Columbia's scenes of glorious toils": the "refulgent arms," "golden hair," and "divinely fair" appearance of the "goddess," and French and English remorse when met with "Columbia's

[100] Anon. "Debates in the Senate of MAGNA LILLIPUTIA," *The Gentleman's Magazine: For June, 1738*, v. 8 no. 6 (London: Edward Cave, 1738): 286; Anon. *The Gentleman's Magazine: November, 1738*, v. 8 no. 11 (London: Edward Cave, 1738): 559, 571.

[101] Anon. "Debates in the Senate of MAGNA LILLIPUTIA," *The Gentleman's Magazine: For June, 1738*, v. 8 no. 6 (London: Edward Cave, 1738): 286, 288.

fury" and "Columbia's arm."[102] It is significant that Wheatley – a kidnapped African who remained enslaved in Boston until 1774 – is among the earliest writers in anglophone North America to invoke a distinctly North American Columbia, and to do so in racialized terms that likely had oral and performative origins before they were articulated in print. This "Columbia" highlights Wheatley's complex position as a poet of color using a trope of white settler colonials in a poem created to express a multiracial North American exceptionalism.

Textual representations of Columbia worked synergistically with printed images and social rituals to add semantic authority to this figure of white settler colonial exceptionalism. Periodical ornaments and illustrations could offer a pedestrian encounter with Columbian iconography, as in Philadelphia's *Columbian Magazine: or Monthly Miscellany* (1786-92), which Mathew Carey co-founded and wrote articles for prior to leaving this periodical in January 1787 to work on his *American Museum*, which I discussed in the previous section. Among the engravings that prefaced each monthly issue, readers would occasionally encounter allegorical depictions of Columbia, each of which reiterated the racial anxieties underwriting the distinction of the (white) Columbian from the (Indian) American. In the frontispiece to the first issue of the *Columbian Magazine* (see Images 3 and 4), "Minerva" extends her hand to the classically-dressed mother "Columbia," whose starry headband aligns her with the United States, and whose son is clothed in contemporary colonial garb, including a lapelled shirt and buckled shoes. The transference of "arms" and "arts" from classical Roman goddess to Columbia to her settler colonial children leaves no space for native history and knowledge to enter into this chain of cultural inheritance.

[102] Phillis Wheatley, *The Collected Works of Phillis Wheatley*, edited by John Shields (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988): 145-46. Washington wrote back to Wheatley on February 28 1776 to thank her for "the elegant Lines you enclosed." On February 10 1776 Washington sent a copy of the poem in a letter to Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Reed, who placed it in the *Pennsylvania Magazine: or, American Monthly Museum* on April 2 1776, pg. 193, then edited by Thomas Paine. The poem was reprinted in John Dixon's and William Hunter's *Virginia Gazette* on March 30 1776.

After the Constitutional Convention, printed engravings of Columbia, like Charles Willson Peale's frontispiece (Image 5) for the *Magazine*'s fifth (1790) volume, began to feature more prominently newly-minted government iconography like the U.S. seal and flag. Yet *Magazine* engravings like James Thackera's 1786 "Venerate the Plough" (Images 6 and 7) reveal the persistence of inherited native iconographies during Columbia's late-century development as an allegory of white settler colonial exceptionality. Haloed by thirteen stars, Thackera's light-haired Columbia gazes benevolently at the settler colonial farmer plowing his fenced-in property; but if the goddess seems to patronize white husbandry in the United States, her bare feet, low-cut dress, and hairpiece – feathers? ears of the wheat she cradles? – invoke depictions of the native female *America*, whose immodesty traditionally evoked the availability of New World "virgin land."[103] White readers of Thackera's image could have several potential interpretations of this allegorical figure and ways of relating to it.

From this last example, we see that an account of the changing iconographies of *America* and *Columbia* must deal in decades-long trends rather than cite particular historical turning-points in the history of these terms and concepts. If the 1792 tricentennial of Columbus's first transoceanic voyage catalyzed the North American appropriation of Columbian symbolism, it was only because writers like Wheatley and artists like Peale had already made such an appropriation conceivable to a large population. Indeed, the late-century boomlet of *Columbias* – as the new name of King's College in New York (1784); as South Carolina's new capital (1786); as the U.S.'s new federal district (1791); as the new name (1792) of the river that would take Lewis and Clark to the Pacific; and as the addressee of the newly rewritten "Hail, Columbia!" (1798), the early U.S.'s unofficial anthem – merely indexes the popularity of an already widespread but

[103] For an influential study of the trope of New World "virgin land" from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, see Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950).

inchoate vernacular concept. Still, these prominent rhetorical choices mark the changing semantic values of the *Columbian,* and turn-of-the-century prints of Columbia indicate the direction of this semantic change. By the time of the late-century print "Columbia Trading with All the World" (ca. 1789-1800), for example, we see a white female Columbia and a native American man cast as distinct allegorical figures (Image 8). The print captures the white exceptionalist motivations underwriting settler colonials' development of Columbia: a figure that could evoke white North American exceptionality without obviously appropriating native cultures and without referencing – to repeat the words of one *American Museum* contributor – the "barbarbous name of America."[104]

Public performances and vernacular mythologies of fraternal "Tammany Societies," founded in the late eighteenth century in several Atlantic coast cities, have underwritten earlier scholars' discussions of the settler colonial appropriation of native iconography.[105] While the connecting claim of these studies is that these appropriations of native identity served to promote U.S. *nationalism,* I argue that Tammany societies in fact promoted a version of settler colonial exceptionalism based on their presumed natural historical connection with the American land and, by extension, its native peoples. While scholars have observed the exceptionalist assumptions encoded in natural history texts, my account shows, these assumptions cannot be summarized as nationalistic ideas. Natural history could provide a collective past and identity when people did not have a common cultural history, but that did not mean that settler colonials understood natural history as interchangeable with national history.

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[104] "M.W." "Some conjectures respecting the first peopling of America," *AM* 10:6 (December 1791): 263.

[105] David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997): 70; Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999): 45-57; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Surrogate Americans: Masculinity, Masquerade, and the Formation of a National Identity," *PMLA* 119.5 (2004): 1325-1335.

"Saint Tammany" had a deep local roots in Philadelphia, being named for the Delaware chief Tammany who had allegedly welcomed William Penn's settlers in 1682. By the 1770s, however, Tammany had spread into an inter-colonial symbol of resistance to British rule, even serving as the patron saint of the Sons of Liberty, who on May 1 1772 reconstituted themselves in Philadelphia as the "Sons of King Tammany," and a year later as the "Sons of Saint Tammany."[106] Beginning that decade, white "Tammanites" claimed to celebrate Saint Tammany's martial and civic leadership in parades and publicized meetings, whose procedural vocabulary of "chiefs" (presidents), "sachems" (members), and "wigwams" (meeting sites) reinforced the perception that settler colonials were celebrating a political or cultural connection to the long-dead, idealized native chief.[107] The appropriative dress and "Indian" traditions characteristic of the 1770s Tammany Societies, however, began to fade in the 1780s as these societies embraced an ideology of white *Columbian* nativism. By studying transformations in the symbolic language deployed by Tammany Societies alongside Mathew Carey's personal relationship to these transformations, we see a powerful example of the efforts of settler colonials to whiten the symbolism they employed to assert their connection to North American land.

During the 1780s the New York branch instituted nativist criteria for membership, and while the Philadelphia branch permitted recent immigrants to join, poetry in the city's periodicals signaled the racial logic underwriting a shift away from Tammany toward Columbia. Carey's *American Museum*, for example, reprinted a 1786 poem on the "Character of St. Tamany" [sic],

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[106] See Chapter 9 of Donald A. Grinde, Jr. and Bruce E. Johansen, *Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy* (1990). Web < https://ratical.org/many_worlds/6Nations/EoL/index.html#ToC >. Accessed 12/14/2017.

[107] Samuel Latham Mitchill, *The Life, Exploits, and Precepts of Tammany; the Famous Indian Chief* (New York: J. Buel, 1795): 2, 32.

specifying his "Indian race," and admiring his "courage" before he "bravely died" because "(Courage we all respect ev'n in a foe)."[108] The "we" of the poem, opposed as a "foe" to members of the "Indian race" like Tammany, reveals that it designates a white collective because of the absence of any explicit qualification as to who "we" are. It is a statement made by a settler colonial poet who presumes his perspective to be shared by *Museum* readers. The semiotic joust between Columbia and Tammany is evinced in a transcribed 1788 Fourth of July ode performed at a Philadelphia theater, observing the multiplicity of race-based saints celebrated in North America:

> The *Savage tribes* their jubilee proclaim,
> And crown *Saint Tammany* with lasting fame.
> E'en the poor *Negro* will awhile resign
> His furrows, to adorn *Saint Quaco's* shrine; […]
> But while the dupes of legendary strains
> Amuse their fancy, or forget their pains,
> While mimic Saints a transient joy impart,
> That strikes the sense but reaches not the heart,
> Arise *Columbia*![109]

Tammany, now the saint of "*Savage tribes*" rather than white revolutionaries, is dismissed as a false legend, one among several "mimic Saints" incommensurable with the addressed Columbia. Elsewhere, the ode also mentions "*Saint Patrick's* sons," alluding to the mutual aid societies

[108] "Character of St. Tamany – from an address delivered by mr. [sic] W. Pritchard, at a meeting, for the celebration of the saint's anniversary, May 1, 1786," *AM* 5:1 (January 1789): 104.

[109] "An Address intended to have been spoken by Mr. Hallam at the Theatre in Philadelphia on 4th of July 1788," originally quoted in Jeremiah Fisher et. al., "The Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany (concluded)," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 27.1 (1903): 35-37, emphasis original.

established by immigrant communities along the United States' urban coast – another motivating factor behind the growing nativism of Saint Tammany Societies. (Mathew Carey, as noted earlier, became an active member of Philadelphia's Sons of Saint Patrick soon after arriving in 1784.) These émigré Saint societies advertised in city papers, drawing the ire of nativists like Eleazer Oswald – the newspaper editor who shot Carey's bad leg in a duel – and even readers of Carey's own *American Museum*. An anonymous Savannah contributor, writing on "Attachment to Native Country," remarked on the prevalence of self-professed "sons of St. Patrick [Ireland], St. Andrew [Scotland], or St. George [England]" in the U.S., decrying "those, who, as well as their fathers and grandfathers before them, were born in this country, and yet have searched their pedigrees to find out which of the European saints they belong to!"[110] In light of the persistence of European identities in the U.S., the contributor found it "undoubtedly pretty true" that "the Americans are less national than any other people."[111] Columbian discourse thus selectively excluded not only America's native peoples, but European immigrants and their descendants who allegedly refused to acculturate, and instead remained isolated in the U.S. within nation-based social groups.

The fact that America and Americans are unmentioned in the full, longer version of the 1788 ode indicates the marginal status of that terminology within the discourse of allegorical saints. Because, as I have argued, in the late eighteenth century *America* primarily defined a natural historical community formed by the effects of a common geography, it made sense that America did not join Columbia in representing a white settler colonial exceptionalism in the early U.S. America, like the figure of Tammany, had become too closely associated with nonwhite natives to receive the address of this settler colonial poet. This is why the prominent New York branch

[110] Anon., "Attachment to Native Country," *AM* 12:1 (July 1792): 53.

[111] Anon., "Attachment to Native Country," *AM* 12:1 (July 1792): 52.

of the Tammany Society voted to rebrand itself, in 1789, as "Saint Tammany's Society or Columbian Order," and why a co-founder, John Pintard, called for a 1792 celebration of "the memory of Columbus, who is our patron," now that Tammany was "lately uncanonized."[112] By the time the still-unnaturalized Irishman Mathew Carey became a "Brother" of the Philadelphia branch as late as 1796, it too was renamed, now as the "Tammany Society or Columbian Order" (Image 9).[113]

Even in this period of Tammany's decanonization, Society-related publications (often of speeches at the Society's events) continued to mythologize Tammany's intimate connections to American land. According to a 1795 Society speech by Samuel Latham Mitchill (a future governor of New York), "FATHER TAMMANY" had shaped the Americas' flora and fauna, its terrain, and the landmarks remaining on it.[114] The speech proceeds as a fabular natural history, in which Tammany burns away noxious "sumach and stinging nettles," cures rattlesnake bites with "seneka-root and plantain," traps "carnivorous" "MAMMOTHS" in a pit of spikes, digs the Ohio River to avert a flood, and discovers both "*maize,* or *indian corn*" and tobacco, along with "many other improvements in agriculture" (6-13). Tammany's history was also mapped onto celebrated antiquarian sites of the late eighteenth century. The mention of mammoths, and Tammany's method of luring them with salt, ties his story to the mammoth skeleton excavated from a salt lick in the Ohio River Valley in 1783, and eventually displayed in Peale's American Museum (the legs and jawbone of the mammoth are visible on the right side of Image 2). Claiming further that "curious antiquarians have detected the spot" where Tammany "lies interred within the great

[112] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999): 48.

[113] See Lea and Febiger Collection 227B, Box 16, Folder 1, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This folder contains five form-printed invitations to "Brother" Carey by the Philadelphia "Tammany Society or Columbian Order," from June through October 1796. Three of these invitations are pictured in Image 9.

[114] Samuel Latham Mitchill, *The Life, Exploits, and Precepts of Tammany; the Famous Indian Chief* (New York: J. Buel, 1795).

Indian fort, near MUSKINGUM" (Image 10) tied the native chief to abandoned fortifications by the Muskingum River first encountered by settler colonials in the 1780s, the architectural "skill" of which had "given rise to an idea, that some Europeans must have had agency, in making them" (5). This assertion of Tammany's people's architectural achievement was supported by the claim that they "grew industrious, and were fast advancing to civilization" under the guidance of Tammany's "patriarchal" government of "general consent" (15-16). Yet despite this civilizing government, in the years after Tammany's death the "TAMMANITES, after dwindling into insignificance, finally lost entirely their character and name; and were swallowed up or scattered abroad among the surrounding nations" (32). Significantly, the disintegration of the Tammanites is not attributed to an inherently "degenerate" nature, but to a cultural degeneration resulting from a failure to preserve the "institutions" of government set in place by Tammany (32). The history presents North American land as a place fashioned (by Tammany) expressly for the health of humans. The now-"lost" Tammanites are not enervated by their natural surroundings but by their imperfect "institutions." They are nonwhite figures who refute the European notion that "the inhabitants of western climes" – including white settler colonials and native peoples – were or became "a feeble or degenerate race of men" (32). They represent the civilizing potential of a mutually-complementary environment and culture, presenting evidence from before the advent of New World colonialism, at "a period far more remote than…*Columbus*" (5). For a white settler colonial reader, Mitchill's pamphlet would be less a nationalistic call than a natural historical defense of human potential in the Americas.

In his influential study of the history of white people "playing Indian," Philip Deloria has also described the New York Tammany Society's efforts to "decanoniz[e]" the figure of

Tammany in the late eighteenth century.[115] His insightful account notes the emergent tensions in the New York branch between Tammany and Columbus as symbolic figureheads. Yet Deloria's analysis hinges on the claim that "[n]ational identity was indeed the goal of the protonationalist celebrations sponsored by the Tammany societies" and that this "national self-definition" was actually achieved.[116] Further, this account causally deploys the vocabulary of the *American* to refer to white colonists in British colonies and in the early United States. These assumptions flatten the historical textures of both the varieties and vocabularies of exceptionalist thought among the settler colonials which I have traced in this chapter. They presume 1) that white appropriations of native cultures facilitated the creation of a specifically *national* identity; and 2) that *American* identity was the de facto name for this new nationality. The circular claim that by "playing Indian, Americans…created a new identity – American" highlights the ahistorical deployment of the *American* in this account.[117] Thus Deloria's otherwise accurate assertion that New York Tammanites sought "to dilute the importance of Tammany by turning to Columbus as a crucial figure for American identity" is semantically imprecise.[118] As traced earlier, in the late eighteenth century Columbus (as *Columbia*) was a significant semiotic competitor with the *American*, not a reinforcing figure for it. Settler colonial "American identity" was in fact even more bound up with native peoples than recognized in *Playing Indian* – so much so that Columbian identity coalesced in anglophone North America as a white alternative to an all-too-native American identity.

[115] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999): 46, 48.

[116] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999): 21-22.

[117] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999): 36.

[118] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999): 48.

Literary scholars of the early U.S. who claim to describe *American* literary history thus must take particular care to historicize the language of identity in accounts of early U.S. exceptionalism. This body of scholarship must come to terms with the fact that it is ahistorical to speak of a national American literature in a period when *American* was not a national designation, when settler colonials found nationalism itself inapplicable to the new United States, and when *Columbian* white exceptionalism was prominently contesting the utility of *American* identity for settler colonial countrymen in the United States. I do not argue that Columbia neatly replaced America in the minds of white nativist settlers as the symbol of their political and cultural sovereignty. Indeed, idioms of the American clearly endured and ultimately superseded Columbian identity in the imperialist rhetorics of U.S. writers in the next century. Instead, this chapter has illustrated that to identify as American was *not* an uncontested, de facto, automatic choice even for white natural-born anglophone citizens of the United States. More importantly, it emphasizes the ahistoricity of reading late-century exceptionalist rhetorics – *American*, *Columbian*, *Tammanite* – as quintessentially *nationalist* expressions. Many idioms of North American anglophone identity – based in natural history, in colonial history, in race – were available for early U.S. settler colonials, but they were not understood in their own time as nationalist ideologies.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 1.1. See *VJ* 1.78 (April 9 1784): page 4. This image is for research purposes only, courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 1.2. Charles Willson Peale, *The Artist in His Museum* (1822).
Image hosted by Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, pafa.org.

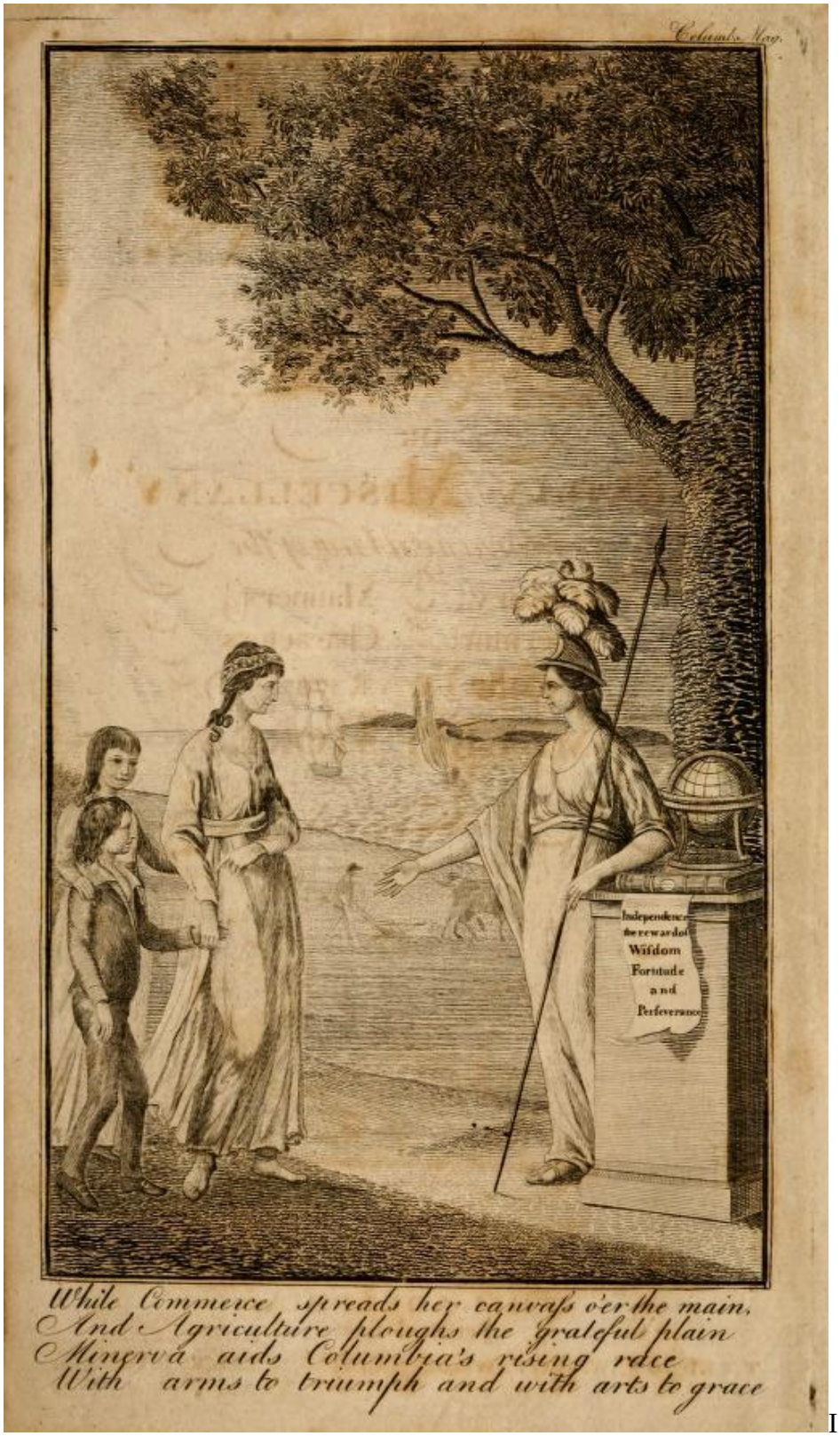

Figure 1.3. Frontispiece to vol. 1 (1786) of Carey's *Columbian Magazine* (Philadelphia: 1786-92), in which "Minerva" (right) extends her hand to the mother "Columbia" and her children (left). Image courtesy of archive.org.

Figure 1.4. Detail of children and the mother “Columbia,” Image 3.
Image courtesy of archive.org.

Figure 1.5. Frontispiece designed by Charles Willson Peale for volume 5 of the already renamed *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine* (1790).
Image courtesy of the Library of Congress's Prints and Photographs Online Catalog, loc.gov.

Figure 1.6. "Venerate the Plow," *The Columbian Magazine* v. 1 no. 2 (October 1786): 77. The engraver "J.T." was James Thackera. Image courtesy of archive.org.

Figure 1.7. Detail of farmer and goddess figure, Image 5.
Image courtesy of archive.org.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 1.8. "Columbia Trading with All the World," circa 1789-1800. The publisher is unnamed, and it is not known if the engraving was first printed in the United States or in London. The Irish lyre on the ship (upper right) suggests a possible provenance in New York's or Philadelphia's large Irish communities. Image hosted by the Library Company of Philadelphia Digital Collections, digital.librarycompany.org.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 1.9. Form-printed mailers sent to Carey informing him of upcoming meetings of "*the* TAMMANY SOCIETY *or* Columbian Order." This image is for research purposes only, courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Figure 1.10. "Plan of the Remains of some Ancient Works on the Muskingum," *The Columbian Magazine* v. 2 no. 5 (May 1787): 425.
Image courtesy of archive.org.

Chapter 2

Americans, *americanos*, and Literary Exceptionalism, 1808-1832

In the opening decades of the nineteenth century, settler colonial governments in the Americas underwent more widespread transformations than in any similar interval before or since. These transformations hinged on the political, cultural, and physical destruction of the Americas' native peoples, but were recorded in settler colonial histories as new acts of political founding and cultural protection, such as the independences of Haiti (1804), Brazil (1825), and all of mainland Spanish America (1810-1826; Mexico in 1821); or, for the United States, in the Louisiana Purchase from France (1803), the War of 1812 with England (1812-15), the acquisition of Florida in the Transcontinental Treaty with Spain (1819), and the state-sponsored killing and exile of native peoples that first legally culminated in the Indian Removal Act (1830), to be discussed in Chapter 3. Considered within these decades, the American continents were a protean terrain of geopolitical change, *against* which stable national histories and identities had to be imagined and asserted. The preceding chronology of American political events forms less a static context for an analysis of contemporaneous periodicals than an index of unsettled grounds of the American identities appearing across a hemisphere of exchanged and excerpted periodical print. These dates do not record moments in an inevitable, uncontested process of territorial acquisition, but the enduring inchoateness of American exceptionalisms theorized in the early United States and revolutionary Spanish America.

Shifting state jurisdictions coincided with a period of increasing communications between formerly isolated settler colonial populations across the Americas. This development was largely facilitated by information spread through books and periodicals, often shipped by boat between ports along the Atlantic coast. While recognizing print's historical utility to nationalist programs,

it is important to resist viewing print reductively as a mere instrument of a state ideology. Political and military letters, for example, often appeared in newspapers not because their writers perceived newsprint as a particularly republican technology, but because letters were vastly more expensive to mail than newspapers. The legal and material factors affecting print's production and consumption shaped political discourse – its social effects and its ideological content – rather than print simply reacting to or expressing a preexisting politics. This chapter focuses on two entwined processes observable in the Americas' expanding periodical networks: the emergence of hemispheric *American* political imaginaries, and the emergence of new exclusionary nationalisms that anxiously emphasized national distinctions in a time of increasing intellectual and demographic porosity. The more connected that white settler colonials in the U.S. believed they were to the rest of the hemisphere, the more did many of them seek to distinguish themselves as a particular population within and against the rest of the hemisphere, even other parts of the United States.

Trish Loughran makes a similar argument concerning political regionalisms internal to the United States. She traces how the social effects of print are contingent upon its scales of production and distribution, avoiding a technological determinism that reduces all print to an instrument of consensus and community building. "Contrary to unionist truisms that link the spread of print culture to a more nationalist consciousness," she shows that interregional "print campaigns of the 1830s cultivated a sense of material simultinaeity across national space that, paradoxically, produced an enhanced sense of regional difference…not nationalism but an ever more entrenched sectionalism" between an antislavery North and a proslavery South.[119] (This

Due to the frequency of citations, *The North American Review* will be abbreviated *NAR* in footnote references. If no author is listed for a periodical article, the article is anonymous.

sociological insight – that the more exposed a population is to its members' differing opinions, the more internally-polarized its members' opinions become – applies to virtual as well as physical texts. The advent of social media platforms like Twitter, a recent study argues, has amplified the political polarization of self-described conservatives and progressives in the twenty-first century U.S.)[120] There was no single democratically-accessible public sphere of ideas. There were local and regional print cultures that, in time, bumped up against one another and so hardened their borders along different ideological axes, such as slavery, economics, and foreign policy. The narrative of an epistemic shift in U.S. print culture in the 1820s and 30s, from an idealized "republican" conception of print expressing writers' and printers' civic commitments to a populace informed by an egalitarian "public sphere," to a new "liberal" conception of print as a commodity created, bought, and sold within an individualistic "marketplace of ideas," overlooks the fact that economics and political partisanship have been engines of print culture in North America even prior to the U.S.'s existence.[121]

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[119] Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770-1870* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007): 345.

[120] Christopher A. Bail, Lisa Argyle, Taylor Brown, John Bumpuss, Haohan Chen, M.B. F Hunzaker, Jaemin Lee, Marcus Mann, Friedolin Merhout, and Alexander Volfovsky. "Exposure to Opposing Views Can Increase Political Polarization: Evidence from a Large-scale Field Experiment on Social Media". Published March 19 2018, SocArXiv. Accessed May 1 2018, < https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/4ygux/ >.

[121] The seminal account of this transformation is Michael Warner's *Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990) – see pages 9-10 and 120-22. While Warner's theorization of a "public sphere" has been critiqued by scholars including Joanna Brooks (2005), David Henkin (1998), and Christopher Looby (1996), his description of the shift from "republican" to "liberal" understandings of print has endured, for example, in Jared Gardner's *The Rise and Fall of Early American Magazine Culture* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2012). "The story of the early national period," Gardner writes toward the end of his study, "is often characterized as the shift from republican virtue to liberal self-interest, a narrative that might well seem to be corroborated by the story of the rise and fall of the early American magazine" (175). A different periodical, the newspaper, is the textual form that Benedict Anderson saw at the heart of the "print-capitalism" used to project national "imagined communities": "the arbitrariness by which newspaper articles are selected for publication within a single document is a representation of the imagined political community from whose viewpoint these various items are being collectively viewed"; "the book was the first modern-style mass-produced industrial commodity, and newspapers are something like books on an extreme scale, 'one-day best-sellers'" (Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* [New York: Verso, 1991 (1983)]: 33-34). Oddly, periodical print has underwritten different theories about the social

The print that emerged during the Spanish American revolutions of the 1810s and 20s reflects writers' and publishers' complex motivations for producing new texts. This chapter studies the writings and publications of Washington Irving and Mathew Carey, two figures who responded to the Americas' changing political map through the texts they wrote and edited. Carey published many texts in Spanish and often by *americano* authors for Philadelphia's growing Spanish American population, as well as for readers in revolutionary Spanish America and the Caribbean, where he sent shipments of anticolonial books. Reading and editing periodicals, as well as a failed speculation in a mining operation, connected Irving to developments in *americano* independence movements. The hemispheric American sympathies – preserving, nonetheless, an exceptionalist sense of the U.S. within the Americas – that Irving acquired manifest in his 1828 biography of Christopher Columbus, an unprecedented work of historiography in several ways. Tracing the continuities between Irving's exposure to Spanish America in periodicals and the biography highlight the need for examining early U.S. books and authors within their periodical contexts. Seen within a hemisphere of nomadic periodical print and expanding print markets, many popular romantic U.S. books – biographies, histories, and novels – captured exceptionalist viewpoints disjointed from a federal geography or national history.

I. Irving's *America*, 1806-1826

> How is a citizen of this republic to designate himself? As an American? There are two Americas, each subdivided into various empires, rapidly rising in importance. As a citizen of

function and ideology of *all* print – including books – in North American settler colonial polities, even as growing critical attention to periodicals has troubled these monolithic characterizations.

> the United States?...[S]till it is not distinctive; for we have now the United States of Central America; and heaven knows how many "United States" may spring up under the Proteus changes of Spanish America.
>
> – "National Nomenclature," *Knickerbocker Magazine* (1839)[122]

"We want a NATIONAL NAME," declaims the pseudonymous Geoffrey Crayon in a July 1839 *Knickerbocker* editorial by Washington Irving (1783-1859): "We want it poetically, and we want it politically."[123] Asserting that a new political map of the Americas requires a new language of nationality for U.S. writers and politicians, the statement presumes – as does this chapter – that *American* identity bears a historical, contingent relationship to U.S. nationality. By examining how, over two decades, the transnational semiotics of *American* identity shaped Irving's politics and publications, I show how rhetorical analyses of *American* identity provide new insights into the history of U.S. nationalism and the political significance of *American* authorship. U.S. writers understood that the language of identity was not benign: in the now multinational Americas, claims Crayon, "American" is analogous to "European," broadly referencing one's "quarter of the world," while what is needed is "an appellation that shall tell at once, and in a way not to be mistaken, that I belong to this very portion of America, geographical and political…; that I am of the Anglo-Saxon race…; and that I have no part or parcel with any other race or empire, Spanish, French, or Portuguese, in either of the Americas."[124] His to-be-named identity is one that many self-identifying "Anglo-Saxon," Anglophone U.S. citizens would have recognized: one built upon strategic exclusion, and one that encompassed political, geographical,

[122] "Geoffrey Crayon" [Washington Irving], *Knickerbocker Magazine* 14.1 (July 1839): 158-162, 161.

[123] Ibid. 161.

[124] Ibid. 161.

racial, and imperial definitions. Insisting that "America" cannot capture these nuances, Crayon offers the two "euphonious" alternatives of "Alleghenia" and "Appalachia," each derived from "the grand and eternal features [mountains] of our country," and each "politically" and "poetically" superior to "America."[125] Such words, not "America," could form the verbal "key-stone" for Crayon's multifarious – but rigorously demarcated – nationality.[126]

Anxieties about the U.S.'s representation outside the U.S. surface in "National Nomenclature," in which Crayon voices the goals of and impediments to a more sharply-defined U.S. "national identity." His statement that a recuperated national name "would be a passport to the citizen of our republic throughout the world" points to its intended function: the creation of a durable, globally-recognized identity for the U.S. and its "Anglo-Saxon" citizens, one that could signify clearly amidst the dense tangle of emergent New World identities, each built on their own American exceptionalisms.[127] With "Spanish-American" nationalisms in contest with the U.S. on both semantic and political grounds, writes Crayon, "when [in Europe] I have announced myself as an American, I have been supposed…to be from Mexico, or Peru, or some other Spanish-American country. Repeatedly I have found myself involved in a long geographical and political definition of my national identity."[128]

If 1839 seems late for an interrogation of the U.S.'s "National Nomenclature" (the editorial's title), internal evidence discourages a strictly ironic or dismissive reading of Crayon's nationalist polemic. Crayon's references to such entities as "Spanish America" and "the United States of Central America" reflect Irving's familiarity with an expansive American geopolitics and

[125] Ibid. 161.

[126] Ibid. 161.

[127] Ibid. 161.

[128] Ibid. 161.

history, and his acknowledgement of their significance both for U.S. national politics and for the connotations of *America* and *American*. As their names suggest, the new confederated governments enduring across the 1820s such as the *Provincias Unidas de Sudamerica* (1810-1831), *Gran Colombia* (1819-1831), and the *República Federal de Centro América* (1823-1838) also grounded their citizens' nationalisms in *American* geography and narratives of discovery, relegating the United States to *North* America and out of Columbian history. "National Nomenclature," in fact, had its genesis in 1825, the year that Irving began composing a collection of unpublished, still-fragmentary pieces on U.S. politics and culture, which the general editor of his *Works* (Twayne: 1981) calls his "American Essays."[129] Irving's 1825 journal dates but does not detail his progress through these *American* subjects, but his "Notes Extracts &c, 1825" notebook and his 1825 "Commonplace book" record his topical focuses, including "American Character (National Character)," "Treatment of Strangers in America (National Prejudices)," and "National name."[130] The parentheticals contain not equivalent or redundant but wholly alternative subject headings, as Richard Rust has noted.[131] Each pair of headings depicts the tension between Irving's inherited nationalist rhetoric of U.S.-*American* identity and his desire to describe with precision his emergent "Anglo-Saxon" nation and national character. If *American* had self-evident "National" meanings, no secondary qualification would have been necessary. But instead, the very "National name" was part of the matter in question in 1825 as much as in 1839. "Of a national name We have no designation – we are confounded with other nations," he jotted in his 1825 "Commonplace book"; "It may do among ourselves to call

[129] Richard Dilworth Rust, "Washington Irving's 'American Essays,' *Resources of American Literary Study* 10.1 (1980): 2-37, 7.

[130] Washington Irving, *Washington Irving Journals and Notebooks: Volume III 1819-1827*, ed. Walter A. Reichart (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970): 655; "Journal," Washington Irving Papers, The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, New York Public Library.

[131] Rust, "'American Essays,'" 4.

ourselves Ameri[ca]ns but the moment we leave our shores In Europe an Am:[erican] is tho[ugh]t to be a Creole."[132] Here, in Irving's 1820s political idiom, "Creole" clearly connotes the prominent *criollo* presence among Spanish *americano* revolutionaries, not a rejuvenated version of Crèvecoeur's "new man" with his "strange mixture of blood," the ethnically amalgamated North "American."[133] Hardly reclaiming an *American* nationality as such, Irving laments its semantic capriciousness.

Reading "National Nomenclature" in light of Irving's personal writings of the mid-1820s, we see the significance of Spanish American revolutions and nationalisms to his anxieties about the U.S.'s political irrelevance in the Atlantic world. Both "National Nomenclature" and Irving's "American Essays" attempt to define a national culture unironically and to name it precisely, highlighting his perceived need for U.S. national distinction in Atlantic geopolitics. Both texts deploy the trope of the U.S.-American mistaken in Europe for a "Spanish-American" or "Creole" to demonstrate the unruly geographies of American identity, and to voice a specific concern about the political marginalization of the U.S. by an increasingly multinational Spanish-speaking America.

Once described by nineteenth-century U.S. exceptionalists and twentieth-century Americanists as the wellspring of a national or "American" literature, Irving appears in recent discussions as a shrewd satirist of epistemic and narrative conventions of romantic nationalism.[134] Stephanie LeMenager (2003), Lloyd Pratt (2010), Jerome McGann (2012), and

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[132] Ibid. 7; "Journal," Washington Irving Papers, The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, New York Public Library.

[133] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 58-63; Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812*. 2nd Edition (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013 [1968]): 337.

[134] [Anonymous] "Sketch Book I. II.," *North American Review* 9.25 (September 1819): 322-356, 334, 356; Sacvan Bercovitch, ed., *The Cambridge History of American Literature: Volume 1, 1590-1820* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 661.

Nan Z. Da (2013) have studied Irving's critiques of nationalist historiography in publications including *A History of New York* (1809), "Rip Van Winkle" (1819), sketches from *Bracebridge Hall* (1822), and *Astoria* (1832).[135] Pratt, for example, places "Rip Van Winkle" in a category of "early national" texts that multiply without reconciling the contending "temporalit[ies] of modernity" written into a society's several "coeval" visions of progress.[136] "Rip" does not uncritically celebrate a local realization of a U.S. national teleology; it documents the "superimposition" of new ideas of futurity upon received ones, and Rip's consternation at failing to understand those ideas.[137] To these discussions I contribute a new postnationalist reexamination of Irving's early corpus, detailing his roles in the material and discursive entanglements between the U.S. and the emerging *naciones* and *patrias* to its south during the Spanish American revolutions of the 1810s and 1820s. In print and politics across the Americas, *americano* revolutions ignited utopian discussions of hemispheric sovereignty and unity, which, I show, directly influenced Irving's historiography of European empire in the Americas. From my analysis emerges a vision of Irving as an expatriate nationalist anxiously theorizing the U.S.'s exceptional status not as, but as part of, *America*: a multinational hemisphere of nationalisms entangled by shared narratives, tropes, and rhetorics.

My recovery of Irving's attunement to the transamerican vectors of cultural and political influence underwrites my revisionary reading of the politics of Irving's historiography in his enormously popular *History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (first published by

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[135] Stephanie LeMenager, "Trading Stories: Washington Irving and the Global West," *American Literary History* 15.1 (2003): 683-708; Lloyd Pratt, *Archives of American Time: Literature and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Jerome McGann, "'A History of New York,' and American History," *Early American Literature* 47.2 (2012): 349-376; Nan Z. Da, "Transnationalism as Metahistoriography: Washington Irving's Chinese Americans," *American Literary History* 25.2 (2013): 271-293.

[136] Pratt, *Archives*, 12, 15.

[137] Ibid. 26.

John Murray in London and G. and C. Carvill in New York, 1828), which Irving wrote as a member of the U.S. consul to Spain (1826-28). Since the 1780s, U.S. writers and politicians actively narrated Columbus into a U.S.-American cultural teleology and its vocabulary of national identity.[138] My concern is less to recapitulate what Thomas Schlereth calls "the public…American history of Columbus" than to demonstrate Irving's iconoclastic role in that tradition.[139] Many have labeled *Life and Voyages* a nationalistic, romantic biography, in which the historical Columbus is recast as "the first type of the new 'American' man" (Hazlett), "a mythic American Adam" (Schlereth), "an American personage" rendered "for American purposes" (Bushman), and "the model of the North American 'self-made man'" whose voyages allegorized an "Anglo-American story" (Adorno) – in short, Irving's is a "Columbus-turned-American-hero" (Bartosik-Vélez).[140] These characterizations misrepresent Irving's historical relationship to the evolving critical terminologies of *American* identity and misidentify his Columbus as a proleptic representation of a national United Statesian character – an identification that properly belongs, if anywhere in Irving's narrative, to Columbus's younger brother Bartholomew. Written at a time when multiple American nations enshrined Columbus's voyages in their nationalisms, *Life and Voyages* is an ideal text for interpreting Irving's views of United Statesian claims to American history. Though the biography frees Columbus from the patronizing claims of European nations, he is not reinscribed in turn into the beginnings of a

[138] For studies of this convention, see Claudia L. Bushman, *America Discovers Columbus: How an Italian Explorer Became an American Hero* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1992); Thomas J. Schlereth, "Columbia, Columbus, Columbianism," *Journal of American History* 28.3 (1992): 937-968; Elise Bartosik-Vélez, *The Legacy of Christopher Columbus in the Americas: New Nations and a Transatlantic Discourse of Empire* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014).

[139] Schlereth, "Columbia," 937.

[140] John D. Hazlett, "Literary Nationalism and Ambivalence in Washington Irving's the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus," *American Literature* 55.4 (1983): 560-575, 561; Schlereth, "Columbia," 945; Bushman, *America Discovers Columbus*, 111; Rolena Adorno, "Washington Irving's Romantic Hispanism and Its Columbian Legacies" in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard L. Kagan, 49-105, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002): 53, 61; Bartosik-Vélez, *Legacy*, 85.

national – let alone *American* – teleology. Irving's Columbian historiography is less nationalistic than acutely self-aware of the ideological nature of cultural nationalism and its strategic filtration of history.

Reconstructing Irving's *American* geopolitical imaginary is something like spying through a keyless keyhole: we perceive only enough to recognize the incompleteness of our perception. Consider these original lines, which he versified in his journal while in France in 1823, and which I translate flatly, allowing Irving a moderate but not idiomatic command of French:

Nous autres antipodes	We [of the] antipodes
Mes compatriotes la bas – aux antipodes	My compatriots over there – in the antipodes
Je parle par Hemisphere.	I speak via [though? by? in?] Hemisphere.
Dans mon Hemisphere.	In my Hemisphere.[141]

Irving's clipped, cryptic phrases have a legible rhetorical function. Each line foregrounds the writer's geographic identity and the representative work of his prose: he speaks alternatively for, of, through, and in the unspecified antipodal or hemispheric land with which he identifies. The repeated "antipodes" and "Hemisphere" evoke a diametrically-divided global geography in line with U.S. President James Monroe's "Doctrine" (a speech also written in 1823), in which he declared the end of "colonization by any European powers" of the New World "hemisphere" due to "the free and independent condition" of "the American continents."[142] And, like Monroe, his geographically-based identity is inflected by a vague, noncommittal political or cultural unity with his "compatriotes." Hailing these "compatriotes" with no intermediary national appeals,

[141] Reichart, *Journals and Notebooks*, 116.

[142] Héctor Olea, Mari Carmen Ramírez, and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, eds., *Resisting Categories: Latin American and/or Latino?* (Houston, TX: Museum of Fine Arts, 2012): 439.

Irving references a hemispheric allegiance instead of declaring cultural independence from any particular nation or championing a national identity.

Transcending national scales of authorial identity and representative speech, Irving's lines resonate with fundamental insights of American literary history's postnational turn. If, as George Bancroft expressed it in the *North American Review* in 1824, many U.S. nationalists held that "the literature of each nation is national," current criticism on early nineteenth-century American print emphasizes instead the transnational politics of American authorship, described in an influential work by Kirsten Silva Gruesz as "cultural ambassadorship."[143] Gruesz's account of postrevolutionary Latinx writers' appearance "within the transnational sphere in…imaginary but…powerful ways, as ambassadorial icons of national cultures" has been enhanced by many other studies of the transamerican literary and political relations facilitated by early-century travel and translation.[144] By illustrating the prominence of *americano* print and writers (Andrés Bello, José Álvarez de Toledo, José María Heredia, Félix Varela, and Manuel Torres, among others) in early nineteenth-century U.S. public spheres, postnational literary histories have also enriched Americanists' discussions of the transamerican political imaginaries and aesthetic influences of U.S. writers once summarized as romantic nationalists, including William Cullen Bryant (Gruesz), Nathaniel Hawthorne (Brickhouse), and Ralph Waldo Emerson (López).[145] I here draw on these critical precedents by assembling an untold intellectual genealogy of Irving's

[143] George Bancroft, "Life and Genius of Goethe," *NAR* 19.45 (October 1824): 303-325, 305; Kirsten Silva Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002): xiii.

[144] Ibid. 15. See Anna Brickhouse, *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004; Rodrigo Lazo, "'La Famosa Filadelfia': The Hemispheric American City and Constitutional Debates," in *Hemispheric American Studies*, edited by Caroline F. Levander and Robert S. Levine (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008): 57-74; Marissa L*ó*pez, *Chicano Nations: The Hemispheric Origins of Mexican American Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).

[145] Gruesz, *Ambassadors*, 48-61; Brickhouse, *Literary Relations*, 180-220; Marissa L*ó*pez, "The Sentimental Politics of Language: Ralph Waldo Emerson's and Jos*é* María Sánchez's Texan Stories," *Western American Literature* 45.4 (2011): 385-409.

dissatisfaction with nationalist historiography, one recorded in Irving's extensive reading and writing on Spanish America from the turn of the century to the late 1820s.

Irving's first non-newspaper publication was a translation of a French book on Spanish America. After returning from his first European tour (1804-06), he and his brother Peter translated for U.S. readers François Depons's *Voyage à la Partie Orientale de la Terre-Firme, dans L'Amérique Méridonale* (1806), a political travelogue written by a Napoleonic *agent* to the region.[146] It is unknowable what portions of the translation are Irving's or how much he read of the French original. Nevertheless, the timely translation – *A Voyage to the Eastern Part of Terra Firma, or the Spanish Main, in South-America* (New York: 1806) – signals a US interest in Spanish American economies, resources, and geopolitics. In his brief introduction to the Irvings' edition, New York Senator Samuel Mitchill – who, for his part, advocated renaming the U.S. "Fredonia" – notes approvingly that the translation "discloses to our [the U.S.'s] view some of the most favoured countries, which, though but moderately distant from us, and situated in the same quarter of the globe, have been kept out of our sight for three hundred years by the care and prudence of Spanish policy."[147] He further observes that "the author [Depons] writes more like a man of business than a man of science," which "cannot fail to recommend it [the translation] to the notice of statesmen, merchants, and the lovers of general knowledge."[148] By appealing to the countries' common global "quarter" at the same time that he transparently anticipates U.S. economic expansionism, Mitchell's introduction encapsulates much of U.S. diplomatic policy in

[146] Andrew Burstein, *The Original Knickerbocker: The Life of Washington Irving* (New York: Basic Books, 2007): 47.

[147] Schlereth, "Columbia," 941; François Depons, *A Voyage to the Eastern Part of Terra Firma, or the Spanish Main, in South-America, During the Years 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804*. 3 vols. Translated by Peter and Washington Irving (New York: I. Riley & Co., 1806): iii.

[148] Ibid. iii.

the following decades, which often used hemispheric diplomacy as a mask for the U.S.'s imperialist aims in the Americas.

Contra Mitchill's expectations of hemispheric commerce, Depons's own prefatory remarks (faithfully translated in the Irvings' U.S. edition) nowhere allude to the U.S. in predicting the commercial futures of the "Spanish possessions in America."[149] "Spanish Guiana," asserts Depons, "is destined by nature to become the most productive province of America, the commercial centre of its produce"; in fact, "no part of America, in whatever latitude, can be compared for the fertility, variety, and richness of…this *land of promise*."[150] Bound together in a single volume, the conflicting perspectives of Depons and Mitchill – the former a French emissary to Spanish colonial governments, the latter a U.S. senator – exemplify the epistemological disconnections observed in "National Nomenclature" between European and United Statesian conceptions of *American* identity politics. The title page announces that the book is "Translated by an American Gentlemen," but that term could easily bear national meaning to United Statesians while also denoting a hemispheric identity to Europeans.

Mitchill's introduction, then, is less a gloss on the text's content than a textual residue it acquired in passing through the print-cultural membrane of U.S. empire. Ignoring the book's claims, he represents the Irvings' translation as an instrument of U.S. economic and political supremacy in the Americas. Irving would soon satirize Mitchill's myopic historiography – specifically, in Mitchill's *The Picture of New-York* (1807), a city history and guidebook written for contribution to the nascent New York Historical Society in which Mitchill compacts decades

[149] Ibid. xxvii.

[150] Ibid. v, xix, xxiii, emphasis original to the Irvings' translation. Depons's "Spanish Guiana" encompasses today's Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana, and northeastern Brazil.

of Dutch colonial history into a few sentences.[151] Irving's satire, *A History of New York, from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty* (1809), inverts Mitchill's historiography by relegating Anglo-America to the narrative periphery of Knickerbocker's Dutch dynastic history. Pointing out the epistemic shortcomings of self-authenticating exceptionalist histories, Irving challenges readers to recognize the ragged edges of nationalist narration. Even the Dutch-American Knickerbocker finds it "notoriously self-evident" that "this country should have been called Colonia" because "America was discovered…by Christopher Colon," further emphasizing the plural Euro-American investments in Columbian history.[152]

Irving's critical views of nationalist myopia likely had other proximate sources, generated by U.S. print markets and public discourses promoting new synergies between the Americas' economies and political systems. Before Irving shipped for Europe aboard the frigate *Mexico* in 1815, his northeastern milieu – Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, and the District of Columbia (named in 1791) – was already developing into a political haven for *americano* writers and a powerful hub of revolutionary print.[153] As Raúl Coronado has recently argued, Napoleon's 1808 overthrow of Spain's King Ferdinand VII "exploded" both "the U.S.-based Hispanophone public sphere" and what soon became the "revolutionary print cultures" of Spanish America.[154] The first exile Hispanophone publications – many printed by U.S. publishers, such as Mathew Carey

[151] Washington Irving, *A History of New York from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty*, edited by Elizabeth L. Bradley (New York: Penguin, 2008 [1809]): xvii-xviii.

[152] Ibid. 31.

[153] Washington Irving, *Washington Irving Letters: Volume I 1802-1823*, edited by Ralph Aderman, Herbert Kleinfeld, and Jenifer Banks (Boston: Twayne, 1979): 392.

[154] Raúl Coronado, *A World Not to Come: A History of Latino Writing and Print Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013): 143.

or Thomas and George Palmer – loyally protested Napoleonic rule of Spain.[155] Simultaneously, however, *americanos* began publicizing their national independences across the Americas.[156] Years before Ferdinand's 1815 restoration, *americano* representatives traveled to the District of Columbia to negotiate the U.S.'s recognition of revolutionaries' self-sovereignty, and émigré and expatriate writers employed U.S. publications and presses to propagandize (in Spanish and English) against Spanish empire in the Americas. These writers integrated U.S. presses and public forums into adaptable hemispheric print networks and publicized discourses that directly connected United Statesians with the political debates surrounding *americano* independence.

Thus, although Irving's journals and notebooks nowhere note the *americano* print circulating around him, we see his English-language print environment in the urban northeast saturated with news of and from Spanish-speaking America. U.S. newspapers mentioned in Irving's pre-1815 correspondence, like New York's *American Citizen* and *Public Advertiser,* reported sympathetically on *americano* independence movements.[157] (The same is true of many concurrent but unmentioned newspapers Irving could have read as he moved among New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and D.C.) A sampling of articles from the Federalist *New-York Evening Post* – the paper in which Irving, posing as proprietor of the "Independent Columbian Hotel," advertises for a missing "Diedrich Knickerbocker" in 1809 – testifies to the rapid integration of "Spanish American" history and independence into U.S. literary history, military strategy, and party politics, running ads by printer Isaiah Thomas soliciting old copies of "Newspapers printed

[155] Peggy Liss, *Atlantic Empires: The Network of Trade and Revolution, 1713-1826* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983): 195; Nicolás Kanellos, "Hispanic American Intellectuals Publishing in the Nineteenth-Century United States: From Political Tracts in Support of Independence to Commercial Publishing Ventures," *Hispania* 88.4 (2005): 687-692, 688.

[156] Coronado, *World Not to Come,* 143, 159-174; Samuel Flagg Bemis, *The Latin American Policy of the United States: An Historical Interpretation* (New York: Norton, 1967): 32.

[157] Irving, *Letters: Volume 1,* 271.

in British or Spanish America" for his "*History of Printing in America*"; a U.S. soldier's account of negotiations with and positive military reports from *americano* "Colonels"; and editorials insisting on free trade and military cooperation with revolutionary "Spanish Americans" pursuing total independence of the Americas.[158] The articles exhibit both the material means by which news from Spanish America became newsprint for U.S. readers like Irving (a transcribed letter, a submitted advertisement, or a reprinted article, for example) and the politically-expedient purposes this reporting served for U.S. writers (like justifying U.S. military activity). One *Post* contributor warns of a "*secret* league" between Thomas Jefferson's "atrocious" 1807 Embargo Act (prohibiting all foreign trade) and Joseph Bonaparte's 1808 assumption of the Spanish throne by fiat of his brother Napoleon. Empowered by US non-interventionist politics,

> Joseph Bonaparte…[has] declared himself KING OF THE CONTINENT OF AMERICA – As he had made no distinction in this sweeping Proclamation between North and South – between South America and the United States, are we not at liberty to infer that there may have been a *secret* conveyance of *our* country also to the Bonaparte Family?

By a paranoid logic, *America*'s semantic capaciousness is made to indicate European imperial aims for both Americas. "[A]ll nations," the article insists, should support "the bold stand made by the Spanish Patriots to establish their liberty and independence," but particularly the U.S., whose national sovereignty is contingent on its greater American geopolitics.[159] By not aiding *americano* independence with untaxed trade and military intervention, a second *Post* article

[158] Isaiah Thomas, "To Printers of Newspapers," *New-York Evening Post* Issue 2515 (June 6 1810): 3; "Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Natchitoches, on Red-River, to his friend at Fort-Columbia," *New-York Evening Post* Issue 2956 (January 7 1812): 3; "For the Evening Post," *New-York Evening Post* Issue 2094 (August 23 1808): 2.

[159] Ibid. 2.

clarifies, the U.S. misses an "opportunity to aggrandize our country and assist suffering humanity at the same time."[160]

In casting U.S. isolationism as a tool of European imperialism in the Americas, these articles express a pro-mercantilist Federalist critique of the embargo that had personal relevance for Irving, who in 1807 smuggled "thousands of dollars" into Montreal through contacts in the British Canadian fur trade.[161] He also spent six months of 1811-12 in D.C. lobbying for free trade on behalf of his brothers' shipping business, observing congressional debates on what he called "the non-intercourse question" and accruing an "odd, & heterogeneous circle of acquaintance" including Speaker of the House Henry Clay – the preeminent U.S. advocate for "The Emancipation of South America" for at least a decade – and Philadelphia publisher Moses Thomas, whose refurbished monthly *Analectic Magazine* Irving edited from 1813 to 1814.[162] While Irving found culling analects from different European publications to be "no trouble," an "occupation, without any mental responsibility" (witness "The Art of Book Making"), his curated content still indexes a significant part of his own reading history, one determined by assumptions of texts' marketability to a purportedly "extensive" circulation and "valuable" U.S. readership.[163] One finds ads for a new translation of Humboldt's fêted *Travels in South America* (1808); a first-hand, "heart-rending" account of the 1812 earthquake in Caracas; and a review of a history of Portuguese and Spanish colonization in the Americas – all conscripted into Irving's print-commodity.[164]

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[160] "New-York Evening Post," *New-York Evening Post* Issue 2633 (October 19 1810): 2.

[161] LeMenager, "Trading Stories," 690.

[162] Irving, *Letters: Volume 1*, 295-313, 342-348; Burstein, *Original Knickerbocker*, 92-95, 117.

[163] Irving, *Letters: Volume 1*, 350, 354, 385-87.

One reprinted excerpt from William Walton's *Present State of the Spanish Colonies* (1810) illuminates the political slant of Irving's projection of Spanish America to *Analectic* readers. "Anecdotes of the Mexicans" (Irving's supplied title) centers on Mexico City, detailing its material wealth (even "household utensils are made of gold and silver") and the rigid social taxonomy segregating "Spaniards," "Criollos," "Mulattoes," "negroes," and "the proper Americans, or native Indians."[165] Walton's-*qua*-Irving's representations of an opulent, well-ordered city clearly serve Irving's hemispheric free trade agenda, parading for his readers a superabundance of "precious metals" and a stable, Euro-centric racial hierarchy but never evoking the growing sociopolitical instability in the region.[166] (Unsurprising given that, as Walton admits in his preface, his primary "[r]eference is…chiefly…[François] Depons's work on the Caraccas": the work that Washington and Peter Irving had translated in 1806.)[167] Further, Irving's excerpt from Walton's *Spanish Colonies* ends on the very page where a translation of Peruvian Creole Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán's pro-independence *Carta a* [Letter to] *los españoles americanos* (1791) begins.[168] Whether or not Irving read this paratext, its presence aptly symbolizes the biblio-geographic reach and political relevance of print about *americano* independence around the Atlantic.

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[164] "*History of Brazil*. By Robert Southey. Part the First. 4to. pp. 659. [From the Monthly Review, for December, 1812]," *Analectic Magazine* vol. 1 (1813): 447-455; "Account of the late earthquake at the Caraccas. [From the Philosophical Magazine for March, 1813]," *Analectic Magazine* vol. 2 (1813): 174; [Untitled, begins "Travels in South America…"], *Analectic Magazine* v. 3 (1814): 263; [Untitled, begins "*Thomas B. Wait and Sons*…"], *Analectic Magazine* v. 4 (1814): 261.

[165] "Anecdotes of the Mexicans, including a description of Mexico, its lakes, &c. [From Walton's State of the Spanish Colonies]," *Analectic Magazine* vol. 1 (1813): 496, 498-500.

[166] Ibid. 497.

[167] William Walton, *Present State of the Spanish Colonies; Including a Particular Report of Hispañola, or the Spanish Part of Santo Domingo*. 2. Vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1810): 1:viii.

[168] Ibid. 2:326.

As an American migrant in Liverpool and London (1815-22), Irving crowded his time with visits and correspondence to publishers, booksellers, and editors, brokering republication deals of U.S. content in England and vice-versa, requesting new U.S. "pamphlets newspapers &c," and reading prominent British serials like the London *Times*, the *Edinburgh Review*, and the *Edinburgh Annual Register*.[169] All documented and encouraged *americano* independence from Spain, often marginalizing the U.S. in sections devoted to "America" – perhaps one root of Irving's concerns about the U.S.'s eclipsed importance in European print. Immersed in European literature and literati, the point is, Irving was geographically and socially well-positioned to observe how and what parts of the American hemisphere garnered representation in European print and how *America* signified abroad. And, as the next section further illustrates, it was periodicals – like the *Analectic Review*, urban Northeastern newspapers, and European serials – that brought to Irving this transnational perspective of U.S. print culture.

II. American Literature in the *North American Review*

Because my purpose is not to enumerate patterns in European reporting on America but to describe the U.S.-based print that projected to Irving United Statesians' ideas about the nation's emergent roles in the American hemisphere, for several reasons I focus here on the Boston-based *North American Review* (hereafter *NAR*). No early nineteenth-century U.S. periodical attained the "elite" transatlantic readership or the curatorial authority over a U.S. national literary canon

[169] Washington Irving, *Washington Irving Journal and Notebooks: Volume III 1819-1827*, edited by Walter A. Reichart (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970): 456, 480; Irving, *Letters: Volume 1*, 419, 427, 443, 489, 498, 531, 568, 590.

and marketplace that the *NAR* achieved in the decade after its 1815 founding.[170] At the same time, the *NAR* became a nexus of U.S. cosmopolitan thought that sought to reconcile U.S. nationalism with the pro-independence politics, narratives, and rhetorics mobilized in support of *americano* revolutions. The cross-pollination of its twin editorial agendas is evident in the *NAR*'s repeated insistence that promoting "such American books…as may add to our literary character" demands critiquing each "work without any home feelings"; that is, establishing a national U.S. literature requires transcending jingoistic metrics of literary evaluation.[171] "I am delighted with the North American Review," Irving writes to a New York friend from Paris in 1821: "it is the best work of the Kind we have ever had, and will be an interesting work to Europeans; as it is divested of national hostilities and political prejudices."[172] Linking the journal's international repute and circulation to its (allegedly) supranationalist politics, he reveals his own reading familiarity with the *NAR* by endorsing its editorial shibboleth.

Without knowing precisely what Irving read of the journal, two patterns in the *NAR*'s interrogations of U.S.-American nationalism model the new hemispheric imaginaries informing Irving's and other writers' textual output at the time of the *americano* revolutions. The first type of the *NAR*'s revisionary work is historiographical, recontextualizing U.S.-American rhetorics and narratives of national origins within supranational colonial histories: histories tracing "[t]he fortune of the name America itself" to a 1514 Swiss letter describing modern-day Brazil; deconstructions of Daniel Webster's 1820 Plymouth Rock oration with an "Ante-colonial history of New England"; and details on the "acrimonious controversy" surrounding Columbus's

[170] Brickhouse, *Literary Relations*, 17.

[171] Anonymous, "Sketch Book I. II.," 323.

[172] Irving, *Letters: Volume 1*, 626. The comment's proximity to Irving's "English Writers on America" (1819) – which calls upon United Statesians to form "one nation…destitute of national antipathies" and critiques "prejudicial" Englishmen like William Walton who "have pictured America to themselves an El Dorado, where gold and silver abounded" (Irving 2009, 51, 56) –further indicates Irving's support of the *NAR*'s editorial politics.

biography "and the patriotic zeal displayed in the defence of…conflicting pretensions" between nations claiming him for symbolic purposes.[173] Juxtaposed with U.S. historical novels of the 1820s, these articles highlight an intellectual friction within what Emerson will call the U.S.'s "retrospective age" of "biographies, histories, and criticism" between writers' research-based antiquarianism and their selective construction of histories convenient to nationalist narratives.[174] Texts as discrepant as *A History of New York* (1809), *Hobomok* (1824), and *The Book of Mormon* (1830) display how these praxes could cooperate in different genres for different purposes, and I would resist dichotomizing modes of "nationalist" and "non-nationalist" writing by any simple parameters. The utility of these *NAR* articles is not to theorize how ideology formally shapes or takes shape in literature, but to model writing that, like Irving's 1828 Columbus biography, garnered a cosmopolitan readership by questioning the expedient untruths of nationalist narration.

The *NAR's* second type of revisionism redefines the U.S.'s national role in its increasingly multinational hemisphere – particularly beginning in 1822, when the U.S. government first recognizes five *americano* nations' sovereignties.[175] Reviews of contemporary travel narratives of post-revolutionary nations – like Isaac Coffin's *Journal of a Residence in Chile*; or Joel Robert Poinsett's *Notes on Mexico, Made in the Autumn of 1822*; or Charles Cochrane's *Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia, during the years 1823 and 1824* – tout their independences as ideological echoes of the U.S.'s revolution and harbingers of hemispheric

[173] "Amerigo Vespucci," *NAR* 12.31 (April 1821): 318-350, 340; "Mr. Webster's Discourse. – Ante-colonial history of New England," *NAR* 15.36 (July 1822): 21-51; "Columbus," *NAR* 21.49 (October 1825): 398-439, 399-400.

[174] Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Essays and Lectures*, edited by Joel Porte (New York: Library of America, 1983 [1836]): 7.

[175] In 1822 the US government recognized the state sovereignties of Chile, the Provincias Unidas del Rio de la Plata, Peru, Gran Colombia, and the Estados Unidos Mexicanos (still Mexico's official national name today). Haiti's independence remained unrecognized until 1862.

trade, built upon "relations of the most intimate kind…daily gaining strength between the United States and the new republics at the South."[176] The *NAR* finds Columbia's republican government, for example, "founded on principles, nearly resembling those of our own institution [the U.S.]" and healthily debated by "able articles in the *Nacional*, published at Buenos Ayres," comparable "to the essays of the Federalist."[177] Further, beyond mere allusions to *americano* print, the *NAR* delivers timely reviews of *americano* publications – such as Luis López Méndez's *Observaciones sobre las Leyes de Indias* [Laws of the Indies]*, i sobre la Independencia de América* (1823) – that state explicitly the importance of such works to U.S. publics, marketing titles to "persons in the United States, who learn the Spanish language, with a view of becoming acquainted with the progress of things in South America, or of forming any relations with that country," though already "suppos[ing]…readers to be acquainted with the general train of events in South America."[178]

In sum, in the *NAR*'s pages the U.S.'s national history, contemporary geopolitics, and literary marketplace are each newly considered at hemispheric scales of analysis. Seeing his own books reviewed in the *NAR* alongside other major publications of the day, Irving could track, metonymically, both his place in the new national canon and in the emergent literatures of the Americas. His "American Essays" draw on a similarly expansive view of the U.S. as a nation among a continent of nations. His project to depict *un*ironically a national U.S. culture can equally be considered a symptomatic expression of anxieties about the U.S.'s waning distinction in Atlantic print and politics, which explains why his interests in the U.S. and in the greater

[176] "Chili," *NAR* 18.43 (April 1824): 288-314; "Mr. Poinsett's Notes on Mexico," *NAR* 20.46 (January 1825): 77-99; "Travels in Colombia," *NAR* 21.48 (July 1825): 398-439; "South America," *NAR* 19.44 (July 1824): 158-209, 165.

[177] "Travels in Colombia," 155, 164.

[178] "South America," 1824; "Mexico," *NAR* 14.35 (April 1822): 420-455, 420-22.

American hemisphere coincided historically. His 1824 journal shows he obtains Poinsett's *Notes on Mexico* in London only two months after its Philadelphia publication by Carey and Lea, months before the *NAR* reviews it; later that year, in Paris, he acquires two Spanish-English dictionaries and begins private Spanish lessons – before ever knowing that he would travel to Spain.[179] Even the exact same "Commonplace book" in which Irving sketches several of his aforementioned "American Essays" in 1825 is filled with supranational imaginaries combining U.S. exceptionalism with ideas for a hemispheric *America*:

> We are the first born of a new family of empires.
>
> […]
>
> A prospect into futurity in America…is like contemplating the heavens through the telescope of Herschell: objects…in their magnitude and motion trick us from all quarters, and fool in amazement.
>
> […]
>
> We take the lead of republics – we are of importance, our example diffused over America – The elder republic.
>
> […]
>
> We are the first born of the American family of nations.
>
> […]
>
> Our beginnings so anteceded – This Country a great hive of nations.
>
> Old relationships will be superceded by new. We shall have neighboring powers to draw off our attention from Europe.
>
> […]
>
> We should make our country <u>the strangers</u> [sic] <u>home</u>.

[179] Irving, *Letters: Volume 1*, 367; Irving, *Notebooks: Volume III*, 434, 460.

[…]

Union our band of greatness – gives us first place among the Republics. This gone we sink beneath neighboring republics – who are growing up around us.[180]

Irving acknowledges his nation's "anteceded" origins and the "republics…growing up around" – capable of overtaking! – the U.S., but also sees those republics as emanations of U.S. models, "neighboring powers" more deserving of U.S. "attention" than Europe. The final comment, which makes federal "Union" a prerequisite for hemispheric supremacy, yokes together the U.S.'s federal politics and its hemispheric contexts. Rather than an isolationist symbol of U.S. national unity, his "American family" is a supranational association of related *American* nations.

Like much early nineteenth-century U.S. diplomacy, however, Irving's hemispheric "American family" is characterized by the belief that the U.S. is "first" in that family. Irving's figurative "family" obscures the kind of economic imperialism exemplified by his own sizeable (over £1000) speculation in a U.S. mining operation for copper in would-be Bolivia in June, 1825.[181] Within the year *americano* revolutionaries declare Bolivia's national sovereignty under Simón Bolívar and Irving loses his investment in what he bitterly terms the "Bolivar mines."[182] Precisely this financial crux propels him to Madrid in January, 1826, at the suggestion of Alexander Hill Everett – a regular *NAR* contributor, its next editor, and the U.S. ambassador to

[180] Rust, "'American Essays,'" 20-21, 23, 25. I discovered the first two excerpts in Irving's "Commonplace Book," included in the Washington Irving Papers housed in the New York Public Library's Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature. I have confirmed the accuracy of Richard Rust's earlier transcription of the other excerpts I quote from the same text, which Rust calls Irving's "Memoranda" book (Rust 1980). "Herschell" is Friedrich Wilhelm Herschel (d. 1822), court astronomer of King George III. Irving's comment about "the strangers home" perhaps plays on the nineteenth-century genre of the *Stranger's Guide*, guidebooks providing an initial orientation to tourists or emigrants in U.S. cities (or, occasionally, the U.S. generally).

[181] Irving, *Journals: Volume III*, 488; Washington Irving, *Washington Irving Letters: Volume II 1823-1838*, edited by Ralph Aderman, Herbert Kleinfeld, and Jenifer Banks (Boston, Twayne, 1979): 132; Burstein, *Original Knickerbocker*, 190; Brian Jay Jones, *Washington Irving: An American Original* (New York: Arcade, 2008): 227, 230-32.

[182] Irving, *Letters: Volume II*, 349.

Spain – who notifies Irving of newly-uncovered Columbus-era documents in Spain's national archives, noting, too, the potential profitability of translating those materials.[183] (Everett will write the *NAR*'s thirty-page review of *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* in 1829.) Irving's strained finances draw a causal arrow between his failed investment and his work on Columbus: as he writes from Madrid in July, 1826, "I hear nothing more of the mines…As to myself, if my book succeeds, I bid adieu to mining and all projects of money making."[184] *Life and Voyages,* then, is itself an economic speculation, a print-commodity whose production is bound up in a changing hemispheric geopolitics that checked Irving's speculation in *americano* natural resources. Part of the biography's appendix even compares current and colonial exchange rates for precious metals in "Spanish America" and the dollar in "the United States of North America."[185]

Note that the latter's "North America" projects an awareness of *American* identity's significance to the south, just like the *North American Review*'s title. In fact, Irving's Columbus research begins only months before delegates (headed by Bolívar) from newly-founded American nations gather to discuss a potential "Treaty of Union, League, and Perpetual Federation" at the Congress of Panama (June-July 1826), discussed in the US Senate as "the Congress of American nations."[186] These disjointed but coincident events reflect the highly unsettled epistemologies of American nationalisms in this post-revolutionary period – observable, too, in *America*'s and Columbus's semiotic promiscuity and competing

[183] Ibid. 165, 168; Irving, *Notebooks: Volume III*, 165, 168.

[184] Irving, *Letters: Volume II*, 238-239.

[185] Washington Irving, *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, vol. 4 (London: John Murray, 1828): 273-76.

[186] Jeffrey Malanson, "The Congressional Debate over U.S. Participation in the Congress of Panama, 1825-1826: Washington's Farewell Address, Monroe's Doctrine, and the Fundamental Principles of U.S. Foreign Policy," *Diplomatic History* 30.5 (2006): 813-838, 821.

representations around the Atlantic. Americans' zeal to adopt Columbus as a national icon was certainly evinced to Irving by the multitude of Columbiana circulating in U.S. publics: witness his "Original" critique of Joel Barlow's *The Columbiad* (1807) for the *Analectic*; his refusal to be included in Joseph Delaplaine's *Lives and Portraits of Distinguished Americans* (1815-16), which opens with a chapter on Columbus; and his receipt in 1821 of an honorary "Diploma of Master of Arts" from Columbia College.[187] His exposure to the prismatic, often linked significances of both *America* and its alleged discoverer informs *Life and Voyages*'s historiographical resistance to Columbus's inscription into any national history.

III. The Hemispheric Columbus

In a perceptive analysis of *Life and Voyages*, Lindsay DiCuirci reads the biography as "a foundational text in illustrating how nineteenth-century writers were themselves interrogating the 'boundaries' of US history and literature."[188] Specifically, DiCuirci argues, Irving's authorial "task" was to stage "questions about the limits of the nation…[,] the narrative of American [viz. U.S.] exceptionalism," and the "ethics of territorial expansion as a national policy" by revisiting the "violent history of [Spanish] New World conquest."[189] Her account sees in *Life and Voyages* a battery of national allegories, with Columbus's "spirit of exploration and discovery" allegorizing "expansionist policy in the United States"; Spanish colonials' enslavement and displacement of native peoples projecting nineteenth-century anxieties about the future of U.S.

[187] Washington Irving, "Original. Sketch of the Writings of Joel Barlow," *Analectic Magazine* v. 4 (1814): 130-158, 147-153; Irving, *Letters: Volume I*, 364, 637.

[188] Lindsay DiCuirci, "The Spanish Archive and the Remapping of US History in Washington Irving's *Columbus*," in *Urban Identity and the Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Fay and Leonard von Morzé (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 175-92, 176.

[189] Ibid. 176, 180, 184.

slavery; and Columbus's "enterprise *and* imagination" representing both the U.S. "'self-made man'" and Irving himself as a "romancer" of history.[190] DiCuirci presents *Life and Voyages* as an instructive example of a popular text by a prominent U.S. author writing self-consciously within imbricate geographies of political competition and cultural influence, yet finally interprets the work as an expression of a troubled but insuperably nationalist subjectivity, narrowly fixated on U.S. futurity. The reading stems from a familiar premise in U.S. literary scholarship that the primary function of (a tautologically named) "early national" U.S. literature is to stage questions about the early U.S.'s *national* politics and identity. With an emphasis on the revisionary features of Irving's historiography and the characterological distinctions he draws between the Columbus brothers, this section recognizes more discrete applications of nationalist representation in the biography that obviate categorical conceptions of the work's politics of representation.

To my knowledge, *Life and Voyages* (1828) is the first stand-alone biography of Columbus in the English language, and the first to name Columbus's *Life* as a target of investigation. Previously, at least since Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), Anglo-American writers had tended to minimize Columbus's personal biography to avoid over-individuating their allegorical subject. Evert Duyckinck's *History of the Voyages of Christopher Columbus; and the Discovery of America* (1809), for example, leaps in two sentences from Columbus's certain birth in "Genoa" to his deduction that the Eurasian "continent" must be naturally "balanced…by an equal quantity of land" in the antipodes.[191] By contrast, *Life and Voyages* alerts readers to the "obscurity" of Columbus's actual "time of birth, his birthplace, [and] his parentage," based on an

[190] Ibid. 179, 181-82, 184, 189.

[191] Evert Duyckinck, *The History of the Voyages of Christopher Columbus; and the Discovery of America, and the West-Indies* (New York: C. Bunce, 1809): 3-4.

unprecedented number of archival materials from Irving's research of 1826-27, a fact broadcast by the book's meticulous footnote references to over 150 unique print and manuscript sources in English, Spanish, French, and Latin.[192] In April, 1826, he praised the main site of his research – a U.S. expatriate's private collection of "every document relative to the early history of America" – as an archive "such as could be found only scattered in national libraries."[193] The biography's brief "Preface" itemizes for readers these diplomatic connections and far-flung sources investing both biography and biographer with critical authority, including U.S. ambassadors, royal and family archives, and Spanish historians' own archival work, announcing, too, Irving's decision to reject the "national" task initially proposed to him of translating newfound Spanish state documentation of Columbus's voyages.[194] Translation, he writes, would only replicate without resolving inconsistencies between the "many books, in various languages, relative to Columbus…all contain[ing] limited and incomplete accounts of his life and voyages."[195] He claims he has avoided all "prejudices respecting the nations mentioned in my history" by "diligently" cross-referencing many texts rife with "those contradictions which will inevitably occur, where several persons have recorded the same facts, viewing them from different points, and under the influence of different interests and feelings."[196]

Staking his authority on a postnationalist hermeneutics, Irving condemns the practiced naiveté of Columbus histories written to pander to "national prejudices," which, he later

[192] Irving and Murray, *Life and Voyages* vol. 1, 5-6.

[193] Irving, *Letters: Volume II*, 193; Irving and Murray, *Life and Voyages* vol. 1, iv. I provide volume and page citations of the first English edition (London: John Murray, 1828) of *Life and Voyages*. The text is identical to Irving's first US edition (New York: G. & C. Carvill, 1828) except that the former comprised four volumes and the latter three volumes. All citations reference the 1828 Murray edition.

[194] Ibid. 1:iii.

[195] Ibid. 1:iv.

[196] Ibid. 1:iv, vii-viii.

specifies, are "of all others the most general and illiberal."[197] Comparing Columbus's fifteenth- and nineteenth-century treatments by European nations, he observes the fickleness and transience of national memory. From Portugal to Genoa to Spain, a tireless Columbus had "beg[ged] his way from court to court" seeking patronage.[198] Yet later Genoese functionaries, "tenacious" of their country's honor of "having given birth to the discoverer," forget Genoese rulers' "contemptuous refusal" to fund Columbus centuries earlier.[199] Spain, however, is the target of the book's most searching critiques of nationalist memory. Over four voyages, Spanish sailors and administrators constantly indict Columbus as a "foreigner" "who could have no interest in the glory of Spain, or the prosperity of Spaniards."[200] In the book's dramatic climax, soon after Columbus capitulates in San Domingo to a "shameless rabble" of Spaniards demanding land and native slaves, "prejudices against them [Columbus and his brothers] as foreigners" rouse a second "miscreant rabble" accusing him "of a design to cast off all allegiance to Spain."[201] Led by Spanish functionary Francisco Roldán, the "mob" plunders Columbus's home and deports him "in irons from the world he had discovered."[202] Later, Irving coolly notes that when "the Spanish nation" ships Columbus's coffin from French Hispaniola to Spanish Cuba "after an interval of nearly three hundred years [in 1795]," the coffin departs "from th[e] very port he [Columbus] was carried off loaded with ignominious chains, blasted apparently in fame."[203] The criticism of Spain's politicized "occasion…to testify its feelings towards the memory of

[197] Ibid. 1:91.

[198] Ibid. 1:90.

[199] Ibid. 1:427.

[200] Ibid. 1:218; 2:92, 135, 229, 288, 305, 352; 3:21, 41, 86.

[201] Ibid. 3:44-45, 86, 89, 129.

[202] Ibid. 3:107, 131.

[203] Ibid. 4:66-67.

Columbus" by guarding his remains as "sacred national reliques" from "the most glorious epoch of Spanish history" is sharpened by the allusion to waning Spanish power in the Americas: Spain's ceding a majority of Hispaniola to France in 1795 in exchange for territory in the western Pyrenees.[204] (Perhaps the biography's early readers also noted that in the years since this exchange, Spain had lost its entire mainland American empire, and Cuba was now its largest New World territory.)

An American in Spain writing about Spanish colonization in the Americas, Irving draws out the hypocrisy of European nationalist appropriations of Columbus. Yet I would also note that *Life and Voyages* undermines certain rhetorical and narrative conventions by which U.S. writers wrote Columbus into the origins of their national history. Such texts hinged their nationalist appropriations of the historical Columbus on a presumed intellectual parallel between U.S. imperialism and Columbus's visions of a continental empire, retroactively framing him as the U.S.'s visionary architect. Joel Barlow's epic *Columbiad* even spends an entire book unfolding Columbus's prophetic "Vision Confined to North America."[205] The first Anglo-American book to refute this epistemic trope, *Life and Voyages* denies Columbus's anticipation of future exceptionalist (let alone national) American imaginaries. Alternately perceiving "Cipango" (Japan), India's coastline, and briefly the biblical "Garden of Eden," Columbus is, like *The Sketch-Book*'s Geoffrey Crayon, "predisposed to be deceived" by his "ardent imagination."[206] His very voyages are predicated on his romantic "poetical temperament…betray[ing] him into visionary speculations" of Asian "civilization"[207]:

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[204] Ibid. 4:65, 73.

[205] See Book V of Joel Barlow, *The Columbiad: A Poem* (Philadelphia: Fry and Kammerer, 1807).

[206] Irving and Murray, *Life and Voyages*, 1:243, 264; 181, 185, 409-410.

[207] Ibid. 2:187; 4:58.

> Had not Columbus been capable of these enthusiastic soarings of the imagination, he might, with other sages, have reasoned calmly and coldly about the probability of a continent existing in the west, but he would never have had the daring enterprise to adventure in search of it in to the unknown realms of ocean.[208]

The misconception driving Columbus's mission also renders inconceivable the *new* or *virgin* lands essential to exceptionalist Anglo-American histories. In fact, as Irving tells it, Columbus considered his "great discovery [of a westward route to Asia] as but a preparatory dispensation of Providence" advancing his "ultimate goal" of globalizing Christianity, inaugurating a utopia in which "all nations, tongues, and languages united under the banner of the Redeemer."[209] The biography's apologetics often cites these Christian ends of Columbus's colonial abuses: exploitative trade in precious metals will fund a crusade to Jerusalem; enslaved native peoples will be Christianized and "assist in civilizing their countrymen"; and diplomacy with the Grand Khan's Asian "empire" will bring "the whole…speedily…into the subjection of the church."[210] Though historians have "never…particularly noticed" this chiliastic wish, Irving insists, it is nonetheless "essential to a full comprehension of the character and motives of Columbus," who understood the 1492 landfall not as the foundation of an exceptionalist history, but as a prerequisite to one beginning back across the Atlantic, in Jerusalem.[211]

Historicizing the epistemology of landfall, Irving forecloses any American nation's claim to an intellectual heritage in Columbus's vision for the future Americas.[212] Because Columbus

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[208] Ibid. 3:411-412.

[209] Ibid. 1:62, 169.

[210] Ibid. 1:166, 348; 3:412.

[211] Ibid. 1:166, 425.

"died in ignorance of the real grandeur of his discovery…a new continent," the biography's final lines reiterate, never "could he have anticipated the splendid empires which were to spread over the beautiful world he had discovered; and the nations, and tongues, and languages which were to fill its lands with renown, and to revere and bless his name to the latest posterity!"[213] Irving invokes the nineteenth-century Americas' multilingual, multinational composition and Columbus's enduring significance across American nations, but insists that Columbus never foresaw this future. This epistemic correction is rhetorically enforced: nowhere in the more-than-1000-page biography is *America* or anything *American* discovered, another unprecedented feature in the Anglo-American canon of Columbian histories, and indicative of Irving's anxieties about these terms' unconsidered contemporary applications. Readings of *Life and Voyages* that assert Columbus's representativeness as a U.S.-American – which often presume generalized notions of a male, industrious, enterprising *American* national character – therefore apply an ahistorical vocabulary of *American* identity to a text wary of the politicized context of that vocabulary at its time of production.

Rather than positing some alternative *American* quintessence, Irving's characterology of Columbus and his younger brother Bartholomew helpfully illustrates the need for more nuanced discussions of his politics of representation. Foiling Columbus's visionary genius – the faculty necessary for crossing the Atlantic – against Bartholomew's "practical sagacity" and capability as an imperial leader, Irving unsuits Columbus as a colonizer, and distinguishes between the

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[212] Elsewhere, a counterfactual history of Columbus landing in "Florida" – recently ceded to the US by Spain, in 1819 – is only entertained in order to demonstrate a logical contradiction between that landing and the US's existence: had Columbus debarked in Florida, the "whole course of Spanish discovery might have taken a direction along the Atlantic shores of North America, and a Spanish population might have been given to the present territories of the United States" (1:230n).

[213] Ibid. 4:64.

characteristics required for what were termed acts of *discovery* and *settlement*.[214] In Irving's account, as noted earlier, Columbus's romantic sensibility enables the former. Yet symptoms of that sensibility – an "active imagination" that overoptimistically anticipates the economic and political successes of his imperial infrastructure; or chronic infirmities that render him powerless to fight "Indians" or quell Spanish mutinies – undermine his efforts at the latter, which requires support from the "undaunted courage" and "worldly knowledge" of Bartholomew, his "coadjutor, and…second self."[215]

The brothers' complementary characters are sentimentally staged in their first ensemble scene, with Bartholomew's timely landing on Hispaniola to provide "inexpressible relief" at an "overwhelmed" Columbus's "bed-side."[216] The overexerted Columbus bestows upon his brother "the title and authority of Adelantado [lieutenant-governor]," an appointment justified by Bartholomew's

> prompt, active, decided, and…fearless spirit; whatever he determined he carried into instant execution, without regard to difficulty and danger. His person corresponded to his mind; it was tall, muscular, vigorous, and commanding. He had an air of great authority, but somewhat stern…Equally vigorous and penetrating in intellect with the admiral [Columbus], but less enthusiastic in spirit and soaring imagination, and with less simplicity of heart, he surpassed him in the subtle and adroit management of business, was more attentive to his interest, and had more of that worldly wisdom which is so important in the ordinary concerns of life. His genius might never have excited him to the

[214] Ibid. 2:220.

[215] Ibid. 2:185, 213, 215, 261, 267, 314, 366, 388, 391, 399, 400, 411; 3:252

[216] Ibid. 219-220.

> sublime speculation which ended in the discovery of a world, but his practical sagacity was calculated to turn that discovery to advantage.[217]

Though incapable of Columbus's "discovery," Bartholomew possesses the "enterprising" mind for "business" necessary "to turn that discovery to advantage" via an imperial infrastructure.[218] Book XI, which exclusively recounts his command of Hispaniola during Columbus's later return to Spain, furnishes a history-within-a-history commemorating the "great capacity, the mental and bodily vigour of this self-formed and almost self-taught man" Bartholomew, who "united, in a singular degree, the sailor, the soldier, and the legislator."[219] Herein Irving distills the Adelantado's two-year "administration" into a catalog of military and diplomatic triumphs, in which Bartholomew erects and defends from Spanish mutineers a supply "chain of military posts," and twice avoids war with native nations by pardoning captured *caciques* (chiefs) who had co-conspired to assassinate him, ultimately "br[inging] their dominions under cheerful tribute."[220]Had colonizers popularly emulated his "judicious measures," Irving admonishes, "the whole country could have been a scene of tranquil prosperity, and would have produced revenues to the crown, without cruelty to the natives."[221] His "character…does not appear to have been sufficiently appreciated" by history.[222] Governing with the "moderation of one who

[217] Ibid. 219-220.

[218] Ibid. 2:219-220, 400.

[219] Ibid. 2:489-90. In an 1825 journal fragment titled "Americans," Irving wrote, "He [the American] is a Proteus – an American goes through so many changes…you'd think you heard of so many different men: schoolmate, lawyer, judge, merchant, manufacturer, land surveyor" (Rust 1980, 20).

[220] Irving and Murray, *Life and Voyages,* 2:415, 441, 451, 462, 478-89, 488-89.

[221] Ibid. 2:450.

[222] Ibid. 2:490.

had been born to rule," Bartholomew exemplifies (for Irving) the ethical, profitable imperialism worthy of emulation – by the U.S., but also by the many other American nation-states.[223]

In observing, like an 1829 *NAR* review of *Life and Voyages*, that Irving's "two leading personages are happily contrasted" in the "sublimity and bold creative genius of [Columbus] the Admiral" and "the sagacity, activity, and dauntless courage of [Bartholomew] the Adelantado," we see how a nationalist agenda may figure in a literary text without becoming its constitutive ideological feature.[224] *Life and Voyages* personifies a potentially United Statesian claim to intellectual fraternity with Columbus at the same time that it ironizes nationalist appropriations of Columbus and counteracts with its meticulous historiography the strategic "*oubli* [forgetting]" essential to nationalist memory.[225] Irving's, in short, was a Columbus that a hemisphere could claim. Describing the politics of this work invites recognition of more subtle textual morphologies of nineteenth-century nationalist thought.

IV: Later *Life*s: Columbus and Irving in the Nineteenth Century

The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus was in continuous print in the nineteenth century, seeing 175 printings before 1900 and, after its rapid translation into Spanish, appearing in French, German, Italian, Russian, Dutch, Greek, Polish, and Swedish.[226] Within its first year in print, the biography – Washington Irving's first publication in his own name – earns him

[223] Ibid. 2:489-90.

[224] Alexander Hill Everett, "A History of the Life and Voyages…By Washington Irving," *NAR* 28.62 (January 1829): 103-134, 130-131.

[225] Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation?* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1882): 7.

[226] Washington Irving, *Historia de la vida y viajes de Cristóbal Colon, escrita en ingles por el caballero Washington Irving*. 4 vols. Translated by José García de Villalta (Madrid: José Palacios, 1833); Burstein, *Original Knickerbocker*, 196, 205.

membership in Spain's *Real Academia de la Historia*, a gold medal from England's Royal Society of Literature, and an honorary law degree from Columbia College[227] Editorializing on *Life and Voyages* for the *North American Review* in 1829 – issue 62, specifically, which also includes a review of José Manuel Restrepo Vélez's *Historia de la Revolucion de la República de Colombia* (1827) and a biographical sketch of Simón Bolívar – Alexander Everett lauds Irving as a "Morning-Star" and "founder of the American school" of literature, declaring the first "satisfactory account of Columbus in any language" to be an essential addition to the "literature of the world."[228] As a symbolic production itself, however, the biography is a distinctly hemispheric accomplishment, an account of "the achievements of the discoverer of our continent" written by "one of its inhabitants," and superior to "any previous work written on this side of the Atlantic."[229] Everett's recognition (only a year after its publication) that *Life and Voyages* escapes any mere national import gels with his sanguine vision of America's hemispheric future, outlined in his 1827 monograph, *America: or a General Survey of the Political Situation of the Several Powers of the Western Continent* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea). Unlike the "Machiavellian" wars between contiguous European nations, he asserts, a "natural relation of the different parts of America" is promoting "friendly…intercourse between the two great sections of the continent."[230] As "the first born and natural head of the flourishing family of young American nations," the U.S. assigns "immense importance [to] the emancipation of Spanish America"; in fact, "the influence of the United States has been actively employed at the

[227] Adorno, "Romanic Hispanism," 65.

[228] Everett, "A History," 110, 125, 129.

[229] Ibid. 128-29.

[230] Alexander Hill Everett, *America: or a General Survey of the Political Situation of the Several Powers of the Western Continent* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1827): 268.

court of Madrid, in endeavouring to bring about a general pacification in America."[231] "The South [viz. Spanish America]," Everett concludes, will produce "a cluster of powerful, prosperous, tranquil, and well governed republics, which may add their resources and influence to ours, in giving political importance to the common continent."[232] With this political synergy imminent, Everett sees Irving's recovery of Columbus, a figure arrogated by multiple American nations, as a hemisphere's imaginative reclamation of its common historical icon.

The biography's multinational afterlives and acclaim testify to its early readers' acceptance of Irving's politics of composition. Nineteenth-century nationalist histories rarely reach the kind of international geography of production attained by *Life and Voyages*. But United Statesians appropriated the biography in other forms. Irving's 1829 "Abridged" edition of the biography is immediately stereotyped by his U.S. publishers – a financial investment indicating expectations of high demand and multiple reprintings – to combat plagiarized editions already appearing in the U.S., as noted in Irving's opening "Advertisement."[233] This abridged edition's frequent use in U.S. schools and universities greatly magnified its – and Irving's – cultural significance.[234] U.S. historian William H. Prescott, author of *The History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843), even kept a bust of the still-living Irving in his study.[235] In 1859, the year Irving dies, U.S. expatriate Randolph Rogers completes his famous bronze "Columbus Doors" for the U.S. Capitol,

[231] Ibid. 275-77, 293.

[232] Ibid. 345.

[233] Washington Irving, *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus, by Washington Irving (Abridged by the Same)* (New York: G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1829): 3-4.

[234] Bartosik-Vélez, *Legacy*, 84.

[235] McElroy, "Integrity," 2.

featuring tableaux of Columbus's life clearly drawn from *Life and Voyages*, including Francisco Roldán's mob. Beneath this scene is the face of Washington Irving (Figure 1).[236]

Writing a supranationalist Columbus biography ultimately earns Irving a place in the literal architecture of national government.[237] Yet rather than merely offering another case of the invisible giants of state power shaping history into politically-expedient forms, telling the story of Irving's engagements with the print and politics of *americano* independence reveals the dynamic, multi-scalar identity discourses constituting his status as a national and international American man of letters, and especially as the author of the authoritative Columbus biography of his day. His story reveals the critical benefits of mapping the local, ephemeral, and contingent rhetorical functions of *American* identity in articulating U.S. nationality, which have remained intersectional categories since the eighteenth century, but whose connected histories resist any formulaic or theoretical description. Recovering these complex histories means recognizing, as did Irving two centuries ago, the transnational origins of any *American* self.

V. Carey's Filadelfia: Printing for a Hemisphere

The 1810s and 20s were boomtimes in the publishing career of the naturalized U.S. citizen (in 1798) Mathew Carey. No longer a printer – he had sold his press in 1795 – Carey was among the earliest to transition into a wholesale bookselling business based on commissioning the work of

[236] Vivien Fryd, *Art & Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992): 139.

[237] The year Irving sails for the second time to Europe, William Thornton, architect of the US Capitol and a recent immigrant to the US from the Caribbean island of Tortola, self-publishes a pamphlet providing *Outlines of a Constitution for United North and South Columbia* (1815), advocating for a hemispheric "Columbian" government with its administrative capital – "The District of America" – in Panama (8). "[*W*]*hoever is a citizen of one*," he writes, "*is a citizen of all*," whose "*rights extend through the whole!*" (10). The full text of Thornton's pamphlet is reprinted in N. Andrew N. Cleven's "Thornton's Outlines of a Constitution for United North and South Columbia," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 12.2 (1932): 198-215.

printing and binding to independent printers and artisans. This reorientation of Carey's business model foreruns a larger-scale transition across the U.S. in which much book publishing and printing became distinct businesses, with publishers financing and selling print while paying printers to perform the labor of production.[238] (Newspaper publishers were less likely to outsource the labor of printing due to the time-sensitive nature of newsprint's contents, typically opting to print in-house.) Untasked with the coordinated labor of printing texts, publishers focused instead on selling texts, leading to ambitious geographies of distribution that often depended on itinerant salesmen – precisely the case for Carey, as we will see. Publishers also forged long-distance correspondences to obtain new foreign works quickly for republication in the U.S., which lacked an international copyright law until 1891. After 1816, when the U.S.'s duty on English books increased from five to fifteen percent, it became especially profitable to publishers to sell domestically-printed editions of English texts.[239] (Carey obtained a U.S. passport in 1821 to return to Ireland for the first time since his exile to buy new texts and forge trade agreements. One correspondent quipped that Carey had "been rather long from your Native Place to find many acquaintances. You will be something like Rip Van Winkle.")[240] The foundational importance of reprinted foreign books in the establishment of U.S. publishing is highlighted by the persistently material rather than national definition of an "American" book. Well into the 1820s – a decade when seven of ten titles printed in the U.S. were still written and

[238] Carey had, in fact, began bookselling to supplement his income from sales of his self-published *American Museum*, discussed in Chapter 1. For a detailed study of the historical emergence of publishers in distinction to printers, see Rosalind Remer, *Printers and Men of Capital: Philadelphia Book Publishers in the New Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

[239] James N. Green, *Mathew Carey: Publisher and Patriot* (Philadelphia: The Library Company of Philadelphia, 1985): 22.

[240] Letter to Carey from P. [Schenk?] in New York on April 16 1821, Box 25, Folder 1, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP); Mathew Carey Passport of April 27th, 1821, Box 27, Folder 11, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

published abroad – an "American" book was simply a book physically manufactured in the U.S., regardless of the author or subject matter.[241]

Carey published on average around thirty unique titles per year from 1800 to 1820, including novels, histories, speeches, color-plate books, annuals, and political tracts, some authored by Carey himself. He gained particular notoriety for his *The Olive Branch: or Faults on Both Sides* (1814), an allegedly bipartisan analysis of U.S. economic policy that in fact became the decade's major critique of New England Federalists and the Hartford Convention, still mentioned twenty years later in histories of the Convention.[242] New England's Federalist capitalists, who had seen trade profits crash after Jefferson's 1807 embargo and the War of 1812, and who increasingly feared a federal government controlled by slave state interests (particularly due to the Three-Fifths Compromise), convened in Hartford in late 1814 to discuss strategies for ending the war and, according to the Republican press, to develop a plan for New England to secede from the United States. Carey's book joined the Republican chorus, finding that Federalists had "seized on [the war] to dissolve the union, to raise up hostile and jarring confederacies," resulting in "an immediate CIVIL, and an almost continual BORDER WAR."[243] To combat "the jacobinal projects of the Hartford Convention," Carey intended to "form Union Societies throughout the

[241] According to Robert Gross, not until the 1830s and 40s did U.S. writers generate a majority (55-60 percent) of the texts printed in the U.S. See Robert A. Gross, "Introduction: An Extensive Republic" in *A History of the Book in America: An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840* v.2, eds. Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010): 44.

[242] Mathew Carey, *The Olive Branch: or Faults on Both Sides, Federal and Democratic, A serious appeal on the necessity of mutual forgiveness & harmony to save our common country from ruin* (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1814). This text, as well as two other pamphlet speeches by Carey the same year, were printed in Philadelphia by the prosperous book and job printer Lydia R. Bailey (Karen Nipps, *Lydia Bailey: A Checklist of Her Imprints* [University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013]: 78-79). For an in-depth discussion of this text's several initial iterations, see Edward C. Carter II, "Mathew Carey and 'The Olive Branch,' 1814-1818," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 89.4 (October 1965): 399-415. Theodore Dwight's *History of the Hartford Convention* (1833) characterizes *The Olive Branch* as a text "intended to subserve party purposes, the least entitled to credit" (Theodore Dwight, *History of the Hartford Convention: with a Review of the Policy of the United States Government, which Led to the War of 1812* [New York: N. & J. White, 1833]: 436).

[243] Ibid. 20, 25.

nation, whose sole object shall be to guard against the separation of the states."[244] He even wrote to James Madison in 1814, urging that to prevent "civil as well as foreign wars…Ten thousand troops would not be as efficient as an union Society universally diffused over New England."[245] In the next chapter, we will see Carey expressing the same anxieties – even employing the same phrases to describe a U.S. on "the banks of the Rubicon," with "dissolution" imminent – in the context of the Nullification Crisis, his proposed "Union Societies" reconfigured into a "society of political economists," his ire directed at Southern planters rather than Northern manufacturers.[246] If Carey's politics were inconsistent, what persisted was his belief in a pervasive sectionalism that, North and South, pursued moneymaking with "no national attachments or patriotism."[247]

The Olive Branch sold widely across party lines – in part because Carey mailed copies to congressmen of both parties – and relieved Carey of all his debts for perhaps the first time in his life.[248] Senator Henry Clay even referenced the work in an 1820 speech to Congress on the

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[244] Ibid. 26-27.

[245] Letter from Carey to James Madison [n.l.] [n.d.] 1814, Box 27, Folder 6, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

[246] Ibid. 14; Mathew Carey, *The Crisis. An Appeal to the Good Sense of the Nation, Against the Spirit of Resistance and Dissolution of the Union* (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1832): 25-26, Appendix C. When writing against nullifiers in South Carolina and Georgia in the early 1830s, Carey repeatedly stressed that, following a sectional separation of the States, the Northern economy would remain self-sufficient while the South's would stagnate. In *The Olive Branch*, however, he asserted that "[t]he agricultural portion of this great nation could infinitely better dispense with the commercial, than the latter with the former" (Carey, *Olive Branch*, 213). In a publication of the previous year, Carey specifically named South Carolina and Georgia – the two Southern states whose legislatures formally nullified federal laws – as the states capable of inducing cotton manufacturers from the Eastern states to combine against Northern textile manufacturers "in the event of a separation of the states" (Mathew Carey, *A Calm Address to the People of the Eastern States* [Philadelphia: M. Carey, November 28 1814]: 45).

[247] Carey, *Olive Branch*, 216.

[248] A few entries in Carey's diary of 1810-19 capture how quickly the book sold and required reprinting. On January 11th, 1815, Carey "Published [the second edition of the] Olive Branch." On February 7th: "Agreed…to print new Edition of O. Branch. Have only about 120 left." On February 23rd: "Put O.B. to press, 4th. Edition." On February 25th: "Nearly out of debt." On February 27th: "Entirely out of debt & have a surplus of some hundred Dollars" ("Mathew Carey Diary, 1810-1819," Volume 27, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP). For positive congressional reactions to *The Olive Branch*, see letter to Carey from C.J. Ingersoll in Washington, D.C. on January 29th, 1815, Box 22, Folder 6; letter to Carey from William Sampson in New York on February 15th, 1815, Box 22, Folder 8; letter to Carey from William Slade in Middlebury, Vermont on April 4th, 1815, Box 22, Folder 9; letter to

necessity of protectionist economics.[249] Carey's runaway bestseller in these decades, however, was also the U.S.'s bestseller: the Bible. A devout Catholic, Carey printed the first Douay-Rheims edition in the U.S. (1790), amassing a full copy in standing type over years as he reinvested profits from each new printing.[250] By 1814, his Bible was available at wholesale prices in several formats, varying in page size, paper quality, binding material, and content (Figure 2) – a supply that increased further after machine-made paper became available to Carey in 1816.[251] Printing the official Bible edition of the Catholic Church was part of Carey's efforts to make Catholicism more visible in U.S. print and culture. While continuing as an active member of the Hibernian Society, personally aiding newly-landed Irish emigrants in Philadelphia, Carey also subscribed to and received subscriptions for *The Shamrock* (est. 1822), Philadelphia's first Irish-operated newspaper (Figure 3).[252] He read at least three histories of Ireland in preparing his *Vindiciae Hiberniae, or Ireland Vindicated* (1819), a defense of Irish Catholics in the 1641 Irish Rebellion written to counter William Godwin's anti-Irish novel *Mandeville* (1817), and mailed copies to prominent institutions and individuals including the

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Carey from William Smith in Washington, D.C. on December 23rd, 1817, Box 25, Folder 1; letter to Carey from Ezekiel Sanford [n.l.] on January 29th, 1818, Box 22, Folder 8; letter to Carey from Eleazer Lord in Washington, D.C. on March 28th, 1820, Box 23, Folder 4; letter to Carey from William Lee in Washington, D.C. on April 8th, 1820, Box 23, Folder 4; and letter to Carey from Jonathan Leonard [n.l.] on June 16th, 1820, Box 23, Folder 3. For a negative congressional reaction to *The Olive Branch*, see letter to Carey from Robert Henny Goldboraugh in Washington, D.C. on January 6th, 1817, Box 22, Folder 6. All letters in this footnote are found in the Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

[249] Letter to Carey from Eleazer Lord in Washington, D.C. on April 26th, 1820, Box 23, Folder 5, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

[250] Green, *Publisher and Patriot*, 18-20.

[251] Joshua and Thomas Gilpin brought one of the English Foudrinier machine to Philadelphia in 1816, after which "Carey quickly advertised that he was using their machine-made paper" (Nancy Vogeley, *The Bookrunner: A History of Inter-American Relations: Print, Politics, and Commerce in the United States and Mexico, 1800-1830* [Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2011]: 73).

[252] Letter to Carey from Michael Toohey in New York on February 25th, 1822, Box 25, Folder 4, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP. For two letters of Irish emigrants appealing directly to Carey and the "Hibernia [sic] Society" for financial support, see letters to Carey from Luke Tiernan in Baltimore on October 15th, 1821 and on November 24th, 1821, Box 25, Folder 2, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

American Philosophical Society, the Boston Library, newspaper editor Hezekiah Niles, and the Archbishop of Baltimore.[253] He furthered discussions on anti-Catholic prejudice in his *Sketch of the Irish Code* (1823), documenting legalized English persecution of the Irish in imperial Dublin, as well as in over fifteen pamphlets published in the early nineteenth century (Figure 4).[254] These publications highlight how a national or cultural self-conception could endure in emigrants to the U.S. who participated in its print culture. Writing, printing, publishing, living in the United States for decades had not removed Carey's former national or religious allegiances, but in fact enabled him to defend them more fervently.

Carey's work in defense of Irish Catholics logically interacts with his extensive involvement in Philadelphia's revolutionary *americano* print markets in the 1820s. Irish critiques of British empire and *americano* critiques of Spanish empire each drew historical precedent and rhetorical power from North American anglophone anti-imperial texts.[255] As described earlier, Philadelphia became a node in a network of U.S.-based Spanish-language printing centers that followed and sometimes preceded a cascade of independence movements in Spanish America. At the same time, pro-independence writers and publishers like Carey also sold translated versions of U.S.

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[253] Following *Vindiciae*'s publication in Philadelphia in 1819, Carey was unable to find a European publisher for the work. Entry for Tuesday December 22nd, 1818, "Mathew Carey Diary, 1810-1819," Volume 27, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP; letter to Carey from Benjamin R. Morgan in Philadelphia on October 1st, 1818, Box 23, Folder 6, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP; printed form letter to Carey from Williams G. Barton in Philadelphia on April 3rd, 1819 and letter to Carey from the Trustees of the Boston Library on April 28th, 1819 in Boston, both Box 23, Folder 2, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP; letter to Carey from "Aml. Arch" in Baltimore on May 2nd, 1819, Box 23, Folder 5, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP; letter to Carey from Hezekiah Niles in Baltimore on April 14th, 1819, Box 23, Folder 6, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP; Benjamin Bankhurst, "Vindicating Ireland: Historical Memory, Irish America, and Mathew Carey's Later Histories of Ireland," *Éire-Ireland: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Irish Studies*, 50:3-4 (2015): 199-222, 199, 208. Carey details the motivation for and process of composing the *Vindiciae Hiberniae* in Letters XIV and XV of his "Autobiography," serialized in *The New-England Magazine* v.6 (400-408).

[254] Benjamin Bankhurst claims that the motivation for Carey's *Letters on Religious Persecution* was "an anti-Catholic address delivered by the Gideonite Society at a meeting of the Orange Order in Philadelphia" (Bankhurst, "Vindicating Ireland," 219).

[255] Nancy Vogeley observes that additionally "Carey's experience with religious tensions in Ireland, his Catholicism unburdened of the Church's past and clericalism and instead free to exercise liberties of conscience in the religiously tolerant United States, made him appreciate the special needs of Mexican Catholics" (Vogeley, *Bookrunner*, 207).

political texts via intermediaries who traveled to Spanish America. As for Irving, revolutions to the south provided opportunities for financial speculation for Carey as well as his son Henry in Philadelphia and abroad.

The same clique of protectionist Washington correspondents that Carey tapped for information on tariff legislation also furnished him with recent reports concerning, in the words of one correspondent, "[t]his new state of the Spanish business" and its effects on U.S. political relationships across the American hemisphere.[256] One interlocutor fretted that "the 7,000 or 12,000 [English] emigrants arrived at Quebec" were in fact "sen[t] there to make soldiers" to stymie U.S. plans to seize or "purchase" precious metal mines in Mexico, suspecting sub rosa negotiations between Charles Bagot and Luis de Onís, respectively England's and Spain's ambassadors to the U.S.[257] After notifying Carey of Congress's "absolutely necessary" resolution "to acknowledge the Republic of Columbia," another correspondent connected Spanish American economic independence to Northern political empowerment.[258] The "emancipation of Spanish America," he wrote, "will effect our emancipation from the shackles of the South" once "South-American and Mexican products begin sensibly to rival ours in the English market," forcing Southern "cotton and tobacco planters" to trade more favorably with Northern markets.[259] We will see in the next chapter just how instrumental Carey would be in circulating print that critiqued Southern opposition to protectionist tariffs and Clay's "American System," which hoped to invigorate all sections of the U.S. economy through interregional trade

[256] Letter to Carey from Eleazer Lord in Washington, D.C. on April 29th, 1820, Box 23, Folder 5, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

[257] Letter to Carey from William Lee in Washington, D.C. on October 28th, 1819, Box 23, Folder 4, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

[258] Letter to Carey from B. Irvine in Washington, D.C. on January 25th, 1822 and on February 15th, 1822, Box 25, Folder 3, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

[259] Ibid. February 15th, 1822.

agreements. For now, we may observe the extent to which Carey's knowledge of American geopolitics shaped his participation in local and international print markets.

In 1811, the year after the first revolt against Spanish rule in what would become the *Estados Unidos Mexicanos*, Carey released his first Spanish-language publication: a textbook of introductory lessons in Spanish literacy (Figures 5 and 6). Multilingualism was characteristic of early nineteenth-century U.S. port cities, but the timing of this publication indicates his attention to the growing importance of Spanish to political and economic activities in those urban centers. (Carey's protégés and the heirs to his publishing business, his son Henry and son-in-law Isaac Lea, would shortly publish both Spanish and English editions of a Spanish-English dictionary and a book on *The Elements of Spanish and English Conversation*.)[260] Carey made personal efforts to learn Spanish during these years. In journal entries from early 1826 he records having "Read in Spanish the whole Book of St. Matthew" and "10 [pages] of the Spanish Testament" – likely in a Douay-Rheims edition.[261] Other Philadelphia printers, like Scottish émigré Thomas H. Palmer, were already more conversant than Carey in Spanish, and advised him on the "common orthography" of Spanish words to use when composing Spanish-language manuscripts into type for printing.[262] Indeed, as *americano* ambassadors and exiles populated Philadelphia, Carey and his son Henry would print a striking array of original and translated texts in Spanish: Spanish novels, freemasonry pamphlets, French and English plays, a literary annual, a biography of

[260] Edward Barry, *The Elements of Spanish and English Conversation; with new, familiar and easy dialogues. Designed particularly for the use of schools* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1822); Henry Neuman, *A Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages* (Philadelphia: Printed for A. Small and H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1823); Henrique Neuman, *Diccionario Nuevo de las dos lenguas Espanola e Inglesa…Compilado de los mejores autores Espanoles E Ingleses* (Filadelfia: Imprimado a costa de Abraham Small y H.C. Carey y I. Lea, 1823).

[261] Entries for January 30th, 1826 and March 2nd, 1826, Mathew Carey, [Journal from December 15th, 1822 to June 16th, 1826], Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania.

[262] Letter to Carey from Thomas H. Palmer [n.l] [n.d., likely 1820-21], Box 25, Folder 1, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

George Washington, Rousseau's *Social Contract*, Paine's *Rights of Man*, Volney's *The Law of Nature*, and political works upbraiding imperial governments, including Juan German Roscio's *El triumpfo de la liberdad sobre el despostim* (1821), James Philip Puglia's *Sistema politico-moral* (1821) and *El desengano* [disillusionment] *del hombre* (1822), and Vicesimus Knox's *El espiritu del despotismo* (1822, Figure 7).[263] The generic diversity of these Spanish-language materials suggests that *americano* readerships in "Filadelfia" were not isolated cadres of political figures but individuals who read for recreation, attended the city's active theaters, and joined fraternal organizations. Carey even authored – and his son published – several pamphlets to promote political relations and transcultural connections between United Statesians and recent emigrants, including an "emigrant's guide" to the U.S. and a Constitution for a society promoting "correct principles relative to the foreign intercourse of the United States."[264] As a naturalized citizen of the U.S., Carey's work with Irish émigré and Catholic communities had exposed him to the difficulties confronting non-U.S. natives, as well as their social and economic benefits for the U.S. polity. In Philadelphia, the Carey publishing house was a product and promoter of the longstanding transnationalism of U.S. urban centers.

Attentively reading the *North American Review*, like Irving, with an eye to trends in the U.S. book market, Carey issued in the same period many texts in English describing Spanish

[263] For a full list of these titles, see William Clarkin, *Mathew Carey: A Bibliography of His Publications, 1785-1824* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.: 1984): title numbers 681, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1239, 1285, 1302, 1314, 1318, 1322, 1331, 1334, and 1389; Vogeley, *Bookrunner*, 40, 45, 62-69, 72. Carey employed several translators in producing these works, including Santiago O'Conway, Josef Miguel Alea, Santiago Puglia, and Edward Barry, who authored a book on *Elements of Spanish and English Conversation*, published by Carey in 1822 (Ibid. 39, 68-69).

[264] Mathew Carey, *Address to the Citizens of the United States, on the Tendency of our System of Intercourse with Foreign Nations* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey and I. Lea, 1822); Mathew Carey, *Constitution of the Society for the Dissemination of Correct Principles Relative to the Foreign Intercourse of the United States* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1823); Mathew Carey, *An Improve and Enlarged Emigrant's Guide; Comprising the Geography, History, and Statistics of America* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey and J. [sic] Lea, 1824).

American territory and political transformations.[265] Beginning with Alexander Humboldt's narrative of travels in New Grenada, New Spain, and Peru (1799-1804), Carey proceeded to publish more current treatises on transamerican political relations, such as James Yard's *Spanish America and the United States* (1818), Joel Roberts Poinsett's *Notes on Mexico* (1824), and Alexander H. Everett's *America* (1827).[266] Unlike Everett's *America*, discussed in the previous section, Yard's and Poinsett's accounts foregrounded economic and cultural barriers to a profitable future relationship between the U.S. and the emerging *americano* governments. Yard admitted the "comparative insignificance" of the U.S.'s "own revolutionary struggle" when juxtaposed to the "large section of our globe" currently rejecting Spanish imperial rule, but claimed that the economic consequences of war outmatched calls for U.S. support of the revolutionaries.[267] Many U.S. politicians pleased their "imaginations in contemplating a splendid galaxy of republics, extending from our northern boundary to Cape Horn"; but "however ardently…we may wish success to the Spanish colonies…it is inexpedient for the United States to acknowledge their independence…[and] lead to a war with Spain," whose annual Cuban trade with the U.S. outmatched U.S. trade with Spanish America by a factor of ten.[268] For Poinsett, economics figured less in his resistance to U.S. alliance with Mexico than an inherited colonial racial hierarchy that rendered the Mexican state politically unstable. Though praising pre-colonial Aztec civilization and the present "revolution, towards which, the Americans [viz.

[265] Mathew Carey, *Catalogue of the Library of M. Carey, 1822* (Philadelphia: Joseph R. A. Skerrett, 1822): 11.

[266] Alexander von Humboldt, *Personal narrative of travels to the equinoctial regions of the new continent, during the years 1799-1804* (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1815); "A Merchant of Philadelphia" [James Yard], *Spanish America and the United States…Also some observations on the probable influence of the emancipation of the Spanish Colonies* (Philadelphia: M. Carey & Son, 1818); "A Citizen of the United States" [Joel Roberts Poinsett], *Notes on Mexico, made in the autumn of 1822* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1824); Alexander Hill Everett, *America: or, a General Survey of the Political Situation of the Several Powers of the Western Continent, with Conjectures on their Future Prospects* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1827).

[267] Yard, *Spanish America*, 5.

[268] Ibid. 23, 37, 57.

Mexicans] were slowly but irresistibly impelled," Poinsett depicted a civil and political order "founded on the colour of the skin," in which the *mestizo, mulatto,* and *sambo* castes since the revolution had declared their civic equality with the "white Creoles."[269] The Mexican government did outlaw slavery in its founding Constitution (1821), but with social equality still unrealized, Poinsett feared that the numerous nonwhite "beggars and idlers…who, having nothing to lose, are always ready to swell the cry of popular ferment, or to lend their aid in favour of imperial tyranny," remained an easily-radicalized population, an unknown variable in calculations of Mexico's political future.[270] The Careys' decision to publish such texts – both authors assumed pseudonyms – in a city largely sympathetic to Spanish American independence is a reminder that political ideals did not overwrite economic considerations, and further, that no consensus existed among U.S. writers concerning the future organization of the hemisphere's governments and economies.

Beyond Philadelphia, Carey found other means for selling the Spanish translations he published to *americano* revolutionaries through filibustering agents who accompanied and sold shipments of Carey's books in Spanish America. Nancy Vogeley has detailed the activities of Thomas W. Robeson, a "bookrunner" for Carey who sold sizeable quantities of his editions of Paine (75 copies), Rousseau (160 copies), and Puglia (190 copies) in Mexico's urban centers from 1821-22.[271] Yet this venture was only one among several exportation projects undertaken by Carey, which reached across the islands of the West Indies and into South American cities

[269] Poinsett, *Notes on Mexico*, 119, 121, 248, 253.

[270] Ibid. 122.

[271] The timing of these sales coincided advantageously with an independent Mexico's taxation policy that exemped all imported printed books from taxation as long as they were "not injurious to religion and good manners [*buenas costumbres*]" (Vogeley, *Bookrunner*, 159, 240).

like Buenos Aires, Valparaiso, Pernambuco, and La Guaira.[272] Other correspondence from William Davis Robinson indicates that Carey did not simply use U.S. merchants and soldiers as sales agents, but that these individuals on the ground in Spanish America recognized the profitability of publishing their first-hand experiences of countries who political futures remained uncertain to much of the U.S. population. Robinson's mercantile engagements in New Grenada, Caraccas, and Mexico City had first brought him to the Spanish American Empire in 1799, but he had been imprisoned for two years by Royalist forces when traveling in Mexico in 1816.[273] Shortly following his release, he first notified Isaac Lea (Carey's son-in-law and future business successor) and then Carey that he possessed a manuscript "written by a British officer who accompanied [Mexican revolutionary General Martín Francisco Javier] Mina to Mexico," which, when published "with introductory remarks and notes under my signature…will create no common sensation among the Dons [viz. Mexico's ruling Creole elite], for it will develop on what a slender thread hangs Mexico."[274] Carey published an edition of 1500 copies, commissioning Lydia R. Bailey for the printing and Thomas de Silva for the binding.[275] He garnered subscriptions for copies from Philadelphia booksellers and others as far as Savannah, Georgia, and personally bought 50 copies, more than twice the next-highest order.[276] Nevertheless unsatisfied with sales, and smarting from Carey's "rather hard" remarks against a

[272] Ibid 71-72.

[273] Robinson details the circumstances of his imprisonment and the process of negotiating his release in the "Introduction" (i-xxxii) to the book he published with Carey, William Davis Robinson, *Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution* (Philadelphia: Printed by Lydia R. Bailey, 1820).

[274] Letter to [Isaac] Lea from William D. Robinson in New York on February 25th, 1820, Box 23, Folder 7, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

[275] Letter to Carey from William D. Robinson [n.l.] on December 5th, 1820, Box 23, Folder 7, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

[276] Letter to Carey from William D. Robinson in Philadelphia on December 8th, 1820, Box 23, Folder 7; Letter to Carey from W.J. Williams in Savannah [GA] on December 20th, 1820, Box 25, Folder 3, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

second edition, Robinson advised Carey that if he had copies "to send to the West Indies, to Buenos Ayres, Chile, and to Venezuela & New Grenada, they would sell in those places better than in the U.S."[277]

Extant records do not note how many copies of Robinson's book sold, or whether Carey ever shipped copies to Spanish America and the Caribbean. (Robinson did send proof sheets to "my friend Col [Thomas] Aspinwall [at] the American Consult at London" to contract for an English edition, and "authoris'd Washington Irving…to make a review of the work.")[278] In a letter of 1821 to Carey, Robinson recounted how a U.S. Senator, after hearing of

> my disappointments respecting my book…tryd to console me by saying that allmost [sic] every American book maker had sunk money in the experiment – …Jefferson is out of pocket for the Notes on Virginia – [Joseph] Barlow encroached on the pockets of his friends and his own to get through the publication of his work [viz. *The Columbiad*]…I flatter myself that some authors have been more fortunate – Washington Irving I know has made some money – the Author of the Olive Branch I hope can say the same…[279]

Robinson's self-description as a "book maker" underlines authors' financial – and, in Carey's case, material – involvement in the publication of their works. Only "professional" authors like Scott, de Staël, or more recently Irving could concentrate on the work of writing books without

[277] Robinson later sent Carey a letter received from Natchez, near the Mexico-U.S. border, claiming that it "shows the necessity of remitting 2 or 300 Copies of my work to New Orleans…Mississipi [sic] Territory, Alabama, &c," where "it will meet a regular sale." (Letter to Carey from William D. Robinson in [n.l.] in December 1820 and in [n.l.] on December 5th [1820], Box 23, Folder 7, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

[278] Letter to Carey from William D. Robinson in Washington, D.C. on February 24th, 1821, Box 25, Folder 1, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP. Aspinwall would soon serve as Irving's literary agent in London in brokering the publication of the English edition of *Life and Voyages* by John Murray. Irving possibly authored the "Advertisement" appearing at the beginning of the 1821 London edition of *Memoirs* (i-viii).

[279] Letter to Carey from William D. Robinson in Washington, D.C. on January 10th, 1821, Box 25, Folder 1, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

predetermining a publisher and financing part or all of the printing of the book.[280] Otherwise, writers needed the already-extant material vehicle of periodicals to ferry their work into print at no cost to themselves. Thomas Robeson, who transported and sold Carey's books to Spanish America, and William Robinson, who sought Carey as a publisher for his own first-hand account of Spanish American politics, capture reciprocal positions in the United Statesian print markets that emerged alongside *americano* independence movements. Selling books to and for Carey, traveling to and from Spanish America, they reflect the different economic motivations that spurred U.S. production of print written about and for the people of the Americas' newly-independent governments. This print was a commodity for authors abroad and publishers at home, as well as reference material for policymakers in Spanish America and the U.S.

The production of print in the early nineteenth-century U.S. cannot be neatly subsumed under the rubric of cultural nationalism. As old imperial borders dissolved around them, U.S.-based authors, publishers, and periodical editors explored possible future economic and cultural configurations that could reshape the hemisphere, modulating between political idealism and mercenary calculation. The concept of a single interconnected U.S. print market in the mid-1820s remained an aspirational fiction rather than a material fact, as did the concept of a national U.S. literature: a key reason why, in an increasingly transnational hemisphere, certain settler colonial writers began asserting the existence of both. The reality was that even large-scale publishers like Carey, who had organized conventions to establish an interstate book trade, recognized an opportunity in Spanish-language printing and international bookselling; and that

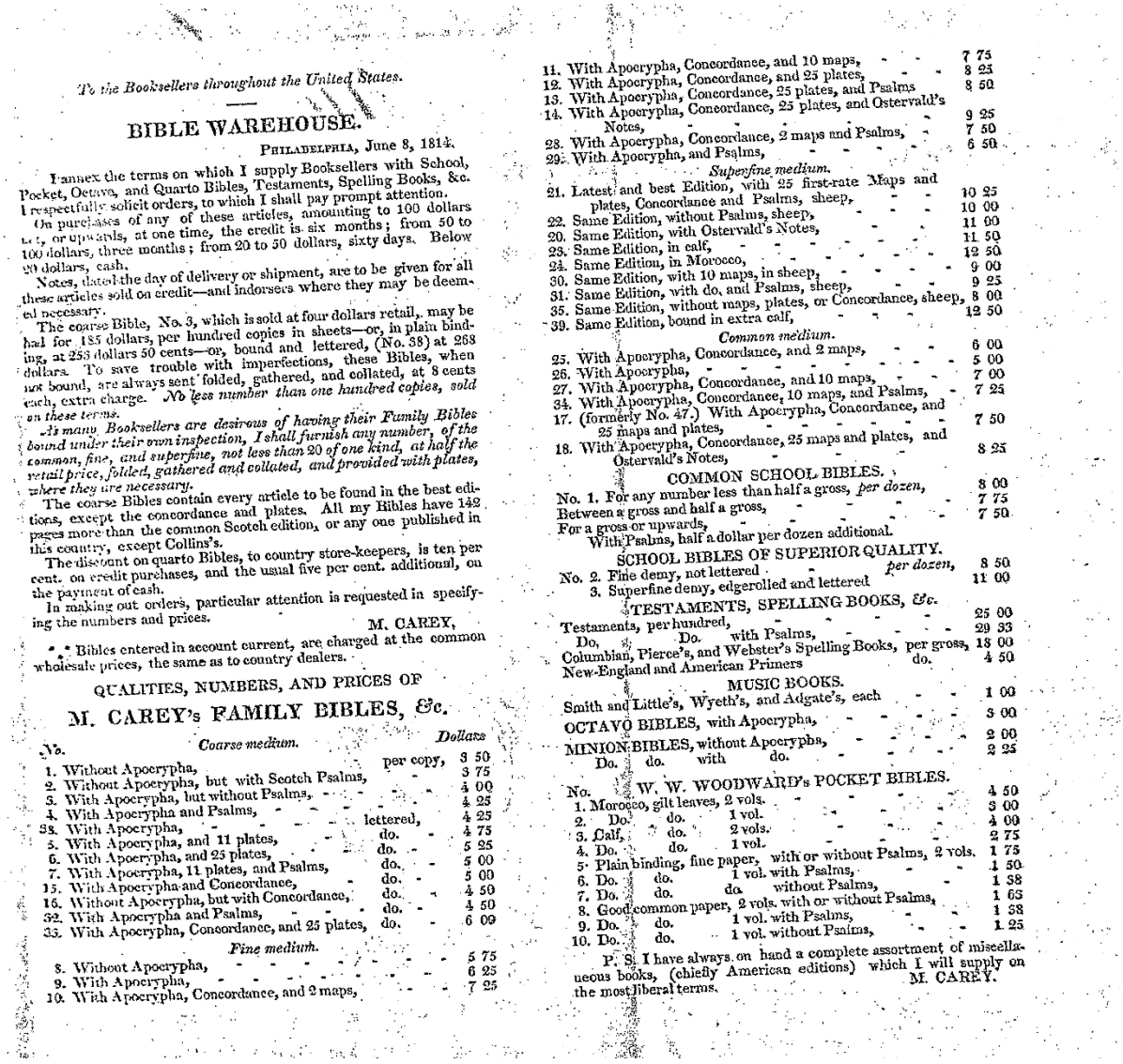
[280] An illustrative case is a letter to Carey soliciting a printer for an English translation of Gabriel Franchère's "A Narrative of a voyage to the N.W. Coast of N. America in the years 1810, 11, 12, 13, & 14," one of the works that inspired Irving's *Astoria* (1836). The letter-writer, Harriet P. Fitch, had found "by enquiry that the quantity of paper required will be 75 reams Demi printing paper for 2,000 copies of the work" before proposing the printing to Carey. Though Fitch is not seeking to publish a work she wrote, she has already determined the kind and quantity of paper required for the job. Letter to Carey from Harriet P. Fitch in Burlington, VT on February 10th, 1822, Box 25, Folder 3, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

even authors – like Irving – quickly trumpeted as "national" writers in the U.S. were often cosmopolites who wrote about subjects that were not identifiably United Statesian.[281] Anxious paeans to a rising U.S. literature concentrated in New England, where more print circulated among a more thickly-settled and literate populace, to such an extent that the region and its authors still disproportionately figure in early U.S. literary history. By its writers' own accounts, New England was the cradle of a national U.S. literature, a claim connected to New England's celebration of Puritan history and texts. The next chapter turns southward to pamphlets and periodicals produced and circulated in South Carolina and Georgia, juxtaposing the regions' descriptions of what a "national" print culture entailed for the U.S. polity. In the context of polarizing debates on the constitutional limits of federal power, we will see that the advent of a "national" literature for many Southerners was merely a symptom of a federal government grasping for political and cultural control over the many United States.

[281] Mathew Carey arguably inaugurated the idea of an interstate book trade with his 1801 "Address to the Printers and Booksellers throughout the United States" broadside, promoting a "literary fair" for printers and publishers to exchange sheet-for-sheet their different publications. In response to the broadside, 34 people came to the first fair in New York in June of 1802. For an account of the midcentury book trade system, see Michael Winship, "The National Book Trade System," in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 3: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880*, edited by Winship et. al. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007): 117-157.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 2.1. A panel from Randolph Rogers's "Columbus Doors" (1859), bordered by Bartholomew Columbus (right) and Irving's face (below). Image hosted by the Architect of the US Capitol.



To the Booksellers throughout the United States.

BIBLE WAREHOUSE.

PHILADELPHIA, June 8, 1814.

I annex the terms on which I supply Booksellers with School, Pocket, Octavo, and Quarto Bibles, Testaments, Spelling Books, &c. I respectfully solicit orders, to which I shall pay prompt attention.

On purchases of any of these articles, amounting to 100 dollars at one time, or upwards, the credit is six months; from 50 to 100 dollars, three months; from 20 to 50 dollars, sixty days. Below 20 dollars, cash.

Notes, dated the day of delivery or shipment, are to be given for all these articles sold on credit—and indorsers where they may be deemed necessary.

The coarse Bible, No. 3, which is sold at four dollars retail, may be had for 185 dollars, per hundred copies in sheets—or, in plain binding, at 258 dollars 50 cents—or, bound and lettered, (No. 38) at 268 dollars. To save trouble with imperfections, these Bibles, when not bound, are always sent folded, gathered, and collated, at 8 cents each, extra charge. *No less number than one hundred copies, sold on these terms.*

As many Booksellers are desirous of having their Family Bibles bound under their own inspection, I shall furnish any number, of the common, fine, and superfine, not less than 20 of one kind, at half the retail price, folded, gathered and collated, and provided with plates, where they are necessary.

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* * Bibles entered in account current, are charged at the common wholesale prices, the same as to country dealers.

QUALITIES, NUMBERS, AND PRICES OF M. CAREY's FAMILY BIBLES, &c.

No.			Dollars
	Coarse medium.		
1.	Without Apocrypha,	per copy,	3 50
2.	Without Apocrypha, but with Scotch Psalms,		3 75
3.	With Apocrypha, but without Psalms,		4 00
4.	With Apocrypha and Psalms,		4 25
38.	With Apocrypha,	lettered,	4 75
5.	With Apocrypha, and 11 plates,	do.	5 00
6.	With Apocrypha, and 25 plates,	do.	5 25
7.	With Apocrypha, 11 plates, and Psalms,	do.	5 00
15.	With Apocrypha and Concordance,	do.	5 00
16.	Without Apocrypha, but with Concordance,	do.	4 50
32.	With Apocrypha and Psalms,	do.	4 50
33.	With Apocrypha, Concordance, and 25 plates,	do.	6 00
	Fine medium.		
8.	Without Apocrypha,		5 75
9.	With Apocrypha,		6 25
10.	With Apocrypha, Concordance, and 2 maps,		7 25
11.	With Apocrypha, Concordance, and 10 maps,		7 75
12.	With Apocrypha, Concordance, and 25 plates,		8 25
13.	With Apocrypha, Concordance, 25 plates, and Psalms		8 50
14.	With Apocrypha, Concordance, 25 plates, and Ostervald's Notes,		9 25
28.	With Apocrypha, Concordance, 2 maps and Psalms,		7 50
29.	With Apocrypha, and Psalms,		6 50
	Superfine medium.		
21.	Latest and best Edition, with 25 first-rate Maps and plates, Concordance and Psalms, sheep,		10 25
22.	Same Edition, without Psalms, sheep,		10 00
20.	Same Edition, with Ostervald's Notes,		11 00
23.	Same Edition, in calf,		11 50
24.	Same Edition, in Morocco,		12 50
30.	Same Edition, with 10 maps, in sheep,		9 00
31.	Same Edition, with do. and Psalms, sheep,		9 25
35.	Same Edition, without maps, plates, or Concordance, sheep,		8 00
39.	Same Edition, bound in extra calf,		12 50
	Common medium.		
25.	With Apocrypha, Concordance, and 2 maps,		6 00
26.	With Apocrypha,		5 00
27.	With Apocrypha, Concordance, and 10 maps,		7 00
34.	With Apocrypha, Concordance, 10 maps, and Psalms,		7 25
17.	(formerly No. 47.) With Apocrypha, Concordance, and 25 maps and plates,		7 50
18.	With Apocrypha, Concordance, 25 maps and plates, and Ostervald's Notes,		8 25

COMMON SCHOOL BIBLES.

No. 1.	For any number less than half a gross, *per dozen*,	8 00
	Between a gross and half a gross,	7 75
	For a gross or upwards,	7 50

With Psalms, half a dollar per dozen additional.

SCHOOL BIBLES OF SUPERIOR QUALITY.

No. 2.	Fine demy, not lettered *per dozen*,	8 50
3.	Superfine demy, edgerolled and lettered	11 00

TESTAMENTS, SPELLING BOOKS, &c.

	Testaments, per hundred,	25 00
	Do. do. with Psalms,	29 33
	Columbian, Pierce's, and Webster's Spelling Books, per gross,	18 00
	New-England and American Primers do.	4 50

MUSIC BOOKS.

Smith and Little's, Wyeth's, and Adgate's, each	1 00
OCTAVO BIBLES, with Apocrypha,	3 00
MINION BIBLES, without Apocrypha,	2 00
Do. do. with do.	2 25

W. W. WOODWARD's POCKET BIBLES.

No.		
1.	Morocco, gilt leaves, 2 vols.	4 50
2.	Do. do. 1 vol.	3 00
3.	Calf, do. 2 vols.	4 00
4.	Do. do. 1 vol.	2 75
5.	Plain binding, fine paper, with or without Psalms, 2 vols.	1 75
6.	Do. do. 1 vol. with Psalms,	1 50
7.	Do. do. do. without Psalms,	1 38
8.	Good common paper, 2 vols. with or without Psalms,	1 63
9.	Do. do. 1 vol. with Psalms,	1 38
10.	Do. do. 1 vol. without Psalms,	1 25

P. S. I have always on hand a complete assortment of miscellaneous books, (chiefly American editions) which I will supply on the most liberal terms. M. CAREY.

Figure 2.2. Carey's "Bible Warehouse" broadside (1814). By this time, Carey's Bible sales had enabled him to keep several formats of Bibles in standing type, from which he could print many copies quickly with only the cost of paper, ink, and labor, and then sell these Bibles in large quantity at wholesale prices. Image courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society digital collections.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 2.3. Carey's copy of a broadside that doubled as a subscription document for *The Shamrock*. In a letter of February 25th, 1822, Michael Toohey, the paper's Irish publisher, directly wrote to Carey as a fellow "Son of the Green Isle" to ask Carey to gather subscribers for the newspaper, to which Carey already subscribed. The broadside claims that "The Editor and Proprietor are Irishmen – They are also Americans," and promises content that will "mingle the praise justly due to Americans, with its efforts to invigorate the spirits of IRISHMEN, in the midst of their sufferings." Image for research purposes only, from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 2.4. Volume listing several of Carey's pamphlets addressing Catholicism and religious toleration, collated in book form in 1826. They include the Constitutions Carey drafted for the "Society for Vindicating the Roman Catholic Religion from Calumny" and the "Roman Catholic Sunday School Society." Image for research purposes only, from the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figures 2.**5 and 2.6**. *Left*, cover and *Right*, page of Mathew Carey's first Spanish-language publication, a textbook for learning how to read Spanish. *El Pequeño Director* was in fact a translation of Carey's *The New-England Primer*, printed the previous year. Several of the woodcut illustrations, such as the one seen on the right, are copied from Isaiah Thomas's editions of John Newbery's children's books, reprinted in the U.S. at the end of the eighteenth century. Images for research purposes only, hosted by the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 2.7. Edward Barry's translation of Vicesimus Knox's *El Espiritu del Despotismo* (1822), complete with a new dedication to Simón Bolívar, published in "Filadelfia" under Carey's direction by his son and son-in-law, Henry Carey and Isaac Lea. Image for research purposes only, hosted by the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Appendix
All publications are viewable digitally through Cornell's *Making of America* archive, Readex's *Shaw-Shoemaker II: Early American Imprints (1801-1819)* archive, and HathiTrust Digital Library.

American Citizen (New York: 1805-1810)
"Communication," 20 May 1809 (10.2849) pg. 2
"From the Edinburgh Review – Letter aux Espanols-Americains," 13 July 1809 (10.2894) pg. 2
"Carraccas," 6 June 1810 (10.4071) pg. 2
"From the Philadelphia Gazette. [Translated from the Carraccas extra Gazette of May 22, 1810]," 13 July 1810 (10.4102) pg. 2

Analectic Magazine (Philadelphia: 1813-1820)
"*History of Brazil*. By Robert Southey. Part the First. 4to. pp. 659. [From the Monthly Review, for December, 1812]," 1813 (v.1) 328-343
"Anecdotes of the Mexicans, including a description of Mexico, its lakes, &c. [From Walton's State of the Spanish Colonies]," 1813 (v.1) 447-455
"Account of the late earthquake at the Caraccas. [From the Philosophical Magazine for March, 1813]," 1813 (v.2) 172-176
[Untitled, begins "Travels in South America…"], 1814 (v.3) 263
"Original. Sketch of the Writings of Joel Barlow," 1814 (v.4) 130-158
[Untitled, begins "*Thomas B. Wait and Sons*…"], 1814 (v.4) 261

Aurora (Philadelphia: 1794-1824)

Columbian (New York: 1809-1817)
"From Spanish America," 17 October 1810 (1.299) pg. 3
"Mexican Affairs," 26 December 1810 (2.358) pg. 3
"Revolution in Mexico," 25 March 1811 (2.433) pg. 2
[Untitled, begins "In a Santa Fee [sic] paper…"], 13 May 1811 (2.475) pg. 2
"Battle in Mexico," 25 July 1811 (2.537) pg. 2
"Spanish America," 28 August 1812 (3.878) pg. 3
"U. States Agent to Mexico," 28 October 1812 (3.926) pg. 3
"Spanish America. Private Correspondence. Nachitoches, Sept. 6," 3 November 1812 (4.931) pg. 4
"From Mexico. Alexandria, Louisiana June 6," 14 July 1813 (4.1131) pg. 2
"New-York: Thursday Evening," 16 June 1814 (5.1420) pg. 2
"From New Mexico," 9 September 1814 (5.1491) pg. 3

Edinburgh Review (1802-1929)
"Present State of the Spanish Colonies…By William Walton junior," 1810-11 (v. 17) 372-381
"Essai Politique sur la Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne," 1811-12 (v.19) 164-194
"Researches concerning the Institutions and Monuments…," 1814-15 (v.24) 133-156
"Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent…," 1815 (v.25) 86-111
"Voyage de Humboldt et Bonpland," 1816 (v.27) 99-101

"Europe and America, in 1821…," 1822 (v.37) 268-274
"Extracts from a Journal…," 1824 (v.40) 31-43
"History of St Domingo…," 1824-25 (v.41) 497-507
"Wanderings in South America…," 1825-26 (v.43) 299-314

Edinburgh Annual Register (1808-1826)
"America," 1817 (v.10): 185-194
"America," 1818 (v.11): 198-211
"South America, the United States, and India," 1819 (v.12): 291-298
[Untitled, Chapter 12], 1820 (v.12): 127-144
"America," 1823 (v.13): 318-235
"America," 1823 (v.14): 278-288
"America," 1824 (v.16): 355-368
"America," 1825 (v.17): 199-209

Federal Republican and Gazette (Baltimore: 1796-1825)

Knickerbocker Magazine (New York: 1833-1865)
"National Nomenclature," July 1839 (14.1): 158-162

London Times (1788-present)
"Spanish America," 20 January 1816 (issue 9736) pg. 2
"American Intelligence," 16 April 1816 (issue 9810) pg. 2
"Spanish America," 16 April 1816 (issue 9810) pg. 3
"South America," 9 August 1816 (issue 9909) pg. 3
"American Papers," 29 October 1816 (issue 9978) pg. 2
[Untitled, begins "If we were to believe the news respecting Spanish America…"], 2 April 1817 (issue 10111) pg. 2
"South America," 7 August 1817 (issue 10218) pg. 2
"South America," 6 September 1817 (issue 10230) pg. 3
"American Intelligence," 20 January 1819 (issue 10575) pg. 2
"Patriot Cause In Spanish America," 13 September 1820 (issue 11037) pg. 3
"Independence of South America," 16 April 1822 (issue 11532) pg. 2

National Intelligencer (Washington, DC: 1810-1869)

New-York Evening Post (1801-present)
"For the Evening Post," 23 August 1808 (issue 2094) pg. 2
"To Printers of Newspapers," 6 June 1810 (issue 2515) pg. 3
"New-York Evening Post," 19 October 1810 (issue 2633) pg. 2
[Untitled, begins "*Just received from the Author*…"], 29 November 1810 (issue 2668) pg. 3
"Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Natchitoches, on Red-River, to his friend at Fort-Columbia," 7 January 1812 (issue 2956), pg. 3
"From the Baltimore Federal Gazette. Spanish America," 4 November 1812 (issue 3203) pg. 3
[Untitled, begins "Every arrival from the West Indies…"], 6 May 1815 (issue 3902) pg. 1

New York Herald (1802-1817)
"Philadelphia, Dec. 25," 29 December 1810 (issue 934) pg. 1
"From the Natches Chronicle of Jan. 7," 23 February 1811 (issue 950) pg. 1
"Translated for the Federal Republican. Mexico, Feb. 20, 1811," 24 April 1811 (issue 976) pg. 2
"From the Baltimore Federal Gazette. Spanish America," 4 November 1812 (issue 1136) pg. 3
"Republic of Mexico," 14 August 1813 (issue 1221) pg. 2

North American Review (Boston: 1815-1940)
"Sketch Book I. II.," September 1819 (9.25) 322-356
"Amerigo Vespucci," April 1821 (12.31) 318-350
"Mexico," April 1822 (14.35) 420-455
"Mr. Webster's Discourse. – Ante-colonial history of New England," July 1822 (15.36) 21-51
"Humboldt's Works," January 1823 (16.38) 1-30
"Chili," April 1824 (18.43) 288-314
"South America," July 1824 (19.44) 158-209
"Life and Genius of Goethe," October 1824 (19.45) 303-325
"Mr. Poinsett's Notes on Mexico," January 1825 (20.46) 77-99
"Insurrection of Tupac Amaru," April 1825 (20.47) 283-309
"Travels in Colombia," July 1825 (21.48) 153-178
"Columbus," October 1825 (21.49) 398-439
"Gold and Silver in Mexico," October 1825 (21.49) 439-444
"Alliance of the Southern Republics," January 1826 (22.50) 162-176
"A History of the Life and Voyages…By Washington Irving," January 1829 (28.62) 103-134

Public Advertiser (New York: 1807-1813)
"Spanish America – Declared Independent," "Caraccas," and "Ban – or Proclamation," 8 June 1810 (4.1152) pg. 2
"Spanish America," 8 October 1810 (4.1262) pg. 2

Chapter 3

Nation Versus State: Nullification and National Sovereignty in the Southern and Cherokee Presses

The first historian of Charleston's newspaper press, William L. King, wistfully recalled in 1872 the social "life of journalism" he and others had once led earlier in the century. Printers, compositors, postmasters, and especially editors – each was an essential support to the "craft of journalism." Together they formed "a perfect organization among themselves, which, socially, was rarely ruptured." They "lived and met together" in "fraternal spirit" and joined in "frequent re-unions" as the Charleston Typographical Society, which King's father had presided over.[282] They fought in the street, as did future Charleston postmaster Alfred Huger and future judge and author Robert J. Turnbull. They mentored and learned "the craft" of printing from one another, sold and advertised each other's products, and generally operated as "a close social organization." For this reason, King argued, "the *art, craft, and mysteries of journalism cannot be taught, within the confines of a college*," but rather "are to be found in the thoroughfares – in the strife of parties – at public meetings, and under the glare of midnight gas": in the journalist's "social existence."[283]

In King's view, this instructive social existence had "expired with its projectors." "The editor of a journal formerly," King recalled, "was its printer and publisher; something more, he was a sort of sponsor for the accuracy of its advertising customers." Now, decades later, these processes were divided, with publishers commissioning printers to print what they sold, which

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The Cherokee Phoenix is abbreviated as *TCP* and *The Charleston Mercury* is abbreviated as *TCM* in the following citations, due to the frequency of citations of both papers. No author is mentioned in citations of articles without identifiable authors.

[282] "Anniversary of the Charleston Typographical Society," *TCM* 20.2954 (January 7 1832): 2.

[283] William L. King, *The Newspaper Press of Charleston, S.C.: A Chronological and Biographical History, Embracing a Period of One Hundred and Forty Years* (Charleston: Edward Perry, 1872): 5, 74 187-88, 190-91.

included advertisements dedicated to "regular commercial publicity" instead of local "official notices." Editors demonstrated a marked "fearlessness" in editorials that disregarded popular sentiment at the same time that the "mechanical operations" of printing had "reached a perfection calculated to astonish those who may examine its history," giving newspapers "an unlimited agency in modern society" but not a sense of social obligation.[284]

With typical Reconstruction-era nostalgia, King wrote his *Newspaper Press* for those "who love to look back upon the past," from the vantage of "a new epoch" of "the South emerging from her ruins!" At the same time, he lamented the fact that such a history had to be written at all. Struck by "the reality that the press which chronicles all things, often overlooks its *own* exploits and triumphs," King's work concludes with a petition for the press to "become autobiographical" and capture the "astounding" amount of historical matter "that accumulates gradually on the files of a daily journal." As King's history presents it, even Charleston's local press history was indivisible from U.S. political history writ large. He notes the *Courier*'s reduction to "half a sheet, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring paper" resulting from Thomas Jefferson's Embargo Act; the "'Tory mob'" that attacked the office of the Charleston *Instigator* after the pro-war paper increased the size of its pages on October 3, 1812; the *Courier*'s reporting on "the first notes of secession…sounded in New England" at the 1815 Hartford Convention; the instrumentality of "newspaper enterprise in the South" in the development of the Associated Press and the telegraph during the U.S.-Mexican War; and the suspension of the Charleston *Mercury* in 1865 by "the ruthless torch of Major-General Sherman's legions" during the Union general's march through the South to the Atlantic. As King

[284] Ibid. 3-5, 13.

told it, Charleston's press was a heroic combine of innovators, martyrs, and truth-tellers who reflected and shaped U.S. military and political history.[285]

All of these historical achievements spanned fewer pages in King's history than his coverage of South Carolina's efforts, in 1831-32, to nullify certain federal laws as unconstitutional, and the role of Charleston's press in bolstering arguments both for and against nullification. The primary nullification periodical in this conflict was *The Charleston Mercury*, founded in 1822 by Edmund Morford, former associate editor and proprietor of the *Courier*. Indeed, even the *Courier*, the protagonist of King's history and "the leading Union [viz. anti-secession] organ in the state," was drawn into the "vortex" of polemic, despite its "commercial and miscellaneous nature." Yet King's history glosses over the often personal invective that characterized debates between the *Mercury* and *Courier*, recounting the political joust between South Carolina and the U.S. government: Senator Robert Hayne's July 4th address to nullifiers in 1831; the South Carolina General Assembly's passing of an Ordinance of Nullification in November 1832; President Andrew Jackson's denunciation of nullification in a December 1832 speech; Henry Clay's Compromise Tariff of February 1833; and the revocation of the Nullification Ordinance in March 1833. The telos of this political series, in King's view, was a return to "that era of good feeling which was again to unite all in the bonds of social, if not political brotherhood" – an emphasis on reconciliation stemming from the "embarrassing" state of the South's "political and pecuniary affairs" following the Civil War.[286] In this account, nullification's political effects are neatly packaged within a chapter and framed within a simple state-versus-federal government antagonism.

[285] Ibid. Preface, 74, 93, 101, 135, 157, 185, 187, 190.

[286] Ibid. 128-131, 185.

King's *Newspaper Press* strategically obscures the political logic underpinning nullification and its applications beyond South Carolina. This chapter investigates the nullification debates in *The Charleston Mercury* to argue that tariffs were of secondary importance to the constitutional interpretation that allegedly justified South Carolina's – and later, Georgia's – ability to reject federal rulings outright. Nullification, I show, stemmed from an originalist reading of the Constitution by which each state retained ultimate sovereignty within its jurisdiction, and existed in perpetuity as a nation unto itself. To nullify was not simply a question of relative powers, but of the very origins and political ontology of the United States, as a confederacy of sovereign nations rather than a nation comprising subordinate states. There was no *American* nation as such in this interpretation. There were only nations united in a common government. This theory of state sovereignty came at the cost of a national conception of the United States. The strongest inter-state bonds acknowledged by nullifiers were economic. Free trade was "the true social system," the "politics of nature" which "linked [people] together by mutual interests," but not in a national community.[287] As the conclusion of this chapter shows, many Northern writers perceived in this logic an imminent threat to governmental stability, and the first steps toward a civil war.

Charleston was not the only geopolitical arena in which periodical communities discussed nullification policies. To the south, Georgian newspapers in the same period fiercely debated the constitutionality of the "removal" of the Cherokee people from lands guaranteed to them by a host of treaties with the U.S. government. Established in 1828, *The Cherokee Phoenix*'s initial purpose of was to exhibit the national status and sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation to readers outside the nation, while informing its Cherokee readership of the external threats to individual and national Cherokee sovereignty. While the State of Georgia encouraged its white population

[287] "Mr. Hayne's Speech Upon Mr. Clay's Resolution, (Concluded)," *TCM* 20.2974 (January 31 1832): 2.

to settle on and take natural resources from Cherokee territory, Cherokee writers documented the unconstitutionality of Georgians' actions, using these reports as occasions for explaining the origins of Cherokee sovereignty as a nation. Instead of referencing the extensive history of treaties between the Cherokee Nation and settler colonial governments, Cherokee writers turned to natural law to justify Cherokee national sovereignty, rejecting the authority of codified U.S. laws in ruling on the collective status of the Cherokees. *Phoenix* writers incorporated the practice of nullification into this program of extralegal resistance, drawing on information reported from nullificationist papers in South Carolina and Georgia. As I show, Cherokee nullification soon became a useful blueprint for Pequot writer William Apess in his efforts to defend Mashpee sovereignty against the State of Massachusetts.

Each asserting the rights of a distinct minority, the *Phoenix* and *Mercury* joined a groundswell of new and increasingly mobile newsprint emerging in the 1820s and 30s. Newspapers multiplied proportionally faster than the U.S. population, rising from 861 in 1828 to 1,303 in 1840, by which time just 138 daily newspapers alone circulated 300,000 pages of print per day, led by the urban "penny press" like the *New York Herald* and D.C.-based political papers like *The National Intelligencer*.[288] These urban dailies still constituted just a fraction of all U.S. newsprint, which was mostly printed in rural villages (two-thirds of all printing offices) and was dominated by hand-pressed weeklies (eight out of ten newspapers).[289] The U.S. began

[288] Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992): 14, 16; Robert A. Gross, "Introduction: An Extensive Republic" in *A History of the Book in America: An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840* v.2, eds. Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010): 37; David Henkin, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998): 105.

[289] Gross, "Introduction," 17, 37; Jack Larkin, "'Printing is something every village has in it': Rural Printing and Publishing" in *A History of the Book in America: An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840* v.2, eds. Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press,

dozens of railroad construction projects in the 1830s, which eventually superseded the "pony express" as the primary mail carrier, but newsprint was already the most prolific and easily circulated format of text in the U.S.[290] In 1829, *Clayton v. Stone* affirmed that copyright did not apply to newspapers, further encouraging reprinting practices.[291] Newspapers were by far the cheapest texts to mail – one and a half cents postage for any distance, versus twenty-five cents postage for a one-page letter sent up to 450 miles – and in 1832 Congress debated eliminating newspaper postage altogether.[292] It was in these decades that newspapers became popularly known in the U.S. as the "fourth estate," a term denoting the press's commensurate power with the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of government.[293] Andrew Jackson, recognizing the political clout of newsprint, appointed 57 journalists to federal positions, more than any other

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2010): 146. According to the 1830 census, just 8.8% of the U.S. lived in urban areas with a population greater than 2,500, and only 4.1% in urban areas with a population greater than 25,000 (Baldasty, *Commercialization*, 16).

[290] Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989): 24.

[291] Meredith L. McGill, "Copyright" in *A History of the Book in America: An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840* v.2, eds. Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010): 204.

[292] Juan Gonzalez and Joseph Torres, *News for All the People: The Epic Story of Race and the American Media* (New York: Verso, 2011): 33. As Robert Gross has observed, not until midcentury "when postage on letters was sharply reduced, did newspapers lose their financial utility as carriers of private information [viz. letters] along with public intelligence" (Robert A. Gross, "Reading for an Extensive Republic" in Gross and Kelley, *History of the Book*, 521).

[293] John L. Brooke, "Print and Politics" in *A History of the Book in America: An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840* v.2, eds. Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010): 179. In the nineteenth-century U.S., Jeffrey Pasley notes, "the newspaper press was the political system's central institution, not simply a forum or atmosphere in which politics took place. Instead, newspapers and their editors were purposeful actors in the political process, linking parties, voters, and the government together…the 'linchpin' of nineteenth-century party politics" (Jeffrey L. Pasley, *'The Tyranny of Printers': Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* [Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 2001]: 3). The instrumentality of newspapers to party politics was heightened by the longstanding "franking" privilege extended to elected state and federal officials. Such individuals could "frank" (from the Latin *francus*, meaning "free") letters or newspapers by signing their names to them, which allowed the item to travel postage-free through the mail.

president.[294] (In 1831, postmasters comprised three-quarters of the federal civilian workforce, a body larger than the U.S. Army.)[295] Printers, editors, and postmasters, each becoming more embedded in an increasingly polarized political sphere, began to move away from republican models of newspapers as a disinterested "public" text in favor of selective reporting that promoted specific agendas within a marketplace of print.

The *Phoenix* and the *Mercury* were two such papers. Each, for different reasons, remained firmly critical of Jackson's presidencies. None of these papers' editors – Elias Boudinot and Elijah Hicks for the *Phoenix*; Henry Laurens Pinckney for the *Mercury* – believed his primary political allegiance was to the United States. They each wrote instead for a political minority group that, for different reasons, they each designated as a nation. In these papers, the political practice of nullification was evaluated as a strategy for defending a minority nation's sovereignty against the encroachments of external governments. In the articles printed in and reprinted between them, this chapter traces how different ideological branches of nullification were theorized by editors, their readerships, and other periodicals. By examining the different strategies of print production and dissemination employed by promoters and critics of nullification, we will see that these papers constituted only two of many centers of production and material forms of print that framed the issue of national sovereignty to readers across North America.

[294] Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards*, 102. Jackson's Postmaster General, Amos Kendall, also edited *The Washington Globe*, Jackson's administration's paper, and served as a member of Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet."

[295] Gonzalez and Torres, *News for all the People*, 33. The Associated Press forms in 1848 in coordination with U.S. military activity in the U.S.-Mexican War (1846-48).

I. "TWENTY-FOUR, distinct nations"

In the 21st century, *national* and *federal* descriptions of the United States are colloquially interchangeable and co-constitutive: one speaks of the "national government" or the "nation state" unpolemically. For nearly a century after the formation of the U.S. government, however, politicians were acutely attuned to the arguments embedded in characterizations of the United States as a nation. As seen in Chapter 1, national unity was not a self-evident or even popular concept before and after the ratification of the U.S. Constitution. Declarations of the unity of the states were primarily couched in natural-historical terms that avoiding positing a cultural nation or a federal government with supreme jurisdiction over the states. While Chapter 2 focused primarily on writers' conceptions of the United States within a changing hemispheric context, the first decades of the 19th century saw no shortage of internal issues – such as the Hartford Convention (1815) or the Missouri Compromise (1820) – that hinged on questions concerning the legitimate extent of federal authority and the relations of states to each other. In the 1820s and 30s, the issue of state sovereignty was fiercely debated on the senate floor and in U.S. periodicals, concerning in particular South Carolina's extended legal battle against federally-imposed tariff schedules in 1828 and 1832. In this context, *The Charleston Mercury* emerged as South Carolina's major nullificationist periodical and, consequently, an important locus of reinterpretations of the origins of the United States and the Constitution.

Henry Laurens Pinckney (1794-1863) purchased *The Charleston Mercury and Morning Advertiser* in 1823, two years after its founding as a nonpartisan paper by bookseller Edward Morford. A scion of South Carolina's political elite – in his own time, Charleston already had a Pinckney Street, a Laurens Street, and a fort known as "Castle Pinckney" guarding its harbor –

Pinckney instrumentalized the paper in partisan support of John C. Calhoun, the "High Priest of Nullification" who secretly penned South Carolina's "Exposition and Protest" (1828), among the first statements of nullification doctrine printed by a state legislature, and soon known as "The Calhoun Doctrine."[296] Endorsing nullification from Charleston outward was economically profitable to the *Mercury* and politically profitable to Pinckney. Already a member of the State Assembly in 1816 and 1820, Pinckney would have an extensive career in city, state, and federal politics.[297] As a prominent nullificationist serial in what became an interregional periodical discourse, the *Mercury* gained larger local and distant readerships among nullifiers and "nationalists" due to its viral notoriety. Pinckney's addition of a tri-weekly "Country Edition" of the *Mercury* testifies to these growing out-of-town and -state readerships, who could not reliably receive the daily edition printed in Charleston.[298] Timeliness was crucial to *The Charleston*

[296] See, for example, the pamphlet reprinted from a Charleston newspaper by "A Democratic Republican," *The Calhoun Doctrine, or State Nullification Discussed, Originally Published in the "Irishman and Southern Democrat*" (Charleston: Printed at the Office of "The Irishman," 1831). In December 1832, Calhoun resigned his Vice-Presidency under Andrew Jackson in order to argue for nullification as a U.S. Senator for South Carolina, his native state. He was elected to fill the vacant seat of Pinckney's brother-in-law Robert Y. Hayne, who had sparred with Senator Daniel Webster in a series of debates on protectionist tariffs and the extent of state sovereignty in January 1830, and who became Governor of South Carolina following his resignation. Pinckney's father, Charles Coatesworth Pinckney, was one of South Carolina's delegates to the Constitutional Convention and served as Washington's American minister to France, replacing James Monroe in fall of 1786. He had ordered Castle Pinckney constructed in 1798, fearing a possible invasion from the French West Indies. At the height of nullification controversy, Charleston's custom house was relocated to Castle Pinckney, and in response, in January 1832, Castle Pinckney was garrisoned by a detachment of the Second United States Artillery, though no military encounter occurred. Jackson mentioned this relocation in his speech of January 16th, 1833, to Congress regarding South Carolina's Nullification Ordinance. See Rogers W. Young, "Castle Pinckney, Silent Sentinel of Charleston Harbor," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 39.1 (1938): 1-14, esp. 4-5, 10; King, *The Newspaper Press of Charleston, S.C.*, 129; Turnbull, *Crisis*, 29-31. For an extensive study of Pinckney family history in Charleston, see George C. Rogers, Jr., *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980).

[297] Pinckney left the editorial chair of the *Mercury* in October 1832 when he was elected Intendant of Charleston and (unopposed) as Speaker of the South Carolina House of Representatives. He was a U.S. Representative of South Carolina from 1833-37, became Mayor of Charleston in 1839, and Collector of the Port of Charleston in 1840 (King, *The Newspaper Press of Charleston, S.C.*, 148).

[298] Pinckney claimed the country edition was especially widely read in Georgia, Tennessee, and North Carolina, as well as "in every district of South Carolina." See John Stanford Coussons, "Thirty Years with Calhoun, Rhett, and the *Charleston Mercury*: a Chapter in South Carolina Politics." Unpublished dissertation (Louisiana State University, 1971): 20.

Mercury (Pinckney excised *and Daily Advertiser* from its original title), named for the Roman messenger god. Content like shipping news, current staple prices, auction sales, and political reporting was valued because of its time-sensitive quality. From a correspondent Pinckney received daily news by stagecoach directly from South Carolina's statehouse in Columbia, ending the former editor's policy of reprinting extracts from Columbia periodicals. The printing of a daily paper required a different set of coordinated practices from those used to produce thick magazine monthlies like Carey's *American Museum* or *The North American Review*. To shorten the time of setting type, the first and fourth pages (the "outside" of the 4-page newspaper) was often left pre-set in standing type. These pages, containing the masthead and a swarm of advertisements, could be printed in advance with a single impression on one side of the newspaper sheet before it was folded in half. Certain woodblock images on the back page of the *Mercury* were reused to the point that one can observe the deterioration of the letter type used to print them (Figure 1). Keeping the fresh information on the paper's "inside" (pages 2 and 3) also prevented literate passersby from glimpsing it for free. Pinckney even printed a truncated version of the paper's masthead where the important information began, at the top left corner of page 2, just above the issue's feature content: a transcript of congressional debates, or prices current, or an editorial by Pinckney, often set with extra space between the lines of type in order to draw the eye to it and make it easier to read (Figure 2).

The fact of the *Mercury*'s profitability and expanded subscribership became, in turn, an advertisement for its political agenda. Like most nullifiers, Pinckney supported free market economic models under which the South could more profitably trade its cotton outside the North, around the Atlantic. He applied this free market logic to print and representative politics: the growing patronage of the *Mercury* made it economically successful and indicated the

representativeness of its politics. In an editorial at the opening of 1832 he thanked subscribers "not only from motives of a private character, but because we perceive distinctly, in the extended patronage afforded us, that the broad seal of public approbation has been stamped upon our labors, that the principles we advocate are sustained and supported by the people, and that the cause for which we have contended is the peoples [sic] cause."[299] The *Mercury* was manufactured to appear representative when in statistical fact it was not. Most other Charleston dailies – the *Patriot*, the *Gazette*, and especially the *Courier* – remained Unionist, as did their editors.[300] News from the District of Columbia was not excerpted from *The National Intelligencer* – the premier daily source for congressional reports and speeches – but from the *United States Telegraph*, a paper edited by free trade advocate Duff Green, a frequent critic of the "tory" *Intelligencer*.[301] One *Telegraph* article reprinted in the *Mercury* contained a letter from a South Carolina delegate, justifying his comment at an anti-tariff meeting in Columbia that unconstitutional tariffs had forced the state "to calculate the value of our union."[302] While the *National Intelligencer* had reported this speech "as an exhortation to dissolve the Union at all events," the *Telegraph* gave the delegate space to answer these "wily interpreters," the *Intelligencer*'s editors "Messrs Gales and Seaton."[303] The delegate claimed to be pointing out the

[299] [Henry Laurens Pinckney], [No title], *TCM* 20.2951 (January 4 1832): 2.

[300] Coussons, "Thirty Years," 56.

[301] Thomas Cooper, "To the Editor of the United States Telegraph," *TCM* 7.1712 (November 1 1827): 2. Duff Green and other free trade advocates saw the *Intelligencer*'s promotion of Northern manufacturing interests as part of a coordinated trade partnership between the Northern states and England. Suspicions of pro-British Northern conspiracy had not faded since the 1815 Hartford Convention. International news in the *Mercury* was usually reprinted from foreign newspapers, shipped to Charleston from New York, an indication both of Pickney's efforts to avoid Northern U.S. periodicals and of Charleston's increasingly marginal role as a port of trade for Europeans with the U.S. (Coussons, "Thirty Years," 22). *The North American Review* was a notable exception to the filtering out of Northern periodicals in the *Mercury*, where it was regularly advertised. See, for example, "North American Review, No. LXXIV," *TCM* 20.2966 (January 21 1832): 3.

[302] Thomas Cooper, "To the Editor of the United States Telegraph," *TCM* 7.1712 (November 1 1827): 2.

difficulty of having the States' "articles of partnership interpreted honestly" when the "Constitution is a piece of clay," when "the majority revel in uncontrolled authority over the rights of the minority," and when "an 'American System' has been gotten up for the manifest purpose of draining the South to enrich the North."[304] Packaging this content – the quoted speech, the *Intelligencer*'s response, and the delegate's response to the *Intelligencer*'s response – within a single *Mercury* article, Pinckney highlights his paper's corrective of a prejudiced press in the federal capital, making his paper war into a metonym of the sectional political conflict it reports on. He also gives the delegate another opportunity to grandstand.

Reporting on political events entailed material practices, ranging from page and type layout to advertising and compiling reprinted content. The *Mercury*'s coverage of Kentucky Senator Henry Clay, "the champion of legalized plunder" via the dreaded "American System" of internal improvements and protectionist tariffs, exemplifies the extent of Pinckney's agency in and out the paper in shaping readers' exposure to the marketplace of ideas.[305] When, in January 1832, Clay proposed a modified tariff schedule that, to many Southerners, seemed only to reduce tariffs on goods imported in Northern states, the *Mercury* did not give Clay space to justify his proposal. "The dimension of our paper do[es] not authorize us to publish Mr. Clay's speech entire," Pinckney wrote in an early article, "and therefore, we have furnished an abstract."[306] Nor did Clay's speech appear the next day, for, as Pinckney put it, Clay "did not deem it necessary to offer any arguments in favor of the American System" because (now quoting Clay) "'the

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[303] Ibid. 2.

[304] Ibid. 2.

[305] "Mr. Clay's Speech," *TCM* 20.2966 (January 21 1832): 2.

[306] [No title, begins "The dimension of…"], *TCM* 20.2971 (January 27 1832): 2.

protecting policy stands self-vindicated.'"[307] This number did, however, include a page filled with a response to Clay's unprinted speech by South Carolina Senator Robert Hayne, Pinckney's brother-in-law.[308] Pinckney even apologized to readers that Hayne's speech "has been divided by the Washington press, not only because a connected argument necessarily suffers by mutilation or division, but because it has prevented us from inserting it entire."[309] The next two issues completed the multi-page speech.[310] In following weeks, the *Mercury* advertised the pamphlet publications of Hayne's speech on Clay's "ridiculous Tariff" and of Clay's speech itself, the latter designed to encourage Southerners' "determined resistance, by simply publishing the fallacious reasoning by which the usurpations of their rights are attempted to be vindicated."[311] The paper also reprinted many other papers' positive responses to Hayne's reply to Clay, at the same time observing how much earlier the *Mercury* had first printed the text of Hayne's speech in comparison to these papers.[312] Pinckney's readers never had an equal opportunity to engage the two speeches in any textual form free from preconception – precisely the *Mercury*'s intention.

Clay's 1832 tariff became one of the key documents that South Carolinians formally nullified that year, leading to an ultimately bloodless resolution with further tariff modifications proposed by Clay in 1833. Instead of recapitulating the well-documented chronology of resulting political

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[307] "Debate on the Tariff, In Senate – Monday, Jan. 16, 1832," *TCM* 20.2972 (January 28 1832): 2.

[308] Ibid. 2.

[309] "Mr [sic] Hayne's Speech," *TCM* 20.2972 (January 28 1832): 2.

[310] "Mr. Hayne's Speech Upon Mr. Clay's Resolution, [Continued]," *TCM* 20.2973 (January 30 1832): 2; "Mr. Hayne's Speech Upon Mr. Clay's Resolution, (Concluded)," *TCM* 20.2974 (January 31 1832): 2.

[311] "Gen. Hayne's Speech," *TCM* 20.2973 (February 1 1832): 3; "From the Edgefield Carolinian," *TCM* 20.2978 (February 4 1832): 2.

[312] See various articles on page 2 of *TCM* 20.2979 (February 6 1832) and on page 2 of *TCM* 20.2986 (February 14 1832).

events, this chapter is concerned with examining the underlying tenets of nullification and asking how such tenets square with accounts of early U.S. nationalism offered by literary histories, in which print of all forms allegorizes and fortifies the development of a national identity uniting the States. We will see that the very idea of the U.S. as a nation was a polemic among nullifiers, who considered this national designation as part of a Northern rhetoric designed to empower the federal government over-against the states. The "great Western Colossus of the American System" was part of this consolidation.[313] Nullificationist writers did not deny their status as *Americans,* but they considered this identity as secondary to those rooted in their native states. Nullification was justifiable precisely because, as nullifiers saw it, the only nations possessing sovereignty were the States themselves, not the United States and the federal government. Tracking these arguments in the *Mercury*'s longest-running serialized essay series will bring to light the historical and constitutional justifications for a political program that denied the very existence of a U.S. nation.

Among the slew of nullificationist contributors to the *Mercury,* Judge Robert J. Turnbull was the most prolific. A plantation owner who also served on the seven-man court that sentenced Denmark Vesey and thirty-three co-conspirators to death in 1822, Turnbull wrote with a sense of unabated urgency a set of serialized nullification essays collectively titled *The Crisis: or, Essays on the Usurpations of the Federal Government,* published across twenty-five issues of the *Mercury*.[314] Writing under the pseudonym "Brutus," who "had rather be a villager, / Than to repute himself, a son of Rome" under Caesar's rule, Turnbull announces in his first essay that

[313] [No title, begins "A regular meeting of the State Rights…"], *TCM* 20.2960 (January 14 1832): 2.

[314] For convenience of reference, subsequent citations of this work will refer to *The Crisis*'s initial pamphlet form, "Brutus" [Robert James Turnbull], *The Crisis: or, Essays on the Usurpations of the Federal Government* (Charleston: A.E. Miller, 1827). The *Mercury* published twenty-five installments of a total thirty-three essays of Turnbull's *Crisis* from August 17th to September 29th, 1827, preemptively discontinuing the series due to Pinckney's disapproval of their "tone and temper" (Coussons, "Thirty Years," 45).

"the Constitution [is] a dead letter," dedicating *The Crisis* to "THE PEOPLE of The 'Plantation States'" and "their Rights of Sovereignty."[315] Avowing feelings "more *sectional* than they are *national*," Turnbull frankly observes the "strongly marked line of distinction between the North and the South" issuing from differences in "Nature, interest, education, prejudice, and feeling" that undercut U.S. nationalist rhetoric.[316] "It may be delightful for us [U.S. citizens], to talk of our being as one family," he admits, and "[t]he patriot may dwell with extacy [sic] on the thought, and our orators and poets may make it the constant subject of their themes and of their songs. But the idea exists, only in the imaginations of those who love to indulge in the pleasing illusions of fancy. It is not founded in truth."[317] Turnbull's emphasis on the aspirational rhetoric of "orators and poets" points to a different narrative than those told by political and literary historians about the solidification of cultural nationalism in the early nineteenth-century U.S. In this account, politicians, authors, and poets are writing nationalist sentiment into existence, or mistaking more local affections for nationalism, rather than expressing a widespread, already-extant sentiment of the populace. Exceptionalist speeches and texts about the U.S. nation masked the regionalist pride that actually underwrote exceptionalist sentiment: a case of "sectional interests" being "promoted…under the pretext of their being national."[318]

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[315] These lines, from Act 1 Scene 2 of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (1599), are printed on the cover of the 1827 pamphlet edition of Turnbull's *Crisis*. Turnbull, *The Crisis,* 1.

[316] Ibid. 7. Turnbull quotes James Madison in support of this claim. As Madison asserted in the Constitutional Convention, "the great danger to the general government, was the *great Southern and Northern interests* of the continent being *opposed to each other*. Look to the votes in Congress, and most of them stand *divided by the geography of the country*, not according to the size of the States" (Ibid. 12, emphasis original).

[317] Ibid. 12. John C. Calhoun would still echo Turnbull's sentiments decades later. In his In his *Discourse on the Constitution*, printed in 1851 "under the direction of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina," Calhoun would still argue that "There is, indeed, no such community, *politically* speaking, as the people of the United States, regarded in the light of, and as constituting one people or nation," but rather "a community composed of States united by a political compact;– and not a nation composed of individuals united by, what is called, a social compact" (John C. Calhoun, *A Disquisition on Government and a Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States*, ed. Richard K. Crallé [Columbia, SC: A. S. Johnston, 1851]: 162, emphasis original).

Turnbull's affection for his "native Southern country" reimagines the geographies of allegiance by unpacking the attitudes motivating the eighteenth-century North American revolution and the Constitutional debates in the new United States.[319] Freedom from British tyranny rather than a desire to be "United" had motivated the Colonies' collective revolution against imperial rule.[320] At close of the Revolution, he asserts, "the citizens of America" had two options for forming a new government: either "by being assembled in the relation to each other, of individuals of *one great* political society" as a nation or by becoming "associated in *separate* sovereignties" in a federation.[321] Presented with this choice, "all attempts to *consolidate* us all into one nation, failed in the Convention."[322] Declaring independence from the British Empire was not "the case of a people emerging from a state of revolution, without any government" but a case in which "people are already associated, in so many independent political communities, each having its own regular government."[323] The preexistence of these "many distinct sovereignties" or "TWENTY-FOUR, distinct nations" meant that "in 1788, the people in most of the States, were jealous of the powers conferred on the Federal Government," and the states took years to ratify the Constitution.[324]

A mere fifty years after the Constitution's drafting, Turnbull already recognized a need for historicizing the notion of "national" government and providing a "precise definition of

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[318] Ibid. 112.

[319] Ibid. "Advertisement" [no page number].

[320] Ibid. 15.

[321] Ibid. 97, emphasis original.

[322] Ibid. 93, emphasis original.

[323] Ibid. 32.

[324] Ibid. 81, 95.

nationality'" – concepts whose popular meanings had drifted from their original significations.[325] There is "a distinction between the term 'national,' as it may be used in *general*, and the sense in which it must be understood, with reference to *American* affairs," he wrote, because of the anomalous political and civic qualities of the United States, "where the *same* people are partly governed as *one* entire nation, and partly, in *twenty-four* separate sovereignties or nations."[326] Sovereignty, not a shared cultural or ethnic history, was the key component of nations, Turnbull argued. As the document that delimited the respective powers of state and federal governments, the Constitution determined in which instances the United States *was* national or *were* federal. Only in cases where, "by the terms of the Constitution, the United States Government can exercise *exclusive* sovereignty" – declaring war, making treaties, coining money, regulating foreign and domestic commerce, and creating laws for bankruptcy, naturalization, and copyright – the U.S. was national.[327] "We are an [sic] united people it is true," Turnbull qualifies, "but we are family united only for external objects": the "common defense" and "a common commerce," not the *internal* improvements trumpeted by Henry Clay's protectionist "system of 'American policy,' as it is termed."[328] On every subject beyond defense and commerce, "the wants, the feelings, and the interests of the people of the United States are substantially opposite and dissimilar, and to the end of time, in all probability, they will remain so."[329] "This is no speculation," he concluded: "it is history."[330]

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[325] Ibid. 79.

[326] Ibid. 80, emphasis original.

[327] Ibid. 79-82, emphasis original.

[328] Ibid. 12, 27.

[329] Ibid. 19.

[330] Ibid. 17.

The process of Constitutional ratification, too, had been misconstrued by patriots and judges promoting the false "doctrine of the Government being a Government of the people": the doctrine that although "the people on this occasion, were not actually compounded into one mass; yet, that in dispensing power to the new Government, they did it as effectually, as if they had constituted one great community."[331] Turnbull cites Hamilton's *Federalist* 39 to show that, regardless of celebratory nationalist narratives written in the nineteenth century, the Constitution was ratified "by the people, *not as individuals*, comprising *one entire* nation, but, as composing the distinct and *independent States*":

> That it [ratification] will be a federal, and not a national act…[that is, writes Hamilton, that ratification will be] the act of the people, as forming *so many independent States*, not as forming one *aggregate* nation, is obvious from this single consideration, that it is to result, neither from a *majority* of the people of the Union, nor from that of a majority of the States. It must result from the *unanimous* assent of the several States, that are parties to it…Were the people regarded in this transaction, as forming one nation, the will of the majority of the whole people of the United States, would bind the minority, in the same manner as the majority of each State, must bind the minority…Each State, in ratifying the Constitution, is considered as a SOVEREIGN BODY, independent of all others, and only to be bound by its voluntary act. In this relation, the new Constitution will, if established, be a FEDERAL, and not a National Constitution.[332]

In Hamilton's formulation, sovereignty in the form of majority rule only operates in national communities. In federal governments, there must always be protections for minority rights, because the government represents only the unanimous will of the corporate majorities of several

[331] Ibid. 96-98.

[332] Ibid. 102-103, emphasis original.

peoples, rather than the direct will of the majority of a single people. Republican government by elected representatives in this interpretation was not a bulwark of nationalism but rather a means of stifling national wills. A people could only be national if they were sovereign, and they could only be sovereign if they ruled themselves by popular majority. The separate sovereignties of the people of each state were preserved under a federal government, meaning that each state individually, but not the United States collectively, was a national community.

The sectional divisions of supporters and deniers of these arguments was further evidence of their truth and urgency. Northern and Western states, possessing a majority of the population and a majority of the U.S.'s congressional delegates, sought to make the U.S. government "more and more NATIONAL," while the South, as a congressional minority, sought to protect its minority rights under the federal model, which reserved absolute sovereignty to each state.[333] If Southern bellicosity received harsh treatment in Northern "presses…[,] reviews and periodical journals," Turnbull feared the "[i]nsurrectionary doctrines" issuing from those same presses, promulgated by "the enemy…amongst ourselves": "the people of the NORTH."[334] Already the South was overtaxed, underrepresented, and forced to consume goods manufactured elsewhere, "becoming to the North, what Ireland is to England" through a program of legislation favoring Northern manufacturers, who "possess the entire capitol."[335] The federal government was in fact an apparatus of the majority for legally enforcing its will on the minority, with the "power to destroy the States, and to consolidate our people into a nation."[336] Turnbull observed the march of the nationalists and

[333] Ibid. 11.

[334] Ibid. 12, 15.

[335] Ibid. 21.

[336] Ibid. 43.

> their brigade of civil and military engineers and surveyors – their post offices, and their thousands of contractors – their land offices – their seminaries of literature – their national institutions, and their universities – their academies of the arts, and their galleries of paintings – their national museum… – their military and naval schools – their hundreds of professors… – their missions to Panama – their public institutions, rewards and immunities for manufacturers… – their splendid honors, and allurements held out as bribes to the first talents of the country – and last though not least, their command of the American Press, that shall cry out sedition and *treason*, and *disunion*, and come down as with a giant's blow upon the patriot, that shall dare to maintain the cause of the sovereignty of the States[.][337]

With "a thousand such means of patronage," the "Government shall…put out such roots as enable it to withstand all efforts to keep it in its bounds."[338] The institutionalization of an allegedly national government and culture and the economies of prestige they generated becomes in this view a sprawling conspiracy, not an achievement of a self-made U.S. nation – or at least not one that includes the slave South. Turnbull marks the role of print – the institutions that mailed it, taught it, and created it – in a Northern nationalizing agenda. This suspicion of the nationalizing goal of self-described "American" literature is one motivation of the regionalism of much antebellum Southern literature printed in and out of periodicals like *The Southern Literary Messenger* (est. 1834), or *The Southern Review*, a quarterly magazine often advertised in the *Mercury*.[339] The "Prospectus" for the *Review* printed in the *Mercury* critiqued "the undue and unequal operation of the Press," announcing the magazine's intentions "to vindicate the rights,

[337] Ibid. 23.

[338] Ibid. 23.

[339] *The Southern Review* was printed by A.E. Miller in Charleston, the printer to whom William L. King dedicated his *The Newspaper Press of Charleston, S.C.* in 1872. "Prospectus of the Southern Review," *TCM* 7.1791 (October 19 1827): 4. See Carl R. Osthaus, *Partisans of the Southern Press: Editorial Spokesmen of the Nineteenth Century* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1994).

the privileges, [and] the character of the Southern States…[,] to offer our fellow-citizens one Journal, which they may read without finding themselves [viz. Southerners] the objects of perpetual sarcasm or affected commiseration…and strenuously to resist that Consolidation of all power in a national head, which…must lead, ultimately, perhaps rapidly, to discord and disunion."[340] Southern mistrust of the nationalizing politics encoded in "American" programs (such "'the American Policy,' as it is termed," of Henry Clay) figure in Turnbull's claims that Jackson "may be an *American,* but *he is not a Carolinian*…As *Americans,* let us, without noise, support him…As South-Carolinians, we may possibly have to oppose his administration."[341] Though South Carolina was "a member of the great American family," the writer more enthusiastically envisioned a time when "South Carolina, like a Phoenix, will rise from the ashes in which she is humbled" by Northern taxation.[342]

The originalist arguments developed in *The Crisis* distilled the historical and constitutional tenets of nullification ideology without evoking the term by name. Initially contextualized by the pro-nullification contents of the *Mercury*, Turnbull's essays did not need to attach themselves so explicitly to a single contemporary issue, and thereby narrow the potential periodical contexts in which they might be reprinted, for its Charleston readers to comprehend *The Crisis*'s ideological basis. Such essays in the *Mercury* complicate traditional assumptions in literary studies of the nation-building function of periodicals and of their symbolic value as reifications of national *imagined communities*. Beyond its core argument that there never existed a U.S. nation to justify the sovereignty of the federal government, nullification was by definition extrajudicial, implemented by precisely those who were not – or felt that they were not – represented by the

[340] "Prospectus of the Southern Review," *TCM* 7.1791 (October 19 1827): 4.

[341] Turnbull, *The Crisis*, 115, 117-118.

[342] Ibid. 116.

extant constitutional order. In this perspective, there is still a comparison to be made between periodicals and the work of nation-building. Just as the *Mercury* cast itself as an organ of popular self-evident views, so too did Northern nationalists work to make the concept of a U.S. nation protected by a sovereign government appear universally accepted. Both operated by projection and strategic omission, but neither assumed that it was obvious to the people of the United States that they collectively comprised a nation. Nationhood was an argument, not an assumption.

Southern states did not forgo nullification as part of a political strategy in the decades that followed. When South Carolina published its Declaration of Causes of Secession on December 20th, 1860, its first grievance was the fact that fourteen states "have enacted laws which either nullify the Acts of Congress [viz. the Fugitive Slave Acts] or render useless any attempt to execute them."[343] A century later, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously in *Cooper v. Aaron* (1958) that no state could nullify a U.S. Supreme Court ruling in response to the "Southern Manifesto" (1956), drafted by congressmen from eleven Southern States, which declared *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) to be "null, void, and of no effect" in their state jurisdictions.[344] The selective deployme

nt of nullification in Southern states, particularly of legislation addressing race, highlights the conservatism of Southern nullification – which, in the first place, had arisen from an originalist reading of the Constitution that sought to overturn previous decades of judicial policy. Yet nullification was not an inherently conservative political strategy. While in later decades Northern states and abolitionists would seek to nullify federal policies like the Fugitive Slave

[343] James H. Read and Neal Allen, "Living, Dead, and Undead: Nullification Past and Present" (*American Political Thought* 1.2 [2012]: 263-297): 282.

[344] Ibid. 267. The Southern Manifesto was signed by 101 congressmen from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Act, in the 1830s nullification was also concurrently adapted in the South by one of the populations targeted by nullificationist policies: the Cherokee Nation.[345]

II. Native Nullification and the Newspaper Press

The Charleston newspaper press was not the only hub of nullificationist discussion in the 1830s. South Carolina legislators' and editors' claims of state-based sovereignty originating in the Constitution, over-against U.S. federal sovereignty, supplied a compelling ideology for Georgians seeking to dispossess the Cherokee Nation of the remnant of its ancestral territory within Georgia's borders. As landmark Supreme Court rulings affirmed the sovereign rights of the Cherokees as guaranteed in a host of federal treaties, nullification offered Georgia legislators a means of disregarding what was constitutionally the "supreme law of the land."[346] At the same time, Cherokee representatives and writers perceived the utility of nullification in defending their national sovereignty from state-supported campaigns to "denationalize" the Cherokees by forcibly repossessing their territory.[347] If South Carolina and Georgia could nullify allegedly unconstitutional U.S. federal laws, the logic ran, the Cherokees could nullify Georgia's unconstitutional rulings against Cherokee sovereignty. We will see the Cherokees' interest in nullification doctrine reflected in the patterns of reporting that shaped the contents of *The Cherokee Phoenix* during its semi-regular appearance in New Echota, Georgia, from 1828-1834. Further, Southern nullificationist newspapers – including *The Charleston Mercury* – in turn

[345] William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips openly advocated for free state secession, declaring the Constitution to be a corrupted document. In 1854 the Wisconsin Supreme Court nullified as unconstitutional the Fugitive Slave Act (1850), which ruling the U.S. Supreme Court overturned in *Ableman v. Booth* (1859).

[346] See Section 2, Article 5 of the U.S. Constitution, which guarantees "that all treaties made under the authority of the United States" are expressly recognized as the "supreme law of the land."

[347] "A Cherokee," "Communication," *TCP* 4.30 (February 11 1832): 2.

excerpted from the *Phoenix*, finding evidence of the unruliness of states' nonwhite populations and the need for the absolute sovereignty of states in legislating over their jurisdiction. This collision between the *Phoenix* and Southern newspapers captures the dialectical development of settler colonial and native conceptions of communal sovereignty. Neither conception described the United States as a sovereign national community, invoking instead the sovereignty of smaller nations contained within U.S. borders.

As noted in the previous section, white U.S. citizens' efforts to shrink the scale of sovereignty – to recognize sovereignty and nationhood in societies smaller than the U.S. and the federal government – grew out of longstanding fears about the future consolidation of federal power, and the prediction that a homogeneous legal code would be forcibly imposed upon a heterogeneous population. Unlike Georgia and South Carolina, the Cherokee Nation found its justification for nullification not by an originalist appeal to the text of the Constitution, but through an appeal to natural rights. Cherokee sovereignty was not only grounded in a formal political compact, but in history, a distinction which drew many pro-Cherokee writers to return to conceptions of natural rights and the sovereignty of individuals in a Lockean "state of nature." In both camps, appeals to the "law of nations" – initially popularized by Emerich de Vattel in 1758 – provided justifications for the sovereignty of the Cherokees and the individual states.[348] Studying the conceptions of the *nation* offered by both groups throws into relief the polemical nature of assertions of a U.S. nationality, such as those encoded in the title of D.C.'s *National Intelligencer* newspaper (est. 1800). Looking beyond the literary print market and its persistent calls for a "national" U.S. literature, we see that still, in the 1830s, designating the U.S. as a

[348] First published in French by E. van Harrevelt in 1758, Vattel's work was translated into English in Dublin (1787) and London (1797) as *The Law of Nations: Or, Principles of the Law of Nature Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns*. The first annotated edition appeared in 1834.

nation remained an argument rather than an assumption precisely because of the assumed sovereignty of nations against external powers and internal minorities.

Establishing the sovereignty and national status of the Cherokee Nation was the core political project of *The Cherokee Phoenix* and its different editors during its years in print. Its inaugural issues serialized "The Constitution of the Cherokee Nation" across the front pages of several issues, in English and in the characters of the new Cherokee syllabary recently developed by Sequoyah and founded in type in Boston.[349] The *Phoenix*'s "proprietor" was listed as "The Cherokee Nation." Yet the production of the *Phoenix* within the Cherokee Nation neither isolated the paper from the U.S. periodicals networks, Northern or Southern, nor diminished its white readership. The paper entered into exchange agreements with major metropolitan papers, such as the *New York Observer*, *Poulson's Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), the *National Intelligencer* (D.C.), and the *Savannah Georgian*. The papers reprinted articles from the *Phoenix*, and in particular relied on its reporting to spread the news of on-the-ground developments in the State of Georgia's legal battle to incorporate Cherokee territory into the state's jurisdiction in the early 1830s. Historians and political theorists of the U.S. read the paper from academic interest or curiosity. The antiquarian Isaiah Thomas was still receiving issues of the *Phoenix* even after the paper had printed his obituary, announcing "the death of the father of American printers"; in *Democracy in America*, Alexis de Tocqueville mentioned that he returned to France with "one or two copies of this singular publication," remarking that even "before they [the Cherokees] had clothes they set up a newspaper."[350] Tocqueville's racist levity was not the characteristic tone of

[349] The Baker and Greene Print Shop in Boston cast the type for the Sequoyan syllabary. Before bringing this type to New Echota, Worcester used it to publish the first five chapters of the Book of Genesis in the *Missionary Herald* of December 1827 – the first appearance of the Cherokee language in print. See James W. Parins, *Literacy and Intellectual Life in the Cherokee Nation, 1820-1906* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013): 51.

[350] No name, "Summary," *TCP* 3.47 (May 7 1831): 3. The American Antiquarian Society possesses many of Thomas's collected issues of the *Phoenix*, including this one, which bears his name in manuscript at the top of the

the periodicals reprinting content from the *Phoenix*. The *Phoenix* even reprinted articles from the periodicals that had reprinted articles from the *Phoenix* to better highlight the support for Cherokee rights in the U.S. and the extent to which the paper shaped public discourse in a nation it did not represent or speak for.

The *National Intelligencer*, among the most widely-circulated newspapers of the antebellum U.S., whose reputation rested largely on its prompt reprinting of legislative speeches and texts, even referenced the *Phoenix* as an authoritative source for Supreme Court documents related to Cherokee legislative battles with the State of Georgia.[351] Excerpts reprinted from letters and other periodicals (including *The North American Review*) heralded the appearance of the *Phoenix*, a newspaper "put in circulation among the Cherokees, in their own language…and edited by one of their own Nation," as "in itself a *Prospectus* – pointing out the condition to which the Cherokees…[may] rise and [attain] prosperity as a *Tribe*, a *State*, prepared for the privileges of inter-community…among the States, composing the Great American Republic."[352] Such articles encouraged Cherokee support for the *Phoenix* by evincing its effective advocacy and even symbolic function in the white periodical market of the U.S. The extension of its title, to *The Cherokee Phoenix, and Indians' Advocate*, in early 1829, further signaled the paper's orientation to shape readers' views in and out of the Cherokee Nation.

Citing other papers also illustrated the antagonistic forces set against Cherokee sovereignty in the national legislature, in Georgia, and even South Carolina. Among the *Phoenix*'s protean list

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first page. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer and (New York: Library of America, 2004 [1835]): 380.

[351] No name, "Opinion of the Supreme Court [reprinted from the *National Intelligencer*]," *TCP* 3.48 (May 14 1831): 3. The *Phoenix* even printed advertisements for the *Intelligencer*, recommending that readers subscribe ("National Intelligencer," *TCP* 2.15 [July 15 1829]: 3).

[352] No name, [No title, begins "The situation of the Indians…"], *TCP* 1.3 (March 6 1828): No name, *Review of an Article in the North American for January 1830, on the present relations of the Indians* (Boston: Pierce and Parker, 1830): 4.

of subscription agents, William Moultrie Reid, in Charleston, South Carolina, remained a valuable contact for the newspaper to both pro- and anti-nullification publications from that city, as well as Beaufort and Columbia.[353] In June of 1829, the *Phoenix* printed ads for the *Charleston Observer*, but once the *Observer* became sympathetic to the position that "the soil and jurisdiction of Indian lands, is regarded a belongs to the states respectively in which the lands lie," it never again received positive mention in the *Phoenix*.[354] White missionaries living in the Cherokee Nation wrote letters to the *Observer*'s editor refuting assertions of the degraded state of Cherokees, and even New York papers' critiques of South Carolina periodicals including the *Observer* and the *Columbian Star* were reprinted approvingly in the *Phoenix*.[355] "Does he [the "editor of the Charleston Observer"] not know that these Indians have always been free and independent nations…[and have] as good a right to govern themselves as the people of any state in this Union[?]" rhetorically posed one such Northern editor.[356] *The Charleston Courier* – the paper employing William S. King, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter – was charged with laboring to shield "King Andrew" Jackson "from all responsibility or odium connected toward the Cherokee Indians," despite his refusal to enforce U.S. Supreme Court mandates upholding the supremacy of the Cherokee courts within Cherokee jurisdiction and the exclusive right of

[353] Reid, who became a Presbyterian minister in South Carolina after graduating from Columbia Theological Seminary in 1833, was likely connected to the paper via correspondence with Revered Samuel E. Worcester, a fellow Presbyterian reverend conducting missionary work in the Cherokee Nation, who was falsely accused of secretly editing the *Phoenix* and writing much of its content. [No title, begins "A nullifier in the Beaufort, S.C. Gazette…"], *TCP* 4.4 (July 16 1831): 3.

[354] "Charleston Observer," *TCP* 2.93 (June 3 1829): 3.

[355] "From the New York Observer," *TCP* 2.28 (October 21 1829): 2; "Charleston Observer and the Indians," *TCP* 2.29 (October 28 1829): 2; "From the New York Observer," *TCP* 2.38 (December 30 1829): 2.

[356] "From the New York Observer," *TCP* 2.28 (October 21 1829): 2; "From the New York Observer," *TCP* 2.38 (December 30 1829): 2.

Cherokees to mine gold in the Cherokee Nation.[357] "The Courier is badly informed when it assumes, that the 'binding force of treaties,' is subordinate to the 'constitution and sovereignty of a state,'" the article ran; "This is genuine *nullification*."[358] The *Phoenix*'s conscription of South Carolinian nullificationist print into its typical array of content ensured that Cherokee readers understood the relevance of South Carolinian politics to the possible futures of Cherokee sovereignty.

Nullification loomed as a threat even when not explicitly directed against pro-Cherokee policies. One 1830 article on "Nullification" quoted the *Columbia Telescope*'s vague warning that unless U.S. legislators repealed the protectionist 1828 "Tariff of Abominations," all state legislatures should convene to devise "some plan by which the States may be secured from future infractions of the Constitution of the United States."[359] The most foreboding reports, however, came from "The Charleston Mercury, the chief of nullifiers."[360] Following the U.S. Senate's approval of Senator Henry Clay's adjusted tariff bill of 1832, the *Phoenix* reprinted a brief note that had been "printed, published, proclaimed, and *bawled*" in the *Mercury,* written anonymously by "TOCSIN," asking fellow readers "ARE WE READY."[361] Quoting this now two-week-old article, the *Phoenix* editor Elias Boudinot anticipated "a firing of the 'Mercury's' GREATGUN," alluding to the pseudonym of one particularly fervent nullifier who editorialized in that paper.[362] Months later, the *Phoenix* reprinted the *Mercury*'s commentary on speeches by

[357] "From the Columbia (S.C.) Telescope. The Dilemma Evaded," *TCP* 5.20 (April 20 1833): 3; "From the Crawford Messenger," *TCP* 4.14 (October 1 1831): 2.

[358] Ibid. 2.

[359] "Nullification," *TCP* 3.7 (June 5 1830): 3.

[360] [No title, begins "The Charleston Mercury…"], *TCP* 5.1 (August 25 1832): 3.

[361] "More Nullification," *TCP* 3.48 (May 12 1832): 4.

leading nullificationist senators, demanding "substantial justice to the South," or threatening "the united and determined resistance of the South: for…as surely as South Carolina *nullifies*, her position will be *supported by every other Southern State*. Let the Tammanites, therefore, think on their course: South Carolina has resolved on hers!"[363] Cherokee readers no doubt recognized the implicit summons to Georgia in this call. The *Mercury*'s metonymic invocation of powerful Northern political machines via allusion to New York's Tammany Hall – a Democratic engine that had helped fuel Jackson's election – perhaps also conveyed a disdain for politicians who supported native rights, suggested by the figure of Tammany, the fabular native chief discussed in Chapter 1.[364]

Though the *Phoenix* culled articles from such papers for its readers, it did not obviate these readers' interest in the papers themselves. On August 25th, 1830, the *Charleston Courier* printed a letter received by its editor the previous day, written by Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation John Ross, in which Ross refuted a notice he had read "in your paper [viz. the *Courier*] of this morning, that *two of the Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation*, are gone on to meet the President at Nashville."[365] Cherokee subscribers and contributors like Ross certainly read beyond the textual boundaries of the *Phoenix*, obtaining entire, more current copies of papers from Georgia and adjacent Southern states while consulting the *Phoenix* for selective excerpts of longer-traveled Northern metropolitan papers, forwarded to New Echota from a spread of

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[362] Ibid. 4.

[363] [No title, begins "The Charleston Mercury"], *TCP* 5.1 (August 25 1832): 3.

[364] Despite this pique of Tammany, there existed in the South analogous fraternal orders in which white settler colonials appropriated the symbolism of native peoples, such as Charleston's "Red Men of the South," who held "Council Fire" meetings in their "Wig Wam," and changed 1492 to year 0. See "Red Men of the South," *The Charleston Mercury* 20.2967 (January 23 1832): 3.

[365] [No title, begins "We yesterday received…"], *The Charleston Courier* 28.[?]385 (August 25 1830): 2. Emphasis original.

Northern editors and subscription agents. The prevalence of letters in the *Phoenix* from Cherokee readers who cite information from other newspapers suggests that few Cherokees were single-newspaper readers, but rather engaged with a broad swath of Southern nullificationist and Northern unionist periodicals.

Phoenix articles captured in individual, representative, and corporate voices the Cherokees' views of a nullificationist political program. Cherokee editor Elias Boudinot provided regular commentary on developments in the jousts between state and federal court rulings, each "a practical illustration of the doctrine of nullification, so strenuously maintained by a party in the south."[366] Boudinot reported with outrage as South Carolina, Georgia, and President Jackson each nullified rulings rendered by the U.S. Supreme Court, which had variously affirmed the rights of the Cherokee Nation to administer justice for crimes within its jurisdiction, to mine gold from Cherokee territory, and generally to preserve its sovereignty and independence from the United States.[367] Cherokee "Principal Chiefs" John Ross and William Hicks rebutted a U.S. military envoy seeking a cession of a strip of land for "a canal or rail road" through the Cherokee Nation, remarking that as "some of your own enlightened States have cherished a jealousy toward the United States exercising the powers of merely making internal improvements," the U.S. should have no objections to Cherokees doing the same.[368] The *Phoenix* also reprinted Ross's speech to the Cherokee General Council, in which Ross observed that "the principles of Nullification and Secession which were agitated by South Carolina…could not fail to affect the

[366] Elias Boudinot, [No title, begins "We publish to-day several articles…"], *TCP*4.10 (September 3 1831): 2.

[367] Elias Boudinot, "New Echota: March 19, 1831," *TCP* 3.41 (March 19 1831): 4; Elias Boudinot, "New Echota: Wednesday, June 17, 1829," *TCP* 2.41 [sic] (June 17 1829): 2; Elias Boudinot, "Cherokee Phoenix. New Echota, July 7, 1832," *TCP* 4.48 (July 7 1832): 2.

[368] William Hicks and John Ross, "From William Hicks and John Ross, Principal Chiefs &c. to Major Francis W. Armstrong, Ridges Ferry C.N. July 19 1828," *TCP* 1.22 (July 30 1828): 2.

Georgia proceedings to us also."[369] While South Carolina had only threatened nullification and secession in response to dissatisfaction with revised tariff rates, Georgia had already "reduced it to practice" in nullifying the Supreme Court's 1832 ruling in favor of Cherokee sovereignty.[370] Writing to the *Phoenix*, "A Cherokee" denied that relocating beyond the Mississippi would provide any national stability to the Cherokee Nation, as long as "one state can at pleasure nullify not only one law of the United States, but a score of treaties as Georgia has done."[371] In face of these unconstitutional practices, the *Phoenix*'s editors and readers were not awestruck observers of nullification foment in the United States, but rather active theorists of the legitimate uses of nullification and extralegal resistance in submitted content to the *Phoenix*.

A reader-submitted article by "Oconnestota" – a pseudonym that referenced an eighteenth-century Cherokee leader of anti-British forces – provided an analysis of U.S. political history that transitioned seamlessly into a discussion of the politics of native nullification. Whereas formerly the "song" of U.S. encroachers had been "gold and land for breakfast, land and gold for dinner, and gold and land for supper," a new coded language of "*Unionism, State Rights and Nullification*" was being deployed by U.S. citizens to "introduc[e] all their political squabbles amongst us." With ironic puzzlement, "Oconnestota" noted the incongruity of "'Gineral'" Jackson's denial of South Carolina's right to nullify, encapsulated in his oft-quoted declaration that "'the Union *must* be preserved,'" and his "combination" with "Georgia Unionists…to nullify the constitution, laws and treaties of the United States." "[T]hough it may be exceedingly difficult for the Cherokees to comprehend the *theories*" of nullification and unionism, the writer continued, in their "*sensible* demonstration" such terms were clarified: Cherokees were made

[369] John Ross, "To the Committee and Council, in General Council Convened," *TCP* 5.26 (August 10 1833): 3.

[370] Ibid. 3.

[371] "A Cherokee," "For the Cherokee Phoenix," *TCP* 4.48 (July 7 1832): 2.

"by a lawless guard, by chains, by imprisonment, by inhuman legislation, by robbery, and by death, to understanding the meaning of Georgia 'Unionism'!" Its meaning – "if we could only get things called by their correct names" – was "*Executive nullification*, or Union nullification." In this Cherokee writer's view, nullification and unionism were less intelligible in legal theory – which, in any case, was shrouded by strategic rhetoric – than as names for an experience that "appealed to all our senses – seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and feeling!" The self-evident horrors of unionist politics felt by the Cherokees in Georgia underlined the vacuity of U.S. political terminology. *Union* was not opposed to *nullification*; rather the two logically interacted as "Union nullification" in a settler colonial logic that justified unconstitutional action in the name of U.S. sovereignty. In light of this invective, the writer's final word on the "dangerous extreme" of nullification is striking:

> It [viz. nullification] is a wonderful instrument, and should only be used to bring tyrants to their senses. But it requires considerable muscular power to apply it successfully. If we only had the requisite force, it would be the very thing itself to apply to these Union fellows, who are taking our houses and farms from us, and dragging our people in chains to the west.[372]

Recognizing the utility of nullification in defending beset minority rights from tyrannical powers, "Oconnestota" argues that Cherokee nullification – supported by "muscular" military "force" – would provide just recourse against the Unionist "tyrants." The U.S. government's willingness to seek extralegal means (in whatever semantic disguise) to dispossess the Cherokee Nation of its territory violated the U.S.'s own Constitution and treaties; by comparison, the

[372] "Oconnestota," "For the Cherokee Phoenix. SIGNS OF THE TIMES – UNION, STATE RIGHTS AND NULLIFICATION," *TCP* 5.42 (March 13 1834): 2. Despite the date of its appearance, the article is dated March 5th, 1831, but I have not been able to locate a copy of *The Cherokee Phoenix* for this date.

justness of Cherokee nullification derived from the corporeal experience of tyrannical treatment in addition to positive law recorded in treaties.

The Cherokees' evaluation of nullification as a political strategy also comprised part of a more fundamental debate between settler colonial and native writers about the national status of the Cherokees, the applicability of the "law of nations" to U.S.-Cherokee negotiations, and the durability of "natural rights" in an imperial context. Among a tide of white-authored periodical essays evaluating Cherokee rights, the most far-reaching was Jeremiah Evarts's "Essays on the Present Crisis in the Condition of the American Indians," first published serially in the *National Intelligencer* (1829) and swiftly reprinted with commentary across a geographically and politically diverse set of newspapers, including *The Cherokee Phoenix*.[373] Writing under the pseudonym "William Penn" (a figure memorialized in U.S. histories as an exemplar of humane treatment of America's natives), Evarts sets out to examine the constitutionality and morality of Cherokee "removal" under "the blazing light of the nineteenth century."[374] The organizing tenet of the "Penn" essays was that "The Cherokees are…a *nation*; and the best definition of a nation

[373] Following the essay's serialization in the *National Intelligencer* in early 1829, it appeared as a pseudonymous pamphlet (Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1829). Some though not all numbers of the essay appeared in the *Phoenix* from September 1829 to February 1830 under the pseudonym "William Penn," "Indains [sic]. From the National Intelligencer. Present Crisis of the American Indians – No. 1," *TCP* 2.24 (September 16 1829): 1; No. 2, *TCP* 2.25 (September 23 1829): 1; No. 3, *TCP* 2.26 (September 30 1829): 1; No. 5, *TCP* 2.27 (October 14 1829): 1; No. 7, *TCP* 2.27 (October 14 1829): 2; No. 14, *TCP* 2.31 (November 11 1829): 2; No. 16, *TCP* 2.36 (December 16 1829): 1-2; No. 19, *TCP* 1.39 (January 6 1830): 1; No. 21, *TCP* 2.41 (January 27 1830): 1; No. 22, *TCP* 2.42 (February 3 1830): 1; No. 23, *TCP* 2.43 (February 10 1830): 1; and No. 24 [closing number], *TCP* 2.44 (February 17 1830): 1-2. A former periodical editor, Evarts served from 1821-31 as the Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the organization to which Reverends Samuel A. Worcester and Elizur Butler – the imprisoned Presbyterian missionaries to the Cherokees – belonged, and to which Worcester sent regular reports. Following Evarts's death in May 1831, the *Phoenix* reprinted "from the Charleston Observer an account of the death and last moment of this truly worthy man…an able and persevering advocate of the Indians" ("The Late Jeremiah Evarts Esq.," *TCP* 3.50 (May 23 1831): 2. See John A. Andrew III, *From Revivals to Removal: Jeremiah Evarts, the Cherokee Nation, and the Search for the Soul of America* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1992): 30, 259-262.

[374] "William Penn" [Jeremiah Evarts], "Indains [sic]. From the National Intelligencer. Present Crisis of the American Indians – No. 1," *TCP* 2.24 (September 16 1829): 1. An anonymous contributor to the *Phoenix*, "Socrates," had made the same observation about Vattel's praise for Penn the previous year. See "Socrates," "Strictures, On 'The REPORT of the Joint Committee…'," *TCP* 1.4 (March 13 1828): 2.

is, that it is *a community living under its own laws*."[375] Cherokees forcibly removed from Georgia would be "*denationalized,* and will have no common bond of union," having lost political sovereignty and ancestral territory.[376] Responding to nullifiers' claims that the U.S. government could not make treaties with "Indians" because "treaties can be made with *nations only*; and…communities of Indians are not *nations*," Evarts rejoined that "[c]ommunities of Indians have been called nations, in every book of travels, geography, and history in which they have been mentioned at all, from the discovery of America to the present day."[377] The span of treaties reaching back even before the formation of the U.S. also uniformly designated native peoples as "nations," as a treaty by definition was "a compact between independent communities, each party acting through the medium of its government."[378] The Cherokee Nation's national status self-evidently derived from its recognized ability to negotiate and legislate for itself, evinced by a paper trail of settler colonial texts.

By casting legal sovereignty as the essence of nationality, Evarts's definition captured the juridical – rather than cultural or ethnic – conception of nationality that harkened back at least to the distinction between "national" and "federal" government in Madison's *Federalist* 39.[379] This

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[375] "William Penn" [Jeremiah Evarts], *Essays on the Present Crisis in the Condition of the American Indians; first published in the National Intelligencer, under the signature of William Penn* (Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1829): 20-21. Emphasis original. For ease of reference, this and subsequent citations of Evarts's essay series refer to its pamphlet form, released shortly after the completion of the serialized essay series in the *National Intelligencer* in Fall of 1829.

[376] Ibid. 98.

[377] Ibid. 70. Emphasis original.

[378] Ibid. 19-20. To stress the point, Evarts cited the seventh article of the Treaty of Holston (1791), a foundational treaty between the Cherokee Nation and the newly-formed – and grammatically plural – United States, with typographical emphases: "THE UNITED STATES SOLEMNLY GUARANTY TO THE CHEROKEE NATION ALL THEIR LANDS NOT HEREBY CEDED" (26). Evarts correctly notes that in the Treaty of Holston alone "[t]he word nation is applied to the Cherokees…no less than twenty-seven times" (22). Between 1785-1819, across five presidential administrations, the United States signed sixteen treaties with the Cherokee Nation.

[379] "Publius" [James Madison], "The Conformity of the Plan to Republican Principles," *The Independent Journal* (New York: January 18, 1788).

definition of nationality as legal sovereignty also remained central to nullifiers' resistance to federal oversight. As seen last section in Robert Turnbull's "Brutus" essays for *The Charleston Mercury,* it was precisely because nullifiers understood the U.S. Constitution as a compact between sovereign nations (the states) that they rejected the notion of any state abdicating its sovereign power. To do so would effectively destroy the national quality of the states, because nations must be self-ruled.

Evarts levied this same argument in favor of Cherokee sovereignty, while asserting that each "of the confederated [United] States is not an independent community." Only if "each State were entirely, and in all respects, independent of every other State" could Georgia presume to make its own determinations about Cherokee sovereignty. Denying Georgia's perfect sovereignty, and thus its national status, undercut nullifiers' claim that the "law of nations," popularly expounded by Emerich de Vattel in the eighteenth century, applied to Georgia-Cherokee relations. Evarts noted for readers the precise sections of Vattel's work cited by nullifiers, which argued that "populous countries, whose inhabitants live by agriculture, have a right to take the lands of hunters and apply them to better use." Even if "Vattel had the power, by the flourish of his pen, to dispossess a nation of its patrimonial inheritance," Evarts wrote, Georgia remained thinly-populated, with "millions of acres of unoccupied land," and the Cherokees were not "an 'erratic people'" as described by Vattel – particularly in light of the Cherokee Nation's decisions to adopt a written (rather than oral) constitution (1808), to establish a republic (1817), to create a bicameral National Council and National Superior Court (1822), and to formally adopt its constitution on July 26th, 1827. The "*supposed* conclusions of a philosophical writer [Vattel],

whose theories are produced as the arbiter of a people's destiny," were inapplicable to the Cherokee Nation.[380]

Other periodical writers submitted articles praising Evarts's "Penn" essays, such as an anonymous January 1830 submission to the *North American Review* "on the present relations of the Indians."[381] Advancing the same "points…most ably substantiated by a writer under the appropriate signature of William Penn" and the "editor of the Cherokee Phoenix," the essayist dismissed arguments by "Vattel, and others who have written upon natural law" that "maintained that a savage, migratory people have no right to possess a large territory, to the exclusion of civilized men": a "sophism, in the disguise of an argument from natural law."[382] For many U.S. readers of periodical print, the *Intelligencer*'s "Penn" essays and the *Phoenix*'s pages would serve as key sources of counterarguments for the nullifiers' strategic interpretations of Vattel's writings in application to the Cherokees. One writer for the *Phoenix*, "Socrates," penned a two-part essay taking apart the tortuous language of a report presented by "the Legislature of Georgia" that claimed the "absolute jurisdictional right" to Cherokee lands, using "Vottel [sic]…as the text book" source.[383] Quoting Vattel, "Socrates" reminded nullifiers that "'The whole space over which a Nation *extends its Government*, is the seat of its Jurisdiction, & called its Territory,'" and that nations can only take lawful possession of a country "'uninhabited, and

[380] Ibid. 20, 54, 56. Emphasis original. Writing under the pseudonym "William Penn," Evarts took care to observe that the same sections of Vattel cited by nullifiers also contained "a commendation of the manner in which the Puritan settlers of New England, and the great founder of Pennsylvania [William Penn], obtained possession of the lands of the natives, viz.: by consent of the occupants, and not by a reliance on the charters of kings" (56).

[381] The essay was printed in the *North American Review* 30.66 (January 1830): 62-121, and reprinted in pamphlet form that same year as *Review of an Article in the North American for January 1830, on the present relations of the Indians* (Boston: Pierce and Parker, 1830).

[382] Ibid. 9, 11, 15.

[383] "Socrates," "Strictures, On 'The REPORT of the Joint Committee…'," *TCP* 1.4 (March 13 1828): 2. The first part of "Strictures" appeared in *TCP* 1.2 (February 28, 1828): 2.

without a master.'"[384] Citing the text and page number ("Vattel, p. 158") of Vattel's claim that "'erratic [viz. nomadic] nations'" had no right to exclude other nations from taking possession of "'a part of a vast country,'" "Socrates" then references Alexander Hewatt's "*History of South Carolina and Georgia*" (1779): "'the Cherokees differ…from other Indian nations, that have wandered place to place…From time immemorial they have had possession of the same territory which at present they occupy."[385] Opposing one imperial text to another, "Socrates" finds that if denying "the right of the Cherokees to their country, is to depend on the laws of Nations" as quoted, "the premises of the Committee [of Georgia's Legislature] are not supported."[386] With careful reading, the nationality and sovereignty of the Cherokees, which the *Phoenix* both symbolized and persistently proved in its content, could be upheld by the same texts that Georgians cited when denying the Cherokees these attributes.

Combating the theoretical apparatus of Georgia nullification also required untangling nullifiers' selective citations of writings on "natural law" and "the law of nature." While disputes concerning the "law of nations" orbited around interpretations of Vattel's eighteenth-century text, natural law presented a more diffuse body of authorities to cite and evaluate. Georgia's nullifiers alternately proclaimed and degraded the significance of natural rights according to the population claiming them. Phrases from the 1798 Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions – respectively written by Jefferson and Madison to protest the Sedition Acts as a usurpation of power by the new federal government – were touted as proof that "'every state has a natural right, in cases not within the compact, to nullify of their own authority, all assumptions of power

[384] "Socrates," "Strictures, On 'The REPORT of the Joint Committee…'," *TCP* 1.4 (March 13 1828): 2.

[385] Ibid. 2. Alexander Hewatt, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia* (London: Alexander Donaldson, 1779).

[386] "Socrates," "Strictures, On 'The REPORT of the Joint Committee…'," *TCP* 1.4 (March 13 1828): 2.

by others, within their limits.'"[387] When writing of Cherokees' natural rights, however, nullifiers emphasized these rights' pre-governmental origins, affiliating natural rights with a "savage state" of nature and opposing them to positive law and civilization.[388] Setter colonial descriptions of Cherokees when "America was first discovered" as wandering "tribes of savages" in a "native and untutored state" sought to degrade precolonial native societies by evoking a barbarous state of nature in which "*force* becomes *right*."[389] Even Jackson's Secretary of War Lewis Cass, stalwart advocate of Georgia's sovereign rights, wrote sneeringly that only "our citizens, who are the advocates of primitive and imprescriptible rights in their broadest extent, contend that these [Cherokee] tribes are independent nations."[390]

Pro-Cherokee writers, too, observed the religious and infrastructural advancements of the Cherokee Nation compared to earlier centuries when "we were governed by savage laws" and "naked right, undefended by any compact," as "wretched and defenceless [sic] children of nature."[391] Yet Cherokees embraced natural rights theory and education as a means of legal and moral fortification against the nullificationist agenda. The *Phoenix* brought several didactic natural rights texts to its readers, including a four-part article on "Natural Law" from the twelve-volume *Encyclopedia Americana* (1833), published in Philadelphia by Mathew Carey's former

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[387] [Judge Augustin Clayton], "Nullification Doctrine," *TCP* 5.7 (October 6 1832): 1. After quoting Virginia's 1798 resolution to justify Georgia's nullification of the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling upholding Cherokee sovereignty, Judge Clayton continued that "No oppressive and unconstitutional law can be enforced against a sovereign state…This is a *natural right*" (Ibid. 1). Reprinted in the *Phoenix*'s pages, readers could see the applicability of Clayton's comments on Georgia to the Cherokee Nation.

[388] "New Echota: Wednesday, June 17, 1829," *TCP* 2.41 [sic] (June 17 1829): 2.

[389] "Socrates," "For the Cherokee Phoenix. Strictures," *TCP* 1.2 (February 28 1828): 2; "Report of a joint Committee…," *TCP* 1.3 (March 6 1828): 1.

[390] [Lewis Cass], "New Echota: Wednesday, Jan. 7, 1829," *TCP* 1.43 (January 7 1829): 2.

[391] "New Echota: Wednesday, June 17, 1829," *TCP* 2.41 [sic] (June 17 1829): 2; "William Penn" [Jeremiah Evarts], "From the National Intelligencer. Present Crisis in the Condition of the American Indians. No. XIV," *TCP* 2.31 (November 11 1829): 2; "From the Goshen, N.Y. Patriot. The Cherokee Indians," *TCP* 3.38 (January 2 1831): 1.

publishing firm, now Carey, Lea & Carey.[392] The first article opens by admitting that "Natural law, or, as it is commonly called, the *law of nature*" was an expansive category, encompassing "natural theology, moral philosophy, and political philosophy," or "man's duties to God, to himself, to other men, and is [sic] a member of political society."[393] An individual's natural rights included the "right to life, limbs and liberty, to the produce of his personal labor, at least to the extent of his present wants, and to the use, in common with the rest of mankind, of air, light, water, and the common means of subsistence."[394] As "Cherokee" described it in a separate letter to the *Phoenix*, "liberty" is "the great law of nature. Man [is] considered as a free agent, [and] the right is absolute":

> The natural rights of mankind when they form themselves into a community, for their mutual benefit, consists first, in a liberty to ordain such rules for the conduct of its members, as will conduce to their happiness. Secondly, a right to a country on which to exercise this liberty. They are reciprocal rights, one cannot exist without the other.[395]

In contrast to the savage/civilized dichotomy animating nullifiers' rhetoric, "Cherokee" traces a seamless transition from the state of nature to the community that arises from a social contract, in which natural rights are not replaced by positive law but evolve to guard communal liberties. In

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[392] [Elijah Hicks, editor], "New Echota, October 19, 1833," *TCP* 5.34 (October 19 1833): 3. The publication in question is Francis Lieber, ed., *Encyclopedia Americana: Popular Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, History, Politics and Biography, brought down to the present time*… (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1832-33). An article calling readers' attention to forthcoming excerpts from the *Encyclopedia Americana* notes that "This work was presented to the Cherokee Nation, by Mr. James H. Handy, of Scotland" (Ibid. 3). I have not been able to locate further information on Handy. For the serialized set of articles in the *Phoenix* on "Natural Law," see: "From the Encyclopedia Americana," *TCP* 5.46 (May 3 1834): 2-3; "From the Encyclopedia Americana. NATURAL LAW. (Continued)," *TCP* 5.47 (May 19 1834): 1-2; "From the Encyclopedia Americana, Natural Law. (*Concluded*)," *TCP* 5.48 (May 10 [sic], 1834): 2; "From the Encyclopedia Americana, Natural Law. (*Concluded*)," *TCP* 5.49 (May 14 1834): 2.

[393] "From the Encyclopedia Americana," *TCP* 5.46 (May 3 1834): 2.

[394] Ibid. 3.

[395] "Cherokee," "For the Cherokee Phoenix. The Rights of the Cherokees," *TCP* 5.1 (August 25 1832): 3.

this theorization, the natural "right to a country" as an arena for exercising liberty directly answered Georgian nullifiers' claims that only positive law could guarantee ownership of territory or, more generally, property. Enshrined as a natural right, Cherokee sovereignty was anterior to the European legal codes and jurisdictions superimposed by settler colonials onto the Americas' native nations.

The confident assertions in these articles, like doomsayers' fears of an impending "dissolution of the Union" discussed at the end of this chapter, emphasizes the contingency of the events that settler colonial writers had called inevitable for decades.[396] A first U.S. Supreme Court case addressing Cherokee sovereignty, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), turned on the question of whether the Cherokees constituted a "foreign nation" as designated by Article III of the Constitution, which allowed U.S. federal courts to rule on cases between a state and a "foreign nation." Chief Justice John Marshall's infamous majority opinion (two of the seven Justices dissented) that any "Indian tribe or nation within the United States is not a foreign state in the sense of the constitution [sic]," and that the Cherokees were instead "domestic dependent nations," at once reinforced the Cherokees' claims of nationhood while denying their ability to petition for sovereign rights in U.S. courts.[397] (Supplementing this opinion, Justice William Johnson cited the "rules of nations" to assert that the Cherokees possessed "neither rules nor government beyond what is required in a savage state" – reiterating at the highest judiciary level

[396] The tropes of the "dying Indian" or "vanishing Indian" had appeared in political speeches as well as in poetry, histories, and novels even before the ratification of the U.S. Constitution, as seen in the poems of Philip Freneau discussed in Chapter 1. A more recent novelistic rendering of this trope would have been James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*, published in Philadelphia in 1826 by Mathew Carey's former publishing firm, now H[enry]. C. Carey & I[saac]. Lea, respectively Carey's oldest son and his son-in-law.

[397] "Cherokee Nation v. Georgia," Legal Information Institute, Cornell Law School, < https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/30/1 >. Accessed December 29 2018. The *Phoenix* reprinted the minority opinion of the case, in which Justices Smith Thompson and Joseph Story argued that "the Cherokee nation is a foreign state," for "[t]he idea of the Cherokees being considered citizens is entirely inconsistent with several of our treaties with them…[I]f not citizens, they must be aliens or foreigners… [and it is] not very easily answered, how a nation composed of aliens or foreigners, can be other than a foreign nation" ("The case of the Cherokee Nation against the State of Georgia…Opinion of the Minority," *TCP* 4.7 [August 12 1831]: 1).

the "savage" connotations of the state of nature and natural rights.)[398] The next year, *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) reached the Supreme Court only because the plaintiff, Samuel Worcester, was a white missionary who had refused to comply with Georgia's prohibition of all white people from residing on Cherokee lands without a state license.[399] This case, to which Georgia sent no defending legal counsel, was decided in Worcester's – and the Cherokees' – favor: Georgia had no legal jurisdiction over Cherokee territory, for "Indian nations had always been considered as distinct, independent political communities, retaining their original natural rights as the undisputed possessors of the soil…with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force."[400] Two days after this ruling, the Supreme Court issued a formal mandate to Georgia to repeal all its laws asserting jurisdiction over the Cherokee Nation. Yet without Jackson's support or federal marshals appointed to execute the ruling, the State of Georgia eventually released Worcester in 1833 but forced the Cherokees from their territory with legal and physical intimidation, causing mass deaths in Georgia and along what became known as the "Trail of Tears" to the west of the Mississippi.

The *Phoenix*'s increasingly intermittent reporting over the next two years drew extensive attention to the unconstitutionality and hypocrisy of Jackson's inaction, and the precedents it set for executive usurpation of the judiciary's power.[401] As we will see, the paper's integration of

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[398] "Cherokee Nation v. Georgia," Legal Information Institute, Cornell Law School, < https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/30/1 >. Accessed December 29 2018.

[399] Extensive correspondence exists between Mathew Carey, discussed at the end of this chapter, and with Henry Baldwin, the Georgia State judge who ruled on *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1831 before the case was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court (Box 23, Folder 2, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

[400] "Worcester v. Georgia," Legal Information Institute, Cornell Law School, < https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/31/515#writing-USSC_CR_0031_0515_ZO >. Accessed December 26 2018.

[401] For only a small sampling of these articles in the *Phoenix*, see "Aristides," "From Poulson's Daily Advertiser. To the President of the United States. No. IV," *TCP* 4.33 (March 3 1832): 1; [No title, begins "Judge Daughtery…],

nullification theory into native nations' programs for preserving legal and territorial sovereignty echoed beyond the periodical's pages and the conflict between the Cherokee Nation and the State of Georgia. Native nullification did not end with the Cherokee.

III. The *Indian Nullification* of William Apess

The year that the *Phoenix*, beset by financial debts and oppressive treatment from Georgian officials, slowly folded, Pequot author and itinerant Methodist minister William Apess secured a Boston publisher for his *Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts, Relative to the Marshpee Tribe* (1835).[402] As Apess's second monograph, *Indian Nullification* followed *A Son of the Forest* (1829), the first native-authored autobiography published in the U.S.[403] Both titles evince Apess's anticipation of white readerships, employing settler colonial terminology to designate native peoples (Apess preferred the term "native" over "Indian," a word not to be found in the Bible, and thus "a word imported for the special purpose of degrading us").[404] *Indian Nullification* counted on these readers' knowledge of nullification theory's

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TCP 4.37 (March 31 1832): 2; "From the Augusta Chronicle Extra. Message of the Governor of Georgia. Executive Department, GA. Milledgeville, Nov. 9, 1831," *TCP* 4.20 (November 26 1831): 1; "THE IMPRISONED MISSIONARIES. Concluded," *TCP* 5.18 (November 1 1832): 1; Elias Boudinot, "Cherokee Phoenix. New Echota, July 7, 1832," *TCP* 4.48 (July 7 1832): 2; [Augustin Clayton], "Nullification Doctrine," *TCP* 5.7 (October 6 1832): 1; "From the Standard of Union. Cherokee Injunctions," *Georgia Telegraph* 9.3 (July 10 1834): 2.

[402] William Apes [sic], *Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts, Relative to the Marshpee Tribe: or, the Pretended Riot Explained* (Boston: Jonathan Howe, 1835).

[403] William Apes [sic], *A Son of the Forest. The Experience of William Apes, A Native of the Forest. Comprising a Notice of the Pequod Tribe of Indians. Written by Himself*. New York: Published by the Author, 1829.

[404] Ibid. 21. During February and March of 1832, *The Charleston Mercury* printed an advertisement for a "Unprecedented Attraction": "The Child of the Forest, or, Orang-Outang." The accompanying woodblock print (Figure 3), though obscured by multiple impressions, depicts the orangutan with a "weapon of defence [sic]" in hand, a trope of settler colonial iconography of North America's native peoples. The conflation of native peoples with the animal would signal to settler colonial readers a lack of civilization or state of savagery. See "Unprecedented Attraction!!," *TCM* 20.2996 (February 27 1832): 1.

relevance to conflicts between native nations and state governments, and sought to expand attention to native nullification beyond the case of the Cherokee Nation. To those readers who knew of "the oppression of the Cherokees and lamented over them much, and thought the Georgians were hard and cruel creatures," Apess asked if they "ever hear[d] of the poor, oppressed and degraded Marshpee [sic] Indians in Massachusetts, and lament[ed] over them?"[405] Apess, a prolific reader of periodicals, had likely tracked the Cherokee Nation's besiegement by Georgia officials in articles reprinted in Northern papers from the *Phoenix*. In 1832, at the height of nullification controversy in Georgia, Apess even shared a stage at a Boston's Federal Street Church with Elias Boudinot, editor of the *Phoenix*, who had just learned of Jackson's refusal to enforce the U.S. Supreme Court's affirmation of Cherokee rights.[406] Though Apess was not a Cherokee – he was a Pequot, and later formally adopted as a member of the Mashpee Nation – the methods of and justifications for Cherokee nullification served as significant models for Apess's efforts to secure Mashpee sovereignty against the State of Massachusetts.

Apess wrote *Indian Nullification* as a corrective – not apologetic – response to what settler colonial papers termed the "Mashpee Revolt" of 1833, after which Apess served thirty days' imprisonment for, as Boston's *Daily Advocate* put it, his "conspicuous [role] in Marshpee [sic] nullification."[407] This "Revolt" was in fact a nonviolent program to assert Mashpee courts' authority, establish property rights, and democratize religious practice. Apess's book provides a

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[405] William Apes [sic], *Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts, Relative to the Marshpee Tribe: or, the Pretended Riot Explained* (Boston: Jonathan Howe, 1835): 24.

[406] Philip F. Gura, *The Life of William Apess, Pequot* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015): 64-65. On stage with Apess and Boudinot was also Edward Everett, former editor of the *North American Review*, speaking on behalf of the Cherokees. At the time a U.S. Representative of Massachusetts, Everett delivered several pro-Cherokee speeches before Congress, which were quoted and discussed in *The Cherokee Phoenix*. See for examples "From the New York Observer. Washington, Feb. 14, 1832," *TCP* 3.42 (March 19 1831):1; "From the New York Observer. Letters from Washington," *TCP* 3.41 (March 25 1831): 2; Edward Everett, "Speech of Mr. Everett," *TCP* 3.43 (April 2 1831): 1-3.

[407] This article was among the dozens that Apess excerpts or reprints in entirety in the second half of *Indian Nullification*. See Apes [sic], *Indian Nullification*, 50.

documentary record of the publicized legal steps taken to "procur[e] an alteration of the existing laws," rather than a transcript of secret machinations against the State of Massachusetts.[408] He reprints the Mashpee's declaration to incorporate himself, his wife, and his two children into the Mashpee tribe so that "our rights and interests would become identical"; the Mashpee Nation's petition to Harvard dismissing Rev. Phineas Fish and appointing Apess as the tribe's religious instructor, for "we will rule our own tribe and make choice of whom we please for our preacher"; and the resolutions drafted and sent to the Massachusetts legislature announcing that "we, as a tribe, will rule ourselves, and have the right to do so; for all men are born free and equal, says the Constitution of the country," and that consequently no "white man" may "carry off wood or hay, without our permission."[409] After posting a notice (also reprinted in the text) announcing the Mashpee citizens' intention "to nullify the existing laws" by choosing "our own town officers to act instead of the whites," Apess and other Mashpee citizens stopped two white brothers from removing a cart of wood from Mashpee territory, and unloaded the logs from their cart.[410] This was the substance of the reported "Revolt," conveyed as signs of an imminent "savage war" against the State of Massachusetts.[411]

By preserving this textual record of formal declarations and notices, Apess distances Mashpee nullification from lawless rebellion in the same way that the *Phoenix*, which publicized the newly-minted Constitution of the Cherokee Nation, captured the orderly civic and legislative processes underwriting Cherokee resistance to Georgian nullifiers, and distanced calls for

[408] Ibid. 18.

[409] Ibid. 18-19, 21, 24.

[410] Ibid. 28.

[411] Ibid. 30.

Cherokee sovereignty from more "fanatic" strains of anti-colonial resistance.[412] Neither text acceded to state laws, but instead sought to answer them in their own idiom. Like the Cherokees (enabled by the 1785 Treaty of Hopewell "to send a deputy of their choice, whenever they think fit, to Congress"), the Mashpees send a national delegation to Boston to present "petitions and resolutions" to the Governor.[413] On June 25th, 1833, the Mashpee Nation publicizes the results of a "convention…for the purpose of organizing a new government" and "nullify the existing laws" imposed upon them, beginning with the dismissal of "all the officers appointed by the Governor" and the Harvard missionary Rev. Fish.[414] When a judge attempts to "explain to the Indians the laws," arguing "that merely declaring a law to be oppressive could not abrogate it," Apess replies "that the laws ought to be altered without delay; that it was perfectly manifest that they were unconstitutional."[415] For both Cherokees and Mashpees, the physical enactment of nullification – Apess's group halting the white brothers' cart of wood; the Cherokees' efforts to curb illegal goldmining by white Georgians – originates in an attempt to control the natural resources within the native jurisdiction. Yet the ideological grounds of nullification clearly precede these acts, as Apess's statements indicate: when "the *law*" becomes "a very different thing from justice," those unconstitutional laws require immediate alteration; and for oppressed minority groups, simply

[412] In the *Phoenix,* Boudinot took pains to distinguish Cherokee nullification from insurrection against the U.S. The *Phoenix*'s lone article on David Walker's *Appeal* (1829) focused on the detail that Walker had, "without the authority" of the Mayor of Savannah, Georgia, mailed him "*twenty* copies" of his "seditious pamphlets." Its review of "Mr. T. R. Grays [sic] pamphlet," *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (1831), deemed Turner a "bandit," "a fanatic" who commanded "an insurrection, the bare recital of which makes the blood run cold." Despite these characterizations, there is a resemblance in the typographical renderings of texts quoted in Walker's *Appeal* and the *Phoenix* (Figures 4 and 5). See "From the N.Y. Jour. Of Commerce. *Walker's Pamphlet in the South*," *TCP* 3.1 (April 21 1830): 3; "Miscellaneous. The Confessions of Nat Turner," *TCP* 4.27 (January 21 1832): 2.

[413] The Lieutenant Governor, in Jacksonian fashion, informs Apess's cohort that these "petitions and resolutions… would avail us nothing, unless enforced" (Apes [sic], *Indian Nullification,* 26).

[414] Apes [sic], *Indian Nullification,* 26-27; "The Cherokee Nation vs. The State of Georgia. January Term 1831," *TCP* 3.44 (April 9 1831): 3.

[415] Apes [sic], *Indian Nullification,* 35.

declaring laws unconstitutional "would avail…nothing, unless enforced."[416] These were tenets that South Carolina's and Georgia's white nullifiers would also endorse.

Though *Indian Nullification* was published in book form, it relied as much as *The Cherokee Phoenix* on periodical print. Over a quarter of the 179-page work is composed of excerpted newspaper articles addressing Mashpee nullification, occasionally with appended commentary from Apess. As did Boudinot for the *Phoenix,* Apess compiled articles from U.S. newspapers lamenting native mistreatment, at the same time observing that "editors were very willing to speak on the favorite topic of Indian wrongs; but very few of them said any thing [sic] about redress."[417] While the "majority" of readers of the *Barnstable* [MA] *Journal,* for example, "believed the Indians to be wronged, and ought to have had redress," Apess tersely found that "these were unable to act in our behalf."[418] He also included a pseudonymous letter to the *Journal*, in which "MARSHPEE" asks settler colonials to recall when "the good people of Massachusetts…petitioned the [British] government for a redress of grievances, but in vain," and in protest jettisoned British tea into Boston harbor (notably, dressed as Mohawk warriors).[419] When "there was no other alternative but like theirs, to take our stand, and as we have on our plantation…no English ships of tea, for a substitute, we unloaded two wagons loaded with our wood."[420] Reframing revolution as nullification, the article locates its ideological roots in an anti-imperial context while avoiding comparisons between these revolutionaries and nullifiers in South Carolina and Georgia. Other articles that Apess collected on the Mashpee Nation drew

[416] Ibid. 26.

[417] Ibid. 47.

[418] Ibid. 54.

[419] Ibid. 54-55.

[420] Ibid. 55.

parallels to Georgia's treatment of the Cherokees, urging Massachusetts not to repeat this immoral precedent. "[W]hile our mouths are yet full of bitterness against Georgian violence, upon the Indians," ran an article from the *Boston Daily Advocate*, "we shall not imitate their example."[421] Given the "overflow of sensibility in this quarter toward the Cherokees," it continued, "there is now an opportunity of showing to the world whether the people of Massachusetts can exercise more justice and less cupidity toward their own Indians than the Georgians toward their Cherokees."[422] Commenting on the article, Apess retorted that "If the good people of Massachusetts were as ready to do right as to *have* the Georgians do right, the Marshpee [sic] Indians might, perhaps, send a Representative to the Legislature."[423] Cherokee nullification did more than supply a blueprint of resistance; it served as a precedent that native writers could challenge settler colonials to overturn.

Periodicals – particularly newspapers – performed key yet distinct roles in the efforts of Boudinot, Apess, and numerous native writers and orators to secure the sovereignty of their nations against U.S. state power. *The Cherokee Phoenix* was the primary organ of Cherokee resistance to Georgian encroachment, responding to nullification in real time as events progressed. Like the *Phoenix*, Apess's *Indian Nullification* grew out of acts of curation and compilation from a range of U.S. periodicals, but the retrospective orientation of the work allowed for a more deliberate organization of this periodical content, free from the contingencies of timely publication, newspaper trade agreements, and state-sponsored efforts to stifle distribution that plagued the *Phoenix*.[424] The *Phoenix* was largely written by and for members of

[421] Ibid. 50.

[422] Ibid. 57.

[423] Ibid. 50-51.

the Cherokee Nation, with the intention that, through excerpting by other papers, its contents would drift apart and over a vast print landscape: a text seeking dissemination through the dis-integration of its content. *Indian Nullification* targeted a settler colonial readership, collating a set of wandering texts into a chronological record of constitutional resistance.

Newspaper content served crucial roles in the campaigns for native sovereignty and nullification of states' powers in the 1830s. The nullificationist press, however, expanded beyond newspapers to a different genre of periodical print: the pamphlet. The concluding section of this chapter examines how one Unionist pamphleteer, Mathew Carey, sought to combat nullifiers in material as well as ideological arenas. Carey deemed newspapers – including influential, high-distribution newspapers such as the *National Intelligencer* – ill-equipped to combat the flood of nullificationist and secessionist pamphlets due to their ephemeral and heterogeneous contents and their subservience to editorial whims. This stark view, regardless of historical accuracy, shows that Boudinot's and Apess's engagements with the print market for nullificationist thought capture only a part of the full efflorescence of this ideology across forms and genres. The multifarious output of nullificationist presses, it seemed to Carey, required refutations across an equally diverse set of print forms.

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[424] Samuel A. Worcester, a white missionary to the Cherokees living in New Echota, served as the U.S. Postmaster for the Cherokee Nation until his arrest in 1831 for violating a Georgia state law requiring all white residents in Cherokee territory to obtain a license from the state and swear an Oath of Allegiance to Georgia. Nullificationist periodicals had previously accused Worcester of editing the *Phoenix* rather than Elias Boudinot, forcing Worcester to publish articles in the *Phoenix* discrediting these assertions. After Worcester's arrest, he was replaced by William J. Tarrin, "a trader who came into the nation under a license from the United States' Agent…now selling spiritous liquor to the Indians." Tarrin soon began obstructing the *Phoenix*'s distribution, for example, by returning issues to the *Phoenix*'s printing office that had not been "well dried by the printers, and then enclosed in proper wrappers & tied, if intended for a distant office." See Samuel A. Worcester, "New Echota: Wednesday, Nov. 12, 1828," *TCP* 1.37 (November 12 1828): 2; Elias Boudinot, "New Echota: March 19, 1831," *TCP* 3.41 (March 19 1831): 4; "Post Office Reform" *TCP* 3.50 (May 23 1831): 2; [No title, begins "Last week, after the Post riders…"], *TCP* 4.9 (August 27 1831): 2.

IV. Unionism as Material Practice: Carey's "Disunited States"

On June 30, 1828, "a large concourse of spectators" in Columbia, South Carolina, gathered for a public burning. They burned a copy of Jackson's Tariff Bill, effigies of prominent pro-tariff statesmen Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, and John Taylor, and, finally, an effigy of Mathew Carey.[425] By this time, Carey was no longer a periodical editor. He did not even own his publishing business, which he had sold to his son Henry C. Carey in 1822. What had earned Carey a place in this effigy pantheon was his incorrigible pamphleteering on behalf of "internal improvements" and against nullification. In the same alarmist tone with which his *Olive Branch* (1815) had denounced the Federalist machinations at the Hartford Convention, Carey now decried nullification as a precipitous step toward – as one of his pamphlets was titled – *The Dissolution of the Union.*

Carey never traveled as far south as Charleston, but personal and professional relationships had connected him to the city for decades. Despite regular interruptions from an unreliable mail service, his *American Museum* had secured a wide Charleston readership in the 1780s and 90s, facilitated by local subscription agents.[426] From 1793-95, his brother James had unsuccessfully

[425] No name, "The South," *Niles' Weekly Register* 36.879 (Baltimore: July 19 1828): 331. Perhaps deliberately, the same issue of the *Register* included an article detailing a celebratory dinner given in honor of Carey by the citizens of Lexington, Kentucky (330). At this dinner, Carey "adverted with much feeling to the symptoms of discontent visible in the south, inflamed by the insidious representations of ambitious aspirants, and fretting *under imaginary grievances*, and concluded an elaborate and patriotic address with the following sentiment: Phrenzied be the head, and palsied the hand, that shall attempt a dissolution of the union" (330, emphasis original). The burning of Carey's effigy in Columbia was also reported in the *Mercury*: "Anti-Tariff Meeting at Columbia," *TCM* 8.1918 (July 7 1828): 2.

[426] Letters to Carey from William P. Harrison in Charleston on April 17 1787 and from George Abbott Hall in Charleston on November 20 1788, Box 26, Folder 1, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, Historical Society of

attempted to capitalize on Carey's success by establishing himself first as the editor and printer of a new Charleston periodical *The Star*, and next as the city's premier bookseller – efforts in which he drew heavily on Carey's financial support and correspondence networks.[427] In 1790 Carey personally corresponded with South Carolina's governor Charles Pinckney, a *Museum* subscriber and the father of future *Mercury* editor Henry Laurens Pinckney, requesting a copy of South Carolina's state constitution for publication in his *Museum*.[428] (Thirty years later, Charles Pinckney would write to Carey, asking for a copy of the *Secret Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention* [1787], an important text for originalist readers of the Constitution who sought "to show the constitutional lines drawn by the true spirit of 1776."[429]) In the throes of the Missouri Compromise, regular letter-writing kept him abreast of Southern political sentiments in the District of Columbia and Charleston. His D.C. correspondent, Eleazer Lord, bewailed the biased Congressional reports printed in the "'Court Paper,'" the *National Intelligencer*, writing to Carey of the sectionalist reporting that resulted when "[n]o other [newspaper's] Reporters are are [sic] admitted" to congressional hearings. "The interests of the country are in fact now so much committed to the editors [Joseph Gales and William Seaton] of that paper of whom I will not say whether they are more English than American," Lord wrote, "but I may say they are more

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Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP); Letter to Carey from William P. Harrison in Charleston on September 24 1788, Box 18, Folder 1, Lea and Febiger Collection 227B, HSP.

[427] A large number of letters from James to Mathew Carey, detailing James's difficulties in securing paper, ink, type, a reliable pressman, Northern periodicals to excerpt, and a sustainable subscription base may be found in Box 4, Folders 4-8, Lea and Febiger Collection 227B, HSP. James's failure in these ventures is possibly attributable to his lack of knowledge concerning the printing business. On July 27, 1793, he asked Carey to send him a copy of "The History of Printing, or A Printer's Grammar," most likely the recent 1787 edition of John Smith's *The Printer's Grammar* (London: L. Wayland): an instruction booklet describing the basic materials and processes of printing (Box 4, Folder 5, Lea and Febiger Collection 227B, HSP).

[428] Letter to Carey from Charles Pinckney in Charleston on August 28 1790, Box 13, Folder 4, Lea and Febiger Collection 227B, HSP.

[429] Letter to Carey from Charles Pinckney in Charleston on August 28 1821, Box 13, Folder 4, Lea and Febiger Collection 227B, HSP. The edition in question was likely the 1821 edition of *Secret Proceedings*, printed in Albany by Websters [sic] and Skinners. The quote is from page 5 of this edition.

'Southern' than American."[430] For his part, Carey produced an 1820 pamphlet asserting that "local animosities" and "[t]he danger of sectional questions began to appear" from the Missouri debates, in which "[b]rethren of the same nation seemed to look upon each other as aliens."[431] Months later, from Charleston, Carey's fellow member in the American Philosophical Society Stephen Elliot (1771-1830) mailed him from Charleston a "memorial of the Citizens of Charleston against the proposed increase of the Tariff," asserting that there existed "scarcely any difference of opinion on the subject" in the state.[432] (Unsurprisingly, Elliot couched his anti-tariff appeal to Carey in a targeted discussion of the transatlantic book trade.)[433]

Private exchanges with Lord and Elliot, to be sure, reflect the more tempered side of Carey's engagement with Southern politics: letters written as personal favors within established friendships. Throughout the late 1810s and 1820s, Carey's pamphleteering on protectionism and "internal improvements" had brought him into more public political loggerheads with Southern politicians and even Northern writers who rejected new federal taxation as an inherently pro-

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[430] Letter to Carey from Eleazer Lord in Washington "rec'd 14th April" 1820, Box 23, Folder 4, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP. Gales and Seaton were brothers-in-law, and each would serve as Mayor of Washington, D.C. (Gales from 1827-30; Seaton from 1840-50). Lord's characterization of the *Intelligencer*'s "'Southern'" interests is striking, given the Whig affiliations of both editors and the paper generally. The comment speaks to widespread Northern views that the Missouri Compromise was essentially a political concession to slave state power, allowing for the future expansion of slave state territory and leaving undisturbed the Three-Fifths Compromise.

[431] "A Pennsylvanian" [Mathew Carey], *Considerations on the Impropriety and Inexpediency of Renewing the Missouri Question* (Philadelphia: M. Carey and Son, 1820): 6.

[432] Letter to Carey from Stephen Elliot in Charleston on October 20 1820, Box 23, Folder 3, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP. The full text of the "memorial" was later reprinted in pro-nullification publications as evidence of South Carolina's longstanding oppression by U.S. federal law. See, for example, "Memorial," *The Examiner and Journal of Political Economy* 2.18 (Philadelphia: April 1 1835): 273-276.

[433] Letter to Carey from Stephen Elliot in Charleston on October 20 1820, Box 23, Folder 3, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP. As president of the Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina and a member of the Charleston Library Society, Elliot had personal investments in U.S. book tariff policies. Elliot observed to Carey that "of the Books which every man of Science or Literature writes or is compelled to read, not one in ten will bear a reimpression in this Country." Yet, with the proposed "37½ per cent." tariff on imported books, "every Scholar was to be taxed heavily without even an equivalent advantage to the printers themselves." For Elliot, the larger point was that as far as concerned protective tariffs, "every branch of domestic manufacture should be examined separately… and not thrown into a Pile 'en masse.'"

manufacturing (and thus pro-Northern) policy. Responding to an approving review of a free market pamphlet in the quarterly *North American Review* in 1823, Carey self-published a five-part pamphlet addressed directly "To the Editor of the North American Review," William Tudor.[434] Tudor's prediction that the "awful result from an increase of duties on woolens and fine cottons, of eight per cent." would be the complete termination of U.S. commerce with Britain was "hardly credible" to Carey, who found the argument "proof that a gentleman may possess splendid talents in the department of belles lettres…and yet be radically incorrect on political economy."[435] In the *Review*, "a work of great and deserved celebrity," of "extensive circulation, and possessing very considerable influence on public opinion," these "multifarious errors" were particularly destructive.[436] Carey's decision to refute not the author of the pamphlet reviewed in the *North American Review*, but the *Review*'s editor, testifies to the publicity and authority of the magazine among U.S. readers, as traced in Chapter 2. Carey recognized that more readers would glean opinions on free trade from the magazine's review than from the actual pamphlet under review.

Of course, Carey read beyond New England's most prominent periodicals. He monitored the Southern arguments printed in newspapers and pamphlets so that he could more astutely refute them in his own writings. Southern writers – particularly those who would soon advocate nullification – argued that taxing imported manufactured goods from England – particularly those produced from U.S. cotton – would encourage Northern manufacturers simply to raise their

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[434] [No name], "Art. X. – The Prospect before us…," *North American Review* 17.40 (Boston: July 1823): 186-228. Pseudonymously authored by "Hamilton," Carey's five-pamphlet series "To the Editor of the North American Review" appeared between September 25th and October 20th 1823 in Philadelphia. The 4-page pamphlets have no identified printer.

[435] "To the Editor" No. 1 (September 25 1823): 1-2; "To the Editor" No. 2 (October 2 1823): 3.

[436] "To the Editor" No. 1 (September 25 1823): 4; "To the Editor" No. 2 (October 2 1823): 3; "To the Editor" No. 4 (October 17 1823): 1.

prices, knowing that imported manufactures would still be more expensive than their inflated domestic prices. While Carey addressed these economic arguments in his pamphleteering of the 1820s, toward the end of the decade his writings turned from the economic justifications for protectionism to the existential threats to the "Union" entailed by the ideology of nullification. If Southern nullifiers insisted that state sovereignty naturally resulted from the national origins of each state, Carey saw this argument as explosive to the federal compact that produced the U.S., and predicted with growing certainty the U.S.'s "dissolution" as a logical consequence of this doctrine, terminating in "civil war, with all its horrors."[437]

To predict the U.S.'s future from this uncertain moment, Carey looked to the past. "All insurrections and revolutions are effected by minorities," he pronounced, noting that even "three months before the declaration of independence [sic], not one man in a hundred of the colonists looked beyond a redress of existing grievances."[438] It was conceivable that a vocal faction of nullificationists could rend the United States apart. To counter charges of pro-Northern bias, he invoked "the memorable Session of the Hartford Convention, when a spirit similar to what prevails at present in South Carolina, was widely spread throughout New England, and in like manner threatened the existence of the union."[439] He titled pamphlets *The New Olive Branch* (1831) and *The Olive Branch Once More* (1833) to frame his critiques as logical extensions of the pro-union efforts his popular *The Olive Branch* (1815) had called for against the threat of

[437] Mathew Carey, *The New Olive Branch: Addressed to the Citizens of South Carolina* (Philadelphia: Clark & Raser, 1831): 2.

[438] Mathew Carey, *The New Olive Branch. A Solemn Warning on the Banks of the Rubicon. No. 1.* Second Edition (Philadelphia: July 24 1834). No printer is named on the pamphlet. In an earlier pamphlet series, Carey more boldly asserted that "in 1775 – before the battle of Lexington, the American colonies were sincerely attached to Great Britain. She was emphatically the mother country…at that period not one man in ten thousand contemplated independence" (Mathew Carey, *The New Olive Branch: Addressed to the Citizens of South Carolina*. No. 14 [Philadelphia: Clark & Raser, July 8 1831]: 11).

[439] Mathew Carey, *The New Olive Branch: Addressed to the Citizens of South Carolina*. Preface. (Philadelphia: Clarks & Raser, September 30 1831): iii.

Federalist secession. Arguing from legal and historical precedent, Carey justified his anxious monitoring of Southern developments while casting himself as a neutral observer reasoning from historical experience. Yet as nullification gained momentum in congress, with John C. Calhoun renouncing his Vice-Presidency to defend nullification in the Senate, and President Andrew Jackson issuing circulars explicitly to rebuke nullifiers, Carey looked to "a war between the United States and the State of South Carolina", a disastrous future in which nullification pivoted into secession.[440] "There will be," he predicted, "either two or three confederacies": either New England would ally with the Middle States against the South, or New England, the Middle States, and the South would each become sovereign political entities, all "embittered against each other."[441] The Spanish American revolutions that, as Chapter 2 discussed, provided Carey with new markets and political aspirations for the Americas' future, here became his most salient example of the tumultuous future of the dis-United States. In arguments reminiscent of *Federalist* 8, "Consequences of Hostilities Between the States," authored by Carey's hero-economist Alexander Hamilton, Carey asserted across multiple pamphlets that economic and political causes would lead these regional confederacies to become "jealous of, and embittered against each other," with "all the ties of social life…rent asunder," no longer "to continue an united band of brothers…[but] discordant petty states, rending each other in pieces" like the "horrible scenes of carnage, conflagration, and assassination, as prevail in Spanish America."[442]

[440] Ibid. 17. As early as 1832, in a pamphlet reprinting toasts from South Carolina nullification conventions, Carey declared that now "No compromise will answer. The time has gone by. The leaders in South Carolina are firmly resolved on a separation – and will accomplish it" (Mathew Cary, *Signs of the Times. South Carolina Toasts* [Philadelphia: May 1 1832]: 11. No printer is listed on the pamphlet).

[441] Ibid. 14-15.

[442] Mathew Carey, *The New Olive Branch. A Solemn Warning on the Banks of the Rubicon.* No. 1. Second Edition (Philadelphia: July 24 1830): 2. No printer is listed on the pamphlet; Ibid. No. 3 (August 3 1830): 1; Mathew Carey, *The New Olive Branch: Addressed to the Citizens of South Carolina* No. 13 (Philadelphia: Clark & Raser, 1831): 2;

This implicit comparison between the integrity of the Spanish American empire and the United States would have been unthinkable in Carey's pro-independence rhetoric of the 1820s, but here it served to suggest that disunion would render the United States unexceptional, another failed American utopia that crumbled before manifesting its political ideals.

Southern newspapers constituted Carey's primary evidence of the U.S.'s tenuous future. (Indeed, not just the informational but evidentiary function of newspapers in this period can be witnessed in texts like Apess's *Indian Nullification* [1835] and Theodore Dwight Weld's *American Slavery As It Is* [1839].) Across his anti-nullification pamphlets he compiled for readers "specimens" of Southern "fermentation," "taken from South Carolina and Georgia papers" to illustrate "the threats of separation and calls to arms so frequently repeated, now to the south."[443] Among the most-quoted papers of Carey's anti-nullification oeuvre was "the Charleston Mercury, a paper conducted with great ability, which has taken the lead, and given the tone to most of the other papers on the question of nullification."[444] He cited, with added typographical emphases, *Mercury* editorials announcing that "'SOUTH CAROLINA IS VIRTUALLY ABSOLVED FROM ALL OBLIGATION TO THIS CONFEDERACY. The end for which this government has been instituted, has been defeated – and *it must of necessity resolve itself into its original elements*.'"[445] The decision to leave such quotes attributed to the periodical generally rather than to its individual author was strategic, casting the quote as a corporate expression of an entire

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Ibid. No. 15 (July 12 1831): 15. Mathew Carey, *The Olive Branch Once More* (no printer named: Philadelphia, 1833): 4.

[443] [Mathew Carey] "A Citizen of Philadelphia," *Common Sense Addresses, to the Citizens of the Southern States*. 4th Edition, Enlarged and Improved. Philadelphia: Clark & Raser, November 25 1829.

[444] Mathew Carey, *Prospects on the Rubicon. Part II. Letters on the prevailing excitement in South Carolina* (Philadelphia: Clark & Raser, February 27 1832): 7.

[445] Mathew Carey, *The New Olive Branch: Addressed to the Citizens of South Carolina* (Philadelphia: Clark & Raser, 1831): 3.

readership rather than an individual editor or contributor. Every quote was not an outlier but a representative statement: "I could fill large volumes," he wrote, "with matter of a similar seditious, I might say rebellious, tendency, from the Charleston Mercury, the Columbia Telescope, the Southern Times, &c."[446]

This comment points to the recognized entanglement between the ideological and material components of political advocacy in the nineteenth-century U.S. Not just the "seditious" quality of these newspapers' contents, but their voluminous quantity, was what concerned Carey. This dual attention to content and quantity was reflected in Carey's own anti-nullification pamphleteering strategy, which he described with increasing frustration in the pamphlets themselves. In 1828, Carey drafted "a plan of a constitution for a society of political economists," whose object "shall be to print and disseminate such pamphlets…calculated to prove the soundness of what is styled the [protectionist] American system, and the fallacy of the [free market] theories of Adam Smith."[447] He attached to this circular "extracts, from Charleston papers, of the most seditious and treasonable character" as an illustration of the political dangers posed by Southern anti-tariff sentiment.[448] The whole was mailed to "50 to 70" of the leading manufacturers in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, with the request that each future member of the society contribute "merely for paper and printing, twenty-five dollars each."[449] By Carey's account, only two recipients ever responded.[450] This was "transcendently

[446] Ibid. 4.

[447] Mathew Carey, *The Crisis. An Appeal to the Good Sense of the Nation, Against the Spirit of Resistance and Dissolution of the Union* (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1832): 25-26, Appendix C.

[448] Ibid. 25.

[449] Mathew Carey, *The Olive Branch No. III* (Philadelphia: Clark & Raser, March 29 1832): ix-x.

[450] Ibid. ix.

miserable economy" to Carey.[451] He caustically illustrated Northern manufacturers' neglect of the nullification threat in an engraved print of a "political balance" reflecting their respective interests, in which his proposed "Subscription of 25 dollars" outweighs "The dissolution of the Union" (Figure 6).[452] Undeterred, he employed "a Mr. S. Brown" as an agent "expressly to disseminate those tracts" in "Columbia [South Carolina] as early in the [1828 legislative] session as possible," at thirty dollars per week for two months – perhaps one cause of the burning of Carey's effigy in Columbia in June of that year.[453] This proved both ineffective and economically damaging; by Carey's account "two-thirds of my business lay to the south, where I made deadly and interminable enmities, and alienated and lost my customers."[454]

At stake was not merely a personal economic grievance. (It is unclear what "business" Carey was personally overseeing in the Southern states in 1828.) Rather, his emphasis on the finances required for effective print-based political advocacy was a reaction to the "unceasing industry" of a well-funded nullificationist propaganda press and the comparatively "apathetic, indifferent, and parsimonious" unionist press.[455] By Carey's calculations, the "nullifiers print 10,000 pamphlets per month" and "tens of thousands of 'Free Trade and States' Rights Almanacs,'" employing "agents to distribute these pamphlets universally through the Southern states."[456] (For his part, Henry Laurens Pinckney printed reports from nullifiers' "Committees on Printing and

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[451] Mathew Carey, *To Whom It May Concern* (No location: [Publisher unlisted], August 24 1831): 4.

[452] For example, see the unnumbered back page of Mathew Carey, *The Olive Branch Once More* (Philadelphia: [Publisher unlisted], December 11 1833).

[453] Mathew Carey, *Facts for Consideration* (Philadelphia: [Publisher unlisted], January 13 1832): 3-4.

[454] Ibid. 8.

[455] Mathew Carey, *The Olive Branch No. III* (Philadelphia: Clark & Raser, March 29 1832): ix.

[456] Mathew Carey, *The Tocsin: A Solemn Warning Against the Dangerous Doctrines of Nullification; in other words, Dissolution of the Union* (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, October 29 1832): 4; Mathew Carey, *The Crisis. An Appeal to the Good Sense of the Nation, Against the Spirit of Resistance and Dissolution of the Union* (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, August 1 1832): 15.

Publications" in the *Mercury* [Figure 7].)[457] "Never," in his opinion, "was a cause advocated with more zeal, ardour [sic], and industry, nor with a more liberal expenditure of money, than has been the cause of nullification, and by necessary consequence, of a dissolution of the Union."[458] At the same time, "five thousand dollars" – the cost of printing and materials – was remarkably low, given that it purchased "the public mind for a forcible repeal, by a single state, of a law of the United States," and "pull[ed] down the fabric of government."[459]

It is striking that Carey considered newspapers as ineffective countermeasures against nullifiers' serial publications precisely at a new peak of newspaper proliferation.[460] By the late 1820s, the instrumentalization of newspapers by U.S. political parties and reform societies had produced such polarized reporting that, in Carey's view, "few read any newspapers but those of their own party," meaning that the "considerable talent" of Unionist newspapers reached only those readers already sympathetic to Unionism.[461] Though newspapers' "culture of reprinting" expanded the possible reach of individual articles, editors could obscure, emend, or strategically recontextualize an article's content for political or pragmatic reasons.[462] (In the early 1830s Carey published "above twenty" "newspaper essays" against nullification in Northern papers, but in vain had he "earnestly requested, and confidently hoped, that the printers in the southern states" would insert these essays in their newspapers "to enable their readers to judge

[457] "Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Convention," *TCM* 20.2997 (February 28 1832): 2.

[458] Mathew Carey, *The Dissolution of the Union. A Sober Address to all those who have any Interest in the Welfare, the Power, the Glory, or the Happiness of the United States* (Philadelphia: J. Bioren, September 1 1832): 3.

[459] Ibid. 3, 6.

[460] Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992): 12-14.

[461] Mathew Carey, *The Dissolution of the Union. A Sober Address to all those who have any Interest in the Welfare, the Power, the Glory, or the Happiness of the United States* (Philadelphia: J. Bioren, September 1 1832): 5.

[462] See Meredith L. McGill, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834-1853* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

understandingly on the subject.")[463] A piece of Carey's correspondence with Joseph Gales, co-editor of D.C.'s *National Intelligencer* (est. 1810) and recent mayor of Washington, D.C. (1827-30), is telling in this respect. By the 1830s the *Intelligencer* had become the de facto reporter of U.S. federal politics, and among the most widely-distributed and reprinted periodicals in the U.S. Carey wrote urgently to Gales, sending along several of his anti-nullification essays for inclusion. The delay in reprinting these essays caused Carey to write again to Gales to question the reason for this delay, accusing the paper of editorial cowardice. Replying to Carey on July 18, 1831, Gales wrote that he was

> a little surprised that one who has been a publisher all his life & Editor of a newspaper for several years should not acknowledge at once the difficulties which prevent a compliance with our own wishes in regard to the contents of our columns. It <u>is</u> our intention to publish your essays; but we are pledged to publish many other things first. You write as if Nullification were a new thing, or opposition to it. We have been opposing it these three years, and, losing the friendship of Southern Members of Congress, have been brought to the verge of ruin by it. […] We print, as I have said before, but <u>two</u> papers (country) per week, Wednesdays, Saturdays. It would be useless to publish your letters in the Daily only. It has been <u>impossible</u> to publish them hitherto in the other.[464]

The temporality of the news in the *Intelligencer*, slowed by a backlog of unpublished content, did not match the urgency that Carey felt his articles merited – a fact Gales casts as common knowledge among newspaper editors. At the same time, to publish Carey's articles only in the

[463] Mathew Carey, *The New Olive Branch: Addressed to the Citizens of South Carolina* (Philadelphia: Clark & Raser, 1831): 38; Mathew Carey, *Collectanea: Displaying the Rise and Progress of the Tariff System on the United States* (Philadelphia: J. Young, August 1 1833): 18.

[464] Letter to Carey from Joseph Gales in Washington, D.C. on July 18 1831, Box 22, Folder 6, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP.

daily edition of the *Intelligencer* would be "useless" precisely due to the rapidity of the daily news cycle. To maximize the readership of this content required a well-timed publication that spanned daily and biweekly "country" editions. To Carey, this was the kind of editorial dithering that exemplified newspapers' inability to combat the spread of nullificationist almanacs and pamphlets. His negative opinion of the *Intelligencer* continued into August of the following year, when he wrote to Philip Fendall, former editor of D.C.'s *National Journal,* recounting his difficulties in publishing his 1832 *The Crisis* pamphlet in the *Intelligencer* that month. While other newspapers like the *New York American* had "inserted the whole complete with strong approbation" without any prompting from Carey, "Gales & Seton have shamefully mutilated and garbled the Crisis," omitting the preface and appendix, both "essential to be published, to enforce the argument."[465] They also waited over two weeks to do so, and only after Carey sent "two or three importuning letters" – an "inexcusable" delay, "as the essay is on the most important topic that ever came before the American public except the declaration of independence & the adoption of the federal Constitution." An unresponsive newspaper like the *Intelligencer* helped ensure that "[t]he southern demagogues will break up the union, beyond all doubt."

As Jackson, Calhoun, and South Carolina nullifiers grasped for power and authority in their published speeches and resolutions, Carey began to memorialize his efforts to prevent what he considered an inevitable disunion. These memorials assumed the form of bibliographies, including tables of page numbers and printing costs (Figures 8, 9, and 10), amounting to hundreds of pages and dollars in 1832 alone. No aspect of material production was left invisible to Carey's readers. The pamphlets foregrounded the labor and personal costs that the words on their pages encoded: the author allegedly wrote often "twelve, thirteen, and fourteen hours a

[465] Letter to Philip Fendall from Carey in Philadelphia on August 27 1832, Box 27, Folder 7, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, HSP. Seaton is William Seaton, co-editor of the *National Intelligencer* with Joseph Gales.

day," though he found writing "irksome, requiring an effort which is almost painful" and "elaborate research, which is troublesome."[466] During the 1820s and 30s he paid out-of-pocket "for paper, printing, journeys, books, postage, &c." including an epitaph for the "Disunited States" (Figure 11) and "57 pamphlets, containing 2295 pages, besides numerous essays, circular letters, and memorials to Congress."[467] There were personal costs, too: for all this writing, Carey "neglected my business while I was in [the book] trade – lost some of my best friends and customers – gave up my enjoyments – excited deadly hostility – was subject to abuse in and out of Congress, and in newspapers, pamphlets and stump speeches – and was burned in effigy in Columbia."[468] To those who would label such public declarations acts of "vanity," Carey's Franklinian rejoinder was "Be it so. We are all vain." He was simply "tear[ing] a leaf from an autobiography, and submit[ting] it to a community in which he has lived for all but half a century."[469] He was also highlighting the material and economic prerequisites of successful advocacy. Unionism was not only ideology, but a product of money, paper, ink, and coordinated labor. Material processes were required for an idea to struggle into public view and even influence the society in which it circulated. If Carey's pamphlets did not make this point clear to readers, the abolitionist mass-mailing campaign of 1835 would soon provide a striking example

[466] Mathew Carey, *The Olive Branch No. III* (Philadelphia, Clark & Raser, March 29 1832): xi; Mathew Carey, *The Crisis. An Appeal to the Good Sense of the Nation, Against the Spirit of Resistance and Dissolution of the Union* (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, August 1 1832): 20.

[467] Ibid. 18; Mathew Carey, *Collectanea: Displaying the Rise and Progress of the Tariff System of the United States* (Philadelphia: J. Young, August 1 1833): iii.

[468] Mathew Carey, *The Crisis. An Appeal to the Good Sense of the Nation, Against the Spirit of Resistance and Dissolution of the Union* (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, August 1 1832): 18.

[469] Ibid. 21.

of what advocacy looked like in an emergent age of mass production of print and an expansive inter-state postal system.[470]

Disunion would not become a geopolitical reality until the 1860s, a score of years after Carey's and William Apess's deaths in 1839. But in the minds of many individuals and in the periodical print they wrote and read from day to day, the idea that disunion was occurring was plausible, even certain. The speed of composition required by serial genres shaped the tenor of their reporting, which centered on "new" information: present developments and proximate futures. Yet to Carey, even periodicals seemed insufficiently responsive to the prolific nullificationist presses of the South churning out almanacs, pamphlets, and incendiary newspapers. The ideological war on U.S. unionism had a material vehicle that was as much responsible for the spread of nullification doctrines as the rhetoric framing those doctrines. During his tenure as the editor of the *Volunteers Journal* in Dublin in the 1770s and 80s, Carey had engaged with the material processes – and political conditions – required for an idea to struggle into public view and even influence the society in which it circulated.

In the next chapter, we will see that the doctrine of colonization propagated by the American Colonization Society provided Carey and other reformers an agenda that, like nullification, drew extensive support and resistance through many paper vehicles, including the first U.S. black-owned newspapers. Colonization also attracted a politically and geographically diverse array of white supporters. Henry Laurens Pinckney devoted much of the *Mercury* to discrediting Henry Clay, even though both endorsed colonization. Turnbull, author of the *Crisis*, critiqued colonization as "another name for an *Abolition* Society," and spoke alarmedly of the ACS's "schemes" of circulating mass-printed speeches and its periodical, *The African Repository*,

[470] Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770-1870* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007): 344-354.

published in the federal capital.[471] As later discussed, Mathew Carey, who wrote fearfully of the nullificationist print swarming the Southern mails, will soon become a rampant self-published pamphleteer for colonization. Within the flurry of conflicting opinions surrounding colonization, the next chapter studies a weekly newspaper that, for a time, provided the only periodical venue specifically for the U.S.'s black writers to soundly reject colonization: *The Colored American*.

[471] Turnbull, *The Crisis*, 122, 124.

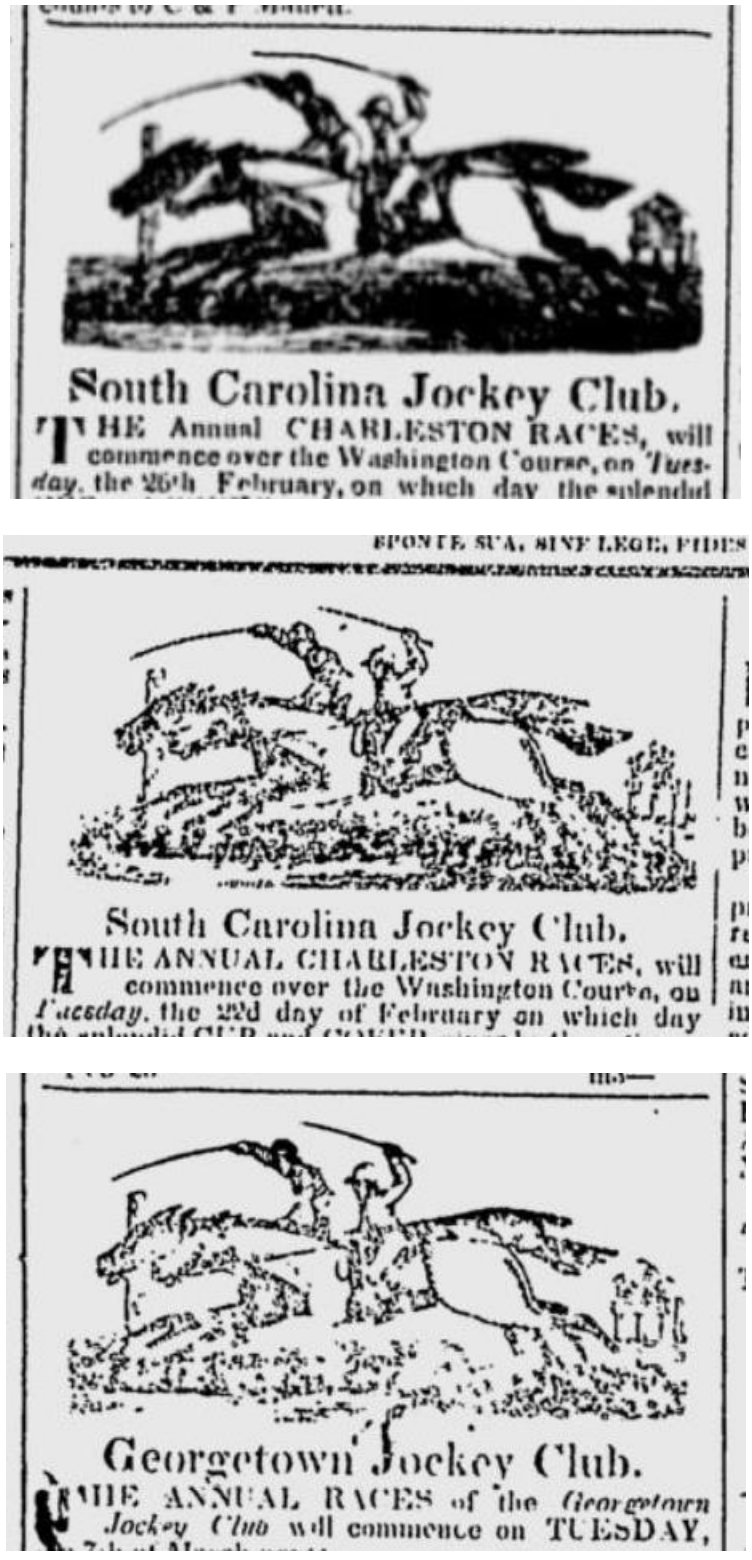
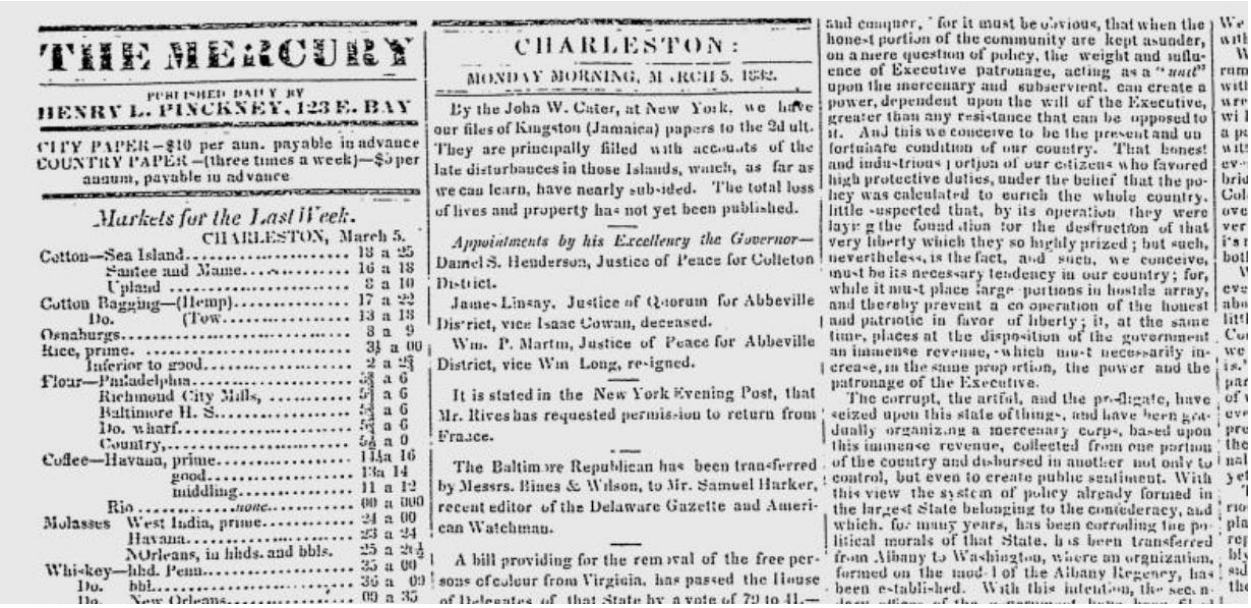


Figure 3.1. Three impressions of what is likely the same woodblock, used to advertise jockey races in Charleston and Georgetown in 1826 (top), 1828 (center), and 1831 (bottom). Images courtesy of Google News.



THE MERCURY

PUBLISHED DAILY BY
HENRY L. PINCKNEY, 123 E. BAY

CITY PAPER—$10 per ann. payable in advance
COUNTRY PAPER—(three times a week)—$5 per annum, payable in advance

Markets for the Last Week.

CHARLESTON, March 5.

Cotton—Sea Island	18	a 25
Santee and Mame	16	a 18
Upland	8	a 10
Cotton Bagging—(Hemp)	17	a 22
Do. (Tow	13	a 18
Osnaburgs	8	a 9
Rice, prime	3½	a 00
Inferior to good	2	a 2¾
Flour—Philadelphia	5¾	a 6
Richmond City Mills,	5¾	a 6
Baltimore H. S.	5¾	a 6
Do. wharf	5¾	a 6
Country,	5½	a 0
Coffee—Havana, prime	14a	16
good	13a	14
middling	11	a 12
Rio ...*none*	00	a 000
Molasses West India, prime	24	a 00
Havana	23	a 24
NOrleans, in hhds. and bbls.	25	a 26½
Whiskey—hhd. Penn	35	a 00
Do. bbl	36	a 00
Do. New Orleans	00	a 35

CHARLESTON:

MONDAY MORNING, MARCH 5, 1832.

By the John W. Cater, at New York, we have our files of Kingston (Jamaica) papers to the 2d ult. They are principally filled with accounts of the late disturbances in those Islands, which, as far as we can learn, have nearly subsided. The total loss of lives and property has not yet been published.

Appointments by his Excellency the Governor—Daniel S. Henderson, Justice of Peace for Colleton District.

James Linsay, Justice of Quorum for Abbeville District, vice Isaac Cowan, deceased.

Wm. P. Martin, Justice of Peace for Abbeville District, vice Wm Long, resigned.

It is stated in the New York Evening Post, that Mr. Rives has requested permission to return from France.

The Baltimore Republican has been transferred by Messrs. Bines & Wilson, to Mr. Samuel Harker, recent editor of the Delaware Gazette and American Watchman.

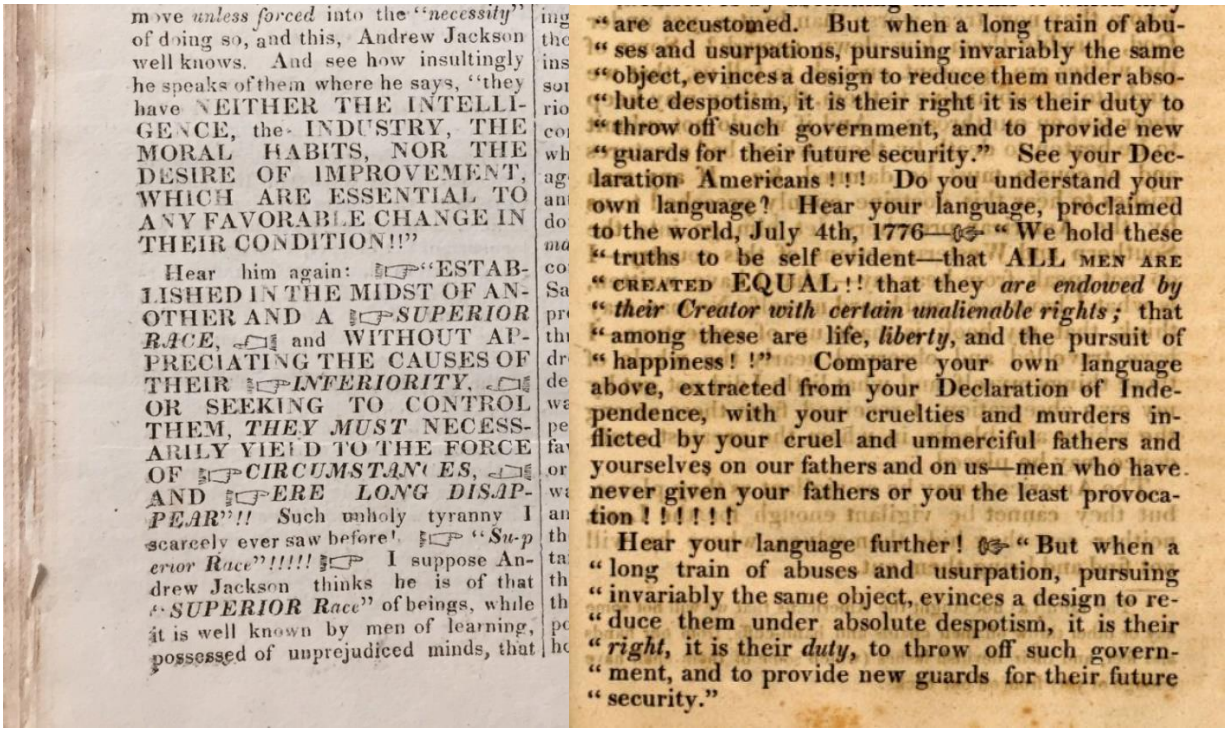
A bill providing for the removal of the free persons of colour from Virginia, has passed the House of Delegates of that State by a vote of 79 to 41.—

and conquer, for it must be obvious, that when the honest portion of the community are kept asunder, on a mere question of policy, the weight and influence of Executive patronage, acting as a "*unit*" upon the mercenary and subservient, can create a power, dependent upon the will of the Executive, greater than any resistance that can be opposed to it. And this we conceive to be the present and unfortunate condition of our country. That honest and industrious portion of our citizens who favored high protective duties, under the belief that the policy was calculated to enrich the whole country, little suspected that, by its operation they were laying the foundation for the destruction of that very liberty which they so highly prized; but such, nevertheless, is the fact, and such, we conceive, must be its necessary tendency in our country; for, while it must place large portions in hostile array, and thereby prevent a co operation of the honest and patriotic in favor of liberty; it, at the same time, places at the disposition of the government an immense revenue, which must necessarily increase, in the same proportion, the power and the patronage of the Executive.

The corrupt, the artful, and the profligate, have seized upon this state of things, and have been gradually organizing a mercenary corps, based upon this immense revenue, collected from one portion of the country and disbursed in another not only to control, but even to create public sentiment. With this view the system of policy already formed in the largest State belonging to the confederacy, and which, for many years, has been corroding the political morals of that State, has been transferred from Albany to Washington, where an orgnization, formed on the model of the Albany Regency, has been established. With this intention, the sec-

Figure 3.2. Image of page 2 from *The Charleston Mercury* of March 5th, 1832. Pinckney reprinted key masthead information and time-sensitive material on the "inside" of the *Mercury*. The eye tracks naturally to the text that is less densely lineated. Image courtesy of Google News.

Figure 3.4. Woodblock advertisement in *The Charleston Mercury*, appearing in issues from February to March 1832. The attempt to conflate the orangutan – "the apparent link between the human and brute creation" – and America's native peoples is suggested by the name "Child of the Forest" (which William Apess reappropriated for his autobiography) and in the "weapon of defence [sic]" the figure holds. Image courtesy of Google News.



move *unless forced* into the "*necessity*" of doing so, and this, Andrew Jackson well knows. And see how insultingly he speaks of them where he says, "they have NEITHER THE INTELLIGENCE, the INDUSTRY, THE MORAL HABITS, NOR THE DESIRE OF IMPROVEMENT, WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL TO ANY FAVORABLE CHANGE IN THEIR CONDITION!!"

Hear him again: ☞"ESTABLISHED IN THE MIDST OF ANOTHER AND A ☞*SUPERIOR RACE*, ☜ and WITHOUT APPRECIATING THE CAUSES OF THEIR ☞*INFERIORITY*, ☜ OR SEEKING TO CONTROL THEM, *THEY MUST* NECESSARILY YIELD TO THE FORCE OF ☞*CIRCUMSTANCES*, ☜ AND ☞*ERE LONG DISAPPEAR*"!! Such unholy tyranny I scarcely ever saw before! ☞ "*Superior Race*"!!!!! ☜ I suppose Andrew Jackson thinks he is of that "*SUPERIOR Race*" of beings, while it is well known by men of learning, possessed of unprejudiced minds, that

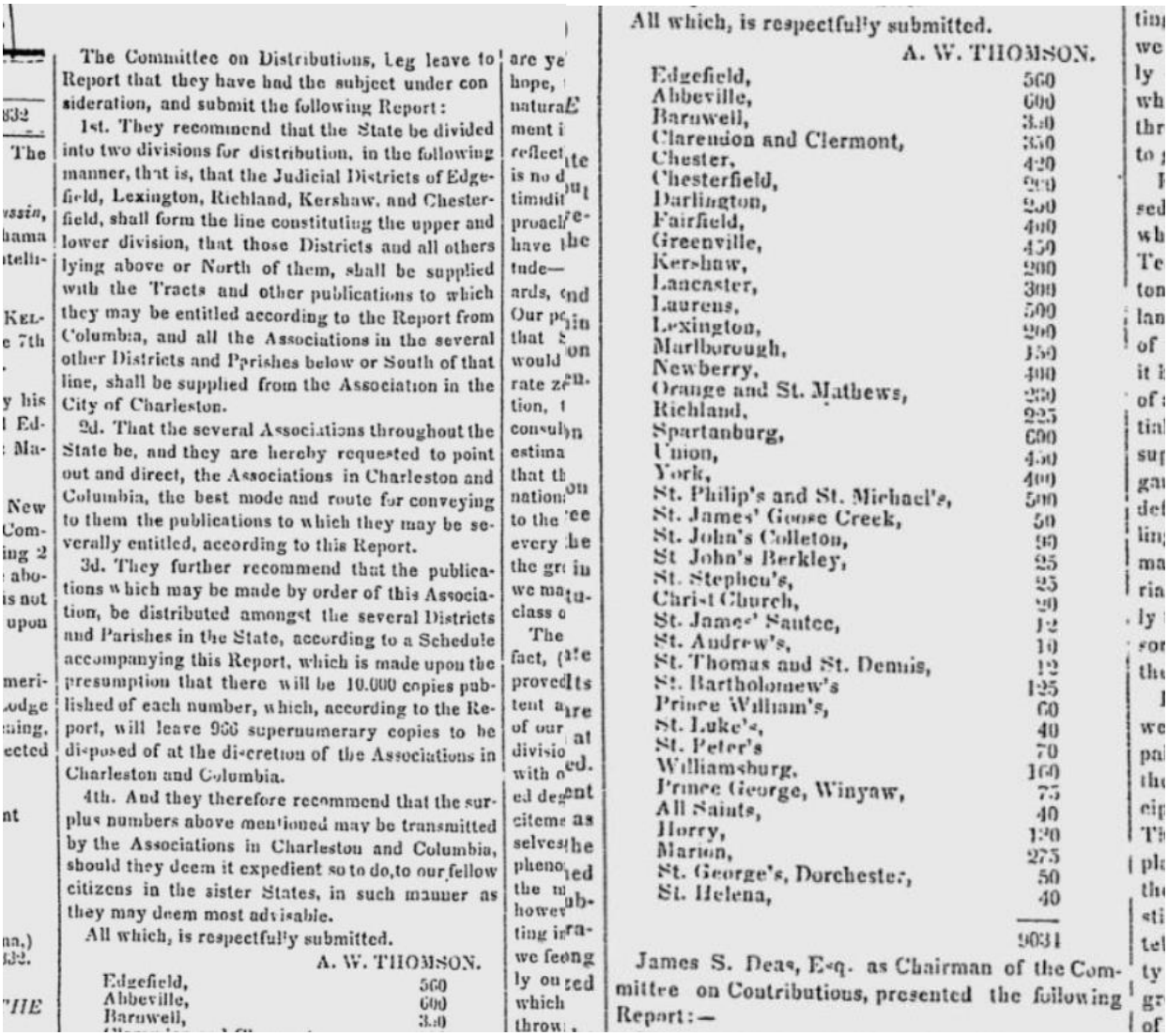
"are accustomed. But when a long train of abu-
"ses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same
"object, evinces a design to reduce them under abso-
"lute despotism, it is their right it is their duty to
"throw off such government, and to provide new
"guards for their future security." See your Dec-
laration Americans!!! Do you understand your
own language? Hear your language, proclaimed
to the world, July 4th, 1776—☞ "We hold these
"truths to be self evident—that ALL MEN ARE
"CREATED EQUAL!! that they *are endowed by*
"*their Creator with certain unalienable rights;* that
"among these are life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of
"happiness!!" Compare your own language
above, extracted from your Declaration of Inde-
pendence, with your cruelties and murders in-
flicted by your cruel and unmerciful fathers and
yourselves on our fathers and on us—men who have
never given your fathers or you the least provoca-
tion!!!!!!

Hear your language further! ☞ "But when a
"long train of abuses and usurpation, pursuing
"invariably the same object, evinces a design to re-
"duce them under absolute despotism, it is their
"*right*, it is their *duty*, to throw off such govern-
"ment, and to provide new guards for their future
"security."

Figures 3.4 and 3.5. *Left*, image of a transcribed speech by Cherokee Principal Chief John Ross critiquing sections of President Andrew Jackson's fifth annual message to Congress (December 3rd, 1833), reprinted with typographical emphases in *The Cherokee Phoenix* (5.40 [March 2 1834]: 2). *Right*, image of a section of David Walker's *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* (3rd ed., Boston: David Walker, 1830) in which Walker adds typographical emphases to the Declaration of Independence. Images courtesy of archive.org.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 3.6. Carey appended this foldout print to several of his anti-nullification pamphlets beginning in 1832, a high-water mark of the Nullification Crisis. Image for research purposes only, from the Library Company of Philadelphia.



The Committee on Distributions, beg leave to Report that they have had the subject under consideration, and submit the following Report:

1st. They recommend that the State be divided into two divisions for distribution, in the following manner, that is, that the Judicial Districts of Edgefield, Lexington, Richland, Kershaw, and Chesterfield, shall form the line constituting the upper and lower division, that those Districts and all others lying above or North of them, shall be supplied with the Tracts and other publications to which they may be entitled according to the Report from Columbia, and all the Associations in the several other Districts and Parishes below or South of that line, shall be supplied from the Association in the City of Charleston.

2d. That the several Associations throughout the State be, and they are hereby requested to point out and direct, the Associations in Charleston and Columbia, the best mode and route for conveying to them the publications to which they may be severally entitled, according to this Report.

3d. They further recommend that the publications which may be made by order of this Association, be distributed amongst the several Districts and Parishes in the State, according to a Schedule accompanying this Report, which is made upon the presumption that there will be 10,000 copies published of each number, which, according to the Report, will leave 966 supernumerary copies to be disposed of at the discretion of the Associations in Charleston and Columbia.

4th. And they therefore recommend that the surplus numbers above mentioned may be transmitted by the Associations in Charleston and Columbia, should they deem it expedient so to do, to our fellow citizens in the sister States, in such manner as they may deem most advisable.

All which, is respectfully submitted.

A. W. THOMSON.

Edgefield,	560
Abbeville,	600
Barnwell,	340
Clarendon and Clermont,	350
Chester,	420
Chesterfield,	200
Darlington,	250
Fairfield,	400
Greenville,	450
Kershaw,	200
Lancaster,	300
Laurens,	500
Lexington,	200
Marlborough,	150
Newberry,	400
Orange and St. Mathews,	250
Richland,	225
Spartanburg,	600
Union,	450
York,	400
St. Philip's and St. Michael's,	500
St. James' Goose Creek,	50
St. John's Colleton,	90
St John's Berkley,	25
St. Stephen's,	25
Christ Church,	20
St. James' Santee,	12
St. Andrew's,	10
St. Thomas and St. Dennis,	12
St. Bartholomew's	125
Prince William's,	60
St. Luke's,	40
St. Peter's	70
Williamsburg,	160
Prince George, Winyaw,	75
All Saints,	40
Horry,	130
Marion,	275
St. George's, Dorchester,	50
St. Helena,	40
	9031

James S. Deas, Esq. as Chairman of the Committee on Contributions, presented the following Report:—

Figure 3.7. In *The Charleston Mercury* Pinckney regularly printed reports from the State Rights and Free Trade Organization's "Committee on Distributions" in South Carolina, plans of organized print dissemination which Northern readers like Carey observed with alarm. In the minutes printed in this issue of the *Mercury* from February 28th, 1832, the Committee lays out plans for efficiently distributing "Tracts and other publications" across South Carolina and among "our fellow citizens in the sister States." Image courtesy of Google News.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 3.8. Table of Carey's anti-nullification publications with page numbers, from *Prospects on the Rubicon, Part II* (1832). Image for research purposes only, from the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 3.9. Table of dates and cost of printing of several of Carey's anti-nullification pamphlets, from *The Dissolution of the Union* (1832). Image for research purposes only, from the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 3.10. Table of costs for materials and "printing, folding, and stitching" of several anti-nullification pamphlets, from *The Olive Branch Once More, No. II* (1832). Image for research purposes only, from the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 3.11. The first page of Carey's four-page epitaph written in anticipation of the "Disunited States," predicted to occur in 1834. Image for research purposes only, from the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Chapter 4

Colonization, Emigration, and *Colored American* Nativism

I. The Act of Naming and the *American* Press

> Many would gladly rob us of the endeared name, "AMERICANS," a distinction more emphatically belonging to us, than five-sixths of this nation, and one that we will never yield…hence the propriety of the name of our paper, COLORED AMERICAN.
> –*The Colored American*, "Title of this Journal," March 4 1837

To rename a people, Presbyterian minister and editor Samuel Eli Cornish (1795-1858) renamed his newspaper. Its new title – *The Colored American*, formerly *The Weekly Advocate* – was a polemic: it announced the *American* nationality of its *Colored* writers and readers, who, wrote Cornish in the inaugural issue, in "complexion, in blood and in nativity…are decidedly more exclusively 'American' than our white brethren." Yet "[w]e are written about, preached to, prayed for, as Negroes, Africans, and blacks," he continued, by those "who would rob of us our nationality and reproach us as exoticks." Words mattered, Cornish asserted. Arguing that *Colored* identity was merely a quality of a quintessential *American* nationality contradicted the semantics of terms like *Negroes*, which collapsed all peoples of the Black Atlantic into one immutable race, incapable of naturalization into white society. At the same time, "Colored Americans" provided a title of distinction among all *Americans*. Because "we have in view, objects peculiar to ourselves, and in contradiction from the mass," wrote Cornish, the U.S.'s "COLORED AMERICANS" must "be known and our interests presented in community…by some distinct, specific name."[472] Like Washington Irving in Chapter 2, Cornish saw publicizing

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Due to the frequency of citations of *The Colored American*, the newspaper's title will be abbreviated *TCA* in the footnotes below. When possible, names of identifiable but unnamed writers of articles have been placed in brackets. All cited copies of *TCA* were printed at 181 William Street in New York City by white Canadian abolitionist Robert Sears. Sears had immigrated in the early 1830s to New York City, and established a "Book and Job Printing Office…opposite Tammany Hall." His printing office also served as the correspondence and subscription office for *The Colored American* during its first months in print. (No name, "The Colored American, Is Printed and Published…," *TCA* 1.9 [March 4 1837]: 1).

an unambiguous group nomenclature as a political necessity, a countermeasure to an unregulated "mass" public discourse. The paper's title emphasized its republican purpose: "*The Colored American*" in question was not Cornish – nor the paper's initial owner, abolitionist journalist Philip Alexander Bell (1808-89) – but a representative body of texts, the conscripted opinions of its named constituency.[473] Decisions by black antislavery societies and conventions to publish petitions and meeting minutes in *The Colored American* points to the paper's recognized utility in endorsing and circulating acts of black corporate speech. The paper was, at once, a collection of discrete texts as well as a material and discursive context validating those texts' claims to represent *Colored American*s' perspectives. As Cornish put it, the paper's "component parts are not in keeping without it."[474]

Readers wrote back in support of the name's dual function as a bid for U.S. nationality and as a means of precise group address. "The 'Colored American,'" one succinctly observed, "is the oppressed colored man's voice…crying out, – 'I am an American citizen.'"[475] Others began signing letters "A COLORED AMERICAN," approvingly noting that this "title of brotherhood" effaced the "unhappy divisions" of color caste preserved in distinctions between "blacks and mulattoes."[476] Not only did *The Colored American*'s title announce its basic argument; it offered its black U.S. readership new terms of self-conceptualization. Editors and subscribers continued

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[472] No name [Samuel Cornish], "Title of this Journal," *TCA* 1.9 (March 4 1837): 2.

[473] The paper's use as a corporate representative of Colored Americans' opinions was further signaled when ownership transferred from Philip Bell to "a large Committee of gentlemen," and act intended to "secure for the Paper more of the public confidence, and an increased subscription list." See "Editor" [Samuel Cornish], "To our Readers," *TCA* 2.2 (January 20 1838): 4.

[474] No name [Samuel Cornish], "An Appeal," *TCA* 2.16 (June 9 1838): 3.

[475] No name, "(For the Colored American)," *TCA* 1.16 (April 22 1837): 1.

[476] Anonymous ["A Colored American"], "Prejudice among Ourselves," *TCA* 1.33 (August 19 1837): 2.

to write of, as, and for *Colored Americans* over the paper's four years in print, reinforcing the term's political and rhetorical currency to readers.

The paper's efforts to publicize this definition of the *American* neatly captures the local, strategic affiliations that this identity could convey in U.S. print, affiliations which could oppose state policy or exist in flexible relation to the unfixed and exclusionary category of U.S. citizenship before the 14th Amendment (1868).[477] Benjamin Fagan's recent analysis of the millennialist Christian nationalism expressed in *The Colored American* perceptively traces the distinctions that the newspaper's editors made between the U.S. state and the "American chosen nation."[478] As Fagan shows, in its first years the newspaper's editors argued that the U.S.'s black population was chosen to save the multiracial "American nation" by correcting the unjust politics of the U.S. state. Then, in later years, the paper presented the United States as the "American Babylon," the oppressor of the true "American nation," which included *Colored Americans* and native peoples like the Florida Seminoles.[479] In what follows, I concentrate on the paper's investments in redefining *American* identity by turning attention to its anti-colonizationist reporting, a prominent part of its coverage not discussed by Fagan. While the paper's editors and contributors used milliennialist arguments to cast Colored Americans as the part of the *American* nation chosen to reform the state, the work of refuting the racial, statistical, and economic arguments of pro-colonizationists called forth more worldly understandings of U.S. law, history, and rights.

The urgency of the paper's mission to redefine *American* identity was intended to match the zealous advocacy of its most consistent ideological opponent: the American Colonization

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[477] Carrie Hyde, *Civic Longing: The Speculative Origins of U.S. Citizenship* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2018).

[478] Benjamin Fagan, *The Black Newspaper and the Chosen Nation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2016): 46.

[479] Ibid. 63-64.

Society. Organized in Washington, D.C. in 1816 with the mission of removing all of the U.S.'s black freemen to Africa, the ACS soon formed franchise Societies in most Northern and Southern states, established the "American Colony of Liberia" on West Africa's coast in 1822, and founded its own D.C.-based periodical, *The African Repository and Colonial Journal*, in 1825.[480] That year, its members included former Presidents Madison and Jefferson, future President Andrew Jackson, influential statesmen like Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court John Marshall, and, as will be discussed, the now-prominent bookseller Mathew Carey, who a few years later would cite these prominent ACS members in his pro-colonization publications. The ACS credo that "the Society, as a society, recognizes *no* principles in reference to the slave system" avoided offending proslavery partisans while maintaining that the unchecked increase of the U.S.'s black *population* – a demographic term important to colonizationist argumentation – endangered Northern and Southern white people, and the U.S. state generally.[481] Combining arguments about the natural connection between black bodies and the African climate with political arguments about the civilizing benefits of black sovereignty in Africa, colonizationists argued that theirs was a program for helping black and white people achieve national existence, separately.

The U.S.'s earliest black periodicals pioneered much of the abolitionist critiques of colonization as a racist, anti-nativist policy that bent to slave state politics and weakened potential support systems for those black people still currently enslaved. In the columns of *The*

[480] I use *freemen* in the early nineteenth-century sense, denoting people who are not slaves, and not in the contemporary sense, denoting people possessed of full civil rights under a government. Consider, for example, this sentence from the *North American Review*'s 1832 review of Carey's *Letters on the Colonization Society*: "God speed them [Liberian colonists] to make a freeman of the slave and a citizen of the freeman" (No name, "American Colonization Society," *North American Review* v. 35 no. 76 [July 1832]: 165).

[481] [Anonymous], "American Colonization Society," *North American Review* v. 35 no. 76 (July 1832):139. This eugenicist program *avant la lettre* endured in nineteenth-century U.S. politics: Abraham Lincoln would still be attempting to colonize free black Americans outside U.S. borders – now in Haiti – in 1862.

Colored American (*TCA*), what David Kazanjian has called "the colonizing trick" was shown to underpin a far-reaching set of discrete anti-black agendas carried out in different ways by white mobs and U.S. politicians.[482] While Sara E. Johnson has traced the internally-diverse set of attitudes toward colonization in "transcolonial" black print networks in the Americas, her study concludes that "despite a deliberate effort to highlight the interconnectedness of black people in the extended Americas," black-operated newspapers like *TCA* finally "prioritized the assimilation of their readerships into their respective national home societies."[483] This chapter explores the significance of *American* semantics in *TCA*'s arguments for Colored Americans' rightful place in an *American* nation that was, however, not congruent with the U.S. state. We will see how black periodicals were scrutinized materially as well as ideologically by readers gauging the soundness of the pro- or anti-colonizationist arguments they contained, and the politically-charged symbolic values of the press in the 1830s U.S. I also consider *TCA*'s reporting on New York's legal disenfranchisement of black men in the 1840 election to show how *TCA* editors and contributors presented colonization as a largely hidden rather than explicit conspiratorial agenda against Colored Americans. I then turn to *TCA*'s reporting on the 1841 *Amistad* trial, in which enslaved Mendi Africans overthrew the crew of the Spanish slave ship *La Amistad* illegally transporting them from Cuba, only to be captured by a U.S. brig and brought to a Long Island harbor. Juxtaposing calls for the Mendians' repatriation with the forced deportation entailed by Colored American colonization in Liberia, the paper discussed the

[482] David Kazanjian, *The Colonizing Trick: National Culture and Imperial Citizenship in Early America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

[483] Sara E. Johnson, *The Fear of French Negroes: Transcolonial Collaboration in the Revolutionary Americas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012): 184. At one point, Johnson overstates the extent to which "the journalists of the *Colored American* vacillated between their ties to an unfriendly native country and the possibilities of exploring their opportunities elsewhere in the Americans [in Haiti, Trinidad, British Guyana, and Jamaica]" by claiming that "*the paper* ceased to support emigration" only after extensive consideration of these potential sites for repatriation (175, 179, emphasis mine). Subscribers did submit occasional letters endorsing repatriation outside the U.S., but the general tenor of "the paper" never supported emigration.

differences between black and white emigration and the uneven application of *native* status across race in the U.S. A final section on Mathew Carey's boomlet of self-published colonizationist pamphlets of 1827-32 complements these sections by examining Carey's personal views of the physical qualities of colonizationist propaganda, as well as his comparisons of black colonization with white European emigration to the U.S. Carey's and Cornish's conflicting *American* nativisms capture the stakes of defining *American* nativity and the proper justifications for emigration in discussions of U.S. demography and the future of Liberian colonization.

The U.S.'s only operating black-owned periodical in 1837, *The Colored American* served symbolic as well as discursive functions. The paper's regular publication testified to the solvency and industry of its constituents, a particular accomplishment in the depressed economy that followed the financial panic in November of that year.[484] Also significant was the paper's physical appearance. Between 1835-40, the number of newspapers circulating per capita in the U.S. doubled due to new efficient printing technologies and the appearance of urban daily papers, such as James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald* (established 1835).[485] Within a proliferating print economy, visually distinguishing one's paper became crucial for garnering readers' attention. This was particularly true for the U.S.'s earliest black periodicals, whose editors and contributors knew that white readers would interpret the quality of print as an index

[484] For a discussion of the effects of the 1837 financial panic in New York City, see Chapter 5 of Jessica Lepler's *The Many Panics of 1837: People, Politics, and the Creation of a Transatlantic Financial Crisis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 123-156. Despite the symbolic value of the paper's (sometimes irregular) serial appearance, *TCA*'s proprietors frequently wrote articles reprimanding readers for not paying postage on their letters to the *TCA* and not paying truant subscription fees, and soliciting more assertive salesmanship from its widespread subscription agents. See, for examples, No name [Samuel Cornish, Philip Bell, Charles Bennett Ray, or Stephen H. Gloucester], "Short communications…," *TCA* 1.14 (April 8 1837): 1; No name [Samuel Cornish, Philip Bell, Charles Bennett Ray, or Stephen H. Gloucester], "A Statement and a Call," *TCA* 1.26 (June 17 1837): 1; No name [Samuel Cornish, Philip Bell, Charles Bennett Ray, or Stephen H. Gloucester], "We hope our agents…," *TCA* 2.27 (August 25 1838): 1; No name [Charles Bennett Ray], "The Last Number of the Colored American," *TCA* 3.36 (December 7 1839): 1; No name [Charles Bennett Ray], "Our Paper – Its Condition – And Prospects – A Crisis," *TCA* 2.32 "New Series" (October 9 1841): 1.

[485] Mark Monmonier, *Maps with the News: The Development of American Journalistic Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989): 33.

of black capability. Once John Russwurm, former co-editor of *Freedom's Journal* with Samuel Cornish, emigrated from New York to Liberia and began the *Liberia Herald* newspaper on March 6 1830, pro- and anti-colonizationist readers attended to its form as much as its contents in determining the future success or failure of Liberia. White abolitionist Charles Denison, editor of New York's *Emancipator* (1833-41) – subsequently the *Emancipator and Free American* (1841-44) – reported on the small size and rotten "smell" of the "stained… scarcely legible" pages of a recently-delivered issue of the *Herald*.[486] His attention to what Adam Lewis calls a "miasmatic material tex[t]" foregrounded the unhealthiness of the Liberian climate – a claim embedded in the paper rather than the words on the page.[487] By contrast, in *The African Repository,* the American Colonization Society's official periodical, poet Lydia Huntley Sigourney published a poem "On the Publication of the Liberia Herald," praising the return of "Power," "Piety," and "Science…so long / Expatriate from thy native sphere [viz. 'Africk']," now reappeared in "blest '*Herald*.'"[488] Reviewing "half a dozen numbers of the 'LIBERIA HERALD,'" Lucien Minor penned an article for the *Southern Literary Messenger* on "Liberian Literature," noting that the *Herald* was "printed on a sheet as large as many of our village papers," with "four columns of editorial articles" and occasional "errors of spelling and syntax…attributable to the printer."[489] Since the "printer and the editor of the newspaper…are all *coloured people*," there was "no surer index to the moral and intellectual character of the [Liberian] people, than the 'folio of four pages,'" "the most expressive sign of all" of Liberians'

[486] Quoted in Adam Lewis, "'A Traitor to His Brethren'?: John Brown Russwurm and the *Liberia Herald*," *American Periodicals: A Journal of History & Criticism* 25.2 (2015): 112-123, page 120.

[487] Ibid. 120.

[488] Lydia Huntley Sigourney, "For the African Repository. On the Publication of the Liberia Herald," *African Repository* v. 6 no. 11 (Washington City [D.C.]: American Colonization Society, January 1831): 350-51.

[489] Lucien Minor, "Liberian Literature," *Southern Literary Messenger* 2.3 (Richmond, VA: Thomas Willis White, February 1836): 158-159.

attainment of "those comforts, virtues, and pleasures, which the existence of Literature necessarily implies."[490] (The *Messenger*'s assistant editor, Edgar Allan Poe, shortly wrote to Minor that he "thought better upon consideration to omit all in 'Liberian Literature' at which offense could, by any possibility, be taken.")[491]

Cornish agreed on one point with colonizationists like Sigourney and Minor: that the press was an agent of revolution and political freedom, whose very existence indicated the advent of new liberties in the society it informed. "[N]o oppressed nation, nor people," Cornish wrote, "since the art of printing has been known ever threw off their burdens, and obtained their rights, without the aid of the Press."[492] In this conception, an editor was readers' republican representative: he must "forget himself, and prefer the interests of the community to his own" in curating the paper's contents, "advertis[ing] the public of their dangers and of their duties." At the same time, the ideal editor would shape the sentiments he represented, "virtuously and intelligently excit[ing] and control[ling] public sentiment according as the word and providence of God, and interest of the community demand."[493] To Cornish, a Presbyterian minister, the news was more than a secular tool: it was an instrument of Christian social transformation. He saw that "in responsibility and importance, the station and duty of an editor, are but a whit below the office of the sacred ministry."[494] Stewarding readers through a morass of ideologically corrupt print, the editor "is to watch for souls, if not in an ecclesiastical [sense], yet in a sense not less

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[490] Ibid.

[491] Letter to Lucian Minor from Edgar Allan Poe in Richmond, VA on February 5 1836. Reprinted in George E. Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe: Personal and Literary* v. 2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909): 370.

[492] Philip Bell and Samuel Cornish, "To our Friends and Brethren beloved," *TCA* 1.18 (May 6 1837): 3.

[493] No name [Samuel Cornish], "Design of the Press," *TCA* 1.48 (October 28 1837): 2.

[494] Ibid.

real."[495] (Even though Cornish composed much of *TCA*'s content in its first months, he visually distinguished his editorial column on the page with an imprint of a quill, to suggest a personal correspondence between editor and reader [Figure 1].) Through this utopian image of a people both sovereign and swayable, a people perfectly represented in their paper, which is both their instrument and moral authority, Cornish advocated for sweeping reforms of the U.S.'s growing periodical trade, which had recently witnessed the emergence of the daily "penny papers," cheap, less explicitly political dailies that dealt in commercial and sensational news.[496] "How much self-interest is apparent of the face of most of our newspapers!" he proclaimed. "How is the world ever to be reformed and enlightened, unless a radical change is effected in the feelings and actions of the conductors of public journals?"[497] Endowing the press with the sacred responsibility of social change, these editorials habitually referenced *The Colored American*'s part within a mission of sweeping national reform in the ethics of journalism and civic law.

This gospel of periodical-driven social reform was not only advised on behalf of "the THREE MILLIONS of trodden-down and unoffending 'AMERICANS'" designated by his paper's title, but on behalf of "the cause of humanity, and the interests of our country generally."[498] "Our public press must repent and speedily reform, or our national overthrow is certain," ran Cornish's core statement; "We truly tremble for our country, when we 'reflect that God is just.'"[499] In recontextualizing an epithet on U.S. slavery from Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), Cornish aligned his critique with that of patriotic U.S. statesmen

[495] Ibid.

[496] No name, "The Penny Press," *TCA* 1.23 "New Series" (August 8 1840): 2.

[497] No name [Philip Bell or Samuel Cornish], "Design of the Press," *TCA* 1.48 (October 28 1837): 2.

[498] No name [Samuel Cornish or Philip Bell], "'Come Over and Help Us,'" *TCA* 1.12 (March 25 1837): 3; Philip Bell and Samuel Cornish, "To our Friends and Brethren beloved," *TCA* 1.18 (May 6 1837): 3.

[499] No name [Philip Bell or Samuel Cornish], "Design of the Press," *TCA* 1.48 (October 28 1837): 2.

– slaveholders, even – who decried slavery's corruption of the nation's body politic.[500] The editorial's critique of publishers' financial "self-interest" would have resonated with a long tradition of similar critiques of slaveholders' avarice at the cost of human life. Its attempt to redefine the meanings of U.S. nationality and *American* identity exemplified the utility of the American jeremiad rhetoric, which allowed writers to redefine *American* national ideals by critiquing the U.S.'s failure to realize those purported ideals.[501]

The sanctified role of papers and editors within Cornish's vision for the future of U.S. nationality crystallized in powerful ways around the November 1837 murder of Cornish's fellow Presbyterian minister-*cum*-editor Elijah Lovejoy in Alton, Illinois, whose *Alton Observer* had been excerpted earlier by *The Colored American* in the previous months.[502] In reporting on the events, which were sensationalized throughout the pro- and anti-slavery press, *The Colored American* consistently conflated the physical destruction of Lovejoy's "PRESS AND TYPES" with the breakdown of the U.S.'s national integrity and legal structure.[503] "AN AMERICAN CITIZEN MURDERED!! THE PRESS DESTROYED!!! THE SPIRIT OF SLAVERY TRIUMPHANT!!!" exclaimed Cornish's headline, foregrounding the connection between the mob's violence against an American citizen and its violence – in the most concrete sense –

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[500] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (London: John Stockdale, 1787): 270-272. The quote is from Query XVIII ("Manners"), in a passage on "the unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us." The U.S.'s slave society, Jefferson (a slave owner) observes, by "permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, […] destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patriae of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labour for another."

[501] Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

[502] See for example, No name, "(From the Alton Observer.) What are the Doctrines of Anti-Slavery Men?," *TCA* 1.32 (August 26 1837): 4; No name, "From the Alton Observer.) What are the Doctrines of Anti-Slavery Men? Concluded," *TCA* 1.35 (September 2 1837): 4. Months later, *The Colored American* would also reprint Lovejoy's "Last Speech," at "a public meeting in Alton," in which Lovejoy defended on legal and Christian grounds his rights to "publish a newspaper in this city" and "freely to speak and publish my sentiments" (Elijah Lovejoy, "Brother Lovejoy's Last Speech," *TCA* 2.16 [June 9 1838]: 2).

[503] No name, "Fallen Nature Disgracing the Devil," *TCA* 1.37 (September 16 1837): 2.

against the press.[504] The act was "fearfully pregnant with danger to the safety of every institution in our country," Cornish argued, because it exemplified how, even "in a free state," "the genius of slavery" had "trampled" the "principles of American liberty" with no legal recourse.[505] *The Colored American*'s printer, a Canadian expatriate in New York named Robert Sears, even composed an elegy for his fellow printer, a "faithful steward" of Christianity who "Contend[ed] earnestly for the RIGHTS OF ALL."[506] Sears, like Cornish, read national consequences in Lovejoy's death: "Ambassadors call'd home presages war; / GOD has a controversy with our land!" he claimed, echoing the jeremiad rhetoric running through the paper's editorial contents, and drawing upon the growing sense of impending war between the U.S. and the Republic of Texas – a subject often reported on in the paper because Texas annexation implied the extension of the slave state power.[507] If a healthy national press would invigorate the body politic's pursuit of its own freedoms, the murder of a printer and destruction of his press was a metonym of a larger breakdown of the social fabric.

As noted, the paper imagined an *American* identity that included the U.S.'s *Colored* inhabitants as citizens and included universal male enfranchisement. That identity found its most salient realization in a republican public sphere constituted by the expressions of the citizenry itself, such as William Whipper's pointed assertions in a letter to the editor "That, nationally speaking, every man is a citizen of the country in which he was born, and that we are all

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[504] No name [Samuel Cornish or Charles Bennett Ray], "AN AMERICAN CITIZEN MURDERED!! THE PRESS DESTROYED!!!," *TCA* 1.47 (November 25 1837): 2.

[505] Ibid.

[506] Robert Sears, "Lines Occasioned by the death of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, at Alton, Ill.," *TCA* 1.47 (November 25 1837): 2. Sears's allusion to Samuel Cornish's earlier newspaper *The Rights of All* (New York: 1829) stood as further praise for Lovejoy's abolitionist journalism in his *Alton Observer* (1836-38).

[507] Ibid.; for two representative articles on Texas annexation, see No name, "Slave Trade Between Texas and the United States," *TCA* 2.34 (November 10 1838): 3; and No name, "Texas, and the Slave Trade," *TCA* 3.16 (June 15 1839): 2.

Americans…[; that] we should feel a national interest in everything that concerns the welfare of our country…[; and that] in speaking of ourselves, we should do so as men and as Americans."[508] Thus the press, in protecting free speech and mobilizing *Americans* to protect their civil rights, was in fact a bulwark against national corruption, a "NATIONAL SHIELD" designed "to advertise the public of their dangers and of their duties" in ways similar – in Cornish's view – to the church pulpit.[509] Conflating the defense of *Colored American* rights with the general integrity of the U.S. national project would be a central argument of the paper in its persistent mission of attaining civil rights – in particular, the franchise – for the U.S.'s black population. My next section investigates how black disenfranchisement was unambiguously cast in the columns of *TCA* as a corollary project of colonizationists, designed to deprive black U.S. natives of the civil rights due to all natural-born *Americans*.

II: The Civil Rights of Colored Americans

Unsurprisingly, colonizationists did not laud the publication of *The Colored American* as a signal achievement of black civilization in the United States, even though Samuel Cornish made material changes to the paper's size and appearance as he transformed it from the *Weekly Advocate* to *The Colored American*, including eye-catching prints of Biblical architecture and American antiquities supplied by its printer, white Canadian émigré Robert Sears.[510] To colonizationists, black uplift was possible in Africa only – a fiction that *TCA* refuted in its

[508] William Whipper, "Columbia, March 17th, 1838," *TCA* 2.10 (March 29 1838): 2.

[509] Samuel Cornish, "The Importance of Our Paper," *TCA* 2.4 (February 3 1838): 3.

[510] Benjamin Fagan, *The Black Newspaper and the Chosen Nation* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2016): 44, 59-70.

contents and in its very existence. Regularly tabulating "Statistics" of free and enslaved populations, publicizing the activities of black-organized "Benevolent, Literary, and Moral" societies, and serializing U.S. travelogues documenting the racial dynamics in Northern and Southern states, the paper offered numerical and narrative accounts of the lives and economic livelihoods of Colored Americans in many U.S. towns and cities (Figures 2 and 3).[511] To Cornish, such reports captured the demography of national assimilation, presenting an anti-colonizationist argument to readers across the color line: Colored Americans could and did achieve social *elevation* – to use a popular nineteenth-century term – not just within, but as part of the U.S. nation, integrated into its social and economic life. We will soon see how, in the hands of colonizationist writers like Mathew Carey, similar population tables told a different story, of an alarming increase in the U.S.'s black population that threatened the U.S.'s white society and government. "Whenever we admit that we cannot have our rights, prosper and be happy, among our white brethren," insisted Cornish, "we admit the necessity and establish the principles of the American Colonization Society…The only difference is, they say we must go to Liberia, and we say some where [sic] else."[512] Emigration, even to U.S. territories in "the west," constituted a defeatist concession to state-sponsored prejudice.

Colonizationists, however, pursued their core agenda through more furtive, indirect means. White Americans' anti-nativist attacks on Colored Americans manifested in ways other than the physical displacement of forced expatriation. The 1820s witnessed a massive expansion of the

[511] For demographic tables, see No name, "Table. Colored Population of the City of New York," *TCA* 1.12 (March 25 1837): 3; No name, "Table. White and Colored Population…," *TCA* 1.12 (March 25 1837): 3; No name, "Table of the White and Colored population of New Jersey," *TCA* 1.14 (April 8 1837): 3. For a call from Philip Bell on "Benevolent, Literary, and Moral" societies, see "Societies among the People of Color," *TCA* 1.39 (July 29 1837): 3. For excerpts from two noted travelogues of the 1830s U.S., see Harriet Martineau, "From the new work of Harriet Martineau," *TCA* 1.36 (September 9 1837): 4; and Anonymous ["N."], "De Tocqueville's Democracy in America. A Review," *TCA* 1.47 "New Series" (January 23 1841): 2.

[512] No name, "Cleveland, Ohio, April 1st, 1839," *TCA* 3.13 (May 18 1839): 2.

white male franchise in the U.S., which Democrats endorsed as the practice of a more truly democratic government and which Democratic Republicans cast as raising an unruly and ultimately tyrannical mobocracy. In 1821, New York eliminated all property requirements for white voters while raising the requirements – from $100 to $250 total value – for black voters, such that less than a tenth of a percent of the state's black men cast a vote in the elections of the decade, even as the state moved to abolish slavery in 1827.[513] (*Freedom's Journal*, the U.S.'s first black-owned and -authored newspaper, appeared in New York City in March that same year, under Samuel Cornish's editorship.) Although – and likely because – New Yorkers voted to outlaw slavery in their state, the following decades witnessed no decline in hostility toward black New Yorkers, with a state Colonization Society founded in 1829, days of anti-abolitionist rioting in 1834, and incidents of anti-black terrorism following the Panic of 1837, to name several representative cases.[514] Against this retrenchment of anti-black racism in New York, black New Yorkers like Samuel Cornish and journalist Philip Alexander Bell perceived this period of expansion in the electorate as an opportunity to make the case for *Colored American*s' nationality via a targeted campaign championing their right to the franchise. A September 1837 article announced the "commendable zeal, by Messrs. Ray and Bell…to get up suitable petitions to the next legislature of this state, praying for the enfranchisement of every colored citizen," and indeed, *The Colored American* would continue to serve as a venue for editorials, petitions, published minutes, and notifications of meetings in the city – all instruments of the paper's enfranchisement campaign.[515] Finding it "a shame" that "most of our brethren…are willing to

[513] Milton C. Sernett, *North Star Country: Upstate New York and the Crusade for African American Freedom* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002): 9.

[514] The 1817 vote stipulated that slavery would become *de jure* illegal in New York in 1827.

[515] No name [Samuel Cornish], "Right of Suffrage," *TCA* 1.38 (September 23, 1837): 3.

live, politically, as *mere animals* in this great State, when the possession of 250 dollars' worth of 'real estate,' will entitle them to all its suffrages," Cornish and Bell "offer[ed] ourselves as an agent and pledge ourselves to purchase, for one half that sum, paid in cash to us, the requisite property…to any and everyone who will furnish it."[516] The paper would not merely advocate, but directly facilitate the enfranchisement of its readers.

The November 1838 state elections for New York Governor as well as state senators and representatives provided Cornish's paper with a rallying point for advocating black enfranchisement and emphasizing the connection between disenfranchisement and colonization. By entangling the categories of citizenship, nativity, and nationality, the paper's writers cast colonization as an anti-republican and anti-nativist project, mere "prejudice… induc[ing] one citizen to banish another, without crime, from the land of his birth and the graves of his fathers."[517] "To proscribe any portion of a nation, is to degrade that portion," wrote Cornish in an editoral, noting that, as "colored citizens," the "right of suffrage is ours by BIRTH RIGHT."[518] Cornish drew on both common and natural law precedents to show his readers that *American* nativity entailed national and civil status. Therefore, *Colored American* colonization abroad and disenfranchisement at home were complementary agendas, part of U.S. lawmakers' illegal and dangerous assault on part of the *American* nation and body politic.

Articles advocating for the franchise, while directed to *Colored Americans*, categorically presented universal enfranchisement as a boon to the entire U.S. nation and political infrastructure, a truer realization of its republican ideal of a perfectly representative government. Writing from Columbia, Pennsylvania, where he operated a profitable lumberyard, William

[516] No name, "Right of Suffrage," *TCA* 2.43 (December 15 1838): 2.

[517] No name, "Questions and Answers," *TCA* 1.9 (March 4 1837): 3.

[518] No name [Samuel Cornish], "Right of Suffrage," *TCA* 1.38 (September 23, 1837): 3.

Whipper put the point forcefully in a letter enumerating the core tenets of his newly-founded American Moral Reform Society:

> That, nationally speaking, every man is a citizen of the country in which he was born, and that we are all Americans. That we should feel a national interest in everything that concerns the welfare of our country. That, in speaking of ourselves, we do so as men and as Americans…[and] That under a republican form of government, equal rights should be guaranteed to every citizen.[519]

The American Moral Reform Society's name announced its ambitions for a national scale of social reform while asserting that this impulse for reform was endemically *American*: *Americans* shaping their "country" from within into its quintessential form. Whipper's connection between moral and political reform was not new, gesturing back at least to eighteenth-century moral sense philosophers like Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, and Adam Smith. Yet, in their own time, the American Moral Reform Society and *The Colored American* advocated a policy radically at odds with Garrisonian abolitionism, which renounced political means of effecting national abolition on the grounds that abolition was a moral issue not to be sullied with party agendas. A vote properly cast served at once "obligations to God, our country and cause" – why then, one subscriber asked fellow readers, would we "disfranchise ourselves by not voting at all?"[520] Because "'[t]he powers that be are ordained of God;' and all who loves [sic] the truth…should exert themselves in the creation and establishment of those powers," *The Colored American* sanctified suffrage as "a sacred right," consistently terming it "political abolition," without which

[519] Ibid.

[520] Anonymous ["M.J.S."], "Mr. Editor – As the time…," *TCA* 3.31 (October 19 1839): 4.

free black men remained "half way between slavery and liberty."[521] Seeking the franchise was at once a godly and patriotic mission, the trial of a Christian and an American.

Calls for enfranchisement often appeared as poetic expressions, furnishing proof of Colored Americans' literary abilities and testifying to their importance as part owners of U.S. history. An anonymous poem entitled "The Ballot Box" summons "freemen" to guard the franchise as a "Nobler heritage of power / Than imperial diadem," presenting the inheritance of rights as a "power" with an inherent nobility greater than the emperialist project of the U.S., a state currently in the process of annexing the Republic of Texas, thereby swelling the geography of slave power.[522] Significantly, the poem's beginning of retrospective members "When the glorious form [of Liberty] appeared / 'Midst our own green mountain home,"

> Purchased by as noble blood
> By the toil of those who stood
> At the side of WASHINGTON –
> By the hearts that met the foe
> On their native battle plain[…][523]

In the poem, the "battle" is nowhere described, unimportant by comparison to the piece's historiographic correction, which places black "freemen" beside George Washington in the revolutionary conflict, fighting for their common "native" "home," and calling for "the traitor's death." While many black North American soldiers took up arms against the U.S. when England offered freedom to those who would help quell the colonies' revolts, the poem foregrounds those

[521] No name, "To the Polls," *TCA* 2.37 (November 3 1838): 3; No name [Charles Bennett Ray], "Political Abolition," *TCA* 3.33 (November 9 1839): 2; No name, "Politics," *TCA* 1.32 "New Series" (October 10 1840): 2.

[522] Anonymous ["M.J.S."], "The Ballot Box," *TCA* 3.31 (October 19 1839): 4.

[523] Ibid.

who, like Washington, remained loyal to the country of their birth, and furnished the rest of the would-be U.S. with "The Ballot Box." When United Statesians' right to vote was hard-won by the contributions of *Colored Americans*, the poem's argument goes, it would be "weakness" to renounce "[w]hat was bought with blood and toil / …Here on Freedom's soil!" Appealing to readers' own revolutionary genealogies, the poem contextualizes the present moment of *Colored American* disenfranchisement as an aberration within a longer history of civic allegiance. The paper's objection to Kentucky Senator Henry Clay's contention for the Whig party's presidential nomination in 1840 offered an instructive counterpoint to Colored American soldiers' cooperation with former President Washington.[524] By that time, Clay, who had helped found the American Colonization Society in 1816, was in his fourth year as the Society's president, and his nomination, *The Colored American* suggested, would amplify pro-colonization sentiments throughout the nation. Debates concerning the upcoming election appeared early and often in the paper. "We are a Whig," ran one editorial, "and vote with the Whigs, and we wish to inform the Whigs that the President of the American Colonization Society can never be President of the United States. One presidency at a time must suffice for him," and only "[i]f he will but go to Liberia, that paradise of the whole earth, he may there exercise his office."[525] The paper's readers would only choose to support a U.S. president who provided opportunities to demonstrate their dedication to the U.S., not one who denied the propriety of black membership in the nation or body politic.

As discussed in the next section, a common critique of the hypocrisy of white U.S. colonizationists was their reluctance to immigrate to the Liberian colony that they advertized as a

[524] Clay had conducted unsuccessful Whig presidential bids in 1824 and 1832, and would run again – and lose – in 1844.

[525] No name, "Our Next President," *TCA* 2.10 (March 29 1838): 3.

"paradise" to black United Statesians. Clay himself is the target of this critique in the above article. For now, we can instead highlight the article's means of projecting the political power and identity of its readers. The plural possessive of the title – "Our Next President" – incorporates readers into the electorate, and then, in the article, elaborates on its readers' two (presumed) core political characteristics: a Whig *and* an anti-colonizationist politics. Despite the extremely limited black franchise in New York, the article speaks for a body of *Colored Americans* who both "vote" for Whig politicians and insist on making theirs the anti-colonizationist party – not advocating for a new political party, but changing one by virtue of readers' membership in it. Even to the paper's disenfranchised black readers, the article would have demonstrated that a person could claim a place in political discourse and publically perform the rites of citizenship before acquiring civil rights *de jure* from the state – a "BIRTH RIGHT" merely "for a time ILLEGALLY denied us."[526] The disenfranchised could even address representatives directly on the subject of that disenfranchisement. An anonymous "Word to the Powers That Be in this State" suggested that whichever party enfranchised "*every male citizen*, without regard to color, above twenty-one years of age" would receive a boon of twenty thousand new votes, "secur[ing] to their party, power, perhaps, forever" in New York, essentially holding out disenfranchised black New Yorkers as a potential wellspring of voting power in U.S. politics.[527]

Colored American contributors strategically used the political issue of total male enfranchisement as an occasion to perform and advertise their civic identity in the paper's columns. These periodic declarations of allegiance culminated in "A Call for a State Convention to Extend the Elective Franchise," a document (likely penned by Henry Highland Garnet)

[526] No name [Samuel Cornish], "Right of Suffrage," *TCA* 1.38 (September 23, 1837): 3.

[527] No name, "A Word to the Powers that Be In this State," *TCA* 3.34 (November 16 1839): 2.

endorsed by representatives of black communities in fifteen towns and cities throughout New York, including Charles Bennett Ray, who collaborated as sometimes-editor with Cornish and likely brought the document into the paper's pages.[528] Addressing "FELLOW CITIZENS," the reprinted "Call" optimistically announced that though *Colored Americans*' petitions for the franchise were "neglected" by the New York state assembly,

> such disappointments should only act as a stimulus, to strengthen and invigorate our souls, and rouse us to a determination of persevering in the struggle by stronger and still more unanimous efforts, and by the talismanic influence of Agitation! […] Should not this, then, be received as an encouraging inducement to urge us on with the work? We have truly been neglected, but not spurned. Let the first strong voice, then, which shall greet the ears of the Legislators at their next session, be OUR PETITIONS.[529]

The 1841 state assembly had given a "favorable" reception to the petitions of the eponymous Convention, though it failed to grant the franchise. With signatories highlighting the symbolic act of corporate speech, the joint call to action in face of political defeat demonstrated that *Colored Americans*' citizenship and political organization preexisted the rulings of the New York legislature. *Colored Americans*, the article implied, were *already* citizens; suffrage would not be a new right bestowed, but a withheld right justly regained.

To repeat an earlier point: throughout these discussions, the significant majority of potential black voters did not possess the $250 of property required to vote in New York. Yet article titles in the paper concerning the election – "For whom should we vote?"; "We Must Vote Right"; "Should Colored Men Vote?" – expressed readers' persistent involvement with not only with the

[528] No name [Henry Highland Garnet], "A Call for a State Convention to Extend the Elective Franchise," *TCA* 2.16 (June 19 1841): 3.

[529] Ibid.

policies of different candidates, but the general principles by which a dutiful citizen voted.[530] Was one "bound to vote for the best of two men, though both be bad, to prevent the greater evil," or "vote for neither" and "disfranchise yourself, which you have no right to do"?[531] Should a voter vote for "a strenuous advocate of liberty" who was "nevertheless…destitute of moral principles," asked "A VOTER"?[532] In a long editorial, Cornish replied that "We cannot…if we vote right, vote either of the two Presidential tickets [for Van Buren or for Harrison]," finally recommending the Liberty Party candidate James G. Birney as the morally justifiable candidate for *Colored American* voters.[533] Spurning a Whig endorsement, Cornish's moral vote stressed that ethics would not be compromised in exchange for the franchise – that, ironically, the morally "right" voters were precisely those denied the right to do so.

The Colored American thus provided a periodic record of its contributors' engagements in the political issues driving elections, particularly Liberian colonization. It was a material means of organization and communication as well as a performance for white United Statesians of the civic capacity of the paper's black constituents. It furnished a text to replace the erasure of black subjects from the state legislature's minutes and from the results of elections. Presuming that "[c]ivil and political rights, equally distributed, brings men thus enjoying them…upon a social equality, together in social life," the paper imagined a Christian republic more perfectly representative of its *American* population, strengthening the body politic by enfranchising its

[530] Anonymous ["Liberty"], "For Whom Should We Vote?," *TCA* 1.30 "New Series" (September 26 1840): 3; No name [Samuel Cornish], "We Must Vote Right," *TCA* 1.31 "New Series" (October 3 1840): 2; No name, "Should Colored Men Vote?," *TCA* 1.40 "New Series" (December 5 1840): 2.

[531] No name, "Political Abolition," *TCA* 3.33 (November 9 1839): 2.

[532] Anonymous ["A Voter"], "For the Colored American," *TCA* 3.32 (November 2 1839): 3.

[533] No name [Samuel Cornish], "We Must Vote Right," *TCA* 1.31 "New Series" (October 3 1840): 2.

black native citizens.[534] Against this envisioned "JUBILEE," to be free but without civil rights was to be but "halfway between slavery and liberty."[535] As explored in the next section, the paper's anti-colonizationist politics likewise drew upon assertions of *Colored American*s' citizenship and integral role in U.S. history. The threat of forced removal to Liberia, though logistically implausible, loomed as a real threat with Clay's campaign, motivating the paper's most fervid declarations and inclusive theorizations of the *American* nation claiming black United Statesians' civic allegiance.

III. Colored American Nativism in the Age of Colonization

To Samuel Cornish, colonization was old news. A decade before assuming the editorship of *The Colored American*, in New York he co-founded and edited the U.S.'s first black-operated newspaper, *Freedom's Journal* (1827-29), four years before William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* (1831-65) appeared in the same city. The paper's motto and *TCA*'s future motto – "Righteousness Exalteth a Nation" – indicated its anticolonizationist stance, advocating the U.S.'s national reform rather than black expatriation. After only six months as editor, however, Cornish had left *Freedom's Journal*, citing the intolerable pro-colonizationist politics of his junior editor and business manager John Russwurm (1799-1851). (As noted earlier, Russwurm soon ceased publishing the paper in March 1829, accepting funds from the American Colonization Society to emigrate to Liberia, where he edited *The Liberia Herald* from 1830 to

[534] No name [Charles Bennett Ray], "Politics," *TCA* 1.32 "New Series" (October 10 1840): 2.

[535] Ibid.

1835.)[536] In 1837, Cornish reprinted 10-year-old articles from *Freedom's Journal* expressly to show that "Colored people [were] always opposed to Colonization" even though there had been "no change in respect to our rights…[in] our native land," the United States.[537] The same year that Cornish became editor of *The Colored American*, Henry Clay in his first address as the new president of the American Colonization Society (ACS) ambitiously predicted the full colonization in Liberia of the U.S.'s free black population over the next "two centuries," a goal which the periodicals of the ACS's chapters – like *The Colonization Herald* (Pennsylvania) or *The African Repository* (D.C.) – had also steadily promoted for the past decade.[538] Cornish had rightly sensed the persistence and prominence of colonizationist thought in U.S. print.

Cornish's parting with Russwurm provides a capsule illustration of the internally-divided political views of black Americans on the subject of colonization. Even anti-colonizationist writers could disagree among themselves about the pragmatics of different methods for combating race prejudice and preparing for future *Colored American* societies in the U.S. While *The Colored American* would examine several potential destinations for black resettlement – Canada, Mexico, and the Caribbean, in addition to Liberia – the paper remained consistently anti-colonizationist in its representations throughout its years in print. This section examines how *The Colored American*'s arguments against colonization formed a complementary piece of the paper's semantic and epistemological revisions of *American* identity. To assert its readers' *Colored American* identity, the paper furnished examples of the proof needed to contest arguments for black colonization outside of the U.S. Earlier, I observed that *The Colored*

[536] Adam Lewis, "'A Traitor to His Brethren'?: John Brown Russwurm and the *Liberia Herald*," *American Periodicals: A Journal of History & Criticism*, 25.2 (2015): 112-123.

[537] No name [Samuel Cornish], "Colored people always opposed to Colonization," *TCA* (May 13 1837): 2. For another example, see No name [Samuel Cornish], "American Colonization Society," *TCA* 1.21 (May 27 1837): 2.

[538] *The Annual Reports for the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States* v. 23 (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969 [1837]): 24.

American's title announced its core argument: that the U.S.'s *Colored* population was also *American*. Examining the criteria by which the paper's contributors and editors assigned that *American* identity to its *Colored* readership helps us as contemporary readers to define the ideological as well as practical stakes of these debates for pro- and anti-colonizationist writers of the nineteenth century.

What kinds of *American* collectivity – a race, a nation, a government – were conceivable within and against a U.S. legal system that, over the 1820s, gave *increasing* representation to the U.S.'s white men, while stifling black political activism? The paper's most consistent appeal to *American* identity avoided pointed legal argumentation or racialized conceptions of nationality, instead reiterating the general assumption "[t]hat, nationally speaking, every man is a citizen of the country in which he was born, and that we are all Americans," and so, "in speaking of ourselves, we should do so as men and as Americans."[539] The association between birthplace and nationality was a powerful argument for *Colored American*s precisely because, in this model, nationality descended from common law as – to use an eighteenth-century term – a *natural* right. Cornish would triumphantly reprint from the Concord, New Hampshire *Herald of Freedom* (1835-46) an abolitionist article spelling out that "[a] man's *native* country (this is said for the especial benefit of…colonizationists) is the *country a man is born in*…No American, United States born man *can* have two *native lands*, or have one without the limits of America."[540] Similarly, citing English legal philosopher William Blackstone, one of Cornish's subscribers later reasoned that "[i]f the colored Americans are citizens of this country, it follows of course, that…this country is our home," and that "[i]f we are not citizens of this country, then we cannot

[539] William Whipper, "Columbia, March 17th, 1838," *TCA* 2.10 (March 29 1838): 2.

[540] No name, "Colonization," *TCA* 2.20 (July 7 1838): 2.

see of what country we are, or can be citizens."[541] The "birthright" logic of nationality was presumed self-evident in the U.S., for, with the discourse of whiteness increasingly defining itself as the negation of blackness, what else could distinguish between white U.S. *Americans* and their European ancestors?

As observed in an earlier epigraph of this chapter, by such reasoning, *Colored Americans* were in fact quantifiably more *American* than the U.S.'s changing non-black population. Writing within an increasingly transnational, and as a result increasingly nativist period in U.S. politics (of which the colonization movement was but one expression), a *Colored American* reader could assert that "three-fourths of the present colored population are native American born, and therefore American citizens."[542] After an Irish-led anti-black riot erupted in Cincinnati in the winter of 1841, one contributor warned that "Colonization has taken heart since the mob," and "sees, in the riots, fresh proof that the two races cannot dwell together," observing the particular insult to "colored people" who "know that they are Americans, and feel insulted by being treated as aliens."[543] Projecting a nativist reaction to unruly foreign populations, the paper's readers could speak as *Americans* defending the national integrity. "We are not opposed to the ingress of foreigners," one such article ran; "But we are opposed to holding open our 'western world,' and inviting indiscriminate Europe to its unarranged occupancy, while at the same time, it might be *better and more safely* occupied by our own people."[544] If the cultural chauvinism motivating

[541] No name, "This Country Our Only Home," *TCA* 1.10 "New Series" (May 9 1840): 2.

[542] No name, "This Country Our Only Home," *TCA* 1.10 "New Series" (May 9 1840): 2.

[543] Anonymous ["Philanthropist"], "Colonization," *TCA* 2.37 "New Series" (December 4 1841): 1. Irish-led anti-black riots had also occurred over four days in New York in July of 1834. Known as the "Anti-Abolition Riots," they also served as a focalizing moment for pro-colonizationist activists in the state. See Edwin Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1998, 556-559.

[544] No name [Charles Bennett Ray, Philip Bell, or Stephen H. Gloucester], "Fields for Industry – scope for Enterprise," *TCA* 3.3 (January 26 1839): 3.

these lines surprises contemporary readers, the article's appeals to "our" common "'western world'" and "people" become legible within the paper's larger project of articulating the patriotic sentiments of *Colored American*s.[545]

Asserting love of country became the paper's primary method for attaching the project of its readers' social elevation to "the one great object" of national regeneration.[546] To effect one was to effect the other. At the beginning of the paper's third year, with James McCune Smith now Cornish's co-editor, the editors issued a fervent "Petition" detailing the "awful" responsibility of *Colored Americans*, "the soldiers of truth…on whom rests the onus of proving that this…form of government [a republic]" possesses "the power of adjusting its radical defects."[547] Slavery's endurance would destroy the U.S.; ending slavery would save the nation and state. The financial and logistical impossibilities of colonization received little mention in the paper in comparison to similar articles describing the consequences of expatriating those Americans defending the nation's moral and geopolitical integrity. Both pro- and anti-colonizationists fought to define their nation. However, where the former viewed the U.S. as an already extant nation corrupted *a posteriori* by a foreign element, the latter perceived a disintegrating nation, intrinsically corrupted by a legal system that selectively killed or expelled its "native constituent members": "not temporary sojourners in a foreign land, nor aliens seeking citizenship, nor slaves begging for liberty," but "thoroughly Americanized" citizens, "strongly American in our character and

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[545] For examples of patriotic declarations, see Anonymous ["R.S."], "Our Government," *TCA* 1.44 (November 4 1837): 3; Philip Bell, "Mr. Vogelsang's Address," *TCA* 2.8 (March 15 1838): 1.

[546] No name [Samuel Cornish or James McCune Smith], "The Petition of Our People," *TCA* 3.1 (January 12 1839): 1.

[547] Ibid. Smith's name appears beneath Cornish's in the upper left corner of the front page. A native of New York City, Smith had returned in 1837 from Glasgow, Scotland, where he had obtained a medical degree at the University of Glasgow after being denied admission to U.S. medical schools. *TCA* reprinted an article from the *Glasgow Chronicle* recounting toasts to Smith at his farewell dinner in Glasgow. See No name [Samuel Cornish], "Return of Dr. Smith," *TCA* 1.36 (September 9 1837): 3 and No name, "From the Glasgow Chronicle of June 21st," *TCA* 1.36 (September 9 1837): 4.

disposition…and attached to the American soil, and to American institutions."[548] Colonization, by this logic, was anti-nativist.

Beyond affect, history testified to the patriotism of *Colored Americans*. As one contributor, H.S. Dale, opined in an article describing *Colored American*s' "Love of Country," "in an American citizen, the love of country should rise higher than a mere affection; it should be with him a practical [viz. practiced] principle. In a patriot, what is feeling without action? Our fathers loved this land, but they bled for it too."[549] Revisiting black military contributions in the 1776 anti-colonial revolutions against England at Concord, Lexington, and Bunker Hill; or aid to the sick during the Philadelphia yellow fever epidemic in 1793; or, particularly, courage in the triumphant 1814 Battle of New Orleans – each provided an occasion to publicize and, perhaps more significantly, to materialize these histories in print.[550] A reprinted speech to the American Anti-Slavery Society by abolitionist minister Henry Highland Garnet clarifies the historiographical motivation of this revision of recorded U.S. military history. Addressing white auditors, Garnet recalls when "colored men stood by the side of your fathers, and shared with them the toils of the revolution," allegorizing their choice to die for "freedom":

> When freedom…held out her hands for protection, the tearful eye of the colored man, in many instances, gazed with pity upon her tattered garments, and ran to her relief. Many fell in her defence [sic]. The grateful soil received them affectionately into its bosom. No

[548] No name, "This Country Our Only Home," *TCA* 1.10 "New Series" (May 9 1840): 2.

[549] H.S. Dale, "Love of Country," *TCA* 1.2 "New Series" (July 25 1840): 5.

[550] Anonymous ["T.V.R."], "War Between England and America No. III," *TCA* 1.52 "New Series" (February 27 1841): 3; Robert Purvis, "Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens," *TCA* 2.15 (June 2 1838): 1; Henry Highland Garnet, "Speech of H.H. Garnett [sic]," *TCA* 1.13 "New Series" (May 30 1840): 1.

> monumental piles distinguish their 'dreamless beds.' Scarcely an inch on the page of history has been appropriated to their memory.[551]

In this scene of romantic pathos, black revolutionaries become literally incorporated into the land they fight for. Unlike the gnomic "mound builders" of William Cullen Bryant's "The Prairies" (1833), no index remains of the unremembered soldiers. Garnet points to the dead who have *not* benefitted from romantic valuations of the fragmentary, forgotten, and lost. Allegory, not a historical chronicle, was the mode of Garnet's tribute. In quoting General Andrew Jackson's brief "Address to the Free People of Color" praising their service in the Battle of New Orleans, Garnet not only condemns Jackson's praise – his was "the language of slaveholders when they would have colored men stand in the front of battle" – but highlights the selectivity of the material record of military service.[552] Only a white general's words endure for Garnet to quote in acknowledgement of black soldiers omitted from the written records of state: these are soldiers "not mentioned in the halls of Congress," and "forgotten by history." Combating both military foes and the "prejudice [which] denies them a place in the grateful recollections of Americans," the history of *Colored American* patriotism renders uncanny white conceptions of U.S. history generally, not by adding a new, self-contained sub-history to it, but by redefining that history from within.

The Colored American's efforts to print or reprint the ephemeral words of speeches and conventions thus represented a historiographic and material agenda in addition to a political one. All, by furnishing proof of *Colored American*s' past and present civic dedication, combated a colonizationist politics that was founded in a racialized national history. The paper made sure to

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[551] Ibid. Garnet quotes "dreamless beds" from J.H. Rickett's chiliastic poem "Eternity," published in his collection *The Sacred Minstrel* (Evesham, NJ: George May, 1830, 107).

[552] Ibid. Three years earlier, the paper had printed the full text of Jackson's speech on its first page. See Andrew Jackson, "General Jackson's Proclamation to the Free People of Color," *TCA* 1.9 (March 4 1837): 1.

reprint from New York's *Emancipator* the extensive minutes of a "Great Anti-Colonization Meeting in New York," attended by Philip Alexander Bell (the paper's current owner) as well as by Cornish and James McCune Smith (its co-editors).[553] McCune spoke first, condemning the ACS as a group united not by "patriotism," nor "religion," but by the fact that they are "all aristocrats…the aristocracy of the republic," a fact "plain from the name of the society; for, to colonize being a voluntary act, to colonize another, is assuming a power over him which destroys the idea of equality between the parties." Cornish recounted a meeting between himself and a college president "trying to defend colonization" by citing the achievements of "Jamestown" and "Plymouth," only for Cornish to tersely observe his fear of converting Africans "as you have converted the natives in America." Yet of the three, Bell spoke last and harshest. Colonization was a "gilded pill" from white United Statesians who "care not where we go, to Liberia or to the devil, if we will only go away." In face of this persecution, Bell proclaimed,

> we will tell white Americans, that their country shall be our country, we will be governed by the same laws, and abide by the same institutions, which we, like them, revere and honor, and will worship the same God at the same altar…And if the yoke of oppression and cruelty crushes us to the earth, our graves shall remain the monument of our sufferings and of their dishonor. But if these oppressions and wrongs are removed…our graves shall stand as the tokens of our triumph over prejudice and wrong.

The paper's editors and proprietor emphasized the un-*American* motives of the ACS, which denied republican principles and injured the U.S.'s *American* citizenry. As in Garnet's speech to the American Anti-Slavery Society, Bell likewise appeals to the historical memory of the U.S. In both alternatives Bell offers, *Colored Americans* die on their native soil, but the symbolism of

[553] No name, "From the Emancipator. Great Anti-Colonization Meeting in New York," *TCA* 3.2 (January 19 1839): 1.

these deaths is contingent upon their civic condition in the U.S. Unlike Garnet's speech, this appeal is not to past accomplishments but possible futures, through which Bell refigures the work of colonizationists, who are not restoring the U.S. to its imagined white origins, but inscribing the sin of prejudice more deeply in its national history. Bell asks colonizationists to view themselves *and* the Americans they wished to expatriate as subjects of future histories of the U.S., as characters in a narrative whose meaning they ultimately could not control.

As key components of nineteenth-century legal formulations of nationality and citizenship, the concept of nativity and the more flexible concept of the native supported core arguments in *The Colored American*'s anti-colonizationist and pro-suffrage agendas. By 1837, even slaveholders would be obligated to affirm many black slaves' nativity in the U.S., as Congress had *de jure* outlawed the U.S.'s participation in the international slave trade beginning in 1808. Though free black U.S. natives were the principle demographic target of the American Colonization Society's efforts, *TCA* unequivocally rejected "the idea of colonizing any portion of *native born citizens*, in Africa or elsewhere…while we have so much unoccupied [western] land in danger of being settled by foreign emissaries."[554] Here as elsewhere in the paper, "citizens" was an aspirational description, expressing what Colored Americans knew themselves to be before being recognized as citizens under federal or state laws in the U.S. (In fact, no standard legal definition of U.S. citizenship existed at all until the 14th Amendment in 1868.)[555] Considered against land-hungry European powers seeking to colonize "unoccupied land" to the west, Colored Americans could be effective "citizens" of the U.S. state by securing possession of its future territory. Europeans in America were not only powers encroaching from without. Why, asked one reader, were "colored people…nativ[e]" to New York "disfranchised" while "the mass

[554] No name, "Fields for Industry," *TCA* 3.3 (January 26 1839): 3.

[555] Carrie Hyde, *Civic Longing: The Speculative Origins of U.S. Citizenship* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2018): 4.

of foreigners who emigrate to this country…exert immense influence at the polls[?]"[556] As emigrants to the U.S., Europeans endangered Colored Americans' native country from within by distorting the republican process, a distortion exacerbated by Colored American disfranchisement.

To present oneself as a *Colored American* monitor of the U.S.'s history and present politics was a strategic gesture, in that patriotism, "not opposition for opposition's sake," was cited as the motivation of political critique – part of the rhetorical formula of *The American Jeremiad* (1978) detailed by Sacvan Bercovitch. The nation's harshest critics were also "the watchmen on the walls of Zion," expressing "the love we bear our native land"; those the nation sought to exclude were declaring, "'America, with all thy faults, I love thee still.'"[557] My next section examines the paper's extensive coverage of the 1841 *Amistad* trial in New York, which presented editors with a useful occasion to distinguish the rights and nationalism of *Colored Americans* from those of other subjects from the Black Atlantic. In advocating for the *Amistad* Africans' desire to return to Africa, the paper could offer examples of black patriotism while, at the same time, clarifying that *Colored Americans* had distinct claims upon the U.S. To readers and editors of *TCA*, the right of the captured Africans to return to Africa was a legal precedent for explaining Colored Americans' right to remain in the United States and, the rights of U.S. slaves to self-emancipate.

IV. The *Amistad* and African Nativity

[556] No name, "Should Colored Men Vote?," *TCA* 1.40 "New Series" (December 5 1840): 2.

[557] No name, "From the Emancipator. Great Anti-Colonization Meeting in New York," *TCA* 3.2 (January 19 1839): 1.

Part of Colored Americans' nativist answer to the colonization project was to claim that colonization internally sabotaged the native body politic by replacing Colored Americans with white Europeans. Yet the underlying tenet of this answer was that Colored Americans were indeed *native* to the U.S. The fact that this argument even needed to be so insistently made in *TCA* indicates the extent of the antiblack sentiment that Colored American nativism combated. From the *Herald of Freedom* (Concord, NH: 1835-46), the paper reprinted a painstaking refutation of the colonizationist doctrine that "that 'the colored man must have a soil of his own'":[558]

> They need not go to Africa for *soil*. The land they own here is their soil, and the country they are born in is their *native country*. A man's *native* country (this is said for the especial benefit of…colonizationists) is *the country a man is born in*. He can't have but one….The land he is born on, and no other, is *his native land,* and it is equally so with colored people, and those who have less or no color. No American, United States born man *can* have two *native lands*, or can have one without the limits of America. He can no more be born here and have him a *native land* in Africa, than an African, born on the Gold coast, can make him out a native land here in New England.

The article points to the inalienability of *American* nativity, regardless of racial identity, and renders absurd the idea of a racially-exclusive U.S. nativism, noting elsewhere that, for many black Americans, "their fathers [were] not only American-born, in some cases, but '…white.'" The imagined African New Englander stands as an inverse of the colonizationist fiction of the Colored American African, each a contradiction in terms because, as the article reads, to be "American" was to be "United States born." In *TCA*, the abstract figure of the African served to underline the internal diversity of the world's "colored people," and to distinguish Colored

[558] No name, "Colonization," *TCA* 2.20 (July 7 1838): 2, emphases original.

Americans from Africans. As seen in the reprinted article, the African could also become a figure in a mirror universe that rendered uncanny white attitudes toward Africa. Seen through this lens, the colonizationist assignation of African nativity to Colored Americans was as untenable as Africans assigning themselves an American nativity. Elsewhere in *TCA*, as we will see, critiques of white slavers on the African coast found voice through the foil image of African corsairs kidnapping citizens of Boston – an image which, in turn, evoked the specter of fugitive slave hunters, "manstealers" who stalked Northern cities and often kidnapped their free black residents. Poetry rich in romanticized images of "golden sand" and "bamboo huts," unfolded the inner wishes of enslaved Africans in America for "Sights of my native land."[559] Such representations highlighted the interiority of enslaved Africans in America and critiqued the immorality and illegality of enslavement, rooting these arguments in the African's attachments to his native country. Theoretical Africans were thus useful characters in abolitionist and anti-colonizationist argumentation in the U.S. In *TCA*, the African's attachments to Africa also became means for distinguishing Colored Americans from Africans by highlighting the distinct attachments of each to their native countries.

Africans were more than rhetorical fictions in *The Colored American*. In the case of the *Amistad* Africans, they were actual people whom editors and readers of the newspaper financially supported and eventually interacted with. *TCA*'s extensive coverage of the U.S. Supreme Court's *Amistad* case (1839-41) – which ruled on the rights of the "Mendi" Africans who commandeered the Spanish slave ship *Amistad* illegally transporting them from Cuba, and, after being deceived by a Spanish navigator as to the ship's true course, were intercepted by the U.S. brig *Washington* offshore of Long Island – provided an occasion to stress the connection

[559] No name, "Poetry. From the Vermont Chronicle. The African's Dream," *TCA* 2.5 "New Series" (April 3 1841): 4.

between nativity and rights while clarifying that blackness did not entail African nativity. Early coverage of the case spoke of the imprisoned "African Captives" as "strangers on our coast" or "fellow-men from Africa…kidnapped from their native land…[and] thrown upon our shores…ignorant of our language, of the usages of civilized society, and the obligations of Christianity."[560] These characterizations served to distinguish the Africans from both Colored Americans and the white abolitionist periodicals that *TCA* regularly excerpted for coverage of the case. With the aid of two African interpreters, as well as Yale professor and abolitionist philologist William Gibbs, details about "The Native Country of the Captured Africans" shortly appeared for *TCA* readers, further nuancing their ethnic background.[561] Despite a lack of shared referents – their "language not noticed by philologists," their "towns and villages not visited by European travellers [sic]" or "marked on our maps," their local toponyms "never heard" by Europeans – it became clear that the Africans were "*Mendis,* and their country the *Mendi* country."[562] By cross-referencing testimony of the principal rivers of the area, the interpreters concluded that Mendi country was north of "Bullion and Vai…[which] lie between Sierra Leone and Liberia."[563] If white academics like Gibbs saw determining the Mendians' origins as a matter of comparative geography, describing Mendi country further revealed the internal diversity of the Black Atlantic, and echoed Colored Americans' attention to the significance of all peoples'

[560] Simeon S. Jocelyn, Joseph Leavitt, and Lewis Tappan, "Appeal to the Friends of Liberty," *TCA* 3.27 (September 14 1839): 3; No name, "The African Captives," *TCA* 3.26 (September 28 1839): 2.

[561] No name [James Macdonald], "Dr. Macdonald's Report," *TCA* 2.44 (December 22 1838): 2; No name, "From the New Haven Record," *TCA* 3.30 (October 12 1839): 1; No Name [Josiah Willard Gibbs], "From the Commercial Advertiser," *TCA* 3.35 (November 23 1839): 1; No name [Charles Bennett Ray], "A Text Book of the Origin, and History, &c., &c., of the Colored People…," *TCA* 1.52 "New Series" (February 27 1841): 2. Just prior to the Mendians' departure, *TCA* noted that "[t]he story told by the Mendians" of their origins is that "[t]hey belong to six different tribes living near each other in Africa…yet [who] can well understand each other's dialect. They are not related, and met for the first time at the Slave Factory in Lomboko" (No name, "The Amistad Africans. Farewell Meetings and Embarkation," *TCA* 2.28 "New Series" [December 25 1841]: 1).

[562] Ibid.; Ibid.

[563] No Name [Josiah Willard Gibbs], "From the Commercial Advertiser," *TCA* 3.35 (November 23 1839): 1.

attachments to their respective native countries.

The Supreme Court trial of *United States v. Schooner Amistad* did not begin until February 1841, some sixteen months after the *Amistad* was brought to Long Island Harbor. The twice-appealed case's extensive duration made it an ideal subject for periodical discussion, as did the regular calls for funds to support the Mendians' court fees and the periodic revelation of new details about the case, especially the Spanish "state necromancy" which, on paper, transformed the Mendian "Bozals" ("Africans recently introduced [to Cuba, who] cannot legally be held as slaves") into "Ladinos ("negroes long settled in Cuba, and acclimated there" before 1820, who could still be legally enslaved).[564] *TCA* was not the only periodical to decry negative characterizations made by other periodicals of the successful slave revolt and its principal actor, "Joseph Cingues," the purported "son of an African chieftain."[565] New York's *Herald of Freedom* critiqued "the coward press" that failed to acknowledge the patriotism of the Mendi, particularly the implicit arguments of the reports in *New York Gazette and Commercial Advertiser* (1822-40), which called "the mighty Cingues" a "'buccaneer'" and concluded its report by estimating his potential "*market price*" at a New Orleans slave market.[566] The *Boston Courier* (est. 1824) critiqued both the *New York Evening Star* (1833-40) and the *Boston Daily Advertiser & Patriot* (est. 1832) for even speaking of the "'MUTINEERS of the Amistad,'" and the hypocrisy of "newspaper editors" who failed "to apply the 'self-evident truths' of the Declaration, without reference to the color of a man's skin."[567] An anonymous writer for *TCA* even noted that "the Spanish newspaper of this city, the *Noticioso de Ambos Mundos*" (New

[564] No name [William Jay], "Extract from Judge Jay's Letter on the Amistad Case," *TCA* 1.44 "New Series" (January 2 1841): 1.

[565] No name, "Schooner Amistad," *TCA* 3.26 (September 7 1839): 3.

[566] No name, "From the Herald of Freedom," *TCA* 3.28 (September 28 1839): 1.

[567] No name, "*From the Boston Courier*. The Amistad," *TCA* 3.29 (October 5 1839): 4.

York: Juan de la Grandja, 1836-43), had written that the *Amistad* had been "*brought by her owners* by stratagem and *or purpose* to this [the U.S.] coast," not by the self-liberated Mendians.[568] By printing or reprinting counter-readings of antagonistic periodical reports, *TCA* editors helped amplify their message in print, and conveyed to *TCA* readers that their newspaper was joined by others in monitoring the public discourse surrounding the *Amistad* trial. Rather than evincing a lack of original editorial content, these reprinted articles reinforced the sacred social obligations of editors and the press that Cornish so zealously advocated.

Reporting on the Mendians' trials influenced public perceptions of the case specifically, but also offered a way of critiquing United Statesian attitudes towards Colored Americans, free and enslaved. In a series of "Questions and "Answers," one article asked whether the Mendians were "*fugitives from slavery in the Island of Cuba*," and if so, "is there *any power by which they can again be reduced to that condition*?"[569] "No – *and no*," the article answered, though it offered no definitive answer to the question of whether foreign nations possessed the "same authority to pursue and capture fugitive slaves from other countries…as is granted to our own citizens of the slave States." The open-endedness of this moment in an otherwise definitive question-and-answer format invited readers to compare slavers' rights to catch "fugitive" slaves in free states with foreign nations' rights to reclaim slaves in the U.S. To this anonymous author, if the U.S. was sovereign over its territory with respect to other governments, so too should each state be sovereign over its own territory with respect to the other states. Other articles summoned images of U.S. shores invaded by Africans to highlight the violated rights of the Mendians and of all

[568] Anonymous ["Quere"], "The Africans of the Amistad. No. II.," *TCA* 1.14 "New Series" (June 6 1840): 1, emphasis original. In a reprinted letter to former President John Quincy Adams, the principal litigator for the Mendi before the Supreme Court, "Ka-le" (one of the Mendi) insisted that "If court ask who brought Mendi people in America? We bring ourselves" (Ka-le, "From the American Anti Slavery Reporter. Ka-Le's Letter to Mr. Adams," *TCA* 2.4 "New Series" [March 27 1841]: 2).

[569] Anonymous ["Quere"], "The Africans of the Amistad. No. 1," *TCA* 1.14 (June 6 1840): 1, emphasis original.

enslaved Africans. "Suppose," an excerpted argument read, "that an Algerine corsair had visited Boston,"

> and fifty worthy Metropolitans had been kidnapped, hurried on board, taken to Algiers, and there sold to a Turkish dealer in Christian slaves; that they were shipped thence by the "owner" to Constantinople; that on the passage they killed the captain and several others, took command of the vessel, and…were driven upon the shores of old England; that their surrender was demanded by the Ottoman Porte; and that English editors, on hearing these facts pronounced these Bostonians to be a set of "*mutineers*" and "*pirates*," and urged their government to give them up, to be tried as such by the Sublime Porte.[570]

Similarly to the earlier example of the Gold Coast African claiming to be a native New Englander, this image of Africans kidnapping Bostonians inverted the racial dynamics of U.S. slavery to highlight the unjustness of black enslavement. As the Mendians' kidnapping ended in a (temporarily) successful uprising for freedom, the case illustrated both the violated freedom of the kidnapped Mendians and the justness of resistance to enslavement anywhere. Indeed, ran another article, the U.S. sailors taking control of the *Amistad* "did not dream the gallant Cingues was abroad, or they would have fled, like the 'chivalrous south' at an insurrection of a handful of slaves."[571] U.S. courts had yet to acquit the Mendians, the author continued, because "[t]he South would see in it a sanctioning of negro insurrection…It would turn the Southampton [sic] into a

[570] No name, "*From the Boston Courier*. The Amistad," *TCA* 3.29 (October 5 1839): 4. The history of military engagements between Barbary sailors and the U.S. Navy (formed in 1794 to combat Barbary attacks on U.S. merchant ships), namely the First (1801-1805) and Second Barbary Wars (1815) would inform this negative 1830s image of the Barbary Corsair. For an example of the fiction produced by the Barbary conflicts, see Updike Underhill [Royall Tyler], *The Algerine Captive: or, The Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike Underhill, six years a prisoner among the Algerines* (Walpole, NH: David Carlisle, 1797).

[571] No name, "From the Herald of Freedom," *TCA* 3.28 (September 28 1839): 1.

glorious rising for liberty, and Nat Turner would be a Sir William Wallace."[572] By juxtaposing the Mendians' actions with white Christians' resistance to enslavement in Algeria and with a slave "insurrection" in the U.S. South, these articles attempted to prove the applicability of natural rights principles to a range of forms of resistance to tyranny. As "sons of Africa," the Mendians had always been rights-bearing subjects, and in the U.S. they should be simply "emigrants…in the custody of our Government".[573] The frequent comparisons in *TCA* between Joseph Cinques and Washington – and Jefferson, Hamilton, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, John Hancock, Daniel Webster, and Joseph Warren, as well as Hannibal and Iroquois Chief Logan – reiterated the noble precedents authorizing the Mendians' recovery of the "liberty to which they were entitled by the laws of nature, and of nature's God."[574] As one writer observed in an adapted line of Emerson's recent *Nature* (1836), Americans hypocritically "build the sepulcres [sic] of our fathers, and incarcerate those [viz. the Mendians] who have imitated them!"[575] In drawing comparisons to fugitive and insurrectionary slaves in the U.S. as well as to enslaved Bostonians and white revolutionaries, defenses of the Mendians also served adjacent antislavery arguments: black slavery was as immoral as white slavery and black resistance to slavery was as justified as the colonies' war for independence.

After the incarceration of the Mendians for more than two years, the U.S. Supreme Court,

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[572] William Wallace was a late 13th-century Scotsman who championed the fight for Scottish independence against England's King Edward I.

[573] Simeon Jocelyn, Joshua Leavitt, and Lewis Tappan, "From the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter. Second Appeal to the Public, on Behalf of the Africans Taken in the Amistad," *TCA* 1.39 "New Series" (November 28 1840): 1.

[574] No name, "From the Herald of Freedom," *TCA* 3.28 (September 28 1839): 1; No name, "*From the Boston Courier*. The Amistad," *TCA* 3.29 (October 5 1839): 4; No name, "Cingues [from the *Herald of Freedom*]," *TCA* 3.31 (October 19 1839): 1; No name [Charles Bennett Ray], "Cinque," *TCA* 2.4 "New Series" (March 27 1841): 2. *TCA* readers even began submitting articles under the pseudonym "Cinque," as in No name ["Cinque"], "For the Colored American. 'A Little Learning is a Dangerous Thing,'" *TCA* 2.4 "New Series" (March 27 1841): 3.

[575] Orville Dewey, "The Captives of the Amistad," *TCA* 3.29 (October 5 1839): 3.

headed by colonizationist Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, ruled that the Mendians were free to "choose for themselves whether to go home to Africa, or to remain in this country," but that the U.S. government would not finance their return voyage.[576] Despite newspaper reports that found it "probable that many of them would prefer to remain in America," even quoting Mendi individuals who found "America country good country," the Mendians' "ardent longing for kindred and…their native home" called forth different society campaigns to pay their collective passage.[577] For abolitionists it was important to establish, even in a financial sense, a disjunction between the American Colonization Society's compulsory eugenicist program of deportation and the rightful return of kidnapped citizens of Mendi. When the trial had been stagnating in the lower courts, one could wryly write that the Mendians' case provided "a chance to send folks to Africa, 'with their own consent.' See if the colonization society will lend a hand."[578] Now, with repatriation in sight, articles in the *TCA* insisted that any contribution from the American Colonization Society to the "Amistad funds" for the Mendians' return voyage would be rejected, the ACS being a "missionary Society that solicits…donations from slaveholders."[579] Reverend James W. C. Pennington, *TCA* subscriber and recent author of *The Origin and History of the Colored People* (Hartford: L. Skinner, 1841), saw the Mendians' return as an "opening" for evangelizing Africa without ACS collaboration, and another reader concurred that "evangelizing the pagan inhabitants of the land of our progenitors…may be done without 'countenancing

[576] No name, "The Africans," *TCA* 2.4 "New Series" (March 27 1841): 2. Writing the majority opinion in the infamous *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case (1857), which denied the possibility of black citizenship in the U.S., Taney would assert that "[t]he words 'people of the United States' and 'citizens' are synonymous terms, and mean the same thing," and that neither term applied to "that class of persons…whose ancestors were negroes of the African race, and imported into this country."

[577] Amos Townsend, "From the American Anti-Slavery Reporter. Reception of the News by the Captives," *TCA* 2.4 "New Series" (March 27 1841): 2; No name [Charles Bennett Ray], "Departure of the Mendians – Farewell Meeting," *TCA* 2.37 "New Series" (December 4 1841): 2.

[578] No name, "From the Herald of Freedom," *TCA* 3.28 (September 28 1839): 1.

[579] No name [from the *Newark Sentinel*]," "Return of the Median [sic] Africans," *TCA* 2.28 (September 11 1841): 3.

(compulsory) colonization.'"[580] In a fundraising campaign for the Mendians' return voyage that garnered more than a thousand dollars, the American Anti-Slavery Society conducted the Mendians on a sixteen-stop tour of New England, at each of which "the Mendians read in the New Testament wherever desired by the audience, spelt, answered questions on religious and other subjects, related their history in our tongue, sang native songs, and songs of Zion in the English language, and Cinque always made an address in his native language."[581] The standout venue was New York's Broadway Tabernacle in Manhattan, attended by "1,500 persons, without regard to sect or party," who paid fifty cents each to fund "the board of the Africans, their instruction, clothing, and return to Africa."[582] "Rev. Mr. Pennington, of the colored Congregation at Hartford" led prayers at the Tabernacle meeting, but Colored Americans had sought more intimate discourse with the Mendians earlier that day at Reverend Theodore S. Wright's "1st Colored Presbyterian Church," where Pennington also preached a "missionary sermon"; and again two days later, at an "immensely large meeting, chiefly of people of color" at New York's Zion Methodist Church, featuring addresses by Reverends Wright and Pennington, by the Mendians' black interpreter James B. Covey, and by the Mendians themselves.[583] According to the *TCA* subscribers who attended them, the two meetings were organized "to give the colored people a better opportunity to have a farewell interview with the Mendi brethren."[584] Indeed,

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[580] James W. C. Pennington, "For the Colored American. A Thought by the Way," *TCA* 2.7 "New Series" (April 17 1841): 2; Anonymous ["Onesimus"], "For the Colored American. Mission to Mendi," *TCA* 2.10 " New Series" (May 8 1841): 3.

[581] No name, "The Aimstad [sic] Africans. Farewell Meetings and Embarkation," *TCA* 2.28 "New Series" (December 25 1841): 1.

[582] No name, "Amistad Africans at the Tabernacle," *TCA* 2.10 "New Series" (May 8 1841): 3; No name, "Meeting of the Mendians," *TCA* 2.11 "New Series" (May 15 1841): 2.

[583] No name, "Departure of the Mendians – Farewell Meeting," *TCA* 2.37 "New Series" (December 4 1841): 2; No name, "The Aimstad [sic] Africans. Farewell Meetings and Embarkation," *TCA* 2.28 (December 25 1841): 1.

[584] No name, "Departure of the Mendians – Farewell Meeting," *TCA* 2.37 (December 4 1841): 2.

after encountering periodic representations of the Mendians in court reports by the paper's anonymous "Washington Correspondent," in engraved mezzotint portraits, in Sidney Moulthrop's full-size model "counterfeits, done in wax" of 29 of the Mendi displayed at "Peale's Museum" (now located in New York, and operated by Charles Willson Peale's son Rembrandt), jubilant *TCA* editors and readers flocked to greet the Mendians in person.[585] By the end of the evening, there was "not a spot large enough for one's feet" to stand in Zion Church, and "hundred on hundred had shaken hands with Cinque."[586] Progressively engaging the Mendians as text, image, sculpture, and finally living body was no doubt a powerful manifestation of the Mendians' transition from slavery, to legal uncertainty, to freedom.

As abolitionist writers had stressed all along, the Mendians' trial had implications for "the colored population of this country [the U.S.]," and their vindication was a "providential event upon American slavery."[587] By upholding the rights "of the citizens of Mendi ('late the Amistad captives')" to return to Africa, the Supreme Court appeared to *TCA* readers to affirm the rights of Colored Americans to stay in their native land.[588] *A fortiori*, claimed Colored Americans, acknowledging the inalienable natural rights of the Mendians for personal freedom demanded that U.S. courts recognize the illegitimate genesis of U.S. slavery altogether. In November 1841, black slaves successfully overthrew the U.S. ship *Creole* transporting them from Richmond to

[585] Anonymous ["A."], no title, *TCA* 1.17 "New Series" (June 27 1840): 3; No name [Charles Bennett Ray], "Portrait of Cinque," *TCA* 1.52 "New Series" (February 27 1841): 2; No name, "Amistad Captives – Victory – Justice Triumphant," *TCA* 2.2 "New Series" (March 13 1841): 2. For representative reports on the Supreme Court proceedings see Anonymous ["Libertas"], "For the Colored American. From Our Washington Correspondent," *TCA* 1.52 "New Series" (February 27 1841): 3 and Anonymous ["Libertas"], "For the Colored American. From Our Washington Correspondent," *TCA* 2.1 "New Series" (March 6 1841): 3.

[586] No name [Charles Bennett Ray], "Departure of the Mendians – Farewell Meeting," *TCA* 2.37 "New Series" (December 4 1841): 2.

[587] No name, "Cingues [from the *Herald of Freedom*]," *TCA* 3.31 (October 19 1839): 1; No name, "Meeting of the Mendians," *TCA* 2.11 (May 15 1841): 2.

[588] James W. C. Pennington, "For the Colored American. A Thought by the Way," *TCA* 2.7 "New Series" (April 17 1841): 2.

New Orleans, and landed on the British island territory of Nassau.[589] Only the "revolters" were detained for a court trial, while the rest were freed, as slavery had been outlawed in British territories since 1836.[590] *TCA* characterized it as "Another Amistad Case," predicting that the U.S. "will demand them to be given up, at least the slaveholders will," but that "England will not listen for one moment" to U.S. hypocrisy.[591] "Our Supreme Court has just given them a precedent in the Africans of the Amistad," one *TCA* reader wrote, and Great Britain "may follow so illustrious an example."[592] Just as the U.S. had denied Spain's request to return the Mendians to Spanish captivity, now Britain refused to extradite the *Creole* revolutionaries to the U.S. In this writer's view, the *Amistad* case had vindicated the right "of men fighting to deliver themselves from chattle slavery" and the need for nations to respect one another's prerogative to rule on the rights of self-emancipated slaves landing on their shores. For Colored Americans, it made sense to see this "important trial…vitally effecting not only the welfare of these individuals, but the character and destiny of our own country."[593]

Across issues of *TCA*, real and theoretical Africans provided writers with figures both to highlight the specificity of Colored Americans' native attachments to the U.S. and to illustrate natural rights principles that transcended nativity and race. Fictive Africans kidnapping white United Statesians brought into relief the hypocrisy of white supremacist practices of U.S. slavery and the transatlantic slave trade. Self-liberated Africans arriving to U.S. shores became object

[589] For a thorough review of the reporting and rulings on the *Creole* case, as well as Frederick Douglass's fictional adaptation of these events in his short fiction *The Heroic Slave, a heartwarming Narrative of the Adventures of Madison Washington, in Pursuit of Liberty* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1852), see Chapter 3 of Carrie Hyde's *Civic Longing: The Speculative Origins of U.S. Citizenship* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2018): 85-116.

[590] No name, "Another Amistad Case – What Will Grow Out of It?," *TCA* 2.38 "New Series" (December 25 1841): 2.

[591] Ibid.

[592] Ibid.

[593] No name, "The African Captives [from the *Emancipator*]," *TCA* 3.34 (November 16 1839): 3.

lessons in the law of nations and universal human rights, and the repatriation of these formerly-enslaved Africans powerfully contrasted with the efforts of U.S. colonizationists to remove all free black people from the United States. The next section examines how white U.S. writers of the 1830s attempted to legitimize the colonizationist project by equating it with European emigration to the U.S. With particular emphasis on the influential colonizationist writings of Mathew Carey, we will track the imbalance between, on the one hand, colonizationists' rhetorical emphasis that black colonizers in Liberia were *emigrants*, and, on the other hand, colonizationists' refusal to assign native-born Colored Americans the same rights as white European emigrants to the U.S., like Carey himself.

V. Colonization as Emigration: Carey's American Demography

If colonization was dismissed as old news by black newspaper editors like Samuel Cornish and Charles Ray, creating new pamphlets on the subject was a passion for Mathew Carey. As seen in Chapter 3, the smaller serial or ephemeral pamphlets generated by Carey following his 1822 retirement from book publishing – with his son Henry C. Carey assuming proprietorship of Carey & Son, and forming a new firm of Carey & Lea with his sister Frances's husband, Isaac Lea – furnish examples of the "intermediary" forms of publication assembled within the U.S.'s growing "culture of reprinting," as described by Meredith McGill.[594] In 1832, Carey hired different Philadelphia printers to print two of his pamphlets: *Reflections on the Causes that Led to the Formation of the Colonization Society* (William F. Geddes; 21 pages) and *Letters on the Colonization Society* (Robert Young; 33 pages). The latter largely comprised content drawn from

[594] Meredith McGill, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834-1853* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003): 1-2.

the former and recombined under an epistolary framework.[595] Both pamphlets excerpted heavily from reports, letters, demographic tables, and speeches trumpeting the benefits of Liberia's colonization for the U.S.'s "Whites" and "Free Coloured People."[596] Their composite nature is characteristic of Carey's extensive oeuvre of pamphlets. He drew their contents from his self-made volumes – eventually 169 of them – of excerpta from periodicals, expediently bound and occasionally grouped by subject.[597] What Carey collated in these volumes was not just an archive of references, but a storehouse of quotable textual content. One cannot make a crisp division between Carey's seemingly authorial relationship to his most widely-known books in the nineteenth-century – *The Olive Branch* (1815) and *Vindiciae Hiberniae, or, Ireland Vindicated* (1819), both discussed in Chapter 2 – and his earlier curatorial function as editor of the *American Museum* of Chapter 1. Indeed, as Chapter 3 has shown, the curatorial quality of periodical editing powerfully informed Carey's citation-heavy method of writing.

Beyond recontextualizing content from other texts, Carey made shrewd modifications to the material design of his pamphlets between editions, particularly his popular *Letters on the Colonization Society*.[598] After distributing his 1st edition (December 31 1831) of *Letters* gratuitously, Carey "expanded and enlarged" subsequent for-sale editions with a "Preface"

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[595] The addressee of Carey's *Letters on the Colonization Society* was Charles Fenton Mercer (1778-1858), a longstanding Virginia Representative (1817-39) and an early proponent of the American Colonization Society in 1816. Mercer would become Vice-President of the Virginia Colonization Society in 1836.

[596] Mathew Carey, *Letters on the Colonization Society; with a view of its Probable Results*, Second Edition (Philadelphia: Robert Young, April 26 1832): 27. I have not been able to locate physical copies of the first, sixth, and eighth editions of *Letters*.

[597] My thanks to Cornelia King of the Library Company of Philadelphia for informing me of the existence of this collection of Carey's Exerpta, which he willed to LCP on his death in 1839. Most volumes are unlabeled, and most newspapers clippings undated.

[598] *Letters* (1832) was Carey's fourth pamphlet on the U.S.'s federal policy toward black slaves and freemen. See also Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *Universal Emancipation, No. II* (Philadelphia: November 24 1827) and *No. II* (Philadelphia: November 26 1827); Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *African Colonization, No. I* (Philadelphia: September 3 1829) and *No. II* (September 4 1829); Mathew Carey, *Reflections on the Causes that Led to the Formation of the Colonization Society* (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1832).

challenging arguments by "Mr. Garrison, and Mr. [Benjamin] Lundy, the most formidable opposers of colonization" (2nd edition); an "Extract" of a fundraising address to the ACS (5th edition); the Kentucky Colonization Society's "Examination" of "Joseph Jones, of Winchester, *a coloured man*" sent as a "special visiter [sic]" to Liberia to detail "the present condition and prospects of the colony" (9th edition); and engravings of a "Section of a Slave Ship" and maps of Liberia and Monrovia (Figures 4, 5, and 6).[599] *Letters*'s 3rd edition appeared under a more durable cover with decorative border (Figure 7), and announced a forthcoming "stereotype edition" to be sold at "the mere cost of paper and printing ($5 per 100 copies)," with a 100-copy minimum order.[600] In a message "To the Public" at the beginning of this stereotyped 4th edition, Carey boasted that it was "the cheapest publication ever offered for sale in the United States, containing two handsome engravings, and 32 pages 8vo. [octavo-sized pages] of letter press, a size and quantity usually sold at 25 or 31 cents."[601] By the 7th edition, the pamphlet was bound in eye-catching blue paper (Figure 8), an update that continued into subsequent editions.[602] The 9th edition printed its terms of exclusively bulk sale on the cover and advertised that Carey's son Edward was in the business of selling them.[603] Carey would claim that in *Letters*'s first six months he sold "1000 copies" to "The Theological Society of Princeton," 1600 copies to the American Colonization Society (ACS), and "100 each" to "above 30 patriotic individuals," in addition to commissioning a 7000-copy edition in Hartford, Connecticut to reach a wider

[599] Ninth Edition (Philadelphia: Stereotyped by Lawrence Johnson, September 17 1834), 1-2. The two pages of engravings first appeared in the second edition of *Letters*, and in all subsequent editions.

[600] Third Edition (Philadelphia: Robert Young, May 29 1832). Carey later recounted the printing history of these early editions in a "Preface" to his later Twelfth Edition of *Letters* (Philadelphia: E. G. Dorsey, May 20 1838), iv.

[601] Fourth Edition (Philadelphia: Stereotyped by Lawrence Johnson, June 19 1832), page unnumbered.

[602] Seventh Edition (Philadelphia: Stereotyped by Lawrence Johnson, April 15 1833).

[603] Ninth Edition (Philadelphia: Stereotyped by Lawrence Johnson, September 17 1834). Not to be confused with his brother Henry C. Carey – a partner and eventual successor to his father Mathew's bookselling business – Edward Carey had formed Carey & Hart with Abraham Hart in 1829.

readership.[604] The combination of Carey's competitive pricing and his attention to the pamphlet's physical appearance appealed to pro-colonizationist individuals and organizations.

The reasons for these material iterations of *Letters*, however, are irreducible to economic motivations or calculated efforts to maximize profits. Retired after decades of successful bookselling, Carey donated at least $800 to ACS from 1832-35 as part of an annual subscription plan organized by Gerrit Smith.[605] He could afford to bulk-sell *Letters* at no personal profit, after already distributing "Gratuitous" both a pamphlet of his *Reflections on the Causes that Led to the Formation of the Colonization Society* (1832) and *Letters*'s first edition of 7000 copies.[606] Even as he fixed the lettering, lineation, and pagination of the body of the work by casting each page of *Letters* in durable stereotype plates, he continued for years to curate the pamphlet's physical appearances and prefatory contents in order to attract more readers. His correspondence with Joshua Noble Danforth, a Boston-based Presbyterian minister and principal agent for ACS in New England and New York, captures the attentiveness of pro-colonizationist propagandists to the physical qualities of print. Danforth initially wrote to Carey on June 11 1832, a week before the fourth edition of *Letters* was printed, requesting "as many numbers as you can share," as well as "the plates for the engravings…to publish another edition in this state."[607] He soon began to

[604] Twelfth Edition (Philadelphia: E.G. Dorsey, May 20 1838), iv footnote. The Hartford edition was printed by P.B. Gleason & Co. in 1832.

[605] *The Fifteenth Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, with an Appendix* (Washington, [D.C.]: James C. Dunn, 1832): 48; Letter to Carey from Joseph Gales at the "Office of the Am. Col. Society" in Washington City [D.C.] on September 28 1835, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, Box 22, Folder 6, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Considering Gerrit Smith's colonizationist leanings, it is surprising that he donated at least $50 to *The Colored American* to when its editors and David Ruggles were brought to trial for libel (Samuel Cornish, "Readers Notice," *TCA* 3.3 [January 26 1839]: 3).

[606] Mathew Carey, *Letters on the Colonization Society*, Twelfth Edition (Philadelphia: E.G. Dorsey, May 20 1838), iv footnote; Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *Reflections on the Causes that Led to the Formation of the Colonization Society: With a view of its probable results* (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1832), cover.

share his opinion of Carey's newer "particularly beautiful" editions, finding one "as beautiful as cheap. The cover attracts. So do the pictures – of the slave ship, and the dreadful irons. I am sorry it is dated back in 1832. Cant [sic] you strike out that, & put no month at all in – nothing but the year 1833?"[608] In Danforth's visual analysis of the pamphlet, even the publication date becomes a potentially attractive aesthetic feature of *Letters*'s cover: a stamp of its (deliberately vague) newness. As Carey's pamphlet traveled to Augusta, New Orleans, Richmond, Boston, New York, and Washington, it would be important to impress these cities' readers with a sense of the freshness and urgency of an already year-old title.[609] Like Carey, Danforth focused on distribution numbers rather than on sales figures. *Letters*, he informed Carey, will be "distributed either gratuitously or otherwise" by ACS agents, along with "4000 pamphlets… besides 15,000 sheets of newspapers" like "'The Colonizationist.'"[610] Even Gerrit Smith – who would later join his *Liberty Party Paper* (est. 1849) to Frederick Douglass's *North Star* (est. 1847) to form *Frederick Douglass's Paper* (1851-58) – after reading *Letters* in 1832 wrote to Carey about the need for "printing more in aid of Colonization…print more – a hundred fold more than we have done," lamenting that New York's Temperance Society alone "in the last 15 months printed

[607] Letter to Carey from Joshua N. Danforth in Boston, June 11 1832, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, Box 22, Folder 5, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The proposed Boston edition of *Letters* never seems to have manifested.

[608] Letter to Carey from Joshua N. Danforth in Boston on November 6 1832; and Letter to Carey from Joshua N. Danforth in Boston on April 20 1833, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, Box 22, Folder 5, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is not evident which edition Danforth references in these, since we cannot assume he was speaking of the most recently-printed edition in either case.

[609] Letter to Carey from R. R. Gurley in Washington, D.C. on September 30 1832, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, Box 22, Folder 5, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[610] Letter to Carey from Joshua N. Danforth in Boston on April 20 1833, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, Box 22, Folder 5, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

more than has been printed by the Col[n]. Society – in the 16 years of its existence."[611] Opinions could not propagate effectively by word-of-mouth alone, as seen in the "small" interest in colonization compared to the "blaze of Temperance light all over the State [viz. New York]."[612] Smith's and Danforth's bleak assessment of the colonizationist press, however, unnerved Carey less than the furtive paper war abolitionists were waging in the South, fomenting slave revolt with "inflammatory publications…clandestinely spread among the slaves, in spite of the vigilance of their masters," as well as "the increasing discussions…on the subject [abolition] in our papers and among themselves [slaves]."[613] The American Anti-Slavery Society's mass-mailings of over a million newspapers and pamphlets to Southern states in 1835 (compared to 120,000 items in 1834), issuing from many of the same Northern cities as pro-colonizationist publications, would soon become the most infamous example of what different political factions considered an effective method of public advocacy: volume printing and impersonal distribution.[614] The gradual development of more efficient printing technologies in the U.S. – George Clymer's iron "Columbia Press" (1816); Daniel Treadwell's mechanized "power printing press" (1821); and Richard Hoe's double-cylinder "Pony Press" (1835) – enabled new methods

[611] Letter to Carey from Gerrit Smith in Peterboro [NY] on July 13 1832, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, Box 22, Folder 9, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In the letter, Smith thanks Carey for sending him "the first edition of your excellent Colonization Pamphlet" as well as "the improved copy, which you recent [sic] sent me."

[612] Letters to Carey from Gerrit Smith in Peterboro [NY] on July 13 1832 and on August 10 1832, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A, Box 22, Folder 9, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[613] Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *Reflections on the Causes*… (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1832): 2; Mathew Carey, *Letters on the Colonization Society,* Second Edition (Philadelphia: Robert Young, April 26 1832): 13.

[614] For a summary account of "The Great Postal Campaign," see Chapter 8 of Bertram Wyatt-Brown's *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997 [1969]): 149-166.

of text-based advocacy even as colonizationists like Danforth, Smith, and Carey worried that their cause was being quantifiably outpaced in print.[615]

In sum, colonizationists and abolitionists in the 1830s saw themselves fighting technological battles as well as ideological ones, a point encapsulated in the destruction of Elijah Lovejoy's printing press in Alton, Ohio, discussed earlier. Ephemera, pamphlets, and periodicals – not books – were the chosen forms of U.S. activist print because of their speed of production and ability to sustain a discussion over time as events and debates unfolded. To my knowledge, Carey's four colonization pamphlets run less than 100 octavo pages combined, but *Letters* alone captures the numerical quantity of the pamphlets he disseminated. It little mattered that *Letters*'s core content hardly changed across editions. Of greater social importance, it seemed, were the pamphlet's material iterations, which introduced more copies into circulation and kept the publication serially new, as each edition appeared to readers in a physically new cover imprinted with a recent publication date.

The proliferation of abolitionist print across the United States – even into slave communities in the South – comprised only part of slavery's threat to the persistence of union in Carey's eyes. His penchant for identifying existential threats to the U.S., including the Hartford Convention (1815) in the North and the Nullification Crisis (1828-32) in the South, has been established in Chapters 2 and 3. Rather than hollow rhetorical scare tactics, these fears are perhaps

[615] Clymer's patriotically-named "Columbia Press" could produce 250 impressions per hour. Treadwell's press, which employed either steam- or horse-power, still printed on a flat platen but could more than double the output of the pulley-powered Columbia Press, and was used both by the American Tract Society and the American Bible Society. Hoe's steam-powered cylinder press, in which paper was fed around two rotating cylinders set with type, could generate up to 5,500 prints per hour, and quickly became adopted by large-circulation urban papers, such as James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald* (est. 1835). In the early nineteenth century, periodicals and pamphlets drove innovations in speed-printing far more so than books did. See Robert A. Gross, "Introduction: An Extensive Republic" in *A History of the Book in America: An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840*, Volume 2, edited by Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010): 28; James N. Green, "The Rise of Book Publishing" in Ibid. 114, 118; Juan Gonzalez and Joseph Torres, eds., *News For All The People: The Epic Story of Race and the American Media* (New York: Verso, 2011): 46-47.

understandable outgrowths of Carey's persecution in and exile from British imperial Dublin, investigated in Chapter 1. If he believed the narrative he presented in his Dublin periodicals of his native Catholic nation's besiegement by a foreign Protestant oligarchy in Irish Parliament, he was living in the U.S. in permanent exile from a nation that had lost its sovereignty to a foreign government – a fact underscored in the 1800 Acts of Union, which created the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Even old nations and states were fragile – how durable then were the young United States? We will see that a program of colonization provided Carey a political tightrope to walk between competing sectional interests while staving off threats of abolition, of slave revolt, and of Southern secession, each of which he considered potentially fatal to the U.S. state and the white American society within its jurisdiction.

Even as he proclaimed that "slavery to any extent is an evil – that to the extent which it exists in this country, it is a great and alarming one," Carey found the doctrine of emancipation to be as threatening to the survival of the "union" as contemporary discussions of Southern states' "separation" over tariff policy (as examined in the previous chapter).[616] Ever fearful of disunion, he found the notion that "non-slave-holding states will ever make the attempt to coerce those that hold slaves to relinquish them…too absurd to be discussed," and claimed that it "ill becomes Pennsylvania to reproach her sister States, with the existence of an evil of which the cure is almost hopeless" – statements calculated to pacify proslavery Southern readers.[617] Yet he also asserted that, next to abolition and Southern secession, the threat of a slave "revolt" presented the most urgent menace to a fragile United States.[618] Slavery was a "great and alarming" "evil" less for the atrocities committed upon black slaves than for the dangers it posed to white U.S. society.

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[616] Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *Universal Emancipation No. I* (Philadelphia: November 24 1827): 1.

[617] Ibid. 3; Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *Universal Emancipation No. II* (Philadelphia: November 26 1827): 6.

[618] Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *Universal Emancipation, No. I* (Philadelphia: November 24 1827): 3.

In multiple pamphlets he cited the "explosion" of "horrible scenes of St. Domingo [the 1804 Haitian Revolution]" as an indicator that U.S. slaves could "lay the whole of the Southern States in blood and ashes"; and he invoked Nat Turner's "tragical…insurrection in Southampton [in 1821], in which above sixty whites fell a sacrifice to the vengeance of their slaves" to illustrate "the consequences likely to result from the admixture of two heterogeneous castes in the same country, without the least possibility…of an amalgamation, from the diversity of colour."[619] Abolition would cause slave states to secede and free "1,750,000 souls, wholly unprepared by previous habits for freedom," but leaving the number of slaves to naturally increase would catalyze a slave revolt (Figures 9 and 10).[620] His stale solution was to urge slaveholders "to soften, as far as practicable with safety, the rigour of the state of slavery…[,] to make some provision for the gradual abolition of slavery," and to inform slaves of "the alleviating circumstances in their situation, compared with that of the working part of the population in most of the countries in Europe."[621]

The comparison was not original to Carey – other proslavery writers had compared working-class Europeans and slaves in the U.S. in terms favorable to slavery – but its use here points to his connected pro-immigration (from Europe) and pro-colonization (of Liberia) agendas.[622] Each

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[619] Ibid. 3; Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *African Colonization, No. II* (Philadelphia: September 4 1829): 5; Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *Reflections on the Causes that Led to the Formation of the Colonization Society* (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1832): 1-2; Mathew Carey, *Letters on the Colonization Society; with a View of its Probable Results*, Second Edition (Philadelphia: Robert Young, April 26 1832): 5.

[620] Ibid. 2; Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *Universal Emancipation No. II* (Philadelphia: November 26 1827): 7.

[621] Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *Universal Emancipation No. II* (Philadelphia: November 26 1827): 7-8.

[622] For an example preceding Carey's, see Richard Furman, *Exposition of the Views of the Baptists, Relative to the Coloured Population in the United States* (Charleston, S.C: A.E. Miller, 1823): 12, 17. In the 1840s and 50s, comparisons of American slavery with European wage labor would become a mainstay of proslavery thought in the U.S. See No name ["W."], "Slavery in the Southern States," *Southern Literary Messenger* 9.12 (December 1843): 736-744, and George Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South, or, The Failure of Free Society* (Richmond, VA: A. Morris, 1854): 279-282. In the notorious essay collection *The Pro-Slavery Argument; as Maintained by the Most Distinguished Writers of the Southern States* (Charleston, SC: Walker, Richards & Co., 1852), William and Mary

was part of a program of demographic curation of the U.S. population. In 1826 and 1828 pamphlets chiefly addressed to the English and Irish, Carey had laid out the grim conditions of those "countries…deteriorating, by the increasing competition for employment" among "a superabundant population…literally devouring each other"; and the "national benefit, to the British government, to open asylum for distressed Irish in this country, and thus save it the expense of their removal" to the U.S., which Carey calculated to be "thirty dollars" per person – the same as his estimated cost for "passage and support" of "each emigrant" from the U.S. to Liberia.[623] His colonizationist pamphlets cited these same conditions as evidence "that they [slaves in the U.S.] are not haunted by the spectres of poverty and misery in old age and sickness, which in Europe are constantly present to the view of the working people; [and] that they are not liable to suffer the pressure of want, by the deficiency of *employment*."[624] Depending on the context, European workers could be abject figures that brought into relief the alleged benefits of U.S. slavery or addressees of calls to emigrate and seek better conditions in the U.S. (In a particularly callous comparison, Carey concludes that if slave ships "could find means of transporting 100,000 human beings in one year across the Atlantic, surely…60 or 70,000 persons [could] have emigrated in one year from Great Britain and Ireland" to the States.)[625] Ideal emigrants would be individuals "seriously disposed to industry and economy"

Professor Thomas R. Dew wrote that he had "no doubt but [that] at this moment, in every densely populated country, hundreds would be willing to sell themselves into slavery if the laws would permit them, whenever they were pressed by famine" (319).

[623] Mathew Carey, *Reflections on the Subject of Emigration from Europe, with a View to Settlement in the United States: Containing Brief Sketches of the Moral and Political Character of this Country* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1826): iv, ix; Mathew Carey, *Emigration from Ireland, and Immigration into the United States* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1828): 1, 3; Mathew Carey, *Letters on the Colonization Society; with a View of its Probable Results*, Second Edition (Philadelphia: Robert Young, April 26 1832): 16.

[624] Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *Universal Emancipation No. II* (Philadelphia: November 26 1827): 7, emphasis mine.

who could fill the massive labor shortage in "internal improvement, in canals, rail-roads, and turnpikes" and the "great demand" for "labourers, of whom 30,000 would be able to procure immediate *employment* in this country."[626] In coldly pragmatic terms, Carey described both black enslavement and European emigration as means to socially-beneficial "employment," through which slaves could avoid the conditions of European workers, and European émigrés could improve U.S. infrastructure. He even compared "the magnificent plan of colonizing on the coast of Africa, the descendants of the ill-fated natives" to great public works "projects" like the establishment of the Erie and Hudson canals and the promotion of a "system of internal improvement" in Pennsylvania.[627] Whatever images Carey summoned of Africans "torn by cupidity, and avarice, and cruelty, from their homes, their parents, their husbands, their wives, their children, and from every thing [sic] dear to human nature," he presented colonization less as a humanitarian agenda to right the wrongs of slavery than as part of the "American System" he helped popularize with politicians like Henry Clay, as discussed in Chapter 2.[628] By couching eugenicist programs for managing U.S. racial demographics in the language of internal improvements, these pamphlets framed the issues of emigration and colonization as programs for strengthening white society and the U.S. economy rather than as sectionalist agendas designed to liberate slaves or overpopulate the States with foreigners.

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[625] Mathew Carey, *Letters on the Colonization Society: with a View of its Probable Results*, Second Edition (Philadelphia: Robert Young, April 26 1832): iv. In this section, Carey notes that he obtained these statistics on the Middle Passage from Robert Walsh's "Sketches of Brazil," also the source of his engravings of a cross-section of a slave ship (Figure 7).

[626] Ibid. 1; Mathew Carey, *Reflections on the Subject of Emigration*… (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1826): ix; Mathew Carey, *Emigration from Ireland, and Immigration into the United States* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1828): 1, 4, emphasis mine.

[627] Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *African Colonization, No. I* (Philadelphia: September 3 1829): 1.

[628] Ibid. 1. See also Phillip Magness, "The Political Economy of Colonization: Mathew Carey, Henry Clay, and Abraham Lincoln," *Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, vol. 27 no. 2 (June 2015): 187-202.

While Carey wrote of the ease of life as a slave in the U.S. compared to the life of a European worker, he emphasized by contrast the difficulties of American life for the "free coloured population," particularly the "legal disabilities" designed to deny black freemen a homeland in the U.S. and "in almost any every state in the Union."[629] He noted the "late harsh expulsion" of free native-born black Ohioans by an 1831 law which had "forced [them] to abandon the country of their birth, which had profited by their labours, and to take refuge in a foreign land," as well as Louisiana's updated black codes and New Haven's "strong opposition to the establishment of a negro college" in the same year.[630] With "no reason to expect, that the lapse of centuries will make any change," black freemen in the U.S. "ought to long for a settlement in the land of their ancestors," where "they will be lords of the soil."[631] With black American nativity unrecognized by white society and U.S. law, he argues, black freemen must seek an identity based in ancestry in a "foreign land," just "as the captive tribes of Israel hungered for a return to the land of Canaan."[632] The pamphlets' consistent references to would-be Liberian colonists as "emigrants" – not *immigrants from* a home country – reinforced the point that all black people were foreigners in the United States, regardless of nativity.[633] The point was differently stressed in comparisons of contemporary Liberian colonists from the U.S. with early modern European colonists of North America. In a "brief comparison of the progress made in Liberia" with "the early results of the attempts at the colonization of Massachusetts, Virginia, and North Carolina," Carey found that in colonizing Liberia "the difficulties

[629] Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *Reflections on the Causes*… (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1832): i, 16.

[630] Ibid. 16.

[631] Ibid 16.

[632] Ibid. 16.

[633] Ibid. 14.

experienced have been utterly insignificant, compared with those…experienced in the settlement" of those American colonies.[634] He quoted from histories and biographies recounting the high mortality in North Carolina caused by widespread "rapine, anarchy, and idleness," the fatal famine and first winter of the Massachusetts Bay pilgrims, and the "hostile attacks of the Indians" in Virginia against "the heroic [John] Smith."[635] Understandably, given these conditions "few of the American colonies made greater advances in the same space of time" than Liberia, which in seven years had established a peaceful society, a library, and the *Liberia Herald*, "a journal published by Mr. [John] Russwum," former co-editor of *Freedom's Journal* with Samuel Cornish in New York.[636] Finally, though the "founders" of the American colonies were "impelled by a desire for conquest," Liberia's architects remained "honourably" free of imperial motivations, having sought instead to "rescue the free coloured people from the disqualifications, the degradation, and the proscription to which they are exposed in the United States."[637] By juxtaposing scenes from past and present colonial history, Carey made Liberian colonization appear easier and more moral than American colonization, even as references to figures like John Smith, "Indians," and "pilgrims" indicated that the U.S.'s colonial origins lay in white people fighting for land against nonwhite others. Neither free nor enslaved black people figured in these clipped colonial histories.

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[634] Mathew Carey as Hamilton," *African Colonization, No. I* (Philadelphia: September 3 1829): 2; Mathew Carey, *Letters on the Colonization Society; with a View of its Probable Results*, Second Edition (Philadelphia: Robert Young, April 26 1832): 17-18.

[635] Ibid. 17-18; Mathew Carey as Hamilton," *African Colonization, No. I* (Philadelphia: September 3 1829): 3. The works, which Carey cited in footnotes, were: John Marshall, *The Life of George Washington*… (Philadelphia: C. P. Wayne, 1804); Hugh Williamson, *The History of North Carolina* (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1812); and Abiel Holmes, *The Annals of America, from the Discovery by Columbus in the Year 1492, to the Year 1826* (Cambridge, MA: Hillard and Brown, 1829).

[636] Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *Reflections on the Causes*… (Philadelphia: William G. Geddes, 1832): 11, 17.

[637] Mathew Carey, *Letters on the Colonization Society; with a View of its Probable Results*, Second Edition (Philadelphia: Robert Young, April 26 1832): 6, 18. Carey uses this claim as an opportunity to name-check Charles Fenton Mercer, an early founder of the ACS to whom Carey had dedicated *Letters* (see footnote 1).

A white supremacist epistemology – in Carey's writings, one including Irishmen, Englishmen, Germans, and Swiss, and excluding Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Italians – resolved the contradictions in his arguments about the salutary prospects that the U.S. offered to white Europeans but not to black Americans who already lived in the U.S. As discussed in Chapter 1, Carey and other natural historians like Samuel Stanhope Smith could endorse theories of white bodies' ontological assimilation to the American land to give European emigrants a means of becoming *native* Americans. He attempted no analogous explanations of how "coloured people" could become – to borrow Samuel Cornish's phrase – Colored Americans, coolly citing "an impassible barrier" between "white" and "colored" races "without the least possibility, at any future period, however remote, of an amalgamation."[638] Yet earlier climatological theories of human physiology reappear in his writings on Liberian colonization, blurring this allegedly "impassible" racial "barrier" by suggesting that black bodies adapted to North American regional climates in the same manner as white bodies. From a preponderance of first-hand evidence, Carey determined that "emigrants [to Liberia] from the northern cities" of the U.S. bear a "little risque [sic] from the climate" – really "no more danger than the emigrants from Europe to this country" experience – while "emigrants from the Southern States become speedily acclimated" to Liberia's climate with "no danger" at all.[639] The emigrants are not explicitly racialized, and, regardless of race, have registered distinct effects from different regional American climates: proof of acclimatization to U.S. land. Still, Carey claimed, the ACS selected Liberia for black colonization because it was known that "Africa proves a more congenial climate than the United States" for "the great majority of the coloured people of this country," providing "greater immunity from disease: and pulmonary affections [sic], so rife among the coloured population in

[638] Mathew Carey as "Hamilton," *Reflections on the Causes*… (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1832): 1, 16.

[639] Ibid. 14.

the United States."[640] By testimony from black Liberians themselves, the "true character of the African climate" was to render inhabitants "as robust, as healthy, and as long-lived…as those of any other country," and apparently more healthy than they would be if they lived in any other country.[641] The idea of Southerners' ability to acclimatize to Liberia's climate was a strategic fiction designed to encourage colonization in the region of the U.S with the largest black populations, but it also encoded implicit claims about the extent to which black bodies had already acclimatized to regions of the U.S.

Like much nineteenth-century U.S. print, the text of *Letters on the Colonization Society* seeped beyond its original material form as others excerpted and reviewed it.[642] In Boston the *North American Review,* now edited by Edward Tyrrel Channing (brother of prominent Unitarian preacher William Ellery Channing), printed a nearly fifty-page review of *Letters* and the ACS's fifteenth annual report to its members.[643] With measured approval, the anonymous review reiterated the inter-sectional interests that colonization served for "the sober and virtuous men of the North and of the South," and the salubriousness of "the native climate of the African" for

[640] Ibid. 15; Mathew Carey, *Letters on the Colonization Society*… Second Edition (Philadelphia: Robert Young, April 26 1832): 6.

[641] Ibid. 25.

[642] See, for examples, William Lloyd Garrison, "Tour of the Editor. Letter III," *The Liberator* 2.42 (October 20 1832): 1-2; "A Citizen of New England" [Cyril Pearl], *Remarks on African Colonization and The Abolition of Slavery* (Windsor, VT: Richards & Tracy, 1833): 9-38; No name, "Art. IX. – *Annual Reports of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States*. Nos. 7-15. Washington, D.C.," *The Christian Examiner and General Review* 13 (Boston: Charles Bowen, 1833): 99-101.

[643] [Anonymous], "American Colonization Society," *North American Review* v. 35 no. 76 (July 1832): 118-165. At the time, the *NAR* was printed by J.E. Winckley & Co. and sold by Gray and Bowen in Boston. As Volume 34 of the *NAR* claimed to be printed by W.L. Lewis at the "Steam Power Press Office," it is likely that Winckley & Co. employed a similarly efficient printing technology to produce the many lengthy copies of *NAR* demanded by subscribers. Along with Carey's *Letters*, the *NAR* article also reviewed *The Fifteenth Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, with an Appendix* (Washington, [D.C.]: James C. Dunn, 1832). The ACS's *Report* that year also reprinted an excerpt from Mathew Carey's 1832 *Reflections on the Causes which Led to the Formation of the Colonization Society* emphasizing the "Increase of the coloured population" in the U.S., with the same population tables featured in Images 6 and 7 (see pages 39-41 of the *Report*).

black Americans.[644] In the *NAR*, too, black Americans colonized in Liberia were termed "emigrants," but the magazine asserted in clear-eyed terms that, for these emigrants, "being colonized" meant "being excluded, not merely from the State which sets him loose, but from the whole country [viz. the U.S.]."[645] Article 1 of the ACS's "Constitution for the government of the African Colony at Liberia" more ambiguously stated that "All persons born within the limits of the Territory held by the American Colonization Society, in Liberia, in Africa, or removing there to reside, shall be free, and entitled to all such rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the citizens of the United States."[646] This obscure phrasing reflects the institutional scale of colonizationists' attention to the rhetoric of advocacy, as instantiated in Carey's emphasis on Liberian "emigrants."

Black nativity in the United States became the foundation of a host of arguments in early black U.S. periodicals about the legitimacy of Colored Americans' claims to *American* identity and the civil rights due to native-born United Statesians. In addition to taking up the work of imagining a new multi-racial, nativist *American* identity, these arguments contested colonizationists' denial of Colored Americans' connections to an American nation or to the U.S.'s state or federal governments. Samuel Cornish's semantic agenda answered the language of colonizationists like Carey who, before his death in 1839, avoided ever speaking of "black Americans" or "colored Americans," referring instead in a demographic idiom to a landless "colored population" or "people" in the U.S. Here, as in previous chapters, diction itself became an argument, not just a means of expressing an argument.

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[644] [Multiple Authors], *Fifteenth Annual Report* (Washington, [D.C.]: James C. Dunn, 1832): 132, 141.

[645] [Anonymous], "American Colonization Society," *North American Review* v. 35 no. 76 (July 1832): 132.

[646] [Multiple Authors], *Fifteenth Annual Report* (Washington, [D.C.]: James C. Dunn, 1832): 31.

Colored Americans and colonizationists each looked at peoples outside the U.S. in order to develop more muscular theories of who belonged or could belong in the American nation and U.S. polity. As a naturalized emigrant, Mathew Carey believed that the U.S.'s domestic economy and white society were imperiled but protectable through the selective importation of European workers and the forced deportation of the U.S.'s black population. As a native-born Colored American, Samuel Cornish advocated for a more representative political system that extended civil rights and employment opportunities to all U.S. natives before looking to emigrant labor. For Carey, the colonization of black "emigrants" in Liberia was comparable to white European emigration to the U.S., in that both diasporas would help oppressed groups achieve a greater degree of self-determination. For Cornish, the U.S. government's acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the self-liberated Mendian Africans exemplified black capability and the natural rights owed to Colored Americans in the U.S., not the glowing possibility of a future black nation in Africa, with citizens culled from around the black Atlantic. Nativism was the cornerstone of Cornish's conception of *American* identity, distinguishing Colored Americans from emigrants and Africans. To Carey, U.S. nativity was too rigid a criterion of *American* identity because it closed the borders of nationality to white Europeans and included the free and enslaved black populations born in the U.S. The natural historical principle of environmental acclimatization that Carey had given voice to in his *American Museum* would provide him with a pseudo-empirical basis for explaining how, given time, white Europeans could become native *Americans* in the U.S.

These two writers, looking to Europe and Africa to describe what they each envisioned for the U.S.'s future, signal the semiotic openness of the *American* six decades after the creation of a federal government. While both writers employ a language of nation and nativity, their

discrepant understandings of the ontology of nations and the native indicate the absence of a common discourse that they both participated in. The culture of reprinting that amplified the cross-pollination of periodicals' contents did not – despite editors' enduring fantasy about the republican function of the press – strengthen the U.S.'s social fabric with a standard language or epistemology of *American* nationalism. Neither writer presumed the existence of a stable nation, but rather spoke about the necessary steps to achieve an ideal national future.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 4.1. Image of editorial column from *The Colored American* 1.10 (March 11 1837): 3. In this issue, Cornish abnegates his usual space for his "editorial pieces," though only to make room to reprint an approving message from prominent white abolitionists who had read a "specimen number of the newspaper, entitled, 'THE COLORED AMERICAN,' edited by REV. SAMUEL E. CORNISH, with high gratification." Image hosted by Accessible Archives.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figures 4.2 and 4.3. Both tables appeared on page 3 of *The Colored American* on March 25 1837. Drawing on U.S. census figures, Cornish took care to record the growth of black churches and schools that paralleled the growing population of black New Yorkers. Note that Mathew Carey's population table (**Figure 4.10**) predicted the U.S.'s slave population to reach almost 3.4 million by 1835, an estimate calculated to alarm white readers, and a far cry from Cornish's estimate of just over 2 million in 1837. Image hosted by Accessible Archives

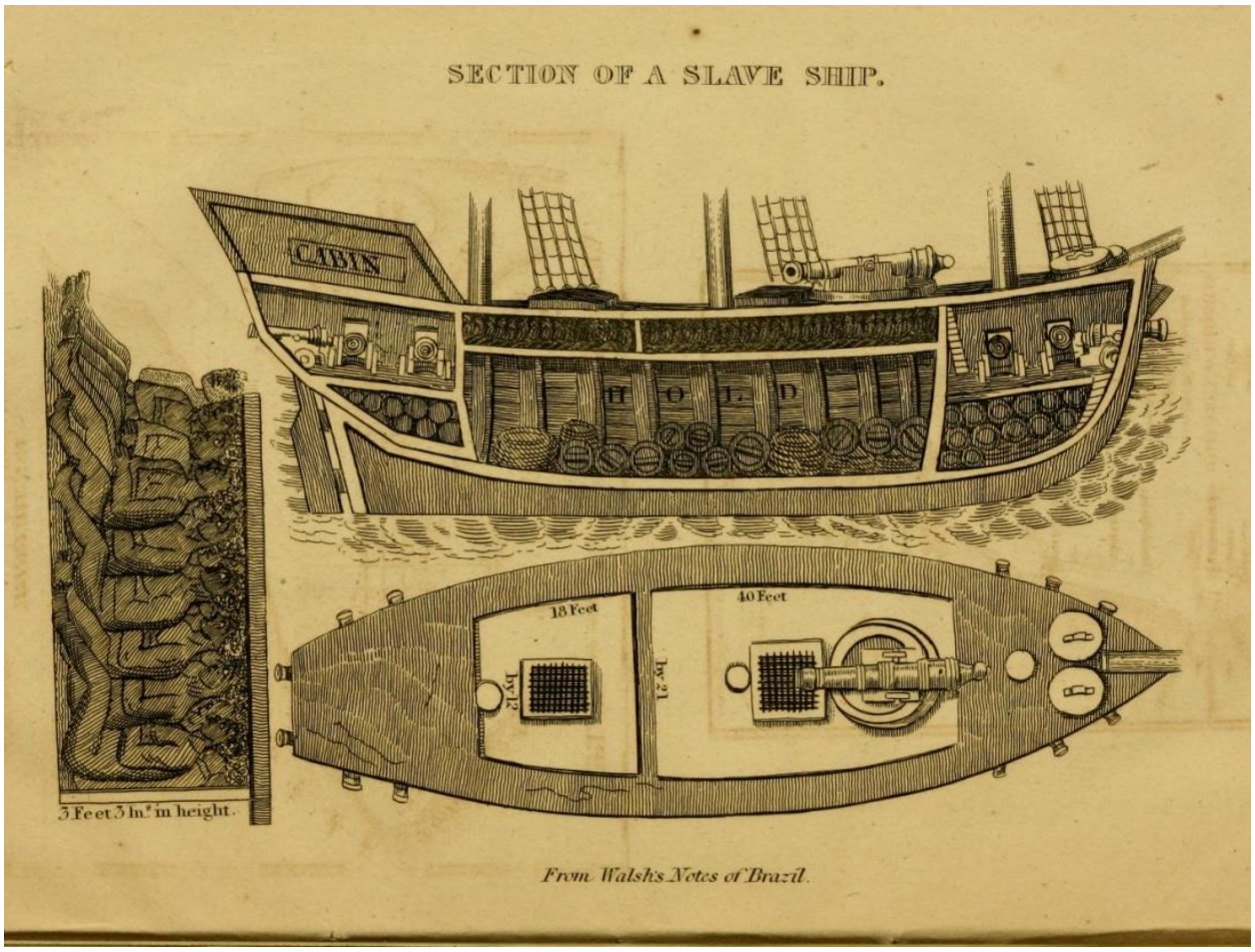


Figure 4.4. "Section of a Slave Ship," placed between the cover and title page of Carey's 2nd printing of *Letters on the Colonization Society* (Philadelphia: Robert Young, April 26 1832). As noted at bottom, the engraving was lifted from Robert Walsh's *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829* (London: R. Clay, 1830), v. 2 page 479 – a work cited heavily throughout Carey's *Letters*. Walsh, a Dublin historian, was a regular correspondent of Carey's who had traveled to Brazil in 1828 as chaplain for the British Embassy in Rio de Janeiro. In the late 1820s, he edited the *American Quarterly Review*, printed in Philadelphia by Henry C. Carey & Isaac Lea. For examples of Mathew Carey's and Walsh's correspondence, see Box 27, Folder 2 of the Edward Carey Gardiner Collection 227A at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Image courtesy of archive.org.

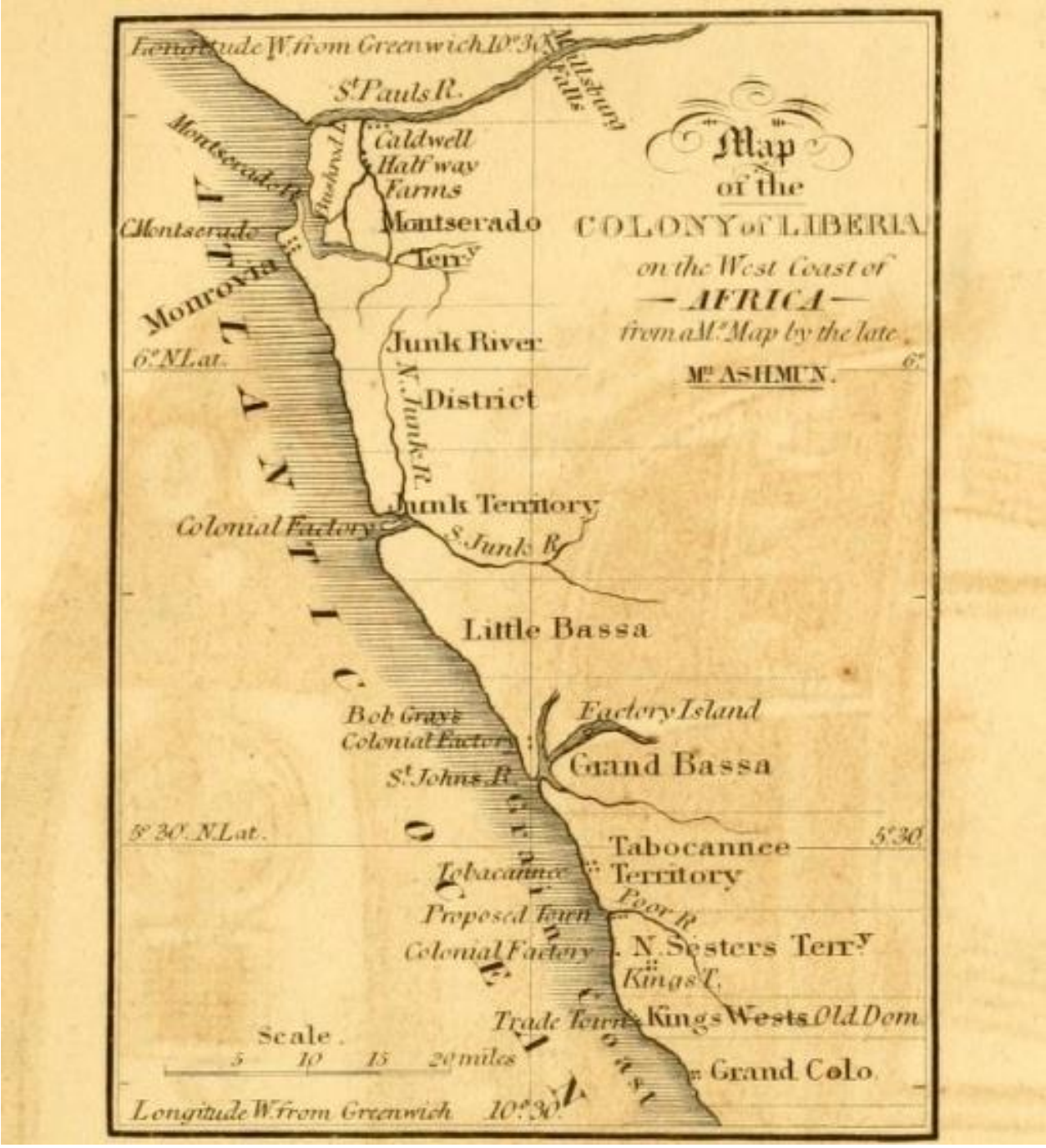


Figure 4.5. "Map of the Colony of Liberia," which immediately followed Image 1 at the beginning of Carey's *Letters on the Colonization Society*. As noted in the upper right quadrant, the image was drawn "from a M^{s}. Map by the late M^{r}. [Jehudi] Ashmun." Ashmun, whom Carey mentions in *Letters* (12-13), founded and published *The African Intelligencer* periodical (Washington, D.C.: Davis & Force) beginning in July 1820. In 1822, he emigrated to Liberia as a U.S. government agent. His *History of the American Colony in Liberia, from December 1821 to 1823* (Washington, D.C.: Way & Gideon, 1826) was the first book-length history published of the colony. Image from archive.org.

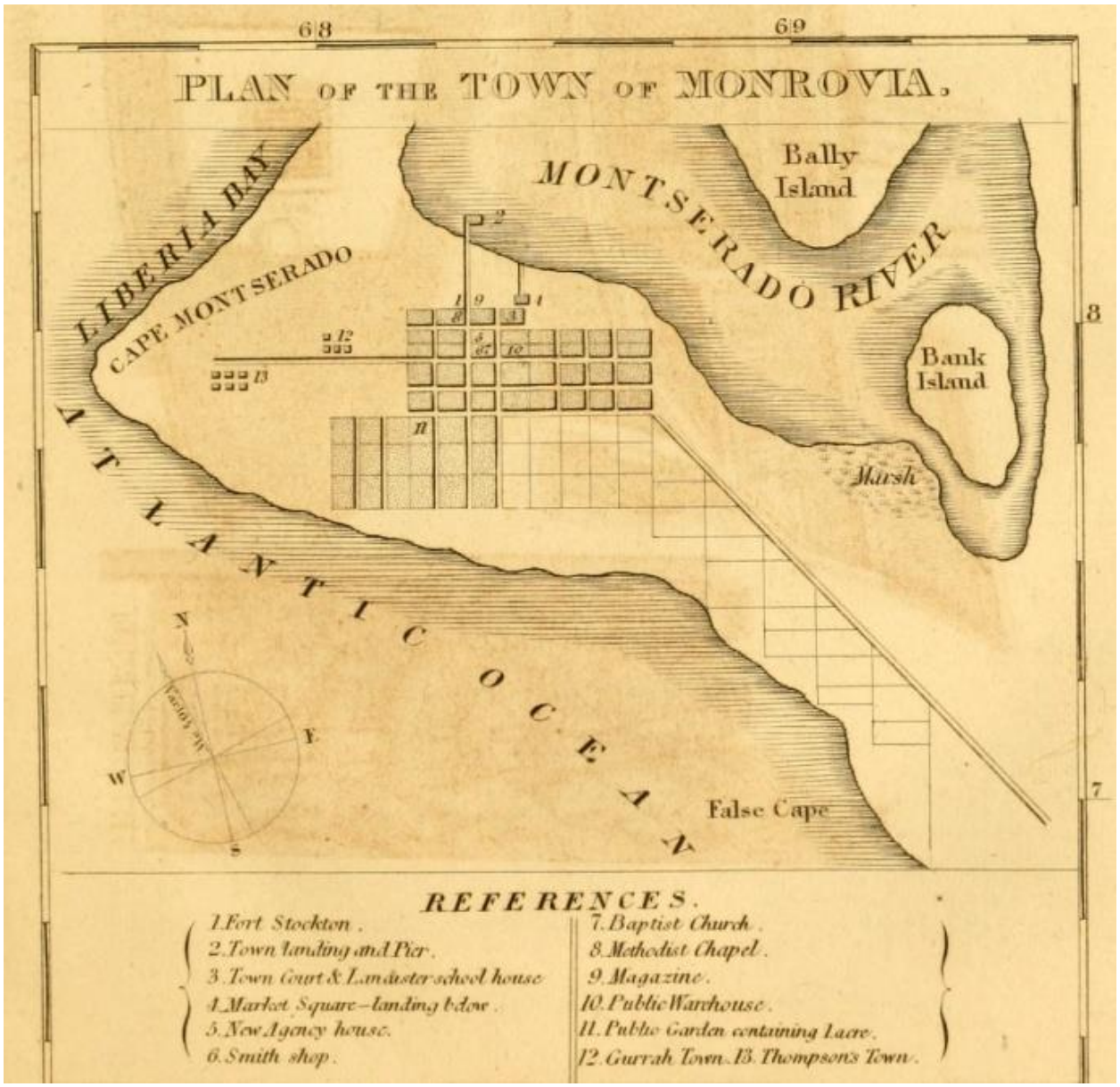


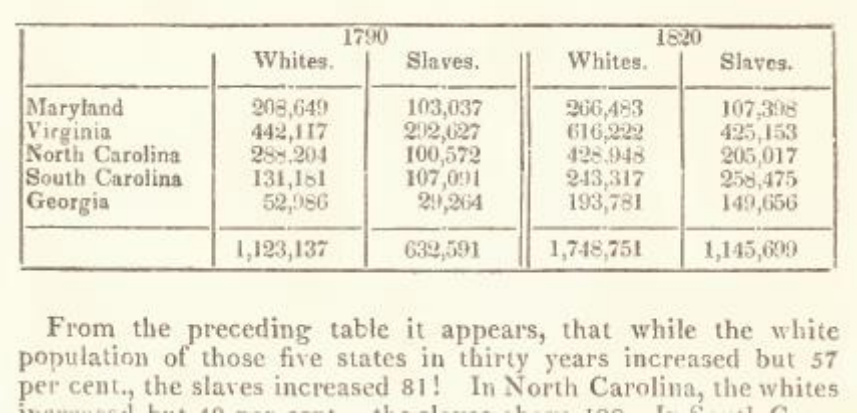
Figure 4.6. "Plan of the Town of Monrovia," located on the bottom of the same page as Image 2. Monrovia, named in 1824 for pro-colonizationist U.S. President James Monroe, would later become the capital of Liberia (see Monrovia's location in upper left of Image 2). I have not determined whether Carey commissioned it as an original engraving, or commissioned a copy of an extant engraving in another publication. Image from archive.org.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

Figure 4.7. Decorative border surrounding the cover of the Third Edition, "Enlarged and Improved," of Carey's *Letters* (Philadelphia: Printed by Robert Young, May 29 1832). Image for research purposes only, from the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[Image not included due to copyright permissions]

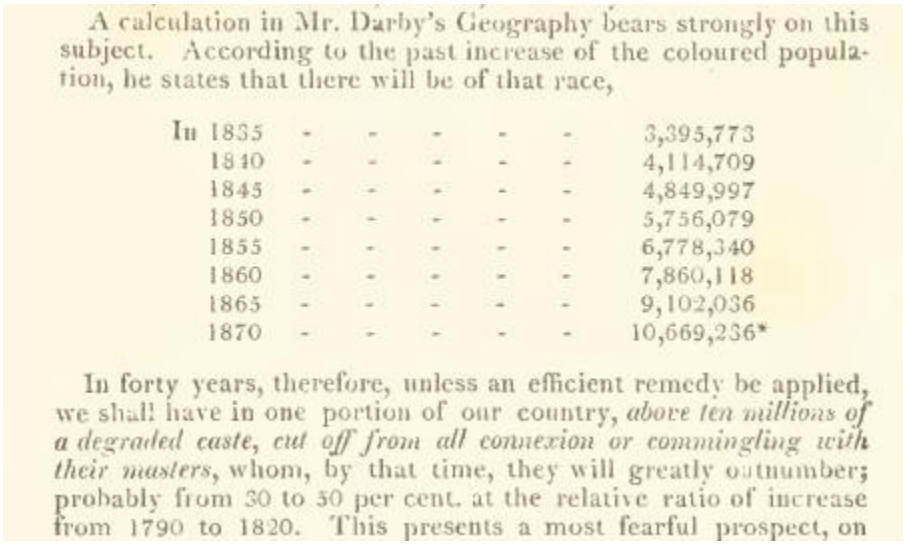
Figure 4.8. Blue cover of the Seventh Edition of Carey's *Letters* (Philadelphia: Stereotyped by Lawrence Johnson, April 15 1833), with Carey's handwritten note to "Wm [William] Stack" – possibly William Stack Murphy – at top. A native of Cork, Ireland, Murphy was a Jesuit priest who would emigrate to Kentucky in 1836 to teach at St. Mary's College until 1845. Image for research purposes only, from the Library Company of Philadelphia.



	1790		1820	
	Whites.	Slaves.	Whites.	Slaves.
Maryland	208,649	103,037	266,483	107,398
Virginia	442,117	292,627	616,222	425,153
North Carolina	288,204	100,572	428,948	205,017
South Carolina	131,181	107,091	243,317	258,475
Georgia	52,986	29,264	193,781	149,656
	1,123,137	632,591	1,748,751	1,145,699

From the preceding table it appears, that while the white population of those five states in thirty years increased but 57 per cent., the slaves increased 81! In North Carolina, the whites

Figure 4.9. Table from Carey's *African Colonization, No. II* (Philadelphia: September 4 1829), page 5, comparing the increases of "Whites" and "Slaves" in five slave states over a thirty-year period. "The next census will in all probability exhibit a still more striking contrast," he asserted (5). Both the table and commentary are reprinted in his 1832 Second Edition of *Letters on the Colonization Society* (15), and in the ACS's 1832 *Fifteenth Annual Report* (40-41). Image courtesy of archive.org.



A calculation in Mr. Darby's Geography bears strongly on this subject. According to the past increase of the coloured population, he states that there will be of that race,

In 1835	3,395,773
1840	4,114,709
1845	4,849,997
1850	5,756,079
1855	6,778,340
1860	7,860,118
1865	9,102,036
1870	10,669,236*

In forty years, therefore, unless an efficient remedy be applied, we shall have in one portion of our country, *above ten millions of a degraded caste, cut off from all connexion or commingling with their masters*, whom, by that time, they will greatly outnumber; probably from 30 to 50 per cent. at the relative ratio of increase from 1790 to 1820. This presents a most fearful prospect, on

Figure 4.10. Table from Carey's *African Colonization, No. II* (Philadelphia: September 4 1829), page 6, extrapolating the "increase of the coloured population" in the U.S. until the year 1870. As noted at top, Carey reprinted these speculative numbers from William Darby's *Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana…Mississippi…*[and] *Alabama* (New York: James Olmstead, 1816). Image courtesy of archive.org.

Coda

Periodicals and the Social Nineteenth Century

A few short years before his death, Mathew Carey composed his "Autobiography" for publication – not as a book, but as a set of articles serialized in Boston's monthly *The New-England Magazine*, beginning in November 1833 (Figure 5.1). It was not, as Edgar Allan Poe put it in his review of the "Autobiography," the story of an oppressed foreigner finding "asylum in America" and embracing a new national identity.[647] Instead, Carey underlined his dedication to humanistic political causes and the cosmopolitan quality of his pro-Catholic, anti-imperialist advocacy in Ireland and the U.S. Carey's avoidance of nationalistic claims on the U.S. logically stemmed from a persistent theme of his publications in the U.S.: the fragility of the U.S.'s political union and the absence of a nation underwriting this imperial state formation. Carey learned to distinguish nation from government during his upbringing in British imperial Dublin, where a foreign empire had placed the Irish nation under its jurisdiction. As a naturalized U.S. citizen but not an "American" national, Carey avoided claiming "American" identity – let alone nationality – altogether.

In the previous chapters, we have seen that, like Carey, many native-born U.S. citizens had qualms embracing the "American" identifier, and that when they did, it was not always a statement of U.S.-based nationalism. In the decades following the 1776 revolution, many former British subjects still did not believe that the United States was a nation, nor that "Americans" designated a nation of people. The "American" primarily designated native peoples of the Americas rather than settler colonials, who developed "Columbian" identity as a white alternative to "American" exceptionalism. With the advent of the Spanish American revolutions,

[647] Edgar Allan Poe, "Carey's Autobiography," *Southern Literary Messenger* 2.3 (February 1836): 203.

the meanings of both "American" and "Columbian" became further diffused across the hemisphere, further unsettling these emergent exceptionalist vocabularies in the U.S. Political debates surrounding nullification and colonization further problematized questions about the meanings and origins of "American" nationality and national government in the U.S. Across these debates, the concept of nativity – of being "native" to America and the U.S. – and the rights it entailed from the U.S. government remained crucial to those seeking to include themselves in or exclude others from an "American" community. Like the concepts of the "American" and the "nation," the "native" could figure as a key concept across a variety of distinct discourses concerning the basis of communal identity.

In the preceding pages, we have seen that periodicals facilitated all of these discussions, spreading information across a vast geography of readers, and at the same time cultivating specific readerships in which ideas of the "American" and the "nation" could develop in idiomatic ways. "The Periodical Origins of the American Self" in the U.S. were plural, contentious, and in development at least until the Civil War. Periodical-based idioms of the "American" found their embodied complement in a late-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth-century phenomenon in the U.S.: the "society." From the 1790s to the 1850s, the age of social reform and new corporate partnerships witnessed a bloom of self-described societies, many of which have been mentioned in previous chapters: Tammany Societies, Columbian Societies, the Hibernian Society, Typographical Societies, the American Bible Society, the American Moral Reform Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the American Philosophical Society, Societies for the Promotion of National Industry, the American Colonization Society, and the American Anti-Slavery Society, to name a few. (A Google Ngram, charting the frequency of a word's appearance across Google's vast corpus of digitized texts, indicates that the use of

"society" in anglophone print rises and peaks during the same approximate period [Figure 5.2].) All of these societies produced print, typically pamphlets and periodicals, for distribution at the very least among their members. These texts derived from and fortified connections among people and ideas. What prevents us from describing these texts and the ideas they contained as "social"? What has motivated us to describe them instead as "public"?

Since its arrival on the critical scene in the 1990s, "the public sphere" has provided great explanatory power for literary scholars interested in describing print's role in solidifying communal identity, particularly national identity. The concept was popularized in the U.S. by Michael Warner's study of eighteenth-century anglophone America, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (1990). *Letters* historicizes how republican thought shaped "the cultural meaning of printedness" in "the bourgeois public sphere…in colonial America."[648] Warner argues that "an emerging political language – republicanism – and a new set of ground rules for discourse – the public sphere – jointly made each other intelligible" because both saw print serving a "normally impersonal" function: the "diffusion" of knowledge to a citizenry of a "potentially limitless" extension.[649] Each constituent of the republican public sphere who subscribes to this logic experiences "the act of reading, [as a way of] becoming part of an arena of national people."[650] We see the logic by which the "public" quality of texts has been mobilized to locate these texts within a national project a frame of reference. Warner's public text was a text potentially available to an entire nation of readers,

[648] Michael Warner, *Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990): xi.

[649] Ibid. xii-xiii, 123.

[650] Ibid. xiii-xiv.

which encouraged those readers to conceive of themselves as a "national people." In this account, the public sphere was an imagined community coterminous with the nation.

The public sphere, however, has not endured as a critical given. Many scholars (including Warner himself) have pushed back against the totalizing logic of a single uniform public sphere and the crisp public/private dichotomy on which it relies. Today literary historians do not speak of the public sphere, but of "publics" with different logics of inclusions and means of communication.[651] This deconstruction of "the public sphere" has coincided with postnational reexaminations of the political or cultural contexts in which texts have been examined, breaking down the traditional allegiance between the public sphere and national metrics of evaluation. The net effect of these contestations has been to multiply and localize conceptions of print publics and to emphasize their contingent nature, moving away from the white, male, U.S.-state-supported, nation-building, monolithic public sphere discussed in *The Letters of the Republic*.[652]

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[651] Christopher Looby has questioned Warner's insistence on the centrality of impersonal addresses in print to early U.S. conceptions of a political public sphere, arguing that embodied, vocalized, affective speech remained an important source of authority and authenticity in public discourse in the nineteenth-century U.S. (1996, 3-5, 43-4). In a study of public signs and print in nineteenth-century New York City, David Henkin excavates a public sphere whose substance lay "in physical space rather than in conceptual abstractions," offering a "phenomenological account of the new forms of publicity" that *City Reading* encouraged in counterpoint to Warner's imagined public sphere (1998, 9, 11). Observing that the "features of accessibility, transparency, fluidity, and disinterest imaginatively associated with [participation in Warner's] bourgeois public sphere" presume the social privileges of a white subject, Joanna Brooks identifies a late-eighteenth-century "black print counterpublic" founded on "principles of…collective incorporation, conscious differentiation, and criticism of dominant political and economic interests," demonstrating race to be an essential condition of forms of publicity (2005, 71, 75).[651] Trish Loughran sees Warner's "'republican print ideology'" underwritten by false assumptions that certain mythic texts like the Constitution were widely distributed and publicly received as "the generalized property of the people as a whole" (2009, 113). Like Looby, Loughran finds that "Warner's model grants an overwhelming centrality to printedness over and against other forms of affiliation that were still competitors to print and its ideologies at this moment – forms like handwritten letters, oratory, privately circulated manuscripts, public debate, and private conversations" (Ibid. 114). See Joanna Brooks, "The Early American Public Sphere and the Emergence of a Black Print Counterpublic," *William and Mary Quarterly* 61.1 (2005): 67-92; David Henkin, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Christopher Looby, *Voicing America: Language, Literary Form, and the Origins of the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation-Building, 1770-1870* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

[652] Warner does note that "[n]o one had a relation to linguistic technologies – speaking, reading, writing, and printing – unmediated by such forms of domination as race, gender, and status" (Ibid. 17), but as Trish Loughran puts it, Warner's book is "less interested finally in the local deployment of republican print ideology than in the

A printed or published text was not ergo "public," in the sense of being intended for potentially universal consumption by generic readers. There was no substantial public sphere that instilled a "public" or "national" quality to the texts circulating within it.

As plural, local publics have come into critical view, and as greater attention has been given to the influence of print's material factors on the imagined or real connections it created between people, the "social" offers an effective category for further exploring how print was shared among people and brought them into ideological connection. The periodical, a format so crucial to the life of the many societies listed above, had a significant social as well as informational function. As my chapters have demonstrated, periodicals were not written for anonymous, generic "public" readers, even if editors angled to sell as many copies as possible.[653] The early nineteenth-century partisan political paper is a prominent example of this fact. Periodicals were instruments of advocacy and opinion, not just information. Drawing their energy – content, money, manpower – from their constituencies, many periodicals depended for their survival on interpersonal meetings and actions that occurred off the page. Though reprinting practices ensured a periodical could have many readers beyond its immediate self-selected readership, these practices also involved social relations between editors and the political or economic lobbies they served. In this sense, early U.S. periodicals neatly fit with the Latin origins of "social," *societas*, designating "an alliance between people for a specific purpose" – a meaning which echoes in the cognates of "association" and "sociability."[654] The social lives of periodicals

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paradigm itself, the basic structure of an ideology that is understood to operate nationally, constitutionally – in short, foundationally" (Loughran, *Republic in Print*, 115).

[653] Securing advertising revenue provided a more reliable income strategy for newspaper proprietors than seeking out new subscribers, who often neglected to pay their subscription fees anyway.

[654] This meaning of "social" is also recognizable in contemporary characterizations of "social media." Social media is not "social" by dint of its participation in a distinct cultural realm called "society"; it is "social" because of the

extended beyond the metric of their circulation, which, in any case, was not coextensive with an engaged readership. Texts did not change minds wherever their reached. The social connections generated by print were many and unpredictable, and sometimes antagonistic, as the 1837 murder of abolitionist printer Elijah Lovejoy demonstrated. Literary analyses addressing the social need not be limited to a text's ideological content, but may rather encompass how peoples' encounters with textual content created social connections in their lives outside of the moment of reader.

Nineteenth-century periodicals, which relied heavily on exchanges between editors, writers, and readers, would seem at first glance to be quintessentially social texts. But texts are not social any more than they are "public." "Social" is not an adjective that describes a quality of texts themselves – neither the physical form nor the content of a text guarantees *a priori* how a text will be used – but the kinds of interactions that such texts have caused and promoted.[655] By resisting the temptation to describe the periodical as a "social text," we avoid imposing a totalizing logic on an internally-diverse print format whose uses were as distinct as their individual readers. There is no inherent social quality in textual content, even if that content is assembled through interpersonal connections. Only a text's use by people may be social. Thus literary studies need not be concerned with tracing the borders of a social sphere, but only studying print as part of – sometimes the occasion for – different associations of people, things, and ideas. Recall, for example, the "social existence" of Charleston's printers and journalists detailed by William King at the beginning of Chapter 3. The intimacy of these men did not

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manner in which new digital media circulate information between and connect people. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998 [1958]): 23.

[655] Bruno Latour makes a similar point in *Reassembling the Social* (2004), his field diagnosis of sociology that seeks "to modify what is meant by 'social,'" rejecting conceptions of the social as "a kind of material or domain" that could be used to justify "a 'social explanation' of some other state of affairs" – an argument I consider equally applicable to conceptions of a "public sphere" in literary studies. See Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002): 2.

derive from an ideological consensus expressed by the print they produced, but from their cohabitation, their mutual mentorships in "the craft," and their fraternal revels at meetings of the Charleston Typographical Society.[656] If print helped to facilitate their socialization (for example, via newspaper ads for the Typographical Society's upcoming meeting), it clearly represented only a fraction of the social life that it occasioned. Expanding the target of analysis beyond texts and their material vehicles to the lived experiences of a text's users, scholars may better escape the closed circuit of ideology critique by which all historical analysis is relayed back to textual content and its interpretation. The preceding chapters' investigations into the many idioms of the "American" that developed in periodicals has necessarily looked to institutions, conventions, and society proceedings that capture these concepts' more expansive lives off the page, as people worked and argued together, striving to realize the "American" community that they believed already was, or could be.

[656] William L. King, *The Newspaper Press of Charleston, S.C.: A Chronological and Biographical History, Embracing a Period of One Hundred and Forty Years* (Charleston: Edward Perry, 1872): 5, 74 187-88, 190-91.

Figure 5.1. Engraving of Mathew Carey, printed the second installment of his "Autobiography" in *The New-England Magazine* v. 5 (December 1833): 489. The image's caption notes that Carey was a "Member of the American Philosophical and American Antiquarian Societies and Author of the Olive Branch, Vindiciae Hiberniae, Essays on Banking, on Political Economy, and on Internal Improvement." Image courtesy of HathiTrust Digital Library.

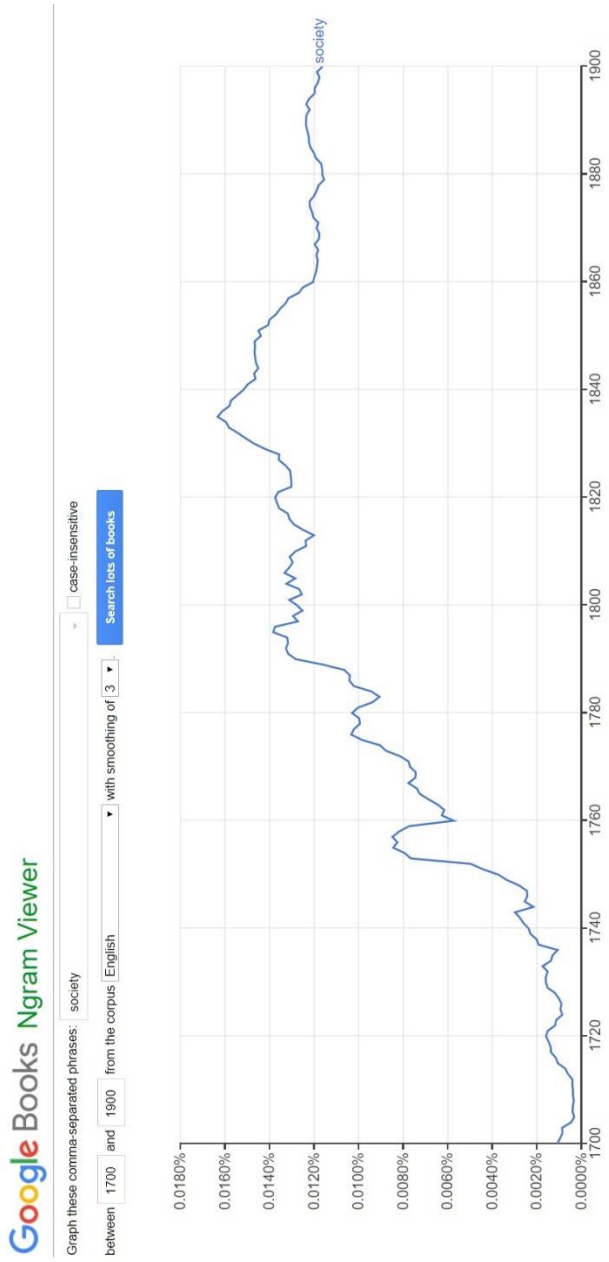

Figure 5.2. Google Ngram of frequency of "society," 1700-1900, across texts digitized by Google Books. Image courtesy of Google Ngram.

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