BRITAIN AND THE WORLD

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PAPER WAR

Debates about the New Republic, 1800–1825

JOSEPH EATON

The Anglo-American Paper War

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The Anglo-American Paper War

Debates about the New Republic, 1800–1825

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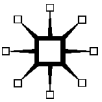

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Series Editors' Preface

The Anglo-American Paper War: Debates about the New Republic, 1800–1825 is the sixth book in the *Britain and the World* series, edited by The British Scholar Society and published by Palgrave Macmillan. From the sixteenth century onward, Britain's influence on the world became progressively profound and far-reaching, in time touching every continent and subject, from Africa to South America and archaeology to zoology. Although the histories of Britain and the world became increasingly intertwined, mainstream British history still neglects the world's influence upon domestic developments and British overseas history remains largely confined to the study of the British Empire. This series takes a broader approach to British history, seeking to investigate the full extent of the world's influence on Britain and Britain's influence on the world.

Joseph Eaton's innovative book examines how Britons and Americans fought not one, but two wars in the early years of the American republic. The second, now forgotten, was an undeclared literary war, a 'Paper War', fought by renowned British and American writers, filling the pages of prominent periodicals on both sides of the Atlantic. British criticism of the United States was often self-referential, reflecting the fears and aspirations of Britain itself. Despite their sometimes Anglophobic proclamations, Americans continued to be culturally dependent upon Britain, judging American achievements by British standards. *The Anglo-American Paper War* is the first book to examine this lively trans-Atlantic war of words over the fledgling republic – one that shaped American self-understanding – casting new light on the evolution of British and American identity and nationalism, the slavery debate, and the early history of anti-Americanism in Britain. It is a fascinating bi-national story.

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Although all of the faults within this book are my own, I am indebted to a host of people and institutions – on three continents – for their encouragement, expertise, and support during the long process of doing research and writing this book.

I began this book while I was Fulbright Visiting Scholar at the Tamkang University Graduate Institute of American Studies. I am grateful to my former colleagues at GIAS – particularly Alexander Huang, Tai Wan-chin, and my graduate students – for my making my Fulbright experience a positive one and always making me feel welcome. I did most of my research and writing after joining the Department of History at National Chengchi University. NCCU has been a superb place to work, as I have enjoyed the benefit of friendly and professional colleagues, helpful department chairs, Tang Chi-hua and Lu Shao-li, and students curious to learn more of the history of *Mei Guo*.

Although trans-Atlantic in content, my book cannot help but show a trans-Pacific dimension. Living and teaching in Taiwan has provided an opportune lens for the study of the history of images of America in the world. Taiwan, geographically small, is so rich with identities and historical global connections – I could think of no better place to contemplate the position of the early American republic and its economic and cultural connections.

The Taiwan, ROC National Science Council has been extremely generous in their research support (grants 100-2410-H-004-118 and 98-2410-H-004-144-MY2). Without research trips to American libraries and financial support for travel to conferences in the United States and England, this book never would have been completed. In addition, the NSC's American history book buying program (97-2400-H-004-162-2E3) for the National Chengchi University Library was vital to my research.

I owe my gratitude to the following libraries for access to their collections and the help of library staff: The New York City Public Library, New-York Historical Society, The Library Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Historical Society, the library of the Institute of European and American Studies at the Academia Sinica and libraries at the University of Chicago, Chicago History Museum, The Newberry Library, Northwestern University, University of Illinois-Chicago, University of Pennsylvania, Columbia University, National Chengchi University,

National Taiwan University, University of Central Oklahoma, Oklahoma State University, and University of Oklahoma.

My gratitude goes out to historical societies that have given the opportunity for me to receive beneficial feedback on sections of my writing. The annual meetings of the Society for the Historians of the Early American Republic, Organization of American History, and Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations have been especially valuable venues as was the March 31–April 1, 2011 'Warring for America, 1803–1818' conference sponsored by the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Huntington Library, Department of History at New York University, John W. Kluge Center, and Library of Congress. I thank Lee Yu-cheng and Shan Te-Hsing of Academia Sinica's Institute of European and American Studies for the opportunity to speak at their institute in June 2009. I am especially grateful for the help of the British Scholar Society, particularly Bryan Glass, who suggested the Britain and the World series, and James Onley, *Britain and the World* series co-editor.

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My family has been supportive of my academic career, a path that must seem very different from the norm. With love, I dedicate this book to my mother.

Joseph Eaton
June 2012

Introduction

Great Britain and United States fought two wars during the American republic's first forty years of existence. *The Anglo-American Paper War: Debates about the New Republic, 1800–1825* tells the story of a third conflict, the Paper War.[1] This Anglo-American contest over images of the United States filled the pages of numerous books and prominent periodicals. When seen alongside the results of the clumsy diplomacy of the late Georgian-Jeffersonian era, the poisoned pens of the Paper War had dreadful consequences. As Bradford Perkins explained, diplomatic historians 'have given too little heed to such things as national pride, sensitivity, and frustration'. All these factors were in abundance in Anglo-American polemics of the era.[2] The shared respect necessary for a lasting reconciliation was lacking in newspapers and periodicals on both sides of the Atlantic. The Paper War showed tragic qualities based in the mutual incomprehension of the adversaries – the British inability to comprehend the emerging dynamism of the United States in these years before what Winston Churchill christened the special relationship and the American failure to realize that Americanism did not mean a denial of things English.

Despite these myopic characteristics, one also finds substantive ideas within Anglo-American debates over the early republic, important signposts in the development of Anglo-American nationalisms, the building blocks of national identity. While recent scholarship has expanded our understanding of the period as a time of evolving nationalism, more work needs to be done to contextualize the development of American and British nationalisms within trans-Atlantic literary quarrels.[3] Although the first quarter of the nineteenth century has not received adequate attention from historians looking for significant trans-Atlantic moments, early nineteenth-century ideas of Americanism

developed in relation to broader Atlantic trends and events. American rejoinders to foreign criticisms were vital components of the national self-image. The United States was likewise important to British debates over society and polity.[4] Anglo-American polemics offer insight into fears and aspirations on both sides of the Atlantic during this era of war and crisis.

Perkins noted that trans-Atlantic elites lamented the paper warring, regretting the 'bitter, useless warfare of the mind'.[5] In fact, the literary conflict was entirely worthwhile when seen within the context of domestic political debates and the evolution of Anglo-American nationalisms. Engagement in Anglo-American quarrels was an indispensable activity that served distinct political and personal uses.[6] One sees, within the dozens of books on the United States and hundreds of review articles, the creation of durable images of America – and of Britain.

Previous generations of American scholars engaged in the Paper War, serving as a volunteer militia for the American cause. Henry Tuckerman's *America and Her Commentators: With a Critical Sketch of Travel in the United States* (1864), John Graham Brook's *As Others See Us: A Study of Progress in the United States* (1905), and Gustavus Myers' *America Strikes Back: A Record of Contrasts* (1935) challenged foreign notions of American inferiority, participating in ancient, ongoing debates with European critics of the United States. Most telling was the literary scholar Robert Spiller's article, 'The Verdict of Sydney Smith', the very first article of the first issue (March 1929) of the academic journal *American Literature*. Spiller retold the story of the *Edinburgh Review* Smith's caustic query of 1820 – 'Who reads an American book?' – noting that, in 1929, it was still impossible 'to view Sydney Smith's criticism of America dispassionately'![7] Given the expansion of our knowledge of the development of American nationalism over the past few decades and increasing attention to how the United States evolved in relation to the world, Anglo-American polemics provide an advantageous focal point for understanding American self-definition in the early republic.[8]

Although Anglo-American commentators developed important tropes regarding the young republic by the second decade of the nineteenth century, scholars of Anglo-American cultural animosity have mostly focused on Jacksonian-era British commentary on the United States. *The Anglo-American Paper War* attempts to fill the gap in historical scholarship. In 1810, long before the denouncements of the United States given by Fanny Trollope and Charles Dickens, the American writer Charles Jared Ingersoll complained about 'the visions of Brissot and the cumbersome tattle of Liancourt; the ridiculous stories of Weld;

the singsong wanderings of Anacreon Moore'.[9] While the maturation of an American national spirit during this era is usually associated with military-political events that occurred between late 1812 and the summer of 1816 – American victories against the Royal Navy, the burning of Washington, the Federalist debacle at the Hartford Convention, Andrew Jackson's triumph at the battle of New Orleans, and decisive victory against the Barbary pirates – one might understand the acceleration of the development of American nationalism to have begun years earlier.[10]

American rejoinders evolved, in both complexity and quantity, throughout the first quarter of the century, years before the War of 1812, and even amongst conservative Federalists. Nonetheless, American responses were far from univocal. An understanding of the energy and creativity of American rejoinders in the Paper War adds to our understanding of the vibrancy and diversity of early American letters, as a range of American authors offered a surprising variety of rejoinders to foreign denigrations.[11] Ingersoll remarked that, 'An affection of contempt for America, is one of the only prejudices in which all the nations of Europe seem to concur', sentiments to which most Americans would have concurred.[12] Yet, despite the perception that the United States was unfairly the target of foreign critics, Americans could not agree about how to respond. American rejoinders exhibited the regional and partisan traits described in recent scholarship on the evolution of American nationalism.[13] Even after the end of the War of 1812 – during the supposed Era of Good Feelings – expressions of Americanism were varied in character and content.

One sees a plurality of nationalistic visions, with Americans contending in domestic partisan paper wars within polemics with foreign authors. Skeptical interpretations of Americas relationship to Britain were far from dominant, as one sees a persistence of Anglophilic understandings of America within the foundations of American nationalism.[14] Although scholars have overlooked their role in Anglo-American polemics, the Federalists contributed more than their share of rejoinders explaining the American cause, explanations that were suited for the times, if not posterity.[15] The Paper War also provides a useful window into a range of issues that have troubled American nationalism and the United States image in the world – the early trans-Atlantic history of pro-slavery ideologies, the stunted beginnings of American literary culture, the closing of the revolutionary door for women, and the origins of anti-Americanism.

In keeping with the theme of Palgrave Macmillan's Britain and the World series, *The Anglo-American Paper War* illuminates the process of

separation, and sometimes reinforcement, of ties between Great Britain and the United States. Despite outward boasting, Americans exhibited continued feelings of anticipation, a haunting inability to find separation from British sources of inspiration. Abstract notions of American nationalism rang hollow within Anglo-American squabbles. Even the most aggressively nationalistic writers found it difficult to judge America by a cis-Atlantic standard; England remained the measure. Yet Anglophilia did not mean subservience to a Mother Country or metropolitan culture. My work reinforces the finding of recent scholarship that finds that Americans' continuing infatuations with England allowed for unique expressions of American ideals.[16]

Likewise, no single perspective on the United States dominated British commentary. Although America was the ostensible object of British commentary on the United States, images of the young republic were self-referential. As John Clive noted, nineteenth-century English opinions of the American republic resembled 'a journey through a hall of mirrors. People see what they want to see, and use what they want to use for their own purposes'.[17] A contemporary noted the use of America in British domestic political debates:

> By one author, the United States is represented as a land flowing with milk and honey; its government a model of perfection; its inhabitants sitting under their own vine and their own fig-trees; the statesmen all Solons and Lycurguses; and the soldiers all Alexanders, Hannibals, Caesars, and Scipios. On the other hand, a staunch monarchist sees nothing in the republican institutions but meanness and insubordination; nothing but rudeness or insolence in its population; and views, with supercilious contempt, a people who feel no respect for the honours of heraldry.[18]

The United States was a valuable subject in British self-examination, alternatively confirming the superiority of British institutions and culture or as an inspiration for reform. The battle over images of the United States was a battle for Britain. As R. K. Webb explained of the radical Harriet Martineau's trip to the United States in 1834, Martineau was 'not really interested in America at all. She was interested in certain abstract propositions which America could prove'.[19] Images of America were amongst the choice weapons in early nineteenth-century British domestic political debates, either as a proxy for discussing the possibilities for reform or a foil to illuminate the good things at home. As an American critic remarked of British writings on the United States: 'We believe that these

works exhibit a picture of their authors; we are not sure it is not a picture of America.'[20] We have come to understand the development of British identity in relation to interactions with France.[21] *The Anglo-American Paper War* adds an American facet. The United States – Protestant and English-speaking – was a vital Other, crucial for Britons' understanding of national identity.

Demarcations within the Paper War represented ideological but not binary national distinctions. Two nations were not at war. Instead, this was a contest between competing visions of America, representing diverse nationalistic and political self-definitions. The most committed American Anglophobe had their favorite Britons, the most virulent British critic of the United States their favorite Americans. Americans criticized the British Americaphiles Morris Birkbeck and Fanny Wright for their flattery of the United States. The London *Westminster Review* even condemned Washington Irving for not being American enough! Perhaps the most striking aspect of pejorative commentary on the new American republic was the participation of American writers in the formation of negative images, an indication of the pluralistic understandings of American nationalism in the early republic. Rather than being a British vs. American affair, Paper War polemics illuminated the cleavages *within* both the British and American camps.

The second half of the twentieth century saw the publication of important scholarship highlighting constructive trans-Atlantic connections and influences, a trend that has accelerated.[22] From the perspective of early nineteenth-century debates over America, the story is less positive. *The Anglo-American Paper War* tells a complicated story of trans-Atlantic myopia and egocentricity.[23] Despite the existence of significant intellectual networks involved in the creation of images of America, my work describes confrontation as much as cooperation. Ideas about America traveled across the Atlantic more often for reasons of utility than genuine curiosity or intellectual inspiration. Trans-Atlantic ideas became localized after their crossing, suited for domestic circumstances. Macall Medford, an American resident in England, commented on the mutual incomprehensibility between Britain and the United States on the issue of trade: 'The language of the two countries being the same, and difficulties occurring, have led to a misunderstanding on this subject.'[24] Medford's comment could have been repeated on any number of issues.

In the early years of the American republic, Anglo-American commentators fought on a variety of fronts. Jack P. Greene has identified 'cultural backwardness and chattel slavery as the two principal elements

that tarnished the bright image of the United States as a distinctive political society occupying an exceptional place in the annals of humanity.'[25] The questions of culture – usually quantified in a lack of noteworthy American authors and/or books – and slavery continued to be fundamental issues and would grow in time, as Americans failed to offer satisfactory rejoinders or practical solutions.

Another issue, closer to practical British concerns, framed debates over America – the desirability of the United States as a destination for emigrants. Pro-emigration books such as Gilbert Imlay's *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America* (London, 1792) and Thomas Cooper's *Some Information Respecting America* (London, 1794) were matched by the aptly titled anonymous work, *Look before you Leap: or, a few Hints to such Artizans, Mechanics, Labourers, Farmers and Husbandmen, as are desirous of emigrating to America* (London, 1796). Fears of emigration (and depopulation) dominated British accounts of the United States during much of the early nineteenth century. British travelers – mostly itinerant writers, failed farmers, or ruined speculators – became experts at the question of whether the United States afforded a proper end for those struggling in Britain, a question that divided Britons. Until Napoleon's defeat in 1815, commentators understood the United States as being under the influence of France. America was central to the geopolitical struggle between the British and French empires, adding to the severity of the debate over immigration. After Waterloo, the United States became the chief object of British national debate. Even the theater of war changed as the movement of Britons to the American West seemed to indicate geopolitical change.

Timeworn debates over the American climate, the eighteenth-century *querelle dAmérique*, continued to shape commentary on America. The Continental polemics that had consumed the energies of European natural scientists and the *philosophes* never disappeared but instead appeared in different terms to describe the early American republic. The condemnations of the Comte de Buffon and Cornelius de Pauw of the American climate as poisonous to man and animal continued to influence views of everything from American culture to agriculture. As evidenced by Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Paris, 1782) and Alexander Hamilton's lament in the *Federalist* – 'Men admired as profound philosophers have . . . gravely asserted that all animals, and with them the human species, degenerate in America – that even dogs cease to bark after having breathed awhile in our atmosphere' – refutation of the charges was vital to the American founders.[26] Accusations of civilization's decline in America came to focus around cultural shortcomings.

Even before American independence, the French *philosophe* Raynal had noted that, 'America has not yet produced a good poet, an able mathematician, one man of genius in a single art or a single science', a critique that would resonate with Anglo-American commentators.[27] The theme of degeneracy remained commonplace in British observations on the United States, expanding to include discussions on the impact of republicanism and democracy on American society.

Chapter 1, 'Travelers, Reviewers, and Jeffersonian-era America', traces the Paper War over the first decades of the nineteenth century. British travelers' accounts and periodical reviews combined to create negative tropes depicting the Americans as materialistic and subservient to Bonaparte. The creation of pejorative commentary on the United States was an Anglo-American venture, requiring the symbiotic role of American writers. Chapter 2, '*Inchiquin's Letters* and Anglo-American Nationalism', examines the uses of Anglo-American polemics within the controversy over Philadelphian Charles Jared Ingersoll's *Inchiquin's Letters*, a challenge to complacent American notions of Americanism. The London *Quarterly Review*'s treatment of Ingersoll's book sparked the most violent episode of the Paper War, as a range of responses to the Tory journal's review were matched by a variety of British understandings of the United States during these years of war. Chapter 3, 'A Blessing to the Whole Earth: Birkbeck's English Prairie', locates the battle over Anglo-American identities within the post-war debate over the American West in the short-lived but much publicized English Prairie settlements in Illinois. Illinois became a symbol, either for fears of deculturation or for reforming Britain during the post-war crisis. The final chapter, 'The End of Anglo-mania', deconstructs the triumphal nationalism that emerged from the War of 1812. Despite the proclamation of an end of ties to Britain, Americans found creative means of retaining Anglo-American ties in the post-war era.

The relaxation of Anglo-American tensions in the early 1820s indicated a changed situation in Britain, yet, by the end of the 1820s, the United States would again be at the center of trans-Atlantic debates, spurred on by the renewal of the reform debate and deliberations over the future of Britain. These early campaigns of Paper War produced no decisive victor yet tell us much about how Anglo-American polemics shaped the fluid nationalisms during this era of war and crisis.

1
Travelers, Reviewers, and Jeffersonian-era America

The first decade of the nineteenth century saw intensifying Anglo-American cultural animosity and the evolution of significant tropes to describe the United States. Although scholars often overlook Jeffersonian-era commentary on America, instead emphasizing visitors to Jacksonian America, these years of diplomatic tensions and confrontations on the seas, British fears of emigration, and increasing American self-doubts were vital to the evolution of images of America.[1] Decades before the visits of notorious Fanny Trollope, Basil Hall, Frederick Marryat, and Charles Dickens, Americans were familiar with a previous set of libelers. In 1811, an American journal complained of a litany of turn-of-the-century travelers: 'A Weld, a Bulow, a Jansen [sic], a Moore, a Parkinson, and many others, have successively dipt their pens in the gall of malignity. . . . What offence can be greater? What crime more unprovoked, than thus rudely assailing the character of a whole nation?'[2] The study of Anglo-American depictions of the United States from this era illuminates broad British concerns about society and polity during years of European war, as well as a lingering American desire for genuine independence.

Britons showed an increasing interest in the United States. In addition to the travelers' accounts, a host of new periodicals began publication, important for constructing durable images out of the travelers' accounts. The British *Anti-Jacobin Review* (founded 1798), *Edinburgh Review* (1802), *Eclectic Review* (1805), *Literary Journal* (1806), *New Annual Register* (1806), and *Quarterly Review* (1809) were especially engaged in quarrels regarding images of the United States. These literary reviews took an engaged role in politics, with the United States sometimes being useful to domestic polemics. In 1840, John Stuart Mill noted that: 'For many years, every book of travels in America had been a party

pamphlet, or had at least fallen among partisans, and been pressed into the service of one party or of the other.'[3] By the time of Mill's remark, the United States had been a subject of domestic paper wars for over half a century.

Geopolitics dominated British imagery of the United States, as commentators saw the American republic through the lens of the French Revolution and the ongoing struggle against Bonaparte. As the literary scholar James Chandler notes, concerns about a Franco-American conspiracy overshadowed any appreciation of America as America before the end of the Napoleonic Wars: 'Not until the end of the wars did the English begin in earnest to develop a sense of a specific U.S. national identity, development profoundly related to a simultaneous crisis over the question of English identity.'[4] Some critics of America feared that emigration to the United States would simultaneously weaken the British Empire while strengthening the Franco-Jeffersonian alliance. Given concerns about emigration, the American carrying trade, and the Napoleonic threat, early nineteenth-century readers and reviewers magnified travelers' accounts beyond their ordinary importance, granting travel authors an authority far beyond their usually humble backgrounds.

In imitation of British periodicals, Americans founded their own, most notably the *Port-Folio* (1801), *Monthly Anthology, and Boston Review* (1803), and *Literary Magazine, and American Register* (1803). American periodicals magnified the importance of travelers' accounts and sharpened readers' perceptions of diplomatic disputes, as did newspapers, which reported details of the disputes, often adding their interpretation of the events. Rejoinders found in American periodicals were multivocal, reflecting the partisan and sectional nationalism of the era.

Although the United States' reputation was under assault, these early years of the Paper War were the most complicated for understanding the involvement of American writers. American responses to travelers and reviewers' commentaries appeared timid and complicated with a variety of motives in comparison with the nationalist aspirations of later generations of Americans. The multiplicity of American responses to foreign criticism reflected the partisan and sectional nature of American nationalism. Most significantly, Americans played a significant role in the creation of foreign images of the United States. On concrete and personal levels, British critics of the United States and anti-Jeffersonian American writers engaged in symbiosis. Though the triumph of American democratic nationalism and the supposed demarcations of national cultures obscured these connections over time, American writers made substantial contributions to pejorative British imagery of America.

The diplomatic historian Bradford Perkins showed Anglo-American diplomacy in the years following Jay's Treaty (1795) to have been extremely capable, resulting in a 'first rapprochement' between the United States and Britain. Perkins explained that the pillars of better diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the United States were 'close cultural, personal, and economic relations'.[5] Paper War polemics were fuel to the fire, helping to sever these links.

Faultfinding travelers and failed immigrants

British travel accounts of America continued the anti-emigrant, 'look before you leap' theme of the 1790s. The travelers' accounts showed an increasingly political and geopolitical bent, as Jefferson's election, American political innovations, and the souring of Anglo-American diplomacy between the United States and Great Britain gave British readers cause to discuss the new republic. Travel to the United States gave emigrant farmers, aspiring writers, and men of commerce a unique opportunity to comment on American innovations in religion and politics. Many travel authors had arrived in the United States as immigrants but returned home to newfound notoriety as travel authors.

In his *Tour in America in 1798, 1799, and 1800* (1805), Richard Parkinson combined a damning critique of American political innovation with an unenthusiastic view of prospects for emigrant farmers in America. Parkinson, the author of a popular work on agricultural methods, *The Experienced Farmer* (1798), recalled in *Tour in America* his failed experience at farming in the United States.[6] In 1798 Parkinson had left for the United States, leasing 1,200 acres of farmland at Mt Vernon from George Washington. Parkinson was going to make money in America, and lots of it: 'I speculated to make a rapid fortune.' Finding Mt Vernon less than what he expected ('the barrenness of the land, was beyond any description'), and after offering General Washington advice on sheep husbandry and grain cultivation, Parkinson settled on a farm near Baltimore. Parkinson struggled for more than two years, collecting the reports of other emigrants in similar situations. The *Tour in America* – a farmer's autobiographical memoir that aspired to be a political tract – chronicled Parkinson's 'disappointments in America'. Parkinson sought 'to undeceive those who have been taught to consider America, either as a place of refuge from poverty, or as a scene of speculation'. Emigrant farmers would fail: 'The produce is so small and the expence so great, that I never saw any land worth having in America.' Only slavery, where profits were 'pinched and screwed out of the negro', would be

profitable. With such terrible prospects for farming, English emigrants would live with – and live like – America's slaves.[7]

Farmer Parkinson dedicated his pretentious *Tour* to Prince Frederick, Duke of York, the commander of Britain's army against France, a symbol of his broader purpose to frame the American republic within the struggle against Bonaparte. To Parkinson, American and French republicanisms were kin: 'Times like these, when the wicked intentions and wild chimeras of misguided or designing men have so widely disseminated principles of a fallacious equality as to shake all Europe to its foundations.' In the next paragraph, Parkinson announced his intention to save Britain's subjects from emigration to the United States. America's political devolution produced a society plagued by insubordination, 'the fruit of democracy'. Children, servants, slaves – none knew their proper role. Parkinson claimed that favorable European writers were mercenaries, paid for their Americophilic commentary in hopes of attracting European emigration.[8]

Not surprisingly, Tory periodicals lauded farmer Parkinson's conclusions regarding the United States. The *Anti-Jacobin Review* praised Parkinson's *Tour in America* as 'an antidote to the rage for emigration with which too many of our unfortunate countrymen, of the lower and middle classes of society, have been long infected. . . . The numerous examples of misery and despair which he has witnessed among the emigrant British subjects, pierce his very heart.'[9] Several years later, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* would again lash out at those who imagined they could 'quit the only land of rational freedom and of real comfort . . . [for] the lure of Utopian liberty, and of visionary wealth'.[10]

British travelers frequently distinguished between 'good' and 'bad' Americans. Charles William Janson's *Stranger in America* (1807) was Federalist and Francophobic, a partisan indictment of Thomas Jefferson and the Republicans and memorial for the Federalists' late heroes, George Washington and Alexander Hamilton. Of the first president's efforts against Citizen Genêt and the French Republic's meddling in American affairs in the 1790s, Janson remarked, 'This great and good man, an Achilles in war, and a Mentor in peace, again saved his country from the rapacious grasp of insatiable France'.[11] Janson involved himself in America's Paper Wars, censuring the Philadelphia *Aurora* publisher William Duane and others who had slandered Washington: 'The ingratitude of a certain portion of Americans to that great and good man, is one of the foulest stains upon their character.'[12] An aspiring lawyer who lost his shirt investing in American stocks before fleeing back to England, Janson positioned his chronicle of personal disappointments

within both the geopolitics of the British conflict with Napoleon and the contentious partisan debates of the early republic. Although Jefferson-era travelers – Parkinson and Janson included – audaciously immersed themselves into American political debates, critical readers might have noted that the repeated flattery of the party out of power served as a reminder of both the travelers' liminality and the skewed nature of their accounts of the United States.

Like Parkinson, Janson linked American (bad) manners and curious behaviors to the triumph of the masses in American politics. Jeffersonian democracy had brought moral decline to the young republic: 'The meaning of liberty and equality, in the opinion of the vulgar, consists in impudent freedom, and uncontrolled licentiousness.'[13] Janson gave an extended discussion of gouging, the American frontier practice of tearing out the eye of an opponent during a fight: 'The lower class in this gouging, biting, kicking country, are the most abject that, perhaps, ever peopled a Christian land.'[14] Janson also dwelt on bundling, a courting practice that involved having two unmarried adolescents spend the night together, theoretically without engaging in sexual conduct. Bundling would long be a source of embarrassment for American nationalists, despite the custom's pre-revolutionary, European origins.[15]

Janson's imagery of America was itself problematic. His *Stranger in America* included five aquatints pirated from the *Views of Philadelphia* (1799–1800), a collection of the work of professional artist William Russell Birch.[16] The English-born and trained Birch had applied English ideas of the picturesque to portrayal of American scenes. In his preface, Janson explained that only Philadelphia's public buildings deserved engravings, since 'scarcely any other city in America contains any edifice worthy of delineation'.[17] In reality, the English-born Birch's choices had both given authority to Janson's book while also limiting his repertoire.

Janson's piracy of the Birch prints was ironic. The engravings included in *Stranger in America* 'correct representations of original subjects', as Jason described, were the work of a *successful* English immigrant.[18] The commercial visions of *Views of Philadelphia* reflected the underlying optimism and materialism of America's premier city and of both the traveler-emigrants and the Americans they criticized.[19] Janson had failed at speculation, the activity that he called 'the life of the American'.[20] Several years later, New York author James Kirke Paulding – self-appointed defender of the United States – accused Janson of 'a poor and contemptible piracy' in regards to Birch's work.[21] Janson's transgression

was a reminder of the interdependence of travelers and their American sources.

Travelers of this era attempted to answer what Chandler has called the 'American question – the question of how popular manners would be shaped in the first generation of citizens raised under the Constitution'.[22] The women's magazine, *La Belle Assemblée*, succinctly linked Americans' lower standard of comportment with republicanism: 'Manners are doubtless formed by the government; and personal respect, and the system of manners as existing in Europe, are not to be expected amongst the members of a republic, which allows no distinction of ranks, nor homage from man to man.'[23] Even British travelers from a lower social strata believed that American manners had declined since the Revolution. Images of the American political system and its relationship with manners were a window into early nineteenth-century fears regarding the potential impact of political reform on English society. Discussion of American 'democracy' sometimes acted as code for America's loss of 'deference' in the generation since the Revolution. If Britain followed the United States down the road of reform, religious or political, how much tinkering could the system take before society fell apart? The evidence gathered in the United States a generation after independence was less than reassuring.

For critical British commentators, the manners of one region of America – usually the South or West – became representative of all of America. The *Annual Review* used Janson's account of gouging in the South to defend the 'honourable' laws of boxing in England. The author claimed that, 'In no part of the world are combats between man and man conducted with more fairness and less ferocity than in this country' but then regionalized an exception: 'In some of the western counties . . . and in Scotland, where the laws of boxing are not understood, these contests are said to be excessively savage and ferocious.'[24] The author overlooked the possibility that the western counties and Scotland were to Great Britain what the South was to the United States.

Anne Ritson's 175-page *A Poetical Picture of America* (1809), a poem recounting the author's failed immigration to the United States, was a classic of disenchanted emigrant literature. Having suffered through a disastrous eight-year residence in Virginia, Ritson hoped that her poem would 'serve as a check' to block the emigration of those 'dissatisfied with their lot here, [who] imagine that change of place will ensure happiness and procure wealth'. Emigrants would 'sacrifice real liberty to an imaginary idol'. Overlooked by modern scholars, *A Poetical Picture of America* attracted significant attention amongst contemporaries. The

subscriber list published at the front of the work listed both the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York.[25] Ritson's poem received at least seven reviews, in a wide range of British periodicals, apparently more than the well-known American Joel Barlow's long anticipated epic, *The Columbiad*, which appeared the same year (1809) in a London edition.[26]

In response to pro-United States emigration literature, some Britons found Canada to be the British Empire's best propaganda weapon. Isaac Weld's *Travels through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada* (1799), provided vital contrasts between the British colony and American republic. The wealthy Irishman, named after Isaac Newton, a friend of his great-grandfather, came to America in 1795, intent on exposing the failed American experiment at republicanism. The *Travels* was a success, enjoying at least four London editions and German, French, and Dutch translations.[27] His *Travels* became the standard for a complete North American tour, providing the United States as a foil to judge the continuing achievements of the British Empire in North America.

Weld detested the Americans' materialism: 'Self-interest is always uppermost in their thoughts; it is the idol which they worship, and at its shrine thousands and thousands would be found, in all parts of the country, ready to make a sacrifice of every noble and generous sentiment that can adorn the human mind.'[28] Canada was the better place for emigrants, with lower taxes and less 'land-jobbing' than in the United States. 'There is no part of America so suitable to an English or Irish settler, as the vicinity of Montreal or Quebec,' Weld noted. Even the Canadian climate was more hospitable than south of the border.[29] After returning return to Britain, Weld continued to support the cause of Canada. In 1801, he wrote a paper encouraging emigration to Canada at the request of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Weld's promotion of Canada boosted his successful bid to gain his father's customs post.[30]

Kindred spirits: American Federalists and British travelers

The affluent and well-connected Isaac Weld was an exception. Most emigrant-travelers were liminal within British society and had opted for the chance to start over in the United States. Ironically, many found ample connections with American luminaries while in America. John Davis's *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States* (1803) exhibited the author's familiarity with American politics and culture and a connectedness with American literary society that he lacked at home.[31] Davis, a former sailor and a prolific writer, made a pedestrian tour of

the United States, earning money through tutoring and the sale of his poetry. He dedicated his *Travels*, with permission, to President Thomas Jefferson, ironic considering Davis's distaste for American democracy.

Like other British travelers who lacked a political existence in Britain, the itinerant Davis showed no fear in entering into American polemics or in finding lessons to argue against political reform at home. Davis decried the infidelity he perceived to be rampant in America, becoming, like many travelers to the United States, an outspoken defender of the Established Church. American government was *too* economical, according to Davis: 'The salary allowed the President . . . may enable him to ask a friend to dine with him *pic nic*, but will not qualify him to impress a foreign Ambassador.' Davis fiercely condemned American slavery: 'No casuistry can justify the keeping of slaves.' In conflict with Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the States of Virginia*, Davis provided evidence of African capacity for intellectual achievement.[32]

Davis, the itinerant tutor-writer, took an active role in American letters during his time in the United States. Davis's association with Philadelphia editor Joseph Dennie was an indicator of Americans' need to connect with representatives of English metropolitan culture. Dennie was one of the most respected American writers of his generation. The magazine that Dennie created, the monthly *Port-Folio* (founded 1801) was the most durable turn-of-the-century American periodical, lasting more than a quarter century in an era when American periodicals lasted barely a year on average.[33] A Harvard graduate and respected veteran newspaper editor, Dennie was a Federalist, but his pessimism regarding Jeffersonian America went beyond partisan politics. Like British Tories, Dennie linked American republicanism with the French variety. In 1803, a Philadelphia grand jury indicted Dennie for a paragraph that had appeared in his mischievously titled 'The Progress of Democracy' series:

> A democracy is scarcely tolerable at any period of national history. Its omens are always sinister, and its powers are unpropitious. . . . It was weak and wicked in Athens. It was bad in Sparta, and worse in Rome. It has been tried in France, and has terminated in despotism. . . . It is on its trial here, and the issue will be civil war, desolation, and anarchy.[34]

Dennie denounced the Declaration of Independence, 'that false, and flatulent and foolish paper', proclaiming that 'the bulk of mankind are fools'.[35]

Out of place in the fledgling American republic, Dennie's disenchantment required an idealized England. A historian of American journalism has provided a useful formula to understand Dennie: 'Most things American were bad; all things English were good.'[36] As Catherine O'Donnell Kaplan notes of Dennie, 'England became the world of meaning, and America that of disorder and meaninglessness.'[37]

Dennie – the United States' most important editor and perhaps the greatest *anglomane* in an era of Anglomania – wrote with a remarkable frankness about the deficiencies of American literature and his eagerness, as an editor, to use the work of British authors:

> Every department in this paper, which is not furnished from the brain of the editor and his correspondents, is supplied from works, *which have not been more than three, six, or twelve months in America*. . . . Every man, unless tumid with the most ridiculous pride and confidence in American genius and literature, must be sensible from the newness of our country, from the deficiency of our seminaries, from the comparative paucity of books, and from the almost total want of patronage, that many *literary* articles can be furnished in perfection, *only from Europe*. . . . The silly vanity of a self-complacent American maybe wounded at this blunt, but notorious *truth*. Let him deny it if he can.[38]

Born on the wrong side of the Atlantic, Dennie enjoyed a symbiotic relationship with British travelers, the primary image-makers of America during this era. The depth and importance of editor Dennie's presence within Jefferson-era travelers' accounts has been underappreciated. Dennie was vital for travelers in publicizing their tours and publishing their work. Later American editors would make active attempts to influence the United States' image in the world in a positive manner. Dennie was a participant in the Paper War, but in a unique capacity, as a facilitator for British travelers to the United States and publicist for their pejorative accounts of the American republic.[39]

In her *Imperial Eyes* (1992, revised 2008), Mary Louise Pratt describes a 'contact' perspective for the study of travel, which understands 'travelers' and 'travelees' not as distinct, but 'in terms of separateness, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, [and] interlocking understandings and practices'. As Pratt explains, travelers' accounts have a 'heteroglossic dimension'. Travel knowledge results not just from a traveler's own observations, 'but out of interaction and experience usually directed and managed by 'travelees' who have their own agendas.'[40] Dennie, an

American at war against many things later considered American, was the vital *travelee* of Jeffersonian-era British travel accounts. The 'good American', Dennie worked with British travelers against the forces of Franco-Jeffersonian democratic revolution, shaping their accounts to suit a distinctly American perspective.

Although John Davis had proclaimed his political neutrality regarding American politics (mocking Jefferson's first inaugural address, 'I am not republican! No federalist!'), his personal allegiance was to Dennie. In the *Travels*, Davis craved the approval of Dennie, who he described as 'that *Mammoth* of literature' (ironic, considering the term's association with Jefferson). By Davis' standard, Dennie 'conducted the only literary paper in the United States'.[41] Most remarkably, Dennie, America's top editor, facilitated the venture. Dennie published Davis' poetry in the *Port-Folio*, the premier American magazine.

Dennie also printed the work of Davis's friend, the Irishman Lucas George. George, who had immigrated to the United States and resided in Charleston, South Carolina, played a central role within Davis's *Travels*. Davis glorified George ('his genius and his erudition'), noting that he and his friend were 'inseparable companions'. With Dennie's blessing, Davis granted George and himself the authority to judge American literature:

> Mr. *George* had a supreme contempt for *American* genius and *American* literature. In a sportive mood, he would ask me whether I did not think that it was some physical cause in the air, which denied existence to a poet on *America* ground. No snake, said he, exists in *Ireland*, and no poet can be found in *America*.[42]

Exiles from English literary life, Davis and George played a substantial role within the *Port-Folio*, the most important American magazine of its day.

Ironically, the Dennie-Davis collaboration resulted in some of the most important literary images to appear in early nineteenth-century America – the Pocahontas-John Smith narrative. Davis wrote numerous articles and poems about Pocahontas, including several poems for Dennie's *Port-Folio*, and including versions of the story in three book-length works.[43] In his historical study of the evolution of the Pocahontas narrative, Robert S. Tilton explains that Davis 'deserves the credit for rescuing Pocahontas's name from oblivion'.[44] Another scholar explains that Davis played *the* crucial role in the Pocahontas-Smith story: 'He unearthed it; he popularized and perpetuated it; but most of

all, he romanticized it and made historical fiction of it.'[45] By another scholar's estimation, Davis 'first recognized the potential of the narrative to be the germ of a great romance'. Davis removed Pocahontas from the 'exclusive preserve of historians and biographers'.[46] The historian Richard Beale Davis credited John Davis with being 'the earliest writer who presented a real Virginia setting in a novel'. Davis's *The First Settlers of Virginia* (1806) glorified Virginia birds (the Mockingbird replacing the Old World Nightingale), Virginia trees, and dialect-speaking Negro slaves.[47] In the 1920s, a literary scholar even credited Davis for his observations on the evolution of American English.[48] It is an irony of early American letters that two detractors of Jeffersonian democracy – Davis, an itinerant tutor/writer-traveler, and Dennie, who idealized classical Georgian England – gave the Old Dominion its own genre of literature and created some of the most durable American romantic literary images, including the most recognizable American heroine.

In addition, Dennie's eagerness to facilitate Davis's American literary venture was intriguing considering the English writer's background. The itinerant Davis admitted to humble beginnings and was self-educated, far from the influence of English metropolitan, high culture: 'Though my mode of life has not been favourable to the cultivation of an elegant style . . . I shall not fear competition with those who have reposed from their youth under the shade of Academic bowers.'[49] In comparison, British editors did not duplicate Dennie's symbiotic relationship with Davis and other liminal authors of travel accounts, their deficient credentials being a common theme in the reviews. Although Tory periodicals found the accounts of failed immigrants useful in discrediting the United States, the travelers themselves were suspect. Reviewers often praised the message of British travel accounts while distrusting the messengers – returned farmer-emigrants, failed speculators, and marginal scholars. Reviewers were extremely conscious of the background and education of travel writers, like tutor Davis and farmer Parkinson. The fiercely anti-American *Anti-Jacobin Review* owed Davis nothing, despite his useful criticism of the United States. A short 1807 review of his *Life of Thomas Chatterton* panned Davis's work for its large number of typographical errors.[50] A writer for the *Monthly Review* noted Davis's modest background and conceit over both his American hosts and the 'well-educated Englishman'.[51] Another critic described Davis as 'an itinerant bard, who has been all his life travelling from Dan to Beersheba, and scribbling on the road'.[52] Likewise, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* doubted Parkinson, 'a plain man' who used 'plain, and even homely, language'.[53] Even the *Monthly Review*, a self-proclaimed journal of 'liberal' principles

and not allergic to lesser-known authors, was distrustful of the incongruity of Davis's lack of education and haughty pretensions as an author, founding more faults with Davis than with the Americans. Davis was no 'well-bred and well-educated Englishman' and no better than the Americans he criticized.[54]

Dennie's Anglophilia, a personal response to increasing democratic trends in the United States, illustrated the marginality of American letters, as Dennie was hardly discriminating when it came to the British company that he kept. Eager to connect with metropolitan culture and desperate for allies for America's paper wars, Dennie's Anglo-literary relationships betrayed a lack of judgment. Dennie, the *anglomane*, did not replicate the British establishment's understanding of literary caste distinction but instead allowed social-literary mobility within the pages of his *Port-Folio*. While Dennie claimed the superiority of English standards, his practices were cis-Atlantic. In ways that Dennie probably had not calculated, his *Port-Folio* represented a typically American space, distant from European understandings of hierarchy, and open to democratic striving.

In addition to Davis, Dennie put other foreign travel accounts to use against America's democrats. His rant against the newly created District of Columbia included a short description of the 'Imperial City' written by the Irish poet Tom Moore that cursed the city with 'arrogant speculation and premature ruin'.[55] Foreign travelers used references to American practices such as bundling and gouging to embarrass Americans. An article Dennie published on bundling even provoked a response from his old boss, former Secretary of State Timothy Pickering.[56] Just as Britons found their good/bad Americans, Dennie found foreign views useful in criticizing American society and polity. Conversely, the *Port-Folio* mocked pro-Jeffersonian European travelers, including the Frenchman, François de Chassebœuf, Comte de Volney, a political radical and religious skeptic.[57]

In 1802–3, Dennie included John Quincy Adams' serialized translation of Prussian Dietrich von Bulow's *Der Freistaat von Nord-americka* (Berlin, 1797) in the *Port-Folio*. By Bulow's estimation, America was 'driven entirely by avarice and greed and low commercial dishonesty, sinking into ignorance and squalor even while boasting vaingloriously of its republican virtue'. The Prussian's account was so harsh that even some of Dennie's readers complained. Adams defended publication of the translation as a means to knowing 'what estimation our country is held abroad', noting that Bulow had visited the United States in the wake of Jay's Treaty, during the height of partisan passion (as if the *Port-Folio*

cohort thought Jefferson's first years as president less tumultuous!).[58] In defense of the Bulow articles, the editor noted, 'The picture, which this Prussian delineator, or dauber, has drawn, is, in many respects, a frightful caricature. . . . The Editor of the *Port Folio* was of opinion, that to know even the unfavourable sentiments, which a foreigner entertained of America, might interest some, and instruct others.'[59] Negative foreign commentary on America served as a mirror by which Americans could discover their follies.

The Irish poet Tom Moore's visit to the United States in 1803–4 provided the best opportunity for Dennie to interact with a representative of high metropolitan culture. In contrast with Davis, Moore *was* a traveler of privilege, and a favorite of many British critics. A reviewer for the *Literary Journal* noted Moore's association with 'persons of the first distinction', including the Prince of Wales.[60] The *Anti-Jacobin Review* contrasted Moore, 'a man of education and refinement, a gentleman, a scholar', with Richard Parkinson, 'a practical farmer'.[61]

Moore spent much time with Dennie and his compatriots at the *Port-Folio* while visiting the United States on the way home after leaving his Admiralty post in Bermuda. The most recognized poet of his era, Moore even published in the *Port-Folio* during his time in the United States.[62] Moore praised Dennie lavishly, as a literary critic and friend, finding Dennie's circle to be composed to kindred spirits, *anti*-American Americans:

> In the society of Mr. Dennie and his friends, at Philadelphia, I passed the few agreeable moments which my tour through the states afforded me. Mr. Dennie has succeeded in diffusing through his cultivated little circle that love of good literature and sound politics which he feels so zealously himself, and which is so rarely the characteristic of his countrymen. They will not, I trust, accuse me of illiberality for the picture which I have given of the ignorance and corruption which surround them. If I did not hate, as I ought, the rabble to which they are opposed, I could not value, as I do, the spirit with which they defy it, and in learning from them what Americans *can be*, I but see with the more indignation what Americans *are*.[63]

The literary scholar William C. Dowling explains that Moore's visit began a new epoch for Dennie's cohort, 'a moment when certain scattered souls on both sides of the Atlantic begin to see that they have more in common with one another than with members of their own societies whose minds have been seduced by jacobinism and

democracy'.[64] In fact, Moore's trip was a mixed blessing. The poet's visit was an opportunity for recognition by an elite metropolitan writer but also a trap, as Americans, even Dennie's fellow Federalists, would resent Moore's writings on the United States.

Moore was the harshest, and probably most eloquent, traveler to describe America's depravity: 'When we find them arrived at maturity in most of the vices, and all the pride, of civilization, while they are still so remote from its elegant characteristics, it is impossible not to feel that this youthful decay, this crude anticipation of the natural period of corruption, represses every sanguine hope of the future energy and greatness of America.'[65] Likewise, Moore readily endorsed Buffon and De Pauw's 'humiliating' representations of Native Americans.[66] For Moore, the degeneracy of American nature combined with the decline brought on by republicanism:

> While yet upon Columbia's rising brow
> The showy smile of young presumption plays,
> Her bloom is poison'd and her heart decays!
> Even now, in dawn of life, her sickly breath
> Burns with the taint of empires near their death,
> And, like the nymphs of her own withering clime,
> She's old in youth, she's blasted in her prime![67]

Moore presents an interesting case of Anglo-American expectation/disappointment. Although he was a trans-Atlantic celebrity, Americans rejected Moore's depiction of the United States. Moore's condemnation of the United States was so damning, so thorough, that even Federalists could not stand by. North and South, Federalist and Republican – Moore's book earned the disapproval of Americans. The Worcester, Massachusetts, *National Aegis* reprinted the *Norfolk Herald*'s criticism of Moore's observations on Virginia.[68] The *New-York Evening Post*, a Federalist organ, printed excerpts from Moore's account of the southern state with disapproval.[69] Even the arch-Federalist Boston *Monthly Anthology* disapproved of Moore's association with the 'old school' of politics, adding that Moore had been 'not a little severe' in his censures on the United States.[70] Another writer took a patriotic stance while lamenting lost love for – or perhaps from – the Irish poet: 'With no pleasant sensations do we enter on the task: we are alive to the fascinations of the poet . . . but our duty exacts it of us to make a stand, the best in our power, against his eyes to degrade and injure our country in the eyes of the world.' By the American reviewer's estimation, Moore

had sold out to the 'highest bidder', his London publisher.[71] Adding to his damning criticisms of the United States, Moore's libertine poetry also made American conservatives uncomfortable. Anglophilia could not trump nativist conventions of republican literary morality. In spite of Dennie's sponsorship, Anacreon would not be the spokesperson for the Federalist critique of America.[72] Praised by British reviewers for his status and connections, Moore became a symbol of the Old World's immorality and bigotry to a broad range of Americans.

Yet, Americans' near unanimity regarding Moore masked significant differences within nationalistic self-imagery. Federalist criticism of Moore illustrated the possibilities for Anglophilia to mix easily with nationalism. An 1806 *New York Spectator* article proclaimed the need for Federalists to counter 'revilers of their country', with Moore being the one who 'deserves mention'. To despise detractors of the United States did not mean, however, to aspire to an American standard. The writer claimed to love 'British valor, British patriotism, and British laws' more than the British poet! The author then gave passing defenses of the United States against the two most controversial (and easily refuted) foreign criticisms: Moore's continuation of the polemic over American nature, the 'often-refuted calumny of Buffon' ('This needs no comment'); and his 'attack on the fair of our country', American women ('the ladies of America need no formal vindication').[73] Being more British than the British poet hardly pointed the way to an enduring concept of American nationality!

Although scholars have usually favored trans-Atlantic liberal/radical networks, the Tory-Federalist critics of America created durable international networks of their own. American were vital partners in the exchange of ideas about the trans-Atlantic, Jacobin-Jeffersonian conspiracy. Americans used the conservative Anglo-American reform movement to delegitimize the Jeffersonians. Negative images of America were a means to power.[74] In casting their struggle against the Jeffersonians in the largest terms possible – the worldwide struggle against Bonaparte – the Federalists portrayed their day-to-day political adversaries in a horrible light. In fact, British disparagement of the United States sometimes paled in comparison to what American authors were writing about their own country. Philadelphia poet William Cliffton's condemnations of the United States in the 1790s blended old and new censures of America. Cliffton, described as the 'most noteworthy of the Philadelphia poets after the Revolution', died in 1799, at the age of 27, his poetry a reminder of the pessimistic strain to American intellectual life during the early years of nationhood.[75] In an 'Epistle to William

Gifford' (founding editor of the anti-American *Anti-Jacobin*), Cliffton spoke of America's degeneracy, natural *and* political: 'In these cold shades, beneath these shifting skies, Where Fancy sickens, and where Genius dies.'[76]

Other American voices described their new nation as degenerate. An author for the *Monthly Anthology*, the Boston counterpart to the Philadelphia *Port-Folio* and no less committed to Anglophilia, noted, 'In this land, where the spirit of democracy is every where diffused, we are exposed, as it were, to a poisonous atmosphere, which blasts every thing beautiful in nature and corrodes every thing elegant in art.'[77] In an article on 'Politick', the *Monthly Anthology* complained of Americans who believed in the superiority of the American Constitution over that of Britain, 'a favourite subject of declamation to ignorant and insidious politicians among us'. After promising to withhold 'any invidious reflections' on the American system of government, the writer lavished praise on that of Britain:

> It is a sublime, a glorious spectacle. . . . There united with all the advantages of tranquility, of law, and subordination, with the permanency of families and estates, with the principles of honour and of glory, with a true love of country, and with every encouragement to the noblest exertions of mind and body in the senate, the cabinet, the field, or on the ocean, and in a private life devoted to the arts, the sciences, and literature.[78]

The *Monthly Anthology*'s editors, not content with the writings of authentic foreign travelers, included a satire of America by a 'Baron Von Hartzensleigzenstoffendahl' (William Tudor Jr., later the founding editor of the *North American Review*). The Hartzensleigzenstoffendahl articles mocked southern (Jeffersonian) proclamations of liberty as hypocritical in light of the practice of slavery:

> Surrounded by their slaves, the love of liberty is sublimated to a passion – and they go to the capitol with a zest for personal independence, that is whetted by the continual sight of the miseries of slavery. . . . They follow an argument with a blow, and are ready to fight . . . And if his arguments do not reach their head – you perceive the pistol in his pocket, whose ball will reach your heart![79]

Although later generations have usually understood American nationalism as an ecumenical affair, the *Monthly Anthology*'s partisan regionalism,

particularly in the form of New England Federalism, would continue to play a substantial role in the Paper War.

Yet, Britons looking for approval in the United States would have been wrong always to take Federalist Anglophilia at face value. America's conservatives were pragmatic in their views of Britain. Dennie's friend Thomas Green Fessenden developed Anglo-literary and business connections early in his career, publishing his first work in England then moving across the Atlantic for business in 1801. Fessenden wrote a 240-page poem attacking Jeffersonian democracy, 'Democracy Unveiled' (1805) that included cantos on 'Illuminism', 'Mobocracy', and 'The Jeffersoniad', meant to combat the 'bad men now dominant, and bad principles, inculcated by the demagogues and philosophists of the day'. Fessenden cited arch-Tory editor-writer William Gifford in his preface, predictable considering his anti-Jacobin purpose.[80] Satirical in style, Fessenden's poem was serious in purpose:

> Devoid of influence or fear,
> I trace Democracy's career,
> And paint the vices of the times,
> While bad men tremble at my rhymes;
> And I'll unmask the Democrat,
> Your sometimes this thing, sometimes that,
> Whose life is one dishonest shuffle,
> Lest he perchance the *mob* should ruffle;
> And who by *public good*, intends
> What'er subserves his *private* ends,
> And bawls for freedom, in his high rant,
> The better to *conceal the tyrant*.[81]

Despite Fessenden's contempt for Jeffersonian democracy, which he associated with Jacobinism, he was also able to pivot towards a critical view of Britain when interests necessitated. Fessenden's *Terrible Tractoration!* (1806) was an indictment of the British medical establishment for not using technologically advanced medical instruments. Fessenden addressed his polemic to the Royal College of Physicians, mocking their fight against the use of 'metallick tractors'.[82]

From an American perspective, England's grasp of modernity was not always perfect or even enviable. Fessenden's was a situational Anglophilia, based on American necessity. Charles William Janson, who had spent several years in the United States, welcomed Fessenden's chastisement of Republican newspaper editor William Duane, but noted that Fessenden

had 'deceived the sage reviewers of London' in his work on the practice of medicine.[83] Fessenden's agility in identifying with England, while choosing aspects of American life that were also superior, gave his Anglophilia an American cast, fundamentally challenging the authority of England. As Leonard Tennenhouse has noted, 'America's brand of Englishness . . . is precisely what made it American'.[84] The need to cherry-pick favorable aspects of English culture and identity would become even more necessary in coming years as Federalism declined as a political force.

Yet, for the time being, the situation was not ripe for making aggressive defenses of the United States. Sanguine views of the United States would act as a magnet, drawing Europe's malcontents (and problems) to America, threatening American society and politics. Tory/Federalist writers also gave the problem a trans-Atlantic dimension, noting that American instability threatened Britain. An influx of radical emigrants pushed the United States into the grasp of Bonaparte, weakening the British Empire's efforts to withstand the demonic French onslaught. The poet Cliffton linked the fortunes of America and Britain. His 'A Poetical Rhapsody on the Times, Describing the Disasters of an Emigrant' related the adventures of an Irish radical ('Paddy') intent on immigrating to America to meddle in American politics ('To wash away our Constitution' and 'To drive our Eagle to the Devil'), the Irishman's ultimate aim being to spread revolution back to Britain.[85]

Commentators have sometimes attributed pejorative foreign accounts of America to ignorance, as if the United States had simply not told its story overseas. An early twentieth-century historian of British travel to America explained that ignorance of America in Europe allowed for the creation of negative imagery: 'Very few visitors tarried long enough to look below the surface . . . to find the elements of strength and greatness which were bound at some time to come to the surface. . . . Perhaps it was because so little was really known about America that writers like Parkinson, Weld, Janson, and Moore felt at liberty to let their imagination wander where it would.'[86] American contemporaries also complained that pejorative images of the United States resulted from European ignorance. In 1804, an American residing in London lamented, 'Indeed, so little is known in Europe of the people of the United States.'[87] In fact, the problem was not primarily one of ignorance. Travelers and reviewers had 'inside information' about America, gathered from Americans – Dennie, Fessenden, and Cliffton included. The construction of disparaging imagery of the United States was a deliberate, trans-Atlantic endeavor meant to stem the tide of Franco-American radicalism and required American participation.

Charles Brockden Brown and the *Literary Magazine, and American Register*

In 1803, Charles Brockden Brown gave up novel writing to found the *Literary Magazine, and American Register*. Brown hoped that periodical work would provide financial stability. Literary historians have been critical of this period in Brown's career. In his *Romance of Real Life* (1994), Steven Watts describes Brown's time as editor as being representative of the transition from 'youthful utopian radical to stodgy middle-age conservative'. Donald A. Ringe writes of Brown's work 'falling off from the truly important fiction he had already written'.[88] Although editing was hardly more secure than novel writing, Brown's rejoinders to European criticisms provide insight into the evolution of American nationalism. As seen in light of the Paper War, Brown's editorship produced a balanced view of the United States, between Anglophobia and the prevailing Anglo-centered views of American nationalism.

A recent study of Brown's editorship of the *Literary Magazine, and American Register* highlights the review of Parkinson in an extensive discussion of Brown's use of 'the mirror of travel'. Travel literature allowed Americans to 'see themselves as they were seen by their closest counterparts in a transatlantic culture'.[89] Brown understood the important of foreign views of America, including in his columns on 'Literary Intelligence' announcements on the impending publication of books on the United States.[90] The involvement of Charles Brockden Brown, one of the United States' first prominent writers, in the Paper War illustrates both the possibilities for creating rejoinders to foreign criticisms and of the dependence of American authors on trans-Atlantic examples.

In 1804, Brown copied an article, 'On the Manners and Customs of the United States', from the London *Monthly Review*, a liberal magazine edited by Richard Phillips.[91] Brown explained that examination of the English commentary on the United States would be instructive for Americans: 'This sketch will enable us to know what ideas are formed of us by strangers.' Yet Brown found problems with the *Monthly Review*'s assessment and marked passages in italics that were 'more than commonly gross'.[92] Brown defended the inhabitants of the new western states of Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee against the charge that '*The inhabitants are almost as unpolished as the Indian natives they have dispossessed*'. Likewise, Brown denied that Connecticut towns enforced the Sabbath against unwilling passersby.[93] Brown understood that his American readers would have different complaints with the English evaluation of America, judging 'by different mode of life or place of

residence'. Notably, in this 1804 article, Brown did *not* italicize passages that indicated the superiority of the northern states over the South or the ill-effects of slavery on the South, which included indolence and a taste for gaming and gambling.[94]

Brown became more aggressive in challenging pejorative foreign travelers' accounts in 1805–6, the shift coinciding with the end of British-American diplomatic rapprochement. A February 1805 article defended America against the charge that the nation 'contained nothing of the picturesque', a common accusation by European commentators.[95] Brown's treatment of Isaac Weld's *Travels* was especially telling. In 1804, Brown had given ten pages to Weld's description of Niagara Falls. In this first article, Brown allowed Weld's depiction to stand without qualification, an expert's eyewitness account.[96] In a January 1806 article, Brown condemned Weld and his *Travels*, providing excerpts from the Irishman's work 'in order to show those who have no opportunity of judging for themselves, how little credit is due to the remarks of this mistaken and prejudiced writer'. Judging from Weld's deceitful account of Philadelphia, Brown doubted that Weld had ever intended to tell the truth about the United States.[97]

Although Brown would have seemingly had an interest in introducing continental European fiction to Americans, his only work of translation was a scientific and philosophical work on America, Frenchman C. F. Volney's *Tableau du climat et du sol des Etats-Unis d'Amerique* (1803). Brown found fundamental errors in Volney's book, in which the Frenchman condemned the American climate (à la Buffon). In his translation, Brown promised to make 'some additional remarks upon the text'.[98] Brown's footnotes provided an especially strong countercharge to the notion of American degeneracy. Brown's work functioned as an *anti*-translation meant to undermine Volney as an authority.

Eager to rebut the notion that residence in America made one's life shorter, Brown explained that America's problems had European origins. Disease in the United States came not from climate but rather from the way that 'absurd modes and vicious habits, and the dress and diet of Europe are assiduously copied in America'. Brown questioned Volney's authority to write on American disease: 'By stepping into a circle foreign to his own . . . he has exposed himself to much critical censure from professional men.' From an American perspective, it was fortunate that Volney had not written about politics and manners, the favored topics of travelers: 'These are topics, on which his prejudices as a Frenchman . . . would have abundant opportunity to show themselves.'[99] William Dunlap, Brown's friend and biographer, noted of Brown's efforts: 'To give an English dress to the crude and often

unfounded opinions of Volney . . . was neither congenial with the talents nor feelings [of Brown]'.[100] In fact, Brown deliberately neutralized Volney's negative depiction of the United States, providing a creative contribution to American rejoinders to foreign criticisms.

In the March 1806 issue of the *Literary Magazine*, Brown published a countercharge to Richard Parkinson's recent *Tour in America*.[101] Brown's treatment of the Englishman's negative travel account attempted to rally Americans against foreign criticisms. Brown ridiculed the farmer-immigrant Parkinson's claims: 'If a native reader derives no instruction from the wisdom of this, he will at least be amused with its follies and mistakes.' Parkinson, only a 'mere practical farmer', showed profound ignorance of conditions in America. His 'previous unreasonable expectations' were applicable 'to the practice of agriculture peculiar to the more refined stages of the art, and the wealthiest period of society'. Demography was destiny, proof of America's agrarian potency: 'The rapid increase of population in America is a more general fact, utterly subversive of all his declamations against the soil.' Although Parkinson had spent nearly three years in the United States, his was an outsider's view, easy to discredit by ordinary American experience.[102]

While scholars have credited his response to Parkinson as innovative, we have not previously understood the complexities of Brown's relationship with foreign commentators on America. Although it does not seem to have been noted in studies of Brown, the American author lifted most of his review, without acknowledgment, from Macvey Napier's October 1805 *Edinburgh Review* review of Parkinson's *Tour*.[103] By any modern standard, America's first professional man of letters was a plagiarist in his effort to defend his country's reputation.[104]

Plagiarism aside, the *Literary Magazine*'s article deserves analysis for what it tells us of Brown's attempt at fashioning a defense of America. The changes that Brown made in his version of the review of Parkinson were more than just cosmetic. Brown introduced Parkinson as 'a practical farmer, who lately spent three years among us'. The 'us against them' scenario was a needed adaptation of the foreign article. Brown used the *Edinburgh Review*'s term, the 'circle of courts', but in a different context.[105] Brown avoided the original connotation of the 'circle of courts', a Whig reference to the Tory government. The reformist Whigs at the *Edinburgh Review* were the actual day-to-day political adversaries of the Tory 'circle of courts'. Instead, it was imperative for Brown, an American, to draw up sides along national lines for his cis-Atlantic readers. To introduce a distinction between *good* and *bad* Britons would have been splitting hairs, undercutting his nationalistic purpose.[106]

Brown removed passages that either boosted Parkinson's claim to authority or divided Americans – for instance: 'Upon the practical part of the discussion which run [sic] through Mr Parkinson's book, we are not much inclined to dispute.' Brown, who had sometimes isolated the South within his depictions of American nationalism, omitted a passage suggesting that the 'accidental circumstance of negro slaves' in the South was a remedy for the insolence of servants. Brown appealed to Americans' vernacular experience to disprove farmer Parkinson's claim to expertise on the United States, challenging the claim that most Americans subsisted mainly on corn: 'How strangely will this sound to those natives, of which there are vast numbers, who do not taste any preparation of maize three times in a year!'[107] By introducing just a handful of original sentences, Brown was able to Americanize the article, helping to conceal primary authorship for his readers, contemporaries and modern critics alike. Regardless of authorship, Brown made his point – commentators must judge America by its own circumstances. The nation *would* develop in time, and not along purely English lines.

While one might dismiss Brown's plagiarism as a desperate attempt to fill the pages of his journal with quality material, the American adaptation of the Parkinson review provides insight into the construction of images of America. One sees the creation of commentary on America by Parkinson – a failed farmer with Tory political notions – refracted through the lens of the late Scottish Enlightenment by the *Edinburgh Review*, and given an American authenticity by one of America's premier writers. The *Literary Magazine*'s publication of the Parkinson review was a signpost in the development of American letters. The plagiarism, though problematic for Brown's reputation, shows that the *Edinburgh Review*, a periodical less than five years old, was already central to understanding how Americans gauged how their society might develop in terms of the arts and political economy. One sees both a broadening of opportunities for American rejoinders to foreign critics and important components that appeared in various Anglo-American literary controversies for at least two generations – a pejorative British travel account, the trans-Atlantic circulation of the *Edinburgh Review*, and an American desire to amend British images of the United States.

Brown strived to construct an irenic, broadly national American identity in the face of foreign criticism. Mostly tellingly, he neglected to implicate American conservatives, including Joseph Dennie, in their role in the creation and promotion of negative images of America. Brown had written for the *Port-Folio*, and both he and Dennie resided in Philadelphia. Indictment of Dennie would have divided Brown from

some portion of his readers. More vitally, to point fingers at Americans would have severely limited Brown's ability to construct an 'imagined community' of Americans collectively offended by an English farmer-failed immigrant, Parkinson. The construction of literary nationalism required a singular villain – Great Britain. Brown was a moderate, unwilling to countenance harsh criticism of the United States but reasonable in his judgments as to America's achievement.[108]

Brown served as a spokesperson in defense of America when other editors chose other strategies for explaining America's place in the world. Robert Walsh, Jr., a self-professed Anglophile and Brown's successor at the *Literary Magazine*, did not review any travelers' accounts as editor. Nor were foreign travel accounts of the United States reviewed in Walsh's *American Review,* the first American quarterly review, in its short existence (eight issues), a telling gauge of Walsh's reluctance to challenge British reviewers on America. Walsh, a contributor to the Whig *Edinburgh Review* and a favorite of Tory reviewers, was reluctant to harm his intellectual and personal relationships. Walsh also feared detaching American nationality from its English connections during these years of failing trans-Atlantic diplomacy. Amongst editors, Charles Brockden Brown stood slightly closer to the nationalistic end of the continuum of American intellectuals, eager to rebut critical commentary on the United States while readily adapting British images of America. Brown died of tuberculosis in 1810 at the age of 39, at a time when American editors and reviewers were just beginning to exert a new spirit in the Paper War. Given the increasingly negative tone of Anglo-American cultural relations and the failings of diplomats, American writers were beginning to take a leading role in the vindication of their nation.

America's growing impatience

By 1805, the pace of British seizures of American ships increased dramatically as the British Empire struggled to deny American goods to Napoleon. An American merchant living in London estimated that, on average, the Royal Navy seized ten ships per week.[109] An October 1805 article written by an 'Injured Merchant' appeared in the Charleston *City Gazette*, indicating the powerlessness Americans felt in regard to Britain:

> Are some people impressed with such a reverential awe for England, that they will look up trembling to that country as children do their parents, kissing the hand that strikes, the rod which castigates them?

> Away, away with such notions, such partialities, such prejudices – Arouse, O my countrymen, be yourselves, be Americans! Do not suffer any power on earth to trample upon you with impunity. You have broken the leading strings which shackled your infancy; you are come to manhood, and I hope that you can cope with any one who dares to be your enemy.[110]

American animosity towards Britain continued to rise, particularly after the Chesapeake affair in June 1807, when HMS Leopard fired on and boarded USS Chesapeake, killing four sailors and taking four others on suspicion of their desertion from the Royal Navy.

In the midst of failing diplomacy and challenges to America's role in the world, American writers began to join Charles Brockden Brown in offering responses to foreign criticisms. Even Dennie's *Port-Folio* showed signs of change. In 1807, the periodical published a letter from 'an English gentleman' residing in the United States who wanted to set the record straight about America. The letter described bundling as a benign, practiced out of 'the greatest pureness as well as simplicity of manners'. By January 1807, Dennie was also trying to distance the *Port-Folio* from the poet Tom Moore: 'I have not seen Moore's book. . . . Judging from the Reviews, he is too severe upon a country which treated him with so much hospitality. . . . You will observe that Moore has been involved in a *paper* war.'[111] Dennie's timidity in the face of the American backlash against Moore's visit may have marked the beginning of the *Port-Folio*'s remarkable metamorphosis towards broad nationalism over the next few years.

The involvement of American writers with British image-makers of America had brought unintended consequences, particularly for the prominent Philadelphians – Joseph Dennie and Charles Brockden Brown. While proclaiming his taste for things English, Dennie helped to create a novel cis-Atlantic taste, Anglophilic but uniquely American. Dennie's literary alliances would have been incomprehensible to the venerated British critics. Brown, in finding a better narrative for the new republic, was still dependent upon foreign sources of inspiration, the authoritative metropolitan journal, the *Edinburgh Review*. Brown and Dennie died within a few years of one another, in 1810 and 1812. Other Americans would build on their fragmentary constructions of American nationality.

A series of articles on 'English Tourists' that appeared in the Federalist newspaper, the *New-York Evening Post*, and reprinted in the *Gazette of the United States* in November 1806 gave an indication of growing

impatience with British travelers and commentators. Extracts from Richard Parkinson's *Travels*, though offensive, were capable of producing 'amusement' for American readers.[112] The articles similarly ridiculed Thomas Moore's account of the United States.[113] In concluding the treatment of poet Moore, the reviewer announced a new spirit for treating critics of America, noting that foreigners would no longer be able to abuse the United States 'with impunity'.[114]

Observers of Anglo-American cultural relations noted the changes in American letters. In one of his 1807 satirical *Salmagundi* letters, Washington Irving mocked the extension of America's Paper Wars across the Atlantic:

> Every now and then a slang-whanger . . . will elevate his piece and discharge a shot quite across the ocean, leveled at the head of the emperor of France, [or] the king of England. . . . The slang-whanger, though perhaps the mere champion of a village, having fired off his shot, struts about with great self-congratulation, chuckling at the prodigious bustle he must have occasioned, and seems to ask of every stranger, 'well, sir, what do they think of me in Europe?'[115]

Irving told of a captain of a slave-ship who, landing for the first time on the coast of Guinea, was addressed by a negro chieftain with the question, 'Well, sir! What do they say of me in England!'[116] The satire was ironic, perhaps subconsciously telling of Irving's own need to be liked by the British critics.

In 1811, a writer for the London *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* mocked Jefferson for having successfully defended American animals but not the Americans themselves, a telling reminder of the poor state of America's image in Britain.[117] British commentators had succeeded in replacing Continental disparagements of American nature with condemnations of American religious disestablishment, manners, and political innovation. As will be seen, some British dissidents struggled to explain otherwise, as did some brave American writers such as Charles Brockden Brown and a growing number of American newspaper editors, willing to counter the prevailing Anglophilia. The Jeffersonian era provided numerous reminders that Americans had numerous steps to take to gain real independence. America was defenseless, unable to repeal either the Royal Navy ships that patrolled the American coast or foreign criticisms. Yet, the flow of the Paper War was beginning to change. The next several years would see an increase in the fervor of American rejoinders to foreign criticisms of the United States. Self-conscious about their lack of

cultural accomplishment and failure to assert maritime and commercial rights, more Americans would attempt to amend their nation's image in the world.

Moderate and friendly British commentary on America

From soon after its founding until at least the 1820s, the most important single image-maker of the United States was a British journal, the *Edinburgh Review*. Founded in late 1802, the *Edinburgh Review* was an important vehicle for the popularization of Scottish political economy and a cultural arbiter for both British and American readers. From its beginning, articles relating to North America were a major staple of the Whig periodical's output. The *Edinburgh Review* soon became a focal point for American readers to comprehend their nation's image in the world.[118]

In an era when negative images of America abounded, cis-Atlantic readers had cause to appreciate the *Edinburgh Review*'s commentary on the United States. The *Edinburgh Review* spoke of American independence without jealousy. Indeed, there was a Whig political moral in the Americans' success in the War for Independence: 'Americans were freemen, fighting for their liberty, and could not but succeed when determined to be free.'[119] Most significantly, American commemorations and histories allowed the Whigs to suggest the need for reforms at home. An 1808 review of histories of General Washington called on Britons to learn from that 'wasteful folly', to better govern the present empire in light of the mistakes made with the thirteen colonies: 'That counsels called factious, because opposed to the wishes of the court, may, when misfortune shall have silenced both sycophancy and prejudice, come to be acknowledged as the oracles of wisdom.'[120]

The *Edinburgh Review*'s 1808 article on Federalist Connecticut Senator James Hillhouse's proposed amendments to the Constitution was illustrative of a reformist Scottish Whig view of the United States, as well as the limits of the journal's esteem for America. That the *Edinburgh Review* isolated, and probably exaggerated the importance of, a particular episode of American politics for domestic purposes was telling. Commendably, the American Constitution was open for amendment: 'Such discussions would be regarded on this side of the Atlantic as the immediate precursors of a radical revolution.'[121] The peculiarities of the Hillhouse plan were less admirable. Hillhouse had proposed to change the office of the presidency, giving the Senate the privilege of annually choosing an executive. Though sympathetic to the dangers of national

election of a president, the *Edinburgh Review* was convinced of a greater danger, the competition between the Federal government and the states. 'Accidental' circumstances (a 'wheel within a wheel') peculiar to the situation of the thirteen colonies had shaped the American founding.[122] The United States inspired reforms but never would be a model.

Americans took it for granted that Tory journals (the *Anti-Jacobin Review* and later the *Quarterly Review*) would be condemnatory, an ancillary of aristocracy and crown; in contrast, the *Edinburgh Review* was honest and popular, *thus* favorable to the United States. A Camden, South Carolina, newspaper explained the difference in 1819:

> The *Quarterly Review* is opposed to the *Edinburg* [sic] *Review* on every subject, political and religious; and particularly on those subjects which are connected with the United States. . . . The *Edinburg Review* furnishes us with the sentiments of the British nation; and the *Quarterly Review* the sentiments of the British Government. . . . The one speaks the language of the people, the other the language of the Court.[123]

Given the general respect given the journal by trans-Atlantic readers and America's bad press in Britain, the *Edinburgh Review* was bound to disappoint. Americans were slow to learn that the Whigs disliked the Tories more than they liked the Americans. At best, the United States was a sociology or political experiment to understand some possibilities for a better Britain. The *Edinburgh Review* did not write its articles to please Americans.

Some aspects of the *Edinburgh Review*'s imagery of America were extremely negative. The journal's portrayal of the United States stressed the Americans' lack of cultural achievement. Macvey Napier's comments in 1805 regarding the American West might have pertained to most parts of the United States: 'They have not yet reached that advanced stage of society, where there are numerous classes who either do not labour all, or are occupied only with the liberal arts. Their generals distill brandy; their colonels keep taverns; and their statesmen feed pigs. It is obvious that, in such a state of society, there can be no great refinement.'[124] As John Clive noted of the *Edinburgh Review*'s early years: 'The *Review* took it as axiomatic that in the realm of culture and intellect nothing better than the mediocre could, for the time being, emerge from America.'[125]

By the *Edinburgh Review*'s accounting, Americans were not degenerate in a Buffonian sense – they were just preoccupied with pecuniary

concerns. The Americans were a commercial people, like 'the modern traders of Manchester, Liverpool, or Glasgow'.[126] The *Edinburgh Review* – a metropolitan journal despite its name – was defensive of American achievements in commerce but suspicious of the new nation's ability to create culture. Henry Brougham explained the causes for American literary inferiority with sociological precision in his July 1803 review of John Davis's *Travels*: 'Literature is one of the finer manufactures, which a new country will always find it easier to import than to raise; there must be a great accumulation of stock in a nation, and a great subdivision of labour, before the arts of composition are brought to any degree of perfect.'[127]

At times, the *Edinburgh*'s reviewers could be even more condescending. In the same issue that he reviewed Davis's book, Brougham gave a particularly harsh review of the 1802 issue of the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*. The volume contained 'of all the academical trifles which have ever been given to the world . . . the most trivial and dull', valuable 'not so much for the sake of the work, as for the purpose of stating and exemplifying a most curious and unaccountable fact – the scarcity of all but mercantile and agricultural talents in the New World'.[128] Still, American culture was immature, not hopeless. It might take generations, but exemplary literature would come in time, as an advanced division of labor replaced frontier conditions and population density increased. The problem was one of circumstance, not pluralism, toleration, republicanism, or democracy, as Tories (and some American critics) claimed.

The *Edinburgh Review*'s fondness for the United States was slow to mature. Jeffersonian-era articles were hesitant in offering an American prescription for Britain's political-societal problems. In the early years, the Scottish reviewers were feeling their way towards an understanding of the new North American republic; the United States had negligible direct relevance. An 1804 review of John Quincy Adams's *Letters on Silesia* praised the education system of Silesia, but not that of the United States, as a possible model.[129] An 1809 *Edinburgh Review* article describing an American 'terrestrial paradise, being blessed beyond any other country with a delicious climate, and a fertile soil' was concerned with Chile, not the United States.[130]

The relationship between British liberals and America was far different from that of some Frenchmen and the United States. As Lloyd Kramer describes in his *Lafayette in Two Worlds*, the Marquis de Lafayette and the United States enjoyed a symbiotic, and necessary, relationship. Lafayette adroitly reminded Americans of their exceptionalism at crucial times in the early republican period, while the 'text' of Lafayette's

career required reminders of his historical connections with the United States.[131] The *Edinburgh Review*-American relationship was more one-sided. By a Scottish Whig perspective, the Americans were country bumpkins, backwards in too many respects. Early-nineteenth-century British liberalism could thrive on mostly indigenous inspiration.

The *Edinburgh Review* was in a difficult situation in regards to trade policy, particularly in its opposition to the Orders in Council, laws aimed at denying the American neutral trade. In July of 1809, the *Edinburgh Review* made the ingenious argument that the United States was doing the Empire's work: 'While America covers the ocean with her ships, England may defy the conqueror of Europe'.[132] Still, the *Edinburgh Review*, always in a difficult situation when defending American neutral rights, proclaimed American interdependence with Britain.[133] The *Edinburgh Review* needed to argue the economic merits of ending the Orders in Council without appearing pro-American.

In what must have been humbling to American readers, the *Edinburgh Review*, like the Tory periodicals, expressed pessimism about the chances for the American republic, barely thirty years old:

> Will she separate into two or three consolidated masses? Or, will the states, more nearly connected, still preserve a certain federal connexion? Will the natives of the new world, like those of antient Greece, form a cluster of independent and rival republics? . . . Or, is it more likely, that, by some grand revolutionary effort, they will be finally incorporated into one nation, with one name, and one government?[134]

In another article, the *Edinburgh Review* warned of the 'weakness and instability' of the Constitution: 'It has the appearance indeed, rather of an experiment, in politics, than of a steady permanent government.'[135] Despite including a large number of articles on the United States, the *Edinburgh Review* cohort could be as blind as the Tories to the growing significance of the United States.

Other moderate journals joined the *Edinburgh Review* in complicating the Tory critique of America. Tory criticisms of the United States were dangerous to chances for reformers at home. Although they were sometimes less than thrilled with aspects of the United States, liberals nimbly positioned themselves as *anti*-anti-American. The *Critical Review*, a journal favorable to the United States, described Parkinson's *Tour* as 'at once a satire and a fable', too ironic and infantile to be taken seriously. The liberal *Monthly Review* questioned how American farmers practiced

subsistence agriculture, according to Parkinson, and yet the United States was a net exporter of agricultural goods.[136]

Despite the prevalence of negative and ambivalent commentary, the United States had enthusiastic friends in Britain, mostly radicals eager to criticize British imperial and domestic policies. Radicals granted the United States messianic qualities as the refuge for English liberty, projecting their ambitions for Britain upon the new republic. Although the American editor William Tudor Jr. later described British radicals as an 'American caucus', their admiration for the United States was more self-referential than based on American realities.[137] During his time in England, Yale professor Benjamin Silliman, weary of foreign praise of American democratic trends, wrote about Englishmen 'whose admiration of America knows no bounds'.[138] For many radicals, images of the United States offered a pathway for political reform and disestablishment in Britain.

The pro-American focus of some Britons gave their writings a trans-Atlantic quality that sometimes camouflaged their origin. The *New Annual Register* grouped Thomas Northmore's epic poem, *Washington: or Liberty Restored* and Joel Barlow's *The Columbiad* together as 'favourable specimens of [American] epic talents'.[139] In fact, Northmore, a scientist and writer, was English, his nationality obscured by his pro-American poem. Northmore aligned British motivations during the War of American Independence with that of the guardians of Hell. For Northmore, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and historical notions of English liberty were synonymous with the United States, not contemporary Britain. The British Empire's battles against the Americans only served to 'pave the way to the introduction of despotick power at home'.[140] Aware of his proper nationality, the *Quarterly Review* accused Northmore of being a traitor, his book 'miserable doggerel'. By the *Quarterly Review*'s estimation, the pro-American Northmore had harmed Anglo-American relations, by 'reviving hatred, exasperating animosity, and tearing open the wounds which the lenient hand of time had well nigh closed'.[141] Although, in retrospect, the *Quarterly Review*, and not Northmore, was detrimental to actual Anglo-American relations, the Tory journal's comments are telling. Conservative Britons had not accepted the finality of American independence, expecting that ties of blood and language would hold over time.

Tories and American books

Later generations have taken the *Edinburgh Review*'s Sydney Smith's taunt of 1820 ('Who reads an American book?') too literally, overlooking

the importance of a significant number of American books in Britain, particularly during the first decade of the nineteenth century.[142] On the surface, it is not difficult to understand why both contemporaries and historians have taken Smith's claim at face value given the reputation of American books. In 1799, the Tory *Anti-Jacobin Review* surveyed recent American books, noting that category to be 'neither numerous nor important'. Someday, perhaps, Americans would have 'literary productions from America, of such importance and merit, as may prove that, in no respect, are they the degenerate descendants of Britons'.[143] In the same year, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* repeated John Ward Fenno's observation that, 'More than nine tenths of the scanty literature of America is made up of newspaper reading.'[144] In a study of British receptions of American writings, an early twentieth-century American scholar noted that, 'The ambition of our literary pioneers far outran their performance, and little of the strictly literary writing done in America between 1783 and 1815 is of much intrinsic importance.' Due to the 'paucity' of American literature, 'English literary men [had] spent little time on American writings'.[145]

Sydney Smith's declaration against American books makes sense from a post-war Whig perspective, particularly given the *Edinburgh Review*'s interest in non-literary facets of the United States in 1820. The Whigs found other favorable aspects of United States – the comportment of American judges, economy in administration, religious toleration. British liberalism needed examples of institutional reform from the United States, not cultural inspiration. American literature was a remote concern.[146]

Yet, Smith's comment was self-serving and blind to the role of American writings for some Britons. In the years leading up to the War of 1812, Britons reprinted, reviewed, and (we can assume) read, American books. American authors were a substantial topic for British reviewers needing to prove some point about the United States, but also Britain. Rather than doubting the importance of American literature from the period, a more productive endeavor would be to understand what books Britons reviewed, and why.[147]

Despite their fierce hostility towards the United States, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* and other notable British Tory journals reviewed a substantial number of non-fiction American books, American authors sometimes being the best confirmation of the Tory worldview. In her book *The Reign of Terror in America* (2009), Rachel Hope Cleves has described the 'multivocal and multidirectional conversation' of Anglo-American anti-Jacobinism during this era.[148] The American books reprinted in London

represented an important aspect of the trans-Atlantic connection. For Tories, the writings of American Federalists were the best confirmation of the evils of democracy, the existence of a Jefferson-Bonaparte cabal, and the need for a tougher policy by the British Empire against the neutral trade.

The Tory reviews' love affair with America's Federalists' fear of Jeffersonians made them eager reporters of congressional debates. The *Anti-Jacobin Review* continually introduced readers to *good* American statesmen and political writers, pro-English and committed to the fight against Bonaparte. The *Anti-Jacobin Review* praised one of Federalist leader Robert Goodloe Harper's 1798 speeches as 'one of the best political discourses' to appear in some time, recommending the American as an expert for those who needed to understand the 'machinations of the democratical party and their French prompters in America'. The *Anti-Jacobin Review* identified Harper as one of the 'real patriots,' meaning that he understood American interests to be the same as those of Britain.[149] The periodical lamented the resignation of Theodore Sedgwick, Speaker of the House and Federalist leader, a force against the influence of France in the United States. Lamentably, because of the 'weak (not to say wicked) measures of Mr. Adams', the Federalists had lost their way in the struggle against Jacobinism. President Adams had become a 'tool of Talleyrand'.[150]

Even as Federalism declined as a political factor in the United States, Tory reviewers continued to champion Federalist intellectuals to their liking. The *Anti-Jacobin Review* hoped the writings of Federalist John Ward Fenno would succeed in removing 'the film of prejudice from the eyes of thousands in this country, who have been accustomed to consider the United States as a model for all political institutions, as the asylum of liberty, and the last refuge of persecuted patriotism'.[151] The *British Review* welcomed William Emery Channing's sermon on Franco-American relations as a welcome addition to American literature. Conservative Britons used Channing, seen by later scholars as a transitional figure in American theology and intellectual life, as a champion against France. Channing's Anglophilia was a starting point for understanding the possibilities for Anglo-American relations, the reviewer reminding that the United States was but a child, not ready for bona fide independence:

> No man of judgment . . . would go about to persuade her [the United States] that there is anything 'degrading' in the necessary dependence of her mercantile navy on the powerful military one of

> England. . . . It is no 'humiliating' degradation from the male virtues and independent spirit of America, that she is compelled to exert them within a sphere limited by the superior power of the parent state.

Underlying Tory analysis of the United States was a Tory refusal to acknowledge American independence. A Jefferson-Madison policy of favoring France would 'directly tend to the slavery of their country, and consequently to the extinction of every principle of real virtue and independence'. The reviewer asked, 'Are they so very blind to their true INTERESTS as not to be convinced, that it is of more national importance to them *to be free*, than to carry coffee to Amsterdam?'[152] As the *Anti-Jacobin Review* explained, Americans were incapable of understanding the sources of their wellbeing: 'There is no people upon earth who are apt to form such mistaken and erroneous notions of the views, the principles, and the designs, of foreign powers, as the Americans.'[153]

Philadelphia Federalist Robert Walsh Jr.'s *A Letter on the Genius and Disposition of the French Government* (1810) was a favorite with Tory reviewers. The 'anti-Gallican pamphlet', as Walsh called it, was a classic of American Anglophilia. Walsh explained what he had seen in England in terms of perfection: 'There does not exist and never has existed elsewhere, – so beautiful and perfect a model of public and private prosperity; – so magnificent . . . so solid a fabric of social happiness and national grandeur.' Walsh's England was prosperous and free:

> I saw no instances of individual oppression . . . I witnessed no symptom of declining trade or of general discontent . . . I found there every indication of a state engaged in a rapid career of advancement. I found the art and spirit of commercial industry at their acme; – a metropolis opulent and liberal . . . a cheerful peasantry . . . an ardent attachment to the constitution in all classes.[154]

In contrast, Walsh described how Napoleon's despotism ruined French society and economy. To Tories, Walsh's flattery of Britain was crucial to arguments *against* reform and revolution. As the *British Review* noted, Walsh's *Letter* had 'electrified' British 'literary and political circles'.[155]

In 1811, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* gave twenty-two pages to reviewing Walsh's work, unusual for the monthly periodical, an indication of the respect given to the American editor and that journal's concern for worsening Anglo-American relations. Again, the reviewer did not see the United States' interests being different from that of Britain, and

accused the American Government of the most vicious motives. The Jefferson-Madison policy of embargo and estrangement from Britain was 'pollution of public honour, and by such a degradation of national character, and by such an abandonment of national interest' as to make an observer believe that the Republicans were 'if not in French pay . . . devoted to French interest'. The *Anti-Jacobin Review* became the arbiter of American nationality and welfare: 'Mr. Walsh is a staunch Antigallican, be still he is a true American. Mr. Jefferson, on the contrary (and the same may be said of his tool, Mr. Maddison [*sic*], and of several others) is an American by birth, but a Frenchman in heart.' Walsh, blessed with a 'manly and virtuous mind', was the good American, Jefferson and Madison emblematic of the bad.[156] Of Walsh's *Letter*, the *Literary Panorama* explained, 'It has done good in America'.[157] Likewise, George Ellis at the Tory *Quarterly Review* noted Walsh to be 'an acute and comprehensive mind, improved by much previous study'. The naturalized American John Bristed later noted that, 'Sufficient juctice [sic] has not been rendered to Mr. Walsh's literary efforts in the United States; in Britain he is better appreciated.'[158] The *New Annual Register* advocated the writings of both Walsh and Channing for their healthy views on France. The reviewer was grateful that the United States retained an Anglophile minority who were 'alive to the merit of those sufferings and sacrifices which the parent isle has for so many years been sustaining to preserve the balance of the moral and political world, and to save it from shipwreck and ruin'. According to this perspective, only Britain could save Americans from the yoke of French despotism.[159]

Conversely, reform-minded reviewers were more wary of Walsh, particularly his image of Britain. The young American had internalized his Anglophilia too thoroughly, his travel account being an endorsement of the condition of England, discomforting Whigs. Although Walsh had written two articles for the *Edinburgh Review*, that journal warned its readers that American Anglophilia, as exhibited in Walsh's *Letter*, was harmful, implicit support for the *status quo*. Although the Government had 'done all in our power to alienate and offend' Americans, Walsh blindly believed the Mother Country a little too perfect. By their Whig perspective, Walsh was wrong about the British Government, 'to whom no part of the nation looks up with respect or confidence'.[160] In comparison with the Tory journals, the *Edinburgh Review*'s connection with American literature was more precarious. Given the predominance of conservative Federalist American authors willing to flatter the status quo in Britain, American books would not suit the Scottish Whig's modest reformist ideology. Likewise, the *Monthly Review* complained

of Walsh's indifference to the stamp taxes and duties in Britain.[161] The radical William Cobbett believed the *Letter* was a fraud by a 'pretended American', an Englishman making a covert argument for paper money.[162] American Anglophilia would never be suitable for the English party out of power.

The English lawyer James Stephen's *War in Disguise; or, the Frauds of the Neutral Flags* (1805) provided an ideological foundation for the British Empire's increasing hard line against the American carrying trade. Stephen, known by posterity for his work in the British Empire's abolition of the slave trade, set the tone for Tory understandings of American commercial policy in Paper War polemics, taking aim against both Americans and domestic opponents. By Stephen's estimation, the time of 'indulgence' in dealing with the American neutral trade had ended.[163] He claimed an 'almost equal hatred of Napoleon and Jefferson'. Stephen received encouragement from the Pitt ministry for *War in Disguise*, earning a seat in Parliament for his efforts.[164] The *Anti-Jacobin Review* followed Stephen's lead, lamenting every British concession to the United States and arguing that war would be less disastrous than further accommodation to American trade demands.[165] It was disastrous to 'sacrifice the honour and safety of the country to a mean, ignominious, and destructive lust for peace'.[166]

British advocates of a tougher trade policy towards the United States found a willing accomplice in the United States, Virginia Congressman John Randolph. James Stephen championed Randolph's 1806 speech 'On the Non-Importation Resolution of Mr. Gregg,' reprinting the speech in London with his own introduction.[167] The *Anti-Jacobin Review* praised Randolph, his speech being 'that of a true statesman, who loves his country, and warns it against the adoption of a system, in which its best interests would be sacrificed to the gratification of 'mercantile avarice'.[168] Randolph's speech was a gift for supporters of the Orders in Council, proof that some Americans understood that the British Empire had the United States' best interest in mind.

The *Edinburgh Review*, supportive of the neutral trade, lamented Randolph's Tory views. Randolph's speech 'abound[s] in examples of the worst taste'.[169] By the *Edinburgh Review*'s estimation, Randolph's opinions were not representative of most Americans', but rather reflected his position as a prominent Federalist leader (actually an 'Old Republican' or 'Quid'), an 'orator of a party professedly in opposition to the government'.[170] By the Whig periodical's view, Randolph's opinion was no more authoritative than that of any Englishman who supported the Orders in Council.

To combat both British *and* American supporters of the Orders in Council, the *Edinburgh Review* advocated their own favorite American author, the merchant and long-time resident of England, Macall Medford. Medford's *Oil without Vinegar, and Dignity without Pride* (1807) was a plea for neutral trading rights and better relations between the United States and Britain. In the face of increasingly bad diplomatic relations, Medford argued that, 'Perhaps no two countries were ever better situated for making each other rich and happy as England and the United States of America.' Medford lamented the 'ill defined and ill understood naval code' of the British Empire.[171] According to the *Edinburgh Review,* Medford's *Oil without Vinegar*, despite the book's unfortunate title, had fairly described the importance of the neutral trade.

Not surprisingly, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* derided Medford, arguing that Britain was perfectly just in her treatment of American sailors and ships. The Tory periodical mocked that, luckily, for Medford, in America there were 'no reviewers' to analyze his faulty book. The remainders of the English edition were shipped to Philadelphia.[172] The criticism of Medford would have surprised attentive readers of the *Anti-Jacobin Review*. In the previous issue, a reviewer had praised the American's European travel account, *Observations on European Courts* (1807). Medford had shown keen understanding of the dangers of French despotism to Anglo-American liberties, even comprehending the need for reform in British military tactics.[173]

By any reasonable measure, Britons were paying attention to American authors and American books. Everyone had his favorite American scribe. Yet, the selection of a small number of books by a limited number of American authors gave incomplete images of the United States in Britain. In particular, there were the consequences to the repeated condemnations of the Republicans and favoritism towards the Federalists. Britons were convinced that proper-thinking Americans valued the Mother Country and might succeed in reattaching American policy to the British Empire. As Perkins described, many Britons had a 'savior complex' in regards to the United States.[174] Fantasies about a commonality of Anglo-American interests blinded Britons to any broad measure of American public opinion. It was no wonder that, though they had long accused the Jeffersonian cliché of warmongering, many British commentators were surprised at the United States' declaration of war in 1812.

American geopolitical realism and Anglophilia blended, confusing British commentators and readers as to American's intentions. The boundaries of American Anglophilia would not become clearer until

after the War of 1812. In the ante-bellum, while the Republicans expanded their hold on national politics, Britons uncritically read their favorite American authors – mostly Federalist, many New Englanders, and *all* supportive of myopic, British perspectives on the United States. Contrary to the impressions given by both contemporaries and literary historians, Tories heartily accepted American Federalist political and theological tracts into the corpus of English conservative literature. Sydney Smith's ridicule of 1820 was the product of both Whig self-interest and the lull in the republication of American books in England after the end of the War of 1812 when the reputation of American conservatives had declined in Britain and before the popularity of the work of Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper.

The most controversial single fiction work for British reviewers was Joel Barlow's epic poem, *The Columbiad* (1807). Barlow, a radical and notorious Anglophobe, was an important target for many British commentators. William Cobbett never forgave Barlow for the ditty that he led a crowd to sing on July 4, 1794 in Hamburg: 'God save the Guillotine, Till England's *King* and *Queen*, Her power shall prove: Till *each anointed knob* affords a *clipping* job, Let no vile halter rob the Guillotine. . . . Let freedom's flag advance, Till all the world, *like France, O'er tyrants' graves shall dance, And peace begin!*'[175]

British reviewers ridiculed the quality of Barlow's composition. The *Eclectic Review* called *The Columbiad* 'a stumbling block to genius, for ages to come', useful only as an example of the influence of 'infidel (not to say atheistic) philosophy.'[176] In a 30-page review of Barlow's poem, the *London Review* examined causes for the 'sterility of American genius'. A mixed blessing for the Americans, their problem was *not* the curse of New World climate. Instead, Americans had prematurely divorced themselves, politically and culturally, from England: 'Their knowledge of science, and of letters, and even that spirit of liberty which first taught them the value of independence, are borrowed from a people whose proficiency in the arts of government, and the *literae humaniores*, they no longer regard but with envious rivalry.'[177] The *Edinburgh Review* likewise panned Americans' aspirations for Barlow's poem: 'Mr Barlow, we are afraid, will not be the Homer of his country; and we will never take his place among the enduring poets either of the old or the new world.'[178]

As recently noted, perhaps no other work in the history of American literature 'has been a harder sell to prospective readers' than *The Columbiad*.[179] This was true for British *and* American reviewers, as Barlow's poem was routinely criticized by his own countrymen who

refused to let Barlow speak for their nationalistic aspirations. In 1821, Harvard professor Edward Everett savaged Barlow's work in the highly regarded *North American Review*: 'Barlow's *Columbiad* had ever been regarded by the judicious public of the United States, as a total failure; that it has been little read and less liked; and that on its appearance the critical journals of this country handled it quite as severely . . . as those on the banks of the Thames.'[180] The London *Eclectic Review* had created a straw man in explaining that every American appreciated the 'pedantry of patriotism and barbaric verbosity' of *The Columbiad*.[181] Barlow's epic poem would not be the standard for American rejoinders in the Paper War.

American slavery and other varieties of unfreedom

From the beginnings of American agitation against colonial rule, British commentators had pointed to slavery as proof of American hypocrisy to a proper claim on liberty. As the English radical Thomas Day explained in 1776, 'If there be an object truly ridiculous in nature, it is an American patriot, signing resolutions of independency with one hand, and with the other brandishing a whip over his afrightened slaves.'[182] The existence of slavery in the early American republic continued to be a sign of the duplicity of both American republicanism and of America's friends in Britain. In 1809, the *Quarterly Review* mocked Thomas Northmore's poem *Washington, or Liberty Restored* for praising the 'pure soil of Virginia', a state 'more crowded with slaves than other of the American states'.[183]

Although slavery was a major concern in commentary on the United States in the early nineteenth century, factors worked against slavery becoming the dominating issue that it would become later. A significant number of British commentators were convinced that other varieties of servitude, or even other aspects of American comportment, were more important issues than chattel slavery. The problem of British emigration loomed over discussions of forced labor in the United States. The *Annual Review and History of Literature* foresaw the end of chattel slavery with the end of the slave trade, but saw a more sinister problem in America – the trade in *redemptioners*, European indentured servants. The Irish and German '*white* slave trade' was more disconcerting than black chattel slavery.[184] Criticism of the trade in European bondsmen was central to the 'look before your leap' polemics, a caution to potential working class emigrants that the United States was not synonymous with liberty. The farmer-traveler Richard Parkinson condemned the redemptioner

trade, 'an absolute slave-trade, and much worse than the punishment for convicts'.[185] Eager to diminish the United States as a destination for emigrants, critics of America made black chattel slavery tangential to broader debate over emigration, at least until the 1820s.

Even the problem of American manners sometimes trumped slavery. The *New London Review* was sure that the natural increase of slaves in Virginia was 'convincing proof that they are used with humanity'. The writer instead condemned White southerners for the twin sins of gambling and eye-gouging: 'Here gambling is carried to the most shameful excess; and the infamous practice of gouging, which would disgrace cannibals, meets neither with reprehension nor check . . . Gouging is exclusively an American *diversion* . . . In some places every third or fourth man appears with one eye!!!'[186]

In the *Edinburgh Review*'s early years, American chattel slavery was a significant topic but did not overwhelm other analysis of the United States. The Scottish reviewers were even defensive of American behavior on the issue. Henry Brougham, a committed opponent of slavery, complained that John Davis had given 'a very exaggerated idea of the severity with which slaves are generally treated in America'.[187] The *Edinburgh Review*'s timidity to criticize the United States would dissipate in coming years, beginning with the aftermath of British abolition of the slave trade in 1807, but especially after the end of the War of 1812 when the Scottish Whigs' criticisms of American slavery balanced praise of the American political system.

Other liberal periodicals, though mostly sympathetic to the United States, were critical of chattel slavery. The *Monthly Review* lamented the 'pernicious and debasing influence of slavery' in the South.[188] Even if slaves in Virginia were well treated, the *Monthly Review* noted the inhumanity of slaveholding: 'There is always ample cause, when it appears, for humanity to weep, and to lament that men and Christians can live so regardless of the feelings of their fellow-creatures.'[189]

Not surprisingly, Americans found other forms of unfreedom within the Anglo-American sphere worthy of criticism. Americans understood the Royal Navy's impressment of American sailors in terms of slavery. John Quincy Adams decried the 'authorized system of kidnapping upon the ocean'. Nationalistic newspaper editor Hezekiah Niles denounced the British Empire as a 'robber and man-stealer on the ocean'.[190] More generally, Anglophobes like Niles believed *all* British subjects to be slaves.

Still, despite the variety of anti-slavery discourses, Americans showed a growing sensitivity to British criticisms of American chattel slavery.

William Austin, a Massachusetts native studying law in London, confessed that Americans were 'nationally guilty of but one enormity, I mean the toleration of slavery. . . . Yet in England, a country whose oppressions have travelled with the revolution of the globe . . . a negro is as free as a Briton! I blush for my country; and I have been made, by Englishmen, to blush for my country!'[191] Austin's comments foretold an increase in the quantity and complexity of American rejoinders to slavery in coming years as nationalistic rejoinders would become reflexively aggressive.

The end of 'War by Halves': The *Anti-Jacobin Review* and *Quarterly Review*

Amongst British periodicals, the turn-of-the-century champion of anti-American criticism in Britain was the London *Anti-Jacobin Review*. A journal 'not to be noted for good manners', as the historian Stuart Andrew explains, the *Anti-Jacobin Review*'s critique of the United States rested on criticism of American disestablishment of Church and State and an abundance of innuendo linking America's Republicans within a Jacobin-Bonapartist conspiracy.[192] The 1797 prospectus for the *Anti-Jacobin* declared the periodical's open prejudice for 'Establishments, civil and religious'. The periodical promised to refute literature 'devoted to the cause of SEDITION and IRRELIGION, or the pay or principles of FRANCE'.[193] A simple maxim predicted America's future: 'THAT NO STATES WHICH HAS NOT RELIGION FOR ITS BASIS, EITHER CAN STAND, OR OUGHT TO STAND.'[194]

The *Anti-Jacobin Review* never failed to attribute the worst possible motivation to America's Republicans, consistently linking American and French republicanisms in a vast conspiracy: 'When a people are so degenerate as to *chuse* for their governor an Atheist and a Jacobin, they certainly deserve every calamity which can befal [sic] them.'[195] Napoleon was pulling the strings in America, having control of 'the Virginia atheist' (Jefferson), and the Republicans, all of whom 'if not in French pay, have been, from the operation of some secret, but powerful, influence, devoted to French interest'.[196] Bonaparte had bribed both Jefferson and 'his puppet Madison' with 'French gold', the Louisiana Purchase being a cover for the Republican-Jacobin conspiracy.[197] An 1809 article blamed Jefferson for wanting military conflict, to serve his master, Bonaparte: 'Jefferson is at the head of a French faction, bent on war with England, from a servile wish to flatter the pride and to conciliate the friendship of that murderous usurper, whose iron reign is

already extended over the fairest part of Europe.'[198] An early champion of 'America as she really is' emigrant accounts and travel literature, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* mocked the radical emigrants who had found a home in the United States, doubting that a bad British subject should 'become a good one in the United States'.[199]

The theme of degeneracy and declension remained widespread within Anglo-American commentary, with political causation for degeneracy in the United States joining ancient tropes about American naturalistic corruption. To many Tory observers, democracy had damned the young republic to a premature death. Shakespearean scholar Isaac Reed's *European Magazine, and London Review* explained the young republic's decline in political terms: 'The absurd notions of liberty and equality . . . have made a rapid progress in the United states; and their produce has been a coarseness of manners and contractions of ideas, which have thrown back civilization far beyond the period of Bacon of Virginia [in the seventeenth century].' American manners had gone 'from *bad* before the revolution to worse since', a damning indictment of American democratic republicanism.[200] Not surprisingly, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* forecast disunion for the United States. In 1798, a writer expressed surprise that 'the East and Northern States, and those of the South' had been 'united, and that their union has lasted so long'.[201] The *Anti-Jacobin Review* also noted the removal of the seat of government to 'a wood in Maryland', speculating that the attempt to fabricate a capital would 'hasten the downfall of this tottering fabric of a government'.[202]

In February 1809, a more vibrant Tory competitor appeared to do battle with the *Edinburgh Review* – the London *Quarterly Review*, edited by William Gifford, former editor of the *Anti-Jacobin Review* during its initial run as a weekly magazine. The *Quarterly Review* amplified travelers' criticisms regarding America and carried a weight of importance that the *Anti-Jacobin Review* never attained. For at least a generation, no other journal would exasperate Americans as much as the *Quarterly Review*. The *Quarterly Review* gained a collection of prominent authors with governmental connections, quickly becoming an important voice for the Tory party.

The Americans' least favorite journal was born out of British domestic political debates framed within the Napoleonic Wars. An October 1808 *Edinburgh Review* article co-authored by Francis Jeffrey and Henry Brougham had read the situation in Spain against that in Britain, musing about the possibilities of change.[203] The article, 'Don Cevallos on the French Usurpation of Spain', brought retaliation from readers and even contributors for the authors' expressed republicanism. After

'Don Cevallos', the *Edinburgh Review* remained *the* top-tier British periodical but also lost some of its ecumenical appeal, shedding 2,000 subscribers and important contributors. By forcing a schism within the *Edinburgh Review*'s former readership and cohort of writers – some of whom, including Walter Scott, became involved with the *Quarterly Review* – the 'Don Cevallos' article transformed the dynamic between the United States and British periodicals. The subtraction of conservative contributors and readers allowed the *Edinburgh Review* to become more reform-minded, a factor that allowed the construction of favorable images of the United States during the post-Napoleonic War economic downturn. The *Edinburgh Review* would sometimes pivot to a more sympathetic view of the United States, particularly when reform was an issue in Britain, in clear distinction to the *Quarterly Review*. This demarcation within British periodicals would also encourage most Americans to understand the Scottish critics – fairly or not – to be their political kin.

Like its Whig counterpart, the *Quarterly Review* gave readers a healthy dose of articles on America. Poet Laureate Robert Southey gave the periodical's inaugural treatment in a November 1809 review of Abiel Holmes' *American Annals*.[204] In the 1790s, Southey had flirted with the idea of immigrating to the United States, imagining in a 1795 letter that, 'America is the land of my wishes'.[205] Youthful indiscretions aside, the 1809 article showed Southey to be a defender of Church and State. He would use America as a potent rejoinder to unrepentant reformers.

Southey's nineteen-page review began on a positive note. He cited his favorite Americans, praising New England Puritans and Pennsylvania Quakers. Contrary to widespread opinion, America's early immigrants had not come from England's prisons. Southey's mood changed when he turned to recent events. He referred to the American Revolution as a 'subject which neither we nor our Trans-atlantic brethren should wish to remember'. In fact, the *Quarterly Review* would recall American independence and its effects repeatedly during its early years in order to remind readers of the fruits of republicanism. Southey focused on America's post-Revolution decline. After the break with Britain, American morality suffered. America's system of toleration had extreme results: 'There is scarcely any medium in America between over-godliness and a brutal irreligion.' Slavery had corrupted the South, where there was no semblance of religious life. The northern states suffered from fanaticism. The result was iconoclasm and materialism. American merchants had 'a worse character than those of any other nation'.[206]

The western part of the United States provided a repertoire of memorable shortcomings. Forgetful of his praise for the ancient eastern seaboard

of America, Southey made the West representative of the American experience. Frontier conditions had given Americans 'a trace of savage character'. Heavy drinking produced a violent society: 'Ale stupefies the drunkard, wine exhilarates him, drams make him frantic. . . . Their *rough* and *tumbling*, their biting and lacerating each other; and their *gouging*, a diabolical practice, which has never disgraced Europe, and for which no other people have even a name.' Civilization had shallow roots in America. As Southey summarized: 'The Americans have overrun an immense country, not settled it.' By Southey's account, European civilization had decayed irreparably in America. He complained that, in comparing America with its Mother Country, 'the family likeness had been lost'.[207]

Southey's review was symbolic of growing British impatience with the United States, the years of diplomatic problems and war with America having taken a toll. Polemics over how to deal with the neutral trade and Jefferson's embargo added to the Tory-*Edinburgh Review* rivalry. In taking a tough stance against the United States, Southey was staking a claim against the Whigs, the perceived pro-American party. Similarly, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* mocked 'Messrs. Brougham, Baring, Jeffery and Co.' for their 'commercial ignorance and partiality' towards America.[208]

Britain's problems in Europe led to a stronger stand against the United States. A much-discussed book of 1810–12 in Britain was Captain C. W. Pasley's *An Essay on the Military Policy and Institutions of the British Empire* (London, 1810). Pasley, a seminal thinker responsible for the renewal of British imperial strategy, argued for an end of alliance-making and vacillation. War needed be masculine, uncompromising. Pasley's favorite maxim was that one should not conduct war 'by halves'.[209] War against United States was likely, and need be pitiless:

> We ought to consider the United States as the wanton and bitter enemies of our existence, and treat them accordingly. . . . We ought not to make war against them by halves, but to do them all the mischief possible. By so doing, instead of adding to the present absurd and groundless hatred, which the populace of many parts of America now seem to feel against us . . . we shall only make them respect us. . . . The stream of popularity may even, in course of time, run in our favor throughout the Union.[210]

British reviewers, convinced of America's permanent ties with England and fearful of vacillations in the government's policy towards the United States, would increasingly adopt Pasley's uncompromising,

cruel-to-be-kind strategy towards the United States during the few years before the outbreak of war in June 1812.

The animosities of the Paper War doubtless contributed to escalating the situation at sea between the British and American navies. As Bradford Perkins explained, the Royal Navy shared the belief that Britain was the victim in Anglo-American diplomacy, adding to the combustible situation at sea. As Anglo-American relations worsened, 'Many British officers, with that paranoid attitude of whining superiority so common among them, chose to believe England the aggrieved party'.[211] Given the difficulties in Anglo-American diplomacy, the Paper War was fuel to the fire.

The ongoing war with France and fears of social and political unrest in Britain continued to frame Tory commentary regarding the United States until after Waterloo. Southey's condemnation of American religion and culture came at a time when English conservatives felt their country imperiled by Napoleon and dissension from within. Given their use by British liberals and radicals to agitate for reform, American political and religious innovations threatened to destabilize British society. The Southey review was just a beginning for the *Quarterly Review*. With the United States as a focal point of the Tory critique of the British Empire's timid war-trade policies, and as a foil against reform at home, the *Quarterly Review* would soon be on the front lines of one of the most contentious campaigns of the Paper War.

2
Inchiquin's Letters and Anglo-American Nationalism

A significant campaign in the Paper War commenced with the appearance in 1810 of *Inchiquin, the Jesuit's Letters*. Credited to 'some unknown foreigner', *Inchiquin's Letters* purported to be private correspondence to and from an Irish priest, Inchiquin, residing in the United States. *Inchiquin's Letters* was a seminal work in the Paper War, a more ambitious retort to foreign criticisms than previous American rejoinders. Responses to *Inchiquin's Letters*, both British and American, also broke conventions of trans-Atlantic paper warring, making the episode an excellent study in the dynamics of Anglo-American cultural relations, a window into the shifting nationalisms of the era of the War of 1812.

The years surrounding the War of 1812 and the Inchiquin episode saw both an increased tendency of Britons to criticize the United States and growing willingness of American writers to offer rejoinders defending their rising nation. British images of the United States evolved during the era, reflecting wartime tensions and concerns over the identity and future of Britain. Tories, supportive of a tough stance against the United States on maritime and commercial issues and fearful of the prospect of American-style reforms at home, depicted the United States as a nation subservient to France, suffering from the divorce of the Church from society, rift with corruption and moral decline. At the turn-of-the-century, British conservatives had found some Americans (mostly Federalist Anglophiles) to be kindred spirits. Increasingly, in an era of diplomatic tensions and war, Britons increasingly found it less desirable to split hairs about good-bad Americans.

Likewise, Anglo-American polemics encouraged American self-expression. American writers experimented with expansive modes of nationalism years before General Jackson's triumph at New Orleans in January 1815 or even the declaration of war in June 1812. Americans

across the political spectrum – Republicans and Federalists, Anglophobes and Anglophiles – agreed that British commentators had gone too far in their criticisms. Yet, like the War of 1812, the literary conflict illuminated political and sectional divisions. Although these were vital years for the maturation of American nationalism, the competing notions of American identity worked against the development of a univocal response. Irenic, non-partisan visions of American history and culture vied with sectional and partisan varieties. Regional and political divisions flourished at the very time that a growing number of American writers were rallying to defend the United States. American declarations of independence continued to be juxtaposed with reminders of dependence upon Britain.

American rejoinders to foreign criticisms during this era also suffered from problems that complicated the development of American nationalism. The charge of plagiarism troubled vindicatory literature. Historians have explained the era of the War of 1812 to have been limiting for African Americans and that political participation for women became scarcer; Anglo-American polemics of that era were similarly limiting on matters of race and gender.[1]

Ingersoll's Declaration of Independence

The author of *Inchiquin's Letters* was Charles Jared Ingersoll (1782–1862), a Philadelphia lawyer and aspiring Republican politician. Ingersoll had a variety of reasons to produce a nationalistic tract. Ingersoll's familial lineage was ill suited to an increasingly democratic political atmosphere. His grandfather, a British colonial official, remained a Loyalist and was tarred and feathered during the Revolution. His father, Jared Ingersoll, a signer of the Constitution, was a committed Federalist who notoriously described Jefferson's election in 1800 as a 'great subversion'.[2] As Charles Jared noted some years later, he was 'brought up to respect Adams, admire Hamilton, and revere Washington'.[3] Ingersoll remained a Federalist while at Princeton. Back in Philadelphia, he joined the 'Tuesday Club' associated with ultra-Federalist Joseph Dennie and contributed to Dennie's *Port-Folio* during that journal's early, Anglophilic, and ultra-Federalist, years. Ingersoll even served as one of Dennie's attorneys during the editor's libel trial in 1805.[4] As Ingersoll's biographer explained, 'The large majority of the associates whom he acquired from his father and from his position in society were members of the defeated and discomfited Federalists, and partook to a large degree of the opinion quoted from Dennie.'[5]

European travels in 1802–3 were a catalyst for Ingersoll's conversion to an aggressive bent of Americanism. In Paris, he witnessed an unforgettable violation of liberty:

> Sixteen *gens d'armes* suddenly and silently filed in, and arrested one of the Frenchmen. Not a word was uttered; no authority was shown but the uniform of the soldiers. No warrant, no cause assigned, no question asked, but the man in dread silence was marched away, under custody of his guards. I felt with a shudder that no Habeas Corpus act, no public sympathy, not even a police report, could come to his relief, and I fancied his fate mine.[6]

Although London brought some relief – 'I breathed in England that air of freedom which to American respiration is inconceivably refreshing, without which Europe with all its magnificence is splendid misery' – not all was right in Britain.[7] Ingersoll was shocked by the trial, conviction, and execution (on what he believed was dubious evidence) of Colonel Edward Despard in 1802–3 for High Treason.[8] A convert to a robust view of American greatness in his early twenties, for the rest of his life Ingersoll depicted the United States as *the* exceptional place for liberty.

Upon returning to Philadelphia, Ingersoll practiced law, arguing cases before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, and as a state clerk.[9] In June 1807, during a heated debate, Ingersoll made a proclamation that political adversaries would not soon forget: 'Had I been a man during the Revolution, I should have been a Tory. Many of the best men in the country were so then; many of our most exemplary citizens now sided with the mother country at that crisis.'[10] The Republican press reprinted and embellished Ingersoll's strange admission, followed by letters registering readers' disgust with the young man's 'Toryism'. The careless statement, perhaps made in deference to his grandfather (and noncontroversial amongst Dennie's circle), spelled trouble for Charles Jared's political career.[11]

Ingersoll, previously the author of a tragedy, *Edwy and Elgiva* (1801), turned to writing nationalistic books. His first non-fiction works, *A View of the Rights and Wrongs, Power and Policy, of the United States of America* (1808) and *Inchiquin's Letters* (1810), served to remedy his myriad of problems, both genetic and self-inflicted.[12] Publicizing doubts about America's connection to Europe was an appropriate strategy for Ingersoll to solidify his recent shift to the Republicans and overcome his associations with Dennie's circle and the 'would-have-been-a-Tory' incident.

Nationalistic writings also served as an expression of Ingersoll's increasing Anglophobia, a growing impatience with continued commercial and cultural dependence, and feelings of American diplomatic impotence given the British expansion of the Orders in Council, embargoing France and thereby diminishing American trade.[13] In a letter to Rufus King, American Minister in London from 1796 to 1803 and architect of post-Jay Treaty Anglo-American rapprochement, Ingersoll protested the founding generation's unwillingness to stand up to Britain:

> Our foreign relations and domestic politics, tho abundantly strange, have long ceased to be interesting. Nothing but perplexities abroad nothing but democracy at home and tho it is my misfortune not to coincide in opinion with you as to the root or remedy of our foreign evils, yet I am sure we concur equally in deploring them, and in deprecating that languid internal system which endures and protracts them. I cannot but believe, perhaps merely because I hope, that Mr. Madison will display a more manly and magnanimous policy than either Adams or Jefferson, and that the time is not far distant, when, if we are not rescued from embarrassments, we shall at least rise from the political palsy under which we are groaning at present into something like national action and dignity.[14]

Ingersoll, a transitional thinker, was critical of both the Anglophile Federalist view of Britain and pacifist tendencies of Republican Anglophobia. Until the United States was at war, Ingersoll would rally Americans in the face of international and domestic problems.

View of the Rights and Wrongs went beyond issues of trade and the impressment of American sailors. Ingersoll dared Americans not to look to Britain for their novels and poems, calling out his fellow Philadelphian and former editor, Joseph Dennie, by name:

> The vast quantity of useless English books, imported into the United States . . . should be matter of regret to every friend of American literature. There is a class of cognoscenti among us, whose delight it is to decry what are stigmatized as Columbian effusions, and to extol every spawn, no matter how poor and contemptible, from the presses of England. At the head of this sect is a gentleman, whose elegant acquirements, amiable disposition, and masterly pen, are alike misplaced in the occupation to which he too often stoops, of attempting to ridicule the dialect and customs of his country. If they were as coarse and peculiar as the perusal of English magazines, and

> the tattle of English itineraries may have persuaded him they are, he should at least chuse gentler methods of correction. The rod is an instrument little used in this free country; and if the English were as worthy of imitation in their literature as Mr. Dennie imagines them, we are not to be lashed into their idioms and orthography.[15]

Ingersoll's condemnation of Dennie was symbolic of his break from literary Federalism, his energetic defense of the United States against British economic and cultural mercantilism an important landmark in the evolution of American nationalism. The son of a Founding Father, Charles Jared Ingersoll used paper warring to make his own declaration of American independence.[16]

Notwithstanding his proclamation of American cultural autonomy in *View of the Rights and Wrongs*, Ingersoll had not provided specific examples of American genius.[17] A few years later, in *Inchiquin's Letters*, Ingersoll boldly identified an American national literature. Despite the disguise as 'Jesuit's letters', *Inchiquin's Letters* offered a clearer and broader perspective on American nationalism than previous rejoinders to foreign criticisms.

Eager to portray the United States as a victim of foreign calumnies, on the title page of *Inchiquin's Letters* Ingersoll quoted the *King James Bible*: 'Saul, Saul, why persecutes thou me?' Ingersoll then turned to satire. His fantastic story of a Greek merchant's travels in Washington, D.C., mocked European images of America. The Greek anticipated meeting 'a carnivorous Indian, with his tomahawk, riding post on a mammoth'. In the space of a single day's ramble in the 'wilderness' of the capital, the Greek encountered the British ambassador on a hunting trip, saw a man fatally wounded in a duel, and wandered onto a horse race where he witnessed copious amounts of gambling. Later that same day, the Greek survived a tornado and suffered spending a night on the floor of a log cabin.[18]

By playful characterization of the most ridiculous European images of America, Ingersoll became the defender of all Americans, Republican and Federalist. All critical accounts of America became some part of the Greek's story. Yet, Ingersoll's attribution of unenthusiastic images of the United States to European commentators obscured the genesis of negative imagery of America – American writers had been party to the creation of pejorative imagery of America. Jefferson's infatuation with the mammoth had been commonly ridiculed in the Federalist press, a 'democratic curd' of 'asses' milk', as the *Port-Folio* teased.[19] Federalists had also mocked the building of a new capital city on the Potomac River.[20]

Even some Americans doubted the salubriousness of the American climate. Having blamed Dennie and the Anglophiles in *View of Rights and Wrongs*, in *Inchiquin's Letters*, Ingersoll rallied Americans against foreign critics in order to encourage nationalistic unity, ignoring the role that Americans had in the construction of pejorative images. Although Ingersoll's readers may have understood the satire to include images created by American writers, the villains of *Inchiquin's Letters* were foreign. Ironically, Ingersoll employed the archaic English genre of satire using 'found traveler's letters' to prove the value of the young republic. Throughout the Paper War, English culture acted as the standard, even for American writers who claimed only to want independence.

In the last letters of *Inchiquin's Letters*, Ingersoll turned to a serious explanation of American history and character. Always fearful of the 'factious degradation' of American politics, Ingersoll gave an ecumenical vision of early American political history.[21] Ingersoll praised George Washington whose 'good sense' had established the foundation of America's greatness. Conversely, Ingersoll, a Republican, found faults with Jefferson, his greatest shortcoming being the Virginian's 'imperturbably pacific' policy towards Britain.[22]

Ingersoll's most radical pronouncement regarded American literature. He celebrated the state of American letters, proclaiming Federalist John Marshall's five-volume *The Life of Washington* (1805) and Republican Joel Barlow's epic poem, *The Columbiad* (1808), to be the cornerstones of a national literature. Ingersoll claimed these works to be 'at least compatible, if not superior to any that has appeared in Europe since the independence of the United States'. a claim that would attract the ridicule of reviewers on both sides of the Atlantic.[23] One could compare 'Marshall with Smollet, Bissett or Fox, and Barlow with the metremongers of the day . . . and neither they nor their country need fear the comparison'. Time would tell whether Barlow 'shall be seated' with Homer, Virgil, and Milton.[24] Ingersoll speculated that Barlow was 'probably capable of production superior to *The Columbiad*'. The Greeks waited until their eightieth Olympiad for a historian; Marshall appeared in the first generation of the American republic![25]

Ingersoll admonished Americans for suffering a 'colonial spirit,' a

> habitual veneration for what is European. . . . A servile postponement of their own natural and manly habits to the most preposterous European usages, a thirst after the company and alliance of foreigners in preference to their own countrymen. . . . Wretches, who have no God, household, or supreme – the creeping things of the earth,

> who feed on the offals of foreigners – who lick the foot that trample on them – who are despised by all others, even those they worship, and must despise themselves.[26]

Ingersoll pleaded for Americans to shun the literary metropolis, be it London or Edinburgh, attacking the British periodical writers and the sycophantic American editors who combined to prevent American literary independence. The literary elite were 'never satisfied with nature and plain sense, but incessantly crave the angry and romantic', as he explained.[27] Convinced that a literature based on American experience would supplant classical formulas, Ingersoll was a proponent of republican culture.[28] The aggressive expression of American literary nationalism is often associated with the War of 1812, specifically with American triumphs over the Royal Navy.[29] In *Inchiquin's Letters*, Ingersoll had already championed a martial spirit for American literature.

In Letter VIII, a 78-page survey of 'national characteristics', Ingersoll defended America's colonial origins and climate. Protesting European claims that the original core of America's settlement was comprised of 'vagabonds, mendicants, and convicts', Ingersoll denoted the original colonists 'intelligent and distinguished individuals', motivated by 'piety and freedom'. The United States had 'noble and auspicious' origins.[30] Americans were close to surpassing the Abbé Raynal's prediction that the population could never rise above ten million people, demography being proof of America's hospitable climates and providential destiny.[31] While of disparate origins, Americans were of one class: 'Luxury has not yet corrupted the rich, nor is there any of that want, which classifies the poor. There is no populace. All are people'. Ingersoll distinguished American republicanism from the 'catastrophe of the French Revolution', noting that the American republic 'was the natural fruit of the American soil'. Americans had adopted a 'free, republican, commercial federation' that avoided the 'furious or bloody' republicanism of the French Revolution.[32]

After rallying Americans against European travelers and natural philosophers, Ingersoll lamented Americans' recent declension. In the thirty years since the Revolution, Americans had 'lost the energy of patriotism'. The United States, in its refinement, had become effete, incapable of defending its interests in the world. As a remedy, Ingersoll proposed 'public festivals and recreations' to remember the American Revolution.[33]

Having begun with satire, Ingersoll ended *Inchiquin's Letters* with a call to arms. Ingersoll called on Americans to 'cultivate so much

of a warlike spirit, as may not be incompatible with their republican institutions'. The backdrop for Ingersoll's call to arms was the June 1807 Chesapeake Affair, during which the frigate USS Chesapeake was fired upon and boarded by the HMS Leopard off Norfolk with four American sailors killed and four others captured. Of the nation's embarrassment at sea, Ingersoll affirmed that, 'Blood, blood alone can wash out that stain'.[34] In his penetrating analysis of pre-1812 liberal ideology, *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790–1820* (1987), Steven Watts examines Ingersoll's work within the context of the growing chorus of voices against accommodation to injustice at the hands of foreign powers, fearful that the United States was suffering from declension. Ingersoll, like many of his Republican contemporaries, gravitated to the notion that war would solve the United States' problems.[35] Ingersoll's admonition of Americans was also a reminder that *Inchiquin's Letters*, ostensibly a rejoinder to foreign critics, was written for American readers. The United States' failure to deal with foreign interference bred despair and fears of declension. Ingersoll's America was both exceptional and pathetic, destined for a special providence but also challenged by stronger European powers and internal disunity.[36]

Keen to use *Inchiquin's Letters* to further his national political career, Ingersoll announced himself to be the author in a letter to President James Madison. Ingersoll expressed his lament that 'want of self-respect, an unjust self-appreciation', lingered as 'a defect in the American people'.[37] Ingersoll later described the War of 1812 as the 'second edition of American Independence'. In fact, he had been fighting for nearly four years before Congress's declaration in June 1812.

Inchiquin's Letters put an end to Ingersoll's symbolic tarring and feathering over the 'would-have-been-a-Tory' comment in John Binn's Philadelphia newspaper, *The Democratic Press*. Although Ingersoll never found favor with William Duane's *Aurora*, he was right with the most important Republican faction in Pennsylvania and became a contributor to *The Democratic Press* during the War of 1812.[38] Ingersoll's early writings were an effective means to test his country's separation from Britain and exorcise Federalist (and even Tory) ghosts. Yet, as seen from a variety of contemporary American responses to Ingersoll's book, *Inchiquin's Letters* was more a call to arms for American nationalists than a definitive statement of American nationality. Other Americans would challenge British criticisms on different terms, providing competing notions of America's greatness.

American responses to *Inchiquin's Letters*: national pride and partisan politics

Ingersoll's book appeared at an opportune time, as literary and naval humiliations pushed American editors to re-evaluate America's relationship with Britain, to turn the tables on John Bull. After Britain entered an economic depression in 1810, Americans reacted with articles on the 'Situation of England', admonishing Britons that the British Empire's commercial treatment of America, most notably the Orders in Council, was the cause of the misery.[39] In 1811, the Albany Republican newspaperman and novelist Isaac Mitchell's *Balance and State Journal* took on Robert Southey's London *Quarterly Review*'s treatment of Abiel Holmes' *Annals of America*. The *Quarterly Review* was not so credulous to believe the ridiculous claims of British travelers but was instead intent on deterring emigration to the United States.[40] Mitchell's protest towards the *Quarterly Review*, perhaps the first by an American, was the beginning of a habit. Americans would offer copious rejoinders to the Tory periodical for more than a generation. Other American writers joined in the remonstration with a Wilmington, Delaware, newspaper decrying 'the miserable distortions and scandalous aspersions of a Weld, a Parkinson, and Ashe, and other *English* travellers, poets and *dairy-men*'.[41] British denigrations that had been an annoyance, or even amusing, a few years earlier, had become unbearable to a wide range of Americans.

Scholars have undervalued the initial responses to Ingersoll's work. In fact, Americans, amidst signs of national weakness, welcomed the new martial spirit. The Washington Republican newspaper, *The National Intelligencer*, ran excerpts from *Inchiquin's Letters*, noting its 'rapid circulation'.[42] In a lead article, the Wilmington *American Watchman and Delaware Republican* recommended *Inchiquin's Letters* to 'every friend of literature and of his country'. The same page contained a review by Paris-based diplomat David Baillie Warden of a French work on Native Americans. Images of the United States in the world had become an obsession for American editors and readers.[43]

The Philadelphia weekly, *The Cynick*, praised Ingersoll's work as 'the production of an American – as an American, evincing a dispassionate mind, generously free from a great portion of that huge mass of vulgar prejudice, that disgraces our country'. Ingersoll's inclusions of both Barlow's *The Columbiad* ('a valuable piece of political morality') and Marshall's *Life of Washington* ('uncoloured and unadorned') into the American literary canon was especially helpful for national reconciliation. Yet, two aspects of *Inchiquin's Letters* were especially faulty by *The*

Cynick's estimation. Ingersoll's harsh criticism of newspapers and periodicals was unwarranted. More importantly, Ingersoll should not have included an amended version of Edmund Burke's 1775 passage from his 'Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies' speech regarding the South's greater attachment to liberty due to the influence of slaves: 'People of the southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty.' *The Cynick*, a short-lived magazine mostly concerned with theater, would not be the last periodical to question the role of the slaveholders within the context of defenses of America within the Paper War.[44]

From an American perspective, the most surprising aspect of the Inchiquin episode was the reaction of the Philadelphia periodical, the *Port-Folio*. Charles Caldwell's two-part review of *Inchiquin's Letters* appeared in the *Port-Folio* in the April and May 1811 issues.[45] Caldwell, a physician and expert on medical jurisprudence, welcomed Ingersoll's defense of United States: 'A work of the kind has been long wanted – long a desideratum in American literature.' Caldwell's review was a signpost statement of American nationalism, a portent of the new possibilities for conservative depictions of the United States.[46] Caldwell, who had moved to Philadelphia as a young man to study medicine with Benjamin Rush, was aware of the importance of Anglo-American connections/rivalries in medicine. Remembered in American medical history for his controversial views on yellow fever and dubious medical research, Caldwell's *Port-Folio* contributions to the Paper War were significant statements of shifts within the important literary journal.[47]

Caldwell called on other American writers to 'awake from their lethargy,' to

> put forth their might, and vindicate their own and their country's reputation – it is time for them to convince foreigners who want information, and such of their fellow citizens as are wavering in their opinions, that we are not, as represented, a degraded and uncharacterized people. . . . All party distinctions should be abolished . . . and every local consideration merged in a noble resolve to become a band of *Americans*, and do signal justice to their country and themselves.[48]

Caldwell praised Ingersoll for rising above the fray of partisan politics: 'Inchiquin does not come forth clothed in the habiliments of party, professedly to defend the tenets, or fight the battles of either sect into which our country is politically divided. . . . His object is to defend the

new world against the licentious calumnies of the old, not to engage in a party conflict.'[49]

Caldwell condemned 'the ill-contrived falsehoods, the wanton defamation, which for thirty years past have been heaped on our country by foreign writers'.[50] Attempts to denigrate the United States 'in the eye of the world' were the product of a 'nefarious and pitiful plot' by a mercenary 'motley corps of writers'. Caldwell denounced the 'malapert and profligate gang of tourists' including 'idle visionaries as Brissot, such wordy gossips as Liancourt, such disgusting obloquists as Bulow, such unprincipled ingrates as Weld . . . and that suing, wooing, amatory, half-prose, half-verse, licentious defamer, Anacreon Moore'.[51] Caldwell's estimation of America's literary enemies was forgiving of the *Port-Folio*'s editor, Joseph Dennie, and his role in creating pejorative images of the Jeffersonian-era United States. As described in the previous chapter, the *Port-Folio* cohort had been an important partner in Moore's American venture and publicist for Bulow's book.

Caldwell promised to defend the United States in every foreign quarrel: 'The individual who can believe his country, no matter whether his belief be true or false, to be inferior to the surrounding countries of the globe, must immediately devest himself of national pride, and with it must also resign a certain portion of personal dignity and self respect.'[52] Caldwell's broad proclamation of the need for loyalty to country was a precursor to Admiral Stephen Decatur's legendary 1816 toast, 'My country, right or wrong!' Misunderstood by later generations, these proclamations of exceptionalism were hopeful declarations of American autonomy in a dangerous (and British) world.

In other articles, the *Port-Folio* turned against former friends, those foreign travelers who had denigrated the United States. An anonymous letter from 'The Stranger in New York' appeared in the December 1811 issue. The writer, purporting to be an Englishman in the United States, condemned European travel writers: 'A Weld, a Bulow, a Jansen [sic], a Moore, a Parkinson, and many others, have successively dipt their pens in the gall of malignity. . . . What offence can be greater? What crime more unprovoked, than thus rudely assailing the character of a whole nation?'[53] As seen in the *Port-Folio*'s stance against foreign critics in 1811, the journal's seismic shift did not wait until Dennie's death from cholera in January 1812 or Jackson's victory at New Orleans.[54]

The *Port-Folio*'s treatment of Barlow's *The Columbiad* shows changing nationalist aspirations of both the periodical and its readers. An initial review had appeared in January 1809. The writer was tough on Barlow's skills as a poet, criticizing *The Columbiad*'s 'discordant mass of characters,

facts, and descriptions' and 'exuberant use' of allegories. Yet, however condemning of Barlow's method, the 'national and patriotic' subject of the *The Columbiad* escaped the reviewer's wrath. The appearance of *The Columbiad* had announced a new period in American letters:

> A quarto epic poem – polished by twenty years labour – issuing in all the pomp of typographical elegance from an American press – the author an American – the theme, the history of our country! What an era in our literature! What an epoch in the history of our arts! What a subject for the reviewer. Employed, as the critic in his country has long been, in hunting down party pamphlets and boarding-school novels, fast-day sermons, and 'such small deer,' it is with proud satisfaction that he at length sees his field enlarged.[55]

Americans were ready for still bigger game, a trophy moose. The *Port-Folio*'s readers were apparently less than satisfied with a 'right poem-wrong poet' assessment of *The Columbiad* and demanded a better estimation of Barlow's work. In the May 1809 issue, another review of the epic poem appeared, a *mea culpa* that illuminated the *Port-Folio*'s recognition of a new attitude to American literature. The writer disingenuously pleaded editor Dennie's innocence, the 'caustic criticism' of the *The Columbiad* in the previous review being neither a sign of prejudice against Barlow or American literature: 'This has excited not a little clamour against the Editor, who is again and again rebuked for his fancied prejudice against the Literature of his country. This is a very hackneyed topic of calumny, and the eternal jangling of this monotonous peal of old bells is a little wearisome'.[56] Dennie's *Port-Folio* had made a living off disparagement of American literature during the journal's first several years. The repentant attitude was indicative of the *Port-Folio*'s need to pivot towards a more sympathetic and nationalistic view of American letters.[57]

Sanguine understandings of the possibilities for American literature did not exclude reminders of American dependency upon England. The second *Port-Folio* review included long excerpts from the London *Monthly Magazine*, a periodical favorable to the United States, telling of the inadequacies in Barlow's book. English critics continued to set the standard of how to judge literature, even an American epic poem, a situation that was not soon to end but that more and more American readers would find unappealing.

An 1810 *Port-Folio* article, 'Strictures on Volney's "View of the Soil and Climate of the United States"', sought to demolish the authority

of the Comte de Volney and his *Tableau du climat et du sol des Etats-Unis d'Amerique* (1803). A half-decade before, the *Port-Folio* had read the Frenchman's book through a conservative lens, attacking Volney's religious skepticism as an outgrowth of the French Revolution's impiety, a danger to American morals. In the 1810 article, addressed from Cincinnati, Ohio, the writer discounted Volney's geology. The previous Federalist political-moral critique of Volney's (French atheistic) philosophy was supplanted by a more mundane means of undermining Volney's authority on the United States. The Frenchman simply did not know his American rocks.[58]

Through calculated self-reconstruction in the Paper War, the *Port-Folio*'s writers had shed their symbiotic relationship with foreign critics of the United States, becoming a champion of America. The declaration of war in June 1812 allowed for still more opportunities to express robust nationalism. Dennie's immediate successor at the *Port-Folio*, Nicholas Biddle, founder of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and future head of the Bank of the United States, ran a twenty-page biography of Lieutenant James Lawrence ('Don't give up the ship!') in September 1813. The *Port-Folio*'s 'American Gallantry' series began with Revolutionary War heroes and expanded to include articles on the war. The journal sponsored a naval song contest in 1813.[59]

Inchiquin's Letters served as a vehicle for the *Port-Folio* to pivot towards a more expansive view of American nationalism, yet many Federalist newspapers, involved in day-to-day political maneuverings and less adaptive to expansive modes of nationalism, did not care for Ingersoll or his book. A Georgetown newspaper condemned 'Inchiquin Ingersoll' as the 'young pimp' of Philadelphia Republican leader John Binn.[60] Ingersoll's praise of Barlow was especially controversial. The Federalist *Alexandria Daily Gazette* mocked that 'Posterity will never be troubled with deciding the question whether Barlow shall sit by the side of Homer'. The matter was as easy as distinguishing between a crab apple and an orange. Distrustful of Barlow's radical politics, libertine reputation, and experience as a land-jobber, the writer remarked: 'There was never yet an instance of a bad man that was a good poet.'[61] In wartime congressional debates, the *Bennington Newsletter* mocked: 'Inchiquin Ingersoll soars above the empyreum of former poets.'[62]

Most disturbingly, the Federalist newspapers accused Ingersoll of plagiarism. Modern students of American literature have overlooked this vital aspect of the Inchiquin episode, an indication of continuing Franco-American links. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* teased that Ingersoll had tied up some translated parts of a French language work, 'Leçons

de literature', in the bundle of *Inchiquin's Letters*. In parallel columns, the newspaper showed beyond a reasonable doubt that Ingersoll had translated Fontanes' 'Eloge Funèbre' of George Washington.[63] The Georgetown *Federal Republican* mocked 'Inchinquin [sic], who writes tragedies and *translates French* with so much facility and exactness'.[64] Federalist editor William Leete Stone's Hudson *Northern Whig* condemned the 'Philadelphia plagiarist': 'There is no character in the literary world more cordially despised, nor more deservedly, than the plagiarist.'[65]

Ingersoll's plagiarism was a gift to Federalist critics, proof of the inauthenticity of Republican ideology. Like Jeffersonian ideas at their root, Federalists could claim that Ingersoll's Americanism was a fraud, aped from French models. From a historical perspective of American nationalism, at least Ingersoll copied his tribute of the United States' first president from a French source, a suitable choice considering his Anglophobic understanding of American nationality. The Philadelphia journal, *The Cynick,* had praised Ingersoll's portrayal of Washington as 'delivered in terms which should always be the language of Americans'.[66] In reality, Ingersoll's plagiarism symbolized American writers' continued dependence upon European culture.

Despite these problems with Ingersoll's book, *Inchiquin's Letters* had struck a chord with American readers. Under the pressures of war and literary conflict, even conservatives found themselves embracing a more fervent nationalist spirit. In May 1814, a writer for Washington Irving's *Analectic Magazine* warned of the 'conspiracy' between the English reviewers, 'the most conceited of the whole tribe of authors,' and the Anglophile American editors who had 'a mighty predilection, or rather an indiscriminate admiration, for every thing of foreign growth'. Americans needed an American literature, an American dialect: 'We shall never be truly independent . . . till we make our own books, and coin our own words.'[67] The *Analectic Review*'s call for literary independence, made *before* the burning of Washington in August 1814 and publication of the harsh British peace terms that October, was an indication of a changed American landscape. A scholar of the Inchiquin episode has described the strategy of the prominent literary magazines of the period in the Paper War as 'civilized neutrality'.[68] In fact, American periodicals had already engaged in combat against British reviewers.

The London *Quarterly Review* and *Inchiquin's Letters*

As Americans put on a brave face in the Paper War amidst a host of uncertain factors, British conservatives began to sense that the United

States might replace France as a menace to the British Empire. America was a potent symbol of republicanism and innovation in Church–State relations. As discussed in the previous chapter, pre-war British commentary on the United States had adopted a masculine stance. As more Americans joined in literary combat after 1810, British attitudes towards the United States hardened further. The shift paralleled the diplomatic/military attitudes exemplified by Captain C. W. Pasley's *An Essay on the Military Policy and Institutions of the British Empire* (London, 1810). Tory wartime analyses of the United States continued in the same harsh vein, granting no degree of liberality to their understanding of America. Although travel to the United States waned during wartime, those Britons eager to learn about the United States were given a second edition of John Lambert's *Travels through Canada, and the United States of North America* (London, 1811, revised 1814). Lambert's preface to the second edition reminded readers of the 'air of rude licentious liberty' exhibited by the American populace. Lambert explained the current war to have been 'in total disregard' to American's 'own interests': 'They have voluntarily enrolled themselves in the cause of universal despotism.' Lambert contrasted English-speaking Upper Canada with the United States, a habit that would increase after the war as prospective emigrants searched for favorable locales after the war.[69]

Wartime Tory reviewers identified an inventory of deficiencies inherent to the American government, most notably the relative independence of the states and the weakness of the executive. Not surprisingly, writers found lessons for domestic politics. The *Critical Review* admonished would-be British reformers *not* to mimic the American republic, instead proposing that the United States reform according to a British model: 'An executive power with more force; a senate composed of permanent members . . . a representative body, composed of great freeholders . . . such are the improvements which Americans ought to introduce. . . . Governments have been essentially established to protect property, and that the best of all is that which protects it most.' Reluctant to credit Americans for innovations in literature or the arts, the *Critical Review* did worry about a new American invention – the torpedo.[70]

Tories could neither stop hating the United States nor allow Americans their autonomy. The *Anti-Jacobin Review* remained the most critical of the prominent British periodicals, encouraging diplomatic inflexibility and providing extreme characterization of America and Americans: 'We question much whether the boasted independence of the Americans – the fruit of treason and rebellion grafted on ingratitude – has been productive of beneficial effects, either to their *political* or to their *moral*

character. . . . The national character of America has nothing attractive, nothing commanding, nothing great, belonging to it.'[71] In the spring of 1811, the *British Review* continued to anticipate an Anglo-American alliance against Bonaparte: 'The parent and the child, united in the strictest bonds of friendship, might step forward hand in hand to the front of the battle; – might oppose their oaken bucklers to the further inroads of vice, folly, cruelty, and atheism.' Ironically, the same writer warned Americans of the contempt that Frenchmen had for the United States.[72] As late as March 1812, the *Quarterly Review* predicted that the United States would 'open her eyes to her true interests, she will see her own prosperity in the prosperity of Great Britain; and in those maritime rights, against which she joins with France'. In partnership, Americans would see 'not merely the safeguards of British power, but the surest protection of American independence'.[73] Myopic images of the United States were hardly a foundation for either realistic understandings of true American interests or sincere efforts at diplomacy. Given that advocates of a hard line against the United States were also believers in ties of blood/language and a union of common interests against France, it was no wonder that the American declaration of war in June 1812 caught many Britons off-guard.

Written for an American audience, *Inchiquin's Letters* did not make an impact in Britain for four years. *Inchiquin's Letters* would have been mostly forgotten if not for John Barrow's forty-five page review in the January 1814 London *Quarterly Review*.[74] The *Quarterly Review*, founded in 1809 as a Tory challenger to the Whig *Edinburgh Review,* was a worthy opponent when it came to the subject of America. The United States had an important role in the journal's early years with the *Quarterly Review*'s inner circle – Robert Southey, John Wilson Croker, Barrow, and William Gifford, the editor – dominating the creation of images of the United States in the periodical's first two decades. The Barrow review of Ingersoll's book was one of the bloodiest salvos in the entire Paper War.

The ostensible catalyst for Barrow's delayed review of *Inchiquin's Letters* was a report on supposed British war atrocities presented to Congress in November 1813. In fact, the ongoing issues that stimulated British perspectives on the Paper War – religious disestablishment in the United States, the triumph of Jeffersonian democracy, and the overarching need to prove the undesirability of emigration to America – dwarfed both Ingersoll's book and the war.[75] *Inchiquin's Letters* was just a starting point for Barrow who used an assortment of British and American sources to deride the Americans, who he mocked as 'the most virtuous, free and enlightened people on the face of the earth'.[76]

Barrow depicted America as forlorn, the 'divorce of church and state' having terrible consequences. The novel and 'illegitimate sects' in America resulted in a 'fanatical extravagance to which the bulk of mankind would be driven, by the raptures of visionaries, or the arts of imposters, or by the mere necessity and craving of the human mind for some intercourse with its Creator, – in the absence of a national church, and an established worship'. Barrow mocked Ingersoll's assertion that Americans were of one class: 'We knew, indeed, that there was no "Corinthian capital" above the shaft of the column, but we did not apprehend that there was any want of rough stone and rubbish at its base.'[77]

Barrow provided a memorable litany of bizarre American practices – camp revivals, gouging, bundling, sparking, dram drinking, spitting, smoking, land-jobbing, tarrying, slave-flogging, plagiarizing (Benjamin Franklin and Pennsylvania scientist David Rittenhouse included), and fighting in Congress.[78] Americans, given to egalitarian novelties, could not appreciate Shakespeare: 'Shakespeare is much too English and too monarchial to please them.' Intent on developing Americanisms (and transforming nouns into verbs), Americans were 'substituting a new language of their own' for English.[79]

Barrow condemned Jefferson's Republicans as the 'French Party', explaining that, 'Jacobinism of democracy, or the Jacobinism of despotism; the mania of a single tyrant, or of ten thousand', both meant the end of liberty. Barrow also taunted the Federalists, explaining that they were 'the English party, not because they bore any love towards England, but because they hated the English less, in proportion as the opposite party professed to love the French more'.[80] Barrow mockingly included a quotation from American geographer Jedediah Morse, made shortly after the American Revolution, forecasting the inevitable perfection of Western Civilization in the fledgling republic. Within the context of the Inchiquin debate, the *Quarterly Review* was willing to sacrifice potential American allies, including the New England Federalist Morse, an indication of the new severity of the Tory critique of the United States. Previously, British Tories had championed American writers and politicians with cultural connections with England.[81] Frustrated by nearly a decade of soured relations, a year-and-a-half of war, and fearful of the government's weakness at diplomacy, Barrow could stand no American allies.

While the *Anti-Jacobin Review* remained America's harshest critic, the *Quarterly Review* had become infamous in the United States, mostly due to that journal's notorious reputation as an official mouthpiece of the Tory government. Foreign Secretary George Canning had helped found

the *Quarterly Review*, and Secretaries of the Admiralty John Wilson Croker and John Barrow contributed. Americans' initial misunderstanding that Poet Laureate Robert Southey had written the review of Ingersoll's book undoubtedly elevated its importance. Although falsely accused, Southey was capable of similar criticisms. The pressures of failing diplomacy and the outbreak of hostilities unnerved Southey, who, at later times, would play a conciliatory role in shaping the *Quarterly Review*'s opinion on America. An 1812 letter indicated Southey's exasperation: '[The Americans] have become independent (by our fault, most assuredly) a full century before they were of age. See what it is to have a nation to take its place among civilized states before it has either gentlemen or scholars! They have in the course of twenty years acquired a distinct national character for low and lying knavery; and so well do they deserve it that no man ever had any dealings with them without having proofs of its truth.'[82]

American counteroffensives

The January 1814 issue of the *Quarterly Review* did not leave the printers until late March or early April of that year.[83] Americans probably did not read Barrow's denigrations until early summer. When Americans did read the review of Ingersoll's book, all hell broke loose. The *Quarterly Review*'s review of *Inchiquin's Letters*, and not Ingersoll's work itself, quickly became the central issue in the Paper War. The following two years represented the most creative period of the Paper War, the varied responses to Barrow's review being illustrative of a multiplicity of perspectives on the meaning of America. Although the Barrow review was ostensibly an assault to American national honor, the article provided an opportunity for American writers to construct their own versions of American nationality. American reactions to the Barrow review were contrived, disproportionate to the extent of earlier foreign calumnies against the United States and blind to the degree of American participation in the making of negative images. Barrow's review, though hardly novel in its criticisms of the new republic, was a convenient injustice, a timely opportunity for authors and editors to embrace and influence a renewed American spirit. American rejoinders also reflected the underlying vulnerabilities of 1814–15.

The *Boston Daily Advertiser*, the same newspaper that had accused 'Inchiquin Ingersoll' of plagiarism, offered a partisan-regional defense of the United States against Barrow and the *Quarterly Review* in seven articles that appeared between August 20 and August 29, 1814. Considering

that the January 1814 issue of the *Quarterly Review* had arrived just a few months earlier, the response was rapid. The volume of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*'s response was an indication of the opportunities provided by Barrow's review.[84] The article series – 'Our character defended against the Quarterly Review' – represented a narrow Massachusetts perspective, positioning New England Federalism above both the rest of the United States *and* England. By the *Boston Daily Advertiser*'s perspective, the United States was even worse than the Barrow review had portrayed.

The writer did not even attempt a defense of the United States: 'I do not propose to find fault with the spirit of the reviewers in holding up our nation to the contempt and execration of the British nation. . . . We certainly admit that the conduct of our *government* ought to excite the most keen resentment of every honourable Englishman.'[85] Instead, the Bostonian refused to let the *Quarterly Review* judge New England by the rest of America. Just as 'half civilized' Ireland and the Isle of Skye were not representative of Britain, the South and Middle States were inapt to form an opinion of the United States. Ingersoll's Philadelphia was degenerate, suffering from a dilution of Englishness and an excess of Irish and German democracy, 'the most extraordinary and heterogeneous mixture of any place in the world. It has been more completely for many years, under the power of the mob than any place except Paris, from 1793 to 1800'. The Federalist critique extended to England, as the writer, citing the authority of British historians, criticized the corruption of Parliament and the judiciary. Mobocracy dominated London and Westminster politics, with English elections being even worse than those in America.[86]

From a Boston Federalist perspective, the *Quarterly Review* had sinned in slandering New England, the 'the English character' of America. With England depraved and America taken prisoner by atheists and lunatics, New Englanders were Anglophone civilization's last bastion of virtue:

> In what country on the globe can be found a more glorious example of fortitude than has lately been exhibited in New England, containing one million and a half of souls? . . . Shew us such an instance in British history where in the midst of danger, the power, the sword and the torch uplifted in the hand, both of the rulers and the mob, the people of England dared thus to express themselves.[87]

Although critical of the corruption of the English legal system and politics in the large English cities, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* flattered aspects of British government, including the monarchy: 'In England

they have checks upon the prevalence of democratic and leveling principles which we cannot apply. Their executive is unchangeable. Ours is the head and exciter of our mobs.'[88]

The Boston newspaper defended Britain's conduct in the ongoing war, noting that, 'The general reputation, the undisputed characteristic of British armies and navies is that of generosity in warfare.'[89] In the final article of the series, on 27 August 1814, the writer promised, in the next issue, an analysis of the 'Virginian nation', Virginians being 'proud and haughty, impatient of submission to regular authority, and yet tyrants when in power'.[90] The article on Virginia's slave democracy never appeared.[91] British troops entered the city of Washington on August 24 and burnt the major public buildings, including the Capitol and White House. The news of the extent of the damage apparently reached Boston before the eighth article could appear. Undoubtedly, the burning of Washington was a setback for Anglophilic perspectives of America. Still, the *Boston Daily Advertiser*'s 'better English than the English' defense of New England illuminated the continued importance of trans-Atlantic points of reference to American identity. By any reasonable measure, this Massachusetts-Federalist perspective on the war put the United States in grave danger. Yet, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* articles were also an earnest understanding of the United States' best interests, expression of the belief that 'the Western world would be far better off under a Pax Britannica than a Pax Gallica'.[92] Offensive by later standards, regional defenses of America, New England Federalism as the real America, remained a genuine option for rejoinders in the Paper War.

The destruction of Washington provided a curious story of Anglo-American cultural antipathy as Admiral Cockburn personally oversaw the destruction of the *Daily National Advertiser*, a Republican newspaper that had supported a harsh stance against Britain. As the story goes, when dealing with the newspaper's typesetting, Cockburn commanded his men, 'Be sure that all the c's are destroyed, so the rascals can't abuse my name any more!'[93] The 1814 Chesapeake campaign and burning of the capital combined with the aggressive Federalist anti-war movement to magnify the Republicans' indignation and sense of helplessness. As one South Carolina Republican implored his countrymen during that difficult year of 1814, 'The day has arrived when everyone must declare for or against the Republic.'[94] The dire military situation added impetus to the Paper War. With Americans ready for *any* victory, the London *Quarterly Review* made an easier opponent than a British expeditionary force.

In the midst of both British invasions and heightened trans-Atlantic paper warring, prominent American writers joined the Inchiquin conflict with longer works. James Kirke Paulding, a New York writer and associate of Washington Irving on *Salmagundi*, and Timothy Dwight, Connecticut clergyman, Yale president, and arch-Federalist, provided dissimilar responses to Barrow in book-length works. Paulding's *The United States and England* (1815) and Dwight's *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters* (1815) were ambitious and capable, representing vital strains of American identity. Both Paulding and Dwight's books, registered at copyright offices on December 8, 1814 and April 11, 1815, respectively, addressed the terrible situation the United States faced in the fall and winter of 1814–15 in resourceful fashion. Yet, in doing so, both works developed nationalistic discourses and modes of self-defense that would trouble later Americans.

In an era when martial courage failed to match literary courage, James Kirke Paulding joined the New York militia in 1814 with the commission of major. He had enjoined the Paper War in 1812 with *The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan*, a satirical attack on British images of America and American perceptions of England, 'a political allegory in the manner of Swift'.[95] In *The United States and England*, Paulding contested the prevailing regional, partisan perspectives of American nationalism. The *Boston Daily Advertiser*'s New England Federalist response to the Barrow review ('a series of letters published in an eastern newspaper') was Paulding's likely catalyst.[96] He complained: 'This *defence* consists pretty much in an admission of most of the charges, provided an exception is made in favour of New-England.' Paulding disavowed sectional perspectives and vowed: 'We know of no such discriminating patriotism as this. . . . We would not sell our brother Joseph, even though twice twenty pieces were bid for him.' Paulding proclaimed his goal to 'to awaken a national feeling, distinct, as much as possible, from local interests and partialities' and to build a 'national confidence'.[97] The choice of New England sectionalism as a bigger target than the *Quarterly Review* was illuminating of the importance of the Paper War to domestic concerns, particularly considering that journal's negative review of Paulding's *Lay of the Scottish Fiddle* (1813) in January 1814, the same issue as the Barrow review of *Inchiquin's Letters*.[98] Like most American contributions to the Paper War, one cannot understand Paulding's work outside the intra-American battles over competing notions of nationality. As an American critic explained, Paulding's rejoinder was not 'calculated for the meridian of England'.[99] Paulding, who had never left the United States, needed to

rally Americans to a nativist perspective on nationalism before taking on the British Empire.

Paulding rejected the notion of a perpetual kinship with England: 'Union springs not from blood, but arises from a mutual interchange of good offices, and a conviction of mutual worth.'[100] Throughout *The United States and England*, Paulding portrayed Britain as a degenerate, despotic kingdom, burdened by parasitical aristocracy, and jealous of America's success. In contrast, Americans were 'content with the comforts they enjoy, and we trust do not require a foil to set off their own happiness'.[101] Anglo-American history was a chronicle of misdeeds by the Mother Country: 'The whole history of our intercourse with England exhibits a series of arrogant pretension on her part, and patient, if not silent, endurance on ours.'[102] Paulding found parallel barbarities for every American shortcoming. Britain was *more* cluttered with exotic religious denominations, alcoholism *more* rampant, blood sports *bloodier*, and elections *less* honest. Americans needed to shake any sense of inferiority or perceived need for subservience.

The title of Paulding's work, *The United States and England*, was an indication of his belief in Britain's inherent disunity. Canada, Ireland, India, even Scotland – some Americans stressed the fragility of the British Empire, and within Great Britain itself. Lacking consent, the London clique governed by force. In his 1804 *Letters from London*, American law student William Austin had declared that Britain's greatness was 'built on the oppression and slavery of all those who are connected with her'. By Paulding's estimation, Scotland had been 'reduced far below a state of nature', forcing Scottish immigration to the United States.[103]

Although strongly Anglophobic, Paulding was hesitant in proclaiming America's literary greatness, admitting that the new state of civilization in the United States prevented a division of labor sufficient for higher achievements in the arts.[104] Even for Paulding, independence did not mean an end of English culture in America. It was a matter of pride for Paulding that Americans really did appreciate Shakespeare: 'The fame of Shakespeare . . . is as pure and bright in this country as in England.'[105] Like Ingersoll, Paulding attempted to rescue American republicanism from the French Revolution. American republicanism had none of the traits of the Jacobin variety. If the United States and France saw things in the same light, it was only because British aggression forced a convergence of interests.[106] A champion of America's rising glory, Paulding's portrayal of the United States was also tempered. As the literary scholar Finn Pollard has noted, Paulding knew that the United States' future 'still hung in the balance'.[107]

Paulding's *The United States and England* earned him a position on the Board of Navy Commissioners. Paulding had exhibited a keen knowledge of the enemy and expressed an expansive nationalism conducive to the Madison Administration's war effort. The most conciliatory expression of American nationalism given in the Inchiquin episode, Paulding's ecumenical perspective on America would face challenges from partisan and sectional nationalisms.

In his *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, Timothy Dwight identified three dangers to the United States: the Jeffersonians, Bonaparte, and the British writers who had poisoned Anglo-American cultural relations. Dwight rallied for a continuation of Anglo–Yankee religious and cultural unity, dedicating his book to George Canning, British political leader and co-founder of important Tory periodicals, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* and *Quarterly Review*, publications that had been hypercritical of the United States. An inspiration and intellectual hero to Dwight, most Americans would have remembered Foreign Secretary Canning as the framer of the Orders in Council and for rejecting the 1809 Smith-Erskine Agreement that would have ended those prohibitions on trade.[108]

Dwight signed his *Remarks*, 'By an inhabitant of New-England' and claimed not to have read Ingersoll's book, a 'very silly work' by a 'silly man'. Dwight reiterated his political-sectional sympathies, absolved himself from the current war: 'I am a federalist, and a *New Englander*. . . . There is not, I presume, an Englishman, who regards the character, and politics, of *Mr. Jefferson*, and *Mr. Madison*, with less approbation than myself.'[109] Dwight declared the war to be 'unnatural . . . causeless, and unjust'.[110] The British Government, not Madison and the War Hawks, were right: '*You* were defending *our* interest; while we were opposing it.'[111] Dwight elevated Britain, the sole protector of 'what was left of the liberty, and safety, of the human race', the only defender of 'the protestant religion; and the remains of literature, arts, science, civilization, and happiness; from the jaws of the *Corsican Cyclop*'.[112] To Dwight, untethering the United States from Britain would result in servitude to France.

Instead, Dwight celebrated kinship of blood, religion, and history:

> [The Anglo-American relationship] has its foundation laid deep in the common origin, language, manners, laws, and religion; and scarcely less deep in the common interests. Its consequences can only be good: an interruption of it can only be mischievous: the destruction of it will be an evil, which cannot be measured.[113]

The *Quarterly Review* had not distinguished between good American (Federalist, New England) and bad American (Republican, anywhere south of the Mason-Dixon Line). Negative British travelers and reviewers helped Jefferson and Madison alienate Americans from Great Britain and to attach their sympathies to France.[114] Yet, like the writer for the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Dwight provided specific criticisms of English failings, exemplified in political corruption and blood sports.[115] Anglophilia allowed for an American exceptionalism, if limited to a particular region.

Dwight's plea for a truce in the Paper War was revealing; American conservatives needed Britain more than conservative Britons needed them. Both Dwight and Barrow were vicious in their condemnation of American democracy. Dwight's critique was, however, a tactical assault on Jeffersonian democracy, an effort to turn the clock back to a more stable era. The Tories wished to undermine the entire American experiment with republicanism. Dwight only needed to silence the *Quarterly Review* while defending an Anglophilic vision of American nationalism. Tories, ordinarily his ideological kin, threatened to destroy those bonds of Anglo-American culture, the war and the prospective for reform in Britain having put the Tories on the offensive against America. Dwight learned a lesson that many Americans have learned since 1815 – presumed Anglo-American ties of culture and language were contingent to perceived national self-interest.

The table of contents of the *Remarks* was indicative of the insecurities of Americans of the era, listing topics such as 'gouging', 'duels', 'mediocrity of wealth in America', 'landjobbers', 'American rudeness', 'decency', and 'Hadley's quadrant'.[116] To combat the *Quarterly Review*'s charges, Dwight went cannibalistic, elevating the North (especially New England), while offering up the South and West as sacrifice. He gave abundant examples of behavior that existed in the South but had 'no existence north of Maryland'.[117] To understand the South as America was as spurious as believing that one could understand the best citizens of London from the behavior of residents of Cornwall.[118] Dueling was almost non-existent in the North, though Dwight's readers might have recalled the duel between Aaron Burr, his infamous cousin, and Alexander Hamilton as *the* notable exception.[119] American clergymen were professional and highly educated, excepting those in the South. New Englanders were sober, temperate people, though that was not the case in Old England, and probably not in Virginia. Gouging had 'never crossed the *Potowmac*'.[120]

Historians and biographers have condemned Dwight's partisan nationalism.[121] A Dwight biographer described the *Remarks* as an

example of 'illiberal patriotism'.[122] A scholar of the Paper War complains that Dwight's work 'began in narrow partisanship and ended in religious fundamentalism'.[123] In fact, Dwight's response to the *Quarterly Review* suited the time, the idea of 'New England as America' being an old tradition that continued into the nineteenth century. In 1856, a Boston writer could still boast that New England's version of townball was a 'truly national game' because it 'is played by the school boys in every country village in New England, as well as in the parks of many of our New England cities'.[124] Although New England writers were accurate forecasters neither of the prospects for nationalism nor of national pastimes, in this era of competing Fourth of July celebrations and sectional expressions of American identity, regional nationalism was a legitimate response to foreign criticisms.[125] Dwight cherished the United States' dependence upon Britain (while finding selective examples of American superiority) and lamented the decline of those ties. Dwight's estimation of New England's virtues represented an honest attempt on his part to preserve what he believed were the values of the American Revolution. At worst, Dwight's timing was bad. Dwight registered his *Remarks* in Boston on April 11, 1815, three months after Jackson's triumph at New Orleans, though Dwight might have also pleaded that Napoleon had escaped from Elba that February and was still a danger to Britain *and* the United States.

Not surprisingly, some British reviewers welcomed Dwight's New England Anglophilic perspective, taking for granted that the 'English party' in America would continue to look after Britain's interests. In July of 1816, a writer for the *Literary Panorama* noted that, 'Massachusetts never was forward to defend the measures of Mr. Madison, in his war against Britain: it therefore does not surprise us to find this writer's admissions agree pretty closely with our own sentiments.'[126] The erroneous association of Dwight with Massachusetts was symbolic of the misunderstandings and hopeful thinking of the Paper War. Dwight was a life-long resident of Connecticut, not the Bay State. In identifying trans-Atlantic allies, Anglo-American writers let wistful alliances and self-referential images overwhelm precise details. Just as Dwight had imagined that permanent, common interests joined America and Britain together, some Britons mistook cultural Federalism for a permanent alliance based on Anglo-American interests and were slow to realize that Britain's image in the United States had waned, subject to American contingencies. The summer of 1816 was a historic low point for Anglophilia in the United States, though British readers might not have known.

William Tudor Jr., editor of the new Boston journal, the *North American Review*, took on the Inchiquin controversy in the first issue of that periodical (May 1815) in a review of Paulding's *The United States and England*. Disenchanted with previous conservative visions of the United States, the young Bostonians at the *North American Review* explored possibilities for an expansive American future.[127] In his book on the early decades of the *North American Review*, *Coming to Terms with Democracy*, Marshall Foletta describes Tudor's review as 'a cultural declaration of independence for his Federalist peers and a statement of purpose for the newly born journal'.[128] A *North American Review* 100-year retrospective described Tudor's review as 'a spicy article . . . in which the custom of depreciating America was distinctively rebuked'.[129] A scholar of the Inchiquin episode describes Tudor's response as 'perhaps the ablest among an otherwise undistinguished volley of rejoinders'.[130] In fact, far from breaking ties with Britain, the *North American Review* cohort practiced a calculated Anglophilia. While noticeably different from their fathers' generation, these young Federalists remained cautious in their understanding of American cultural independence. Desirous for stable Anglo-American relations, Tudor warned radicals on both sides of the Atlantic that literary hostilities would be the cause of future wars: 'We may at once apprehend, and prepare for a constant succession of future wars, founded not in policy, but in passion.'[131]

Unlike Ingersoll, Tudor could not yet defend American letters. For years, the young Bostonian conservatives would not find a national literature. Founded in 1815, the *North American Review* did not get around to reviewing an American novel until 1822, James Fenimore Cooper's *The Spy*.[132] From the *North American Review*'s perspective, Americans needed to fight back, but only on favorable terrain, of which American literature was not. One notices the limits of American literary independence – and the apparent ease at which American readers accepted European conventions in supposedly American settings – in the fiction of Jeffersonian writer Isaac Mitchell, whose Albany *Balance and State Journal* had probably been the first American paper to challenge the *Quarterly Review*. As Leonard Tennenhouse has noted, Mitchell's novel, *The Asylum; or, Alonzo and Melissa; an American Tale, Founded on Fact* (1811), included Mitchell's heroine being locked in what the writer described as 'a large, old-fashioned, castle-like building, surrounded with a moat'. While a castle seems 'un-American' by modern perspectives, American contemporaries did not think so, as readers reacted positively to Mitchell's novel with a pirated edition going through at least twenty-five printings.[133] The fact was that American tales, even those

written by ardent Republicans, continued to depend upon European conventions and scenes.

The *Port-Folio* remained in the *Inchiquin* controversy, providing a two-part review of Paulding's *The United States and England* in January-February 1815.[134] The reviewer, probably Charles Caldwell, who had become editor, issued an apology for the previous embrace of Ingersoll and promised not to make the same mistake with another Republican: 'With the political part of [Paulding's *The United States and England*] . . . this journal can have no concern. We have twice, of late, contrary, as we acknowledge, to our judgment at the time, gone slightly astray on that subject.' Expansive nationalism could not mean providing cover for the partisanship of Republicans like Ingersoll and Paulding: '*Politics* are, at present, so completely interlaced with the sentiments and feelings of most of the American people, that it has become difficult for them to speak, write, or think on any topic without some reference to them, either direct or collateral.'[135] The article distanced the *Port-Folio* from Ingersoll's political partisanship without refuting Caldwell's previous expression of nationalism. Ingersoll's run for the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in 1811 and election to the United States Congress in 1812 had changed the dynamic.[136] Repentant about the earlier review of Barlow's *The Columbiad*, readers had pushed the *Port-Folio* towards a more nationalistic stance. In this case, local politics precluded the Philadelphia journal from flattery of a prominent Republican writer. Localism and partisanship still trumped expressions of broad nationalism when necessity warranted.

In his *Political Register*, William Cobbett entered the Inchiquin controversy with a November 1815 review of Paulding's *The United States and England*, titled 'American Literature'. Cobbett, a Tory turned Radical, charged that his former friend, *Quarterly Review* editor William Gifford ('sinecure Gifford') was in service of a conspiracy by the Tory government to destroy the United States.[137] English abuse of American literature provided an excuse for Cobbett to lament the demise of English liberties:

> I might be tempted to re-publish this pamphlet in the *Register*, in order to shew with what injustice and baseness the Americans . . . have been treated by our vile scribblers. But as freedom of discussion with us, means only to say as much evil as we like of other nations . . . to abuse them as long and as loud as we please. . . . It would be extreme folly in me to run the risk of an experiment which I might, perhaps, repent all my life.

Cobbett explained that American society was in an '*infant* state' but would eventually challenge Britain at literature, as she had at arms.[138] While Cobbett would never fully embrace the United States, from his perspective as a political crusader, the United States needed to seem attractive enough to threaten the peril of emigration of middling-ranks of Britons to the United States to act as a catalyst for reform.

Cobbett's praise made Americans nervous. As William Tudor Jr. remarked, if Cobbett 'espouses our cause now, it is not to make compensation for former abuse; but, the mere restless ebullition of factious opposition to his own government; nor have we any security, that he will not return to-morrow to his primitive doctrines, and again stimulate the mob with every species of calumny, to wish our utter destruction.'[139] As would be seen in later episodes involving Americaphiles Morris Birkbeck and Fanny Wright, American post-war nationalism would grow alongside an increasing distrust of radical British 'friends of America'.

Although the War of 1812 had ended without a winner, *status quo antebellum*, Americans were certain of their victory, offering the most extravagant praise for their rising nation. While some Tories were blind to the repercussions of the war on the American character, Cobbett, no mean critic of American affairs, understood that the War of 1812 would have inestimable consequences for Anglo-American cultural relations. Cobbett contrasted the lack of British response to the end of the war ('no illuminations; no demonstrations of joy') with the American 'voice of joy, the boast of success, and the shout of victory'.[140] The conflict seemed to have sent the reputations of the United States and Great Britain in different directions. A common expression depicted Britain as a 'magnificent, but sinking vessel'.[141]

While historians have usually dismissed American maritime victories during the War of 1812 either as marginal to the war or a by-product of better-armed American ships, American naval prowess became a central issue within the Paper War, a matter of pride for Americans and a real concern for Britons. An 1820 article in a Boston newspaper proclaimed the American Navy to be 'the envy and admiration of Europe'. The advanced naval designs ('efforts of American genius') of the Americans foretold the prospects of 'future destiny'.[142] Apparently, many Britons agreed. The post-war Parliamentary reports of the Earl of Darnley and other British statesmen on the Royal Navy's pitiful conduct at sea and on the Great Lakes were reported in the American press. Ships, sailors, and naval technologies became proof of Britain's decline and America's rise.[143]

An August 1815 *Port-Folio* review of Paulding's *The United States and England* rejoiced in America's renewed optimism and Britain's decline: 'The sun of British glory may be said to have gone down in the west at the battle of New-Orleans.' Paulding's book was a rebuttal of the 'unprincipled misrepresentations with which the English writers have so long endeavoured to traduce the American name'.[144] Paulding's book was a 'practical refutation of the charges' given by foreign commentators against the American character.[145] Against Dwight's exclusive New England perspective, the *Port-Folio* championed 'a spirit of mutual concession and forbearance in the bosoms of all our countrymen'.[146] In an 1815 article on the 'Naval and Military Chronicle of the United States', the *Port-Folio* writer hoped that 'the American name and nation will hereafter receive from foreign writers somewhat of the respect to which they are entitled'.[147]

That same summer, the *Port-Folio* published, with commentary, the newly formed University of Pennsylvania Philomathean Society's 'An Oration in Defence of the American Character'.[148] The 'Oration' illustrated both the potency and limitations of America's renewed optimism. As the *Port-Folio* reported, Penn's youthful nationalists decried 'those slanders by profession, Weld and Volney, Ash and Bulow, Janson and Moore, with a tribe of others . . . whose very names are offensive to the ear of virtue'. Inspired by the Battle of New Orleans, the students praised American military virtue, ranking America's Revolutionary War heroes with 'the heroes of Thermopylae'. The War of 1812 had added 'a still brighter luster around the naval and military reputation of the United States, and to effect a broader development of the real greatness of the American character'. Conversely, 'the star of Britain shines "dimly through a mist" and victory perches on her standard no longer'. The students claimed that 'America stands, at present, unrivalled among nations'. The American character would 'sustain a comparison with that of any other people, whether ancient or modern'.[149]

Only the last two paragraphs of the ten-page oration addressed American letters. By the students' estimation, Americans already rated highly in ship-building, architecture, gunnery, painting, and oratory. Literature and learning, however, were given the *future* tense: '[Americans] shall . . . become scholars and writers by profession'. Someday, Europe would be 'brightened by the Homers and Virgils, the Tassos and Voltairs [sic], the Shakspears [sic] and Miltons, and the Bacons and Lockes of the New Hemisphere, equal in every attribute of greatness and excellence' to the genius of the Old World.[150]

Stimulated by Jackson's victory and eager for triumph in the Paper War, American writers wrote the United States' greatness in articles with seemingly mundane or specialized subjects. The *Analectic Magazine*'s December 1815 article detailing the work of English naval architect Sir Robert Seppings disclosed American aspirations for greatness as succinctly as any periodical article of the era. The author, 'Americanus', argued that Seppings' method of strengthening a ship's frame derived from American practices. American Robert Fulton likewise deserved full credit for his steamboat innovations. The English were only capable of 'second-hand genius' but controlled the publicity of discovery through a stranglehold on the republic of letters. Americans were to be damned for their innovations, either in language or in technology: 'If we invent words – they laugh at us; and if we invent steam-boats, iron cables, or diagonal knees – they rob us of the credit of our ingenuity.'[151]

The *Analectic*'s depiction of post-war England was especially condemning:

> England, in truth, often reminds me of a tolerably respectable elderly lady, past the summer of life, but, who having once been a great belle, can never reconcile herself to the idea of giving place to more youthful competitors, and tries every art to keep her marriageable daughter in the nursery, through pure jealousy of her becoming mamma's rival in the *beau monde*.[152]

The *Analectic Review'*s boastful countercharge to British degradations was a measure of the extent of Americans' post-war frustrations and aspirations, particularly considering the conservative journal's Anglophile partialities. Herbert Eldridge lists factors that had worked towards favorable American views of England – 'Federalism, love of English letters, admiration of the great journals of London and Edinburgh, and the certainty, let it be said, that the people of Great Britain shared feelings of kinship.' All these factors would fade when political or cultural interests proved otherwise. As Eldridge notes, 'The *Quarterly*'s review of Inchiquin helped force the logic of self-determination.' Americans were beginning to overcome the 'stubborn predilections' of Anglophilia.[153]

One can only guess at the reasons for the silence of ultra-nationalistic Baltimore newspaper editor Hezekiah Niles and his *Niles' Weekly Register* regarding the Inchiquin controversy. A redcoat having threatened his mother with a bayonet just before his birth in 1777, Niles' Anglophobia was inherited. Niles biographer noted that 'For twenty-five years the

Register was unmistakably an outspoken Anglophobe organ'.[154] Yet, *Niles' Weekly Register* did not seem to have addressed Ingersoll's book, the *Quarterly Review*'s article, or Paulding's or Dwight's books. It was not as if Niles had declared a truce in his animosities toward the Mother Country. For Niles, England was the United States' 'ancient and inveterate foe'.[155] Always capable of nationalistic embellishment, Niles described the USS Constitution's capture of the HMS Guerriere as 'one of the most splendid achievements in maritime history'.[156] Niles condemned the 'anti American principles' of opponents of the war.[157] The Anglophobic editor – who also knew his Shakespeare – borrowed from *Julius Caesar* to lament the Anglophiles 'polluting all things with anti-American ideas', and exciting the 'very stones to rise in mutiny' against the 'genius of our government and the law of the land'.[158]

Despite the hyperbole about the war and glorification of America's rise, American writers exhibited continuing insecurities. Expressions of confidence were matched by frustrations, doubts about when the United States would achieve a real independence. Just months after General Jackson's victory at New Orleans, the 'Dartmoor Massacre' of April 6, 1815 reminded Americans their continuing vulnerability. Dartmoor, a notorious English prison that held mostly impressed American sailors, was the scene of a riot after the British commandant refused to let the Americans, many of whom were black, leave the prison after the end of the War of 1812. British soldiers killed seven Americans, with many more wounded. Niles declared the English to be 'among the most cruel and unfeeling people on the earth'.[159] The nationalist editor proclaimed Dartmoor singularly barbaric: 'The history of the world presents us with no parallel atrocity.'[160] Once again, despite what most Americans perceived to be a glorious victory in the War of 1812, the British Empire was able to harm American citizens without consequence.

The anonymous 1816 London pamphlet, *The Colonial Policy of Great Britain*, was a lighting-rod for Americans. The author took a hard line against the United States, recommending the increased settlement and fortification of Canada, as well as extensive use of spies against the Americans. The author blamed Americans, and their 'deadly hatred' for Britain and 'active and insatiable ambition', for poor Anglo-American relations. It must have frustrated New England's Anglophiles to read about the author's regrets at Britain's failure to capture Boston early in the previous war and admonition to be more aggressive at the start of the new conflict. Contrary to common misperceptions, the author warned that the Federalists were 'not the friends of Britain'. In fact,

as the pamphlet noted, the Federalist advocacy of a more powerful American Navy made that party 'the most dangerous foes'. Americans had their eyes on the British Empire, 'in the full persuasion of the declining state of the British naval power . . . expecting to divest the parent of her trophies, and to annihilate her commerce as well as her navy, at a period not far distant!'[161]

Niles' Weekly Register suspected that the author of *The Colonial Policy of Britain* was a Canadian. The *Port-Folio* especially resented the repetition of Tom Moore's charge that the United States was 'at once the dissipation of youth, the selfishness of mature years, and the feebleness of old age'.[162] Overall, careful observers might have noted that not much had changed despite the War of 1812. The United States still lacked the respect of the British Empire.

Americans and the *Edinburgh Review*: constructing a respectable Anglophilia

The *Edinburgh Review* was in a difficult position when it came to the United States during these years of heightened tensions and war. The review took a strong stand against a second war with the Americans. In February 1812, a reviewer warned of 'the ruinous consequences of an American war, and the utter worthlessness of the objects for which our rulers are contending'.[163] A November 1812 article laid much of the blame for the war on British cultural attitudes:

> No small part of the nation look with feelings of peculiar hostility towards the people to which they bear the nearest resemblances; and willingly abet their rulers in treating the Americans with less respect, and less cordiality, than any other foreign nation. . . . They are descended from our loins – they speak our language – they have adopted our laws – they retain our usage and manners – they read our books – they have copied our freedom . . . and yet, they are less popular and less esteemed among us than the base and bigoted Portugueze, or the ferocious and ignorant Russians. . . . Their manners, it seems, are not agreeable: – society with them is not on a good footing: – and, upon the whole, they are far from being so polite and well-bred as might be desired. . . . But to insist upon going to war – with a whole nation – at the other side of the Atlantic – because it has been reported that their rich people are not very elegant – that their dinners are vulgar, and their routes dull – does appear to us to be somewhat extravagant and unreasonable.[164]

Fearful of the consequences of war, the *Edinburgh Review* warned that Americans were 'good customers, and dangerous enemies'.[165] Meant to criticize the British Government's policies, the article contained none of the parallels of positive/negative American attributes common to most *Edinburgh Review* articles on America.

The Whig periodical, though committed to American freedom of the seas, was less devoted to American examples for reform in 1810–15 than in later years. Despite the *Edinburgh Review*'s assertions of 'the ruinous consequences of an American war' and declarations against the 'utter worthlessness of the objects which our rulers are contending', the Scottish reviewers were not writing for the pleasure of Americans, no matter how popular or important the journal was in the United States.[166] The pressures of domestic politics and matters of commercial rivalry and war gave the Whigs pause when discussing the American republic.

Francis Jeffrey, the *Edinburgh Review*'s editor, visited the United States during the War of 1812 for personal reasons, to fetch his American bride. If there ever was a Briton that the Americans *needed* reciprocal feelings from, it was Jeffrey, chief of Britain's preeminent quarterly. In a letter to Washington Irving, a life-long friend, Henry Brevoort suggested that Jeffrey meet Americans, both Federalist and Republican, allowing Jeffrey to 'imbibe a just estimate of the United States and its habitants' and helping to remedy America's poor image in Britain. Brevoort suggested that his American hosts encourage Jeffrey to visit Washington and see Niagara Falls – from the American side, of course.[167] Irving's *Analectic Magazine* announced Jeffrey's visit with similar expectations for improved Anglo-American cultural relations:

> To the representations of a man of Mr. Jeffrey's talents, information and literary influence, we may look with confidence for having this country vindicated from many of the gross aspersions that have been cast upon it, by narrow-minded or hireling travel writers. . . . Mr. Jeffrey has hitherto in his writings shown a more candid and liberal disposition towards us than most of his contemporaries.[168]

Irving's blame of 'hireling travel writers' was indicative of his hesitancy to make enemies in Britain. One of the only prominent American writers not to burn his bridges with the infamous *Quarterly Review*, Irving reviewed his own book, *Conquest of Granada*, for the Tory periodical in 1830![169]

Although, as William Charvat noted, trans-Atlantic wartime travel was possible for someone of Jeffrey's 'record of friendship for America',

the esteemed author needed to avoid appearing disloyal while in the United States. Jeffrey was in the United States to marry an American girl, not to play a role in American politics or to stick his neck out in order to improve Anglo-American cultural relations in the midst of a war. Jeffrey's dinner with President Madison produced a curious incident in which the latter asked, 'What is thought of our war in England?' To which Jeffrey, who had defended Britain's conduct of the war, replied, 'It is not thought of at all'.[170] Jeffrey's response was apt to divide Americans along party lines, far from the effect that Brevoort and Irving desired. The Jeffrey visit was symbolic of the impossible aspirations of Americans' Edinburghphilia; Americans expected more from the Scottish reviewers than was in their self-interest to deliver.

While the *Edinburgh Review* did not offer any articles in the Inchiquin episode, the periodical was an unwilling participant in the affair, with Americans taking sides on whether the *Edinburgh Review* deserved as much (or more) of the blame for British negative views of America as the *Quarterly Review*. According to Dwight, Francis Jeffrey, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, was an 'evil genius' contributing heretical political/religious ideas and faulty literary criticism, his periodical a 'nuisance to the world'.[171] Although William Gifford, founding editor of both the *Anti-Jacobin* and *Quarterly Review*, had been a favorite of Americans, Dwight was one of the last Americans in the early republican period to value Tory opinion more than that of the reformist Whigs.[172] For that reason, he had condemned the Barrow review for poisoning Anglo-American relations. Conversely, the *North American Review* flattered the literary taste and reform agenda of the *Edinburgh Review*. The *North American Review*'s William Tudor Jr. defended the *Edinburgh Review* as the 'authority on all questions of taste and morals' and complained that Dwight's abuse of the *Edinburgh Review* was 'rash and ridiculous'.[173]

Eager to narrow the focus of the wrath of American rejoinders, the *North American Review* continued to attribute the decline in Anglo-American cultural relations to the *Quarterly Review* and Barrow's review of *Inchiquin's Letters*. A November 1815 short article recounted the anti-American epilogue given in a Westminster School Latin graduation play, *Phormio*.[174] The final part cautioned, in Latin, against emigration to the United States to be amongst the 'Chaktawos, Cherokaeos, Pawwawos, Chikasawos, Michilimakmacos, [and] Yankey-que-doode-lios'.[175] The writer for the *North American Review* believed that the play was an illustration of 'the pernicious effects of the libels of the *Quarterly Review*', the Barrow article having poisoned some of England's best young minds for life.[176]

The *North American Review* also pointed fingers at those Americans who worked to sabotage American relations with any nation other than France ('the villainous inflammatory abuse, with which all the democratick papers in this country have been filled since the peace, against Great Britain'), including the *Daily National Intelligencer*, which had criticized Russia, 'merely because Russia was opposed to Buonaparte'. From the *North American Review*'s perspective of moderate Anglophilia, British and American periodicals were both guilty of 'endeavouring to exasperate the two countries into perpetual war'.[177]

The *North American Review* continued to rally against Barrow's review of *Inchiquin's Letters*, ironically, in a review of a French book about England written by a former prisoner of war, General René Martin Pillet. The reviewer described Pillet's *L'Angleterre vue À Londres et dans ses Provinces* as 'the most base, most absurd, most infamous libel on a whole nation . . . the exception is the article on *Inchiquin's Letters* in the *Quarterly Review*'.[178]

Repeatedly, the *North American Review* would play the role of moderator or peacemaker in the Paper War, eager to rebut the worst British denigrations and silence the harshest American (or French) critics. The strategy of blaming the Tory *Quarterly Review* while defending the reformist Whig *Edinburgh Review* was adroit. While the *Quarterly Review* had not started the Paper War, it was an easy target. The 'Church and King school', as Tudor described them, were not America's Englishmen.[179] In similar fashion, a South Carolina newspaper explained, 'The *Edinburg* [sic] *Review* furnishes us with the sentiments of the British nation; and the *Quarterly Review* the sentiments of the British Government. . . . The one speaks the language of the people, the other the language of the Court.'[180] Fearing that American post-war nationalism was surging towards Anglophobia, American moderates used the *Quarterly Review* as a foil to defend what they perceived to be the reformist, liberal aspects of Britain. President Dwight's berating of American nationalism and pleas for an Anglo-American holy alliance was less dexterous. With the *North American Review* at the forefront of American letters after 1815, restrained Anglophilia, with the *Quarterly Review* as foil, would remain the respectable standard.

The *Port-Folio* remained in the battle, calling for retaliation against the *Quarterly Review* for the Westminster play: 'There is nothing in the filthy invectives of the *Quarterly Review* more abusive and flagitious than this epilogue. . . . I do not approve of the doctrine of non resistance.'[181] In November 1815, the *Port-Folio* printed a 'Strictures on Moore, The Poet', purported to be a ten-year-old critique of the Irish poet. The

belated treatment of Moore, a prominent ally of Dennie during his foray in America, a decade before, was additional evidence of how far the *Port-Folio* had come in refuting British criticism.[182] If the article was in fact archaic, it was also futuristic, not representative of the *Port-Folio* in 1805. Judging from the context of the Paper War, the appearance of the *North American Review* in 1815 was less momentous than the radical change that the *Port-Folio* had undergone in the previous half-decade.

The Inchiquin campaign and the end of revolutionary idealism

The Inchiquin episode provides evidence of the ideological closing of the revolutionary opening for women in the United States. Referencing New Jersey's limited experience with women's suffrage between 1776 and 1807, in his review of *Inchiquin's Letters*, Barrow exclaimed that American democracy included suffrage for American women: 'Every *freeman* in America, aye and *free woman* too, is a voter.'[183]

Americans reacted fiercely to Barrow's accusation, with James Kirke Paulding denying that the New Jersey experiment had any relevance:

> In the state of New-Jersey alone the right of suffrage was formerly extended to unmarried females of the age of twenty-one years, and possessing property to the value of fifty pounds. Yet the writer who pretends to give a comprehensive analysis of our political institutions and government, is either ignorant that the state of New-Jersey formed an exception to a general rule, or else studiously falsifies his knowledge for the purpose of supporting an argument that is of no consequence whatever to the subject.[184]

Paulding went on the offensive, borrowing a story taken from Robert Southey's *Letters from England* criticizing the involvement of women in English elections, in particular, the practice of female suffrage at Bristol, where women entered into fraudulent marriages in order to vote.[185] The barbarity of English practices made the practice of women's suffrage in New Jersey inconsequential: 'The right of suffrage is not only exercised in fact, but grossly, indecorously, and blasphemously, abused by free-women [in England].' That women would enter into false marriages to vote was an abomination. Paulding noted that women were always 'the last in the train of national corruption', the behavior of Bristol women being a sign of England's wholesale declension relative to the United States.[186]

Condemnation of female suffrage was one cause that united Americans in the Paper War. Timothy Dwight gave New Jersey women no favor, though historians believe that women usually favored his Federalist party's candidates. Dwight provided a novel explanation regarding the New Jersey episode. The New Jersey experience with women's suffrage was the product of a mistake of 'phraseology' or 'mere inadvertency' in the state's constitution.[187] Dwight stressed that the practice was miniscule: 'In a very small number of instances, and within very limited districts, women have acted as voters.' A localized 'problem', women's suffrage never occurred in Dwight's idealized region of New England: 'Nor do I believe, that a single woman, bond or free, ever appeared at an election in New England since the colonization of the country.'[188] Given the importance of foreign polemics to American self-identification, Americans' denial of New Jersey's experiment with women's suffrage was especially telling. It would be more than 100 years before women's suffrage would become a truly American concept.

Race would be an even larger issue in the Inchiquin controversy, particularly for modern readers of Paper War literature. Timothy Dwight's relationship with slavery has come under attack, most notably in a 2001 report on the university for which he served as president for 22 years, *Yale, Slavery, and Abolition*, written by Yale graduate students and union activists. The study notes that, 'Under Dwight's tenure as Yale's president, Yale produced more pro-slavery clergy than any other college in the nation.'[189] Like many of his contemporaries, Dwight addressed slavery within the context of the Paper War. In a footnote within the *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, President Dwight seemingly absolved Americans of guilt for slavery:

> The Southern Planter, who receives his slaves from his parents by inheritance, certainly deserves no censure for holding them. He has no agency in procuring them: and the law does not permit him to set them free. If he treats them with humanity, and faithfully endeavours to Christianize them, he fulfills his duty, so long as his present situation continues.[190]

Dwight's half-hearted defense of southern slaveholders was his most generous gift to the South, an absolution that would have been overwhelmed by a mass of critical commentary documenting his views on the United States south of the Mason-Dixon Line. Yet, *Yale, Slavery, and Abolition* omitted Dwight's most curious remarks concerning slavery,

where Dwight damned both Britain and the South for involvement with slavery, while simultaneously absolving the North:

> Our own share in this business was all begun, and carried on, under your [English] patronage, and control. When we formed our National Constitution, the States stipulated, in effect, that after the year 1808 the importation of slaves should cease. To this stipulation the slaveholding States were parties: and it was the earliest dereliction of this iniquitous traffic, to which they would consent. Blame them for this part of their conduct as much as you please. I shall feel no inducement to refute the charge. The other States either abolished slavery in their Constitutions at the first moment of their political existence; or exterminated it by the earliest emancipation, which was in their power. This was particularly true of New England.[191]

Dwight's claim of slavery's extinction in New England was dishonest. The 1800 census had counted nearly 1,500 slaves remaining in New England. In 1810, Connecticut still held 310 slaves, Rhode Island 108. In the 1820 census, three years after Dwight's death and more than three decades after the implementation of the Federal Constitution, Connecticut still counted 97 slaves, Rhode Island 48. Rhode Island passed a law banning slavery only in 1843, Connecticut in 1848.[192] Although Massachusetts never listed a slave population in the national census, the state may have had slaves. As the historian Joanne Melish has noted, 'Abolition in New England was gradual indeed'.[193] The northern 'other States', as Dwight called them, included New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, where slavery lingered for decades after the implementation of the Constitution. Dwight ignored free blacks in New England, a population that faced a difficult freedom with no support system, strict regulations on their liberty, fears of kidnapping to the South, and official efforts to depopulate New England of free blacks. According to Dwight's vindication of the United States, freedom in New England meant the absence of both slaves and people of color – a deracinated region, not one of autonomy and opportunity.[194]

Dwight's account of the British Empire's relationship with slavery was complex. Never allergic to praising Englishmen, Dwight praised William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson for their efforts in abolition of the slave trade while warning Britons that they must not go too far in criticizing Americans: 'You forget how lately you have begun to wash yourselves clean from this smoke of the bottomless pit.'[195] Dwight also proclaimed that slavery in the British West Indies was

worse than that in the American South: 'In these colonies slavery exists in forms, and degrees, incomparably more horrid, than in the Southern *American* States.' Dwight then repeated stories of atrocities on the island of Nevis, cautioning the *Quarterly*'s reviewer: 'I hope, Sir, we shall never more hear any comparison made between your slave holders and ours.'[196] British writers complained of the hypocrisy of Dwight's rejoinder: 'America professes to be the first country in the world in point of liberty: America holds thousands and tens of thousands of human beings in slavery: there is no possibility of reconciling this contradiction between profession and practice.'[197] Yet, for Dwight, despite his country's problems, the United States was still exceptional, the best fruit of England.

The Paper War required an ideological dexterity that makes Dwight's *Remarks* difficult to categorize. Dwight's defense of American slavery relative to West Indian slavery was the fruit of Dwight's nationalistic purpose. A 'my slavery is better than your slavery' argument, however unfortunate, was hardly indicative of proslavery. Yet, this does not absolve Dwight. If not a pro-slavery nationalist, Dwight was a New England white chauvinist, deceitful about his beloved New England's racial heritage. The problem was not what he said about the South; it was what he did *not* say about the North. Dwight whitewashed New England's history of slavery, as well as the bits of the institution that remained, sectionalizing blame for slavery and making the South the villain, the weak link for American defenses in the Paper War. Along these same lines, both Northerners and Britons would increasingly sectionalize guilt for slavery into the antebellum era.

Inchiquin's Letters: an expanded battlefield

The War of 1812 may have ended *status quo ante bellum*, but the Inchiquin episode had changed American nationalism. American writers, both those who saw the War of 1812 as a second war for independence and those who called it 'Mr. Madison's War', had taken up their pens against foreign critics. The conversion of the *Port-Folio* to an engaged nationalism, the advent of the *North American Review*, involvement of the *Analectic Review*, and even Dwight's measured response to the *Quarterly Review* foretold a change in American nationalism. For the next several years, readers could expect American editors to enter into Paper War polemics.[198]

In *Inchiquin's Letters*, Ingersoll had noted that 'An affection of contempt for America, is one of the only prejudices in which all the nations

of Europe seem to concur'.[199] Nearly all Americans would have agreed after 1815, though perhaps that was about all that they could agree on in this era of regional and partisan nationalism. Undoubtedly, one could say that by 1816, there was unanimous 'pride in being American'.[200] Yet, while Anglo-American polemics superficially papered over regional/partisan differences, there was no one strategy of Anglophobia. Like the war itself, the intra-American literary campaign around *Inchiquin's Letters* failed to produce a clear-cut winner, although contesting American visionaries tried to proclaim victory.

By at least one indicator, *Inchiquin's Letters* was a success. In 1812, voters elected Ingersoll to Congress.[201] Coincidentally, Ingersoll represented Pennsylvania's first district together with Adam Seybert, another combatant in the Paper War. It was in response to Seybert's *Statistical Annals of the United States* (1818) that the *Edinburgh Review*'s Sydney Smith asked in 1820, 'Who reads an American book?'[202] Despite the efforts of Ingersoll and other American writers, the Paper War was far from over, American proclamations of cultural independence far from being a reality.

An 1839 article in the partisan *Democratic Review* praised Ingersoll's book of thirty years before: 'A declaration of literary, social, and moral independence . . . almost as bold a stroke as the great declaration of political independence, ventured in 1776.' Ingersoll, however, never completely lived down the 'would-have-been-a-Tory' incident. In the 1830s, the matter became an issue again, during an unsuccessful campaign for the House of Representatives.[203]

Post-war social and demographic changes modified the contours of the Paper War. In a series of articles in late summer of 1816, Hezekiah Niles, a keen observer of the fault lines of Anglo-American relations, explained that the growing tide of British immigrants to America portended a geopolitical shift in favor of the United States:

> The current of emigration to the United States has been very strong for the last six months. . . . We can consider it as hardly begun. The people are preparing, in many places, to leave their country by neighborhood or parishes, as it were, and in the new world to possess and enjoy the friends of their youth, by settling together. The proceeding has excited much alarm in England. The papers teem with paragraphs to check the hope of the people to benefit by the change; and the government is loudly called upon to interfere to prevent this 'ruinous drain of the most useful part of the population of the United Kingdom'.

Emigration had provoked 'ill-natured and illiberal remarks' about the United States in a London newspaper. The Anglophobic Niles welcomed America's chance to grow stronger at the expense of Britain, noting the number of immigrants, while calculating that each male immigrant would add at least $300 per year to the national wealth. Niles correctly forecast that, with the eastern cities 'crowded' and business 'dull', the American West 'presents a vast and almost exhaustless field for industry'.[204] The West had long been a curiosity for British reviewers and readers, as either a symbol of the potency or the fragility of European civilization in America. Within just months of editor Niles' prediction, trans-Appalachian America would become the most active battleground in the Paper War.

3

A Blessing to the Whole Earth: Birkbeck's English Prairie[1]

In Edwards County, Illinois, an 'English Prairie' settlement was born in late 1817, months before Illinois became the westernmost state in the Union. Although historians have mostly forgotten this Anglo-American episode in the West, the English Prairie attracted the fervent attention of travelers and writers from its conception until the mid-1820s. Readers on both sides of the Atlantic followed the travails of a small number of British emigrants in Illinois, on the very edge of the English-speaking world. More than fifty contemporary books, articles, and pamphlets dealt exclusively or in large part with the English Prairie.[2] Anglo-American commentaries regarding the English Prairie provide a window into post-war of 1812 perceptions of culture, religion, and polity. Given the insignificant number of actual settlers to Edwards County, the English Prairie was less a practical experiment in the settlement of western America than a new battlefield for the contest over the image of the United States in the Paper War, alternatively a symbol of either the potency of the American republic or the dangers of untethering civilization from European foundations. In addition, the episode provides a reminder that the Paper War cannot be understood as a binary conflict, as the most contentious debates were intra-British or between Americans.

The founders of the English Prairie first imagined the Illinois settlement as a solution to the economic and political problems facing English farmers in the post-war era. The English Prairie's founders, Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, were advocates of the United States as a remedy for Britain's problems, attracting enthusiasm and condemnation on both sides of the Atlantic. Articulate and accomplished, Birkbeck became the symbol of Illinois, and America, to British readers. Born in 1764, the only child of a Quaker preacher, Birkbeck was a

Surrey lease-holding farmer of wealth who leased 1,500 acres dubbed 'Wanborough' from the Earl of Onslow. He took pride in employing advanced agrarian techniques and was the first to raise Merino sheep in England. Birkbeck's wife died in 1804, his father in 1816. The lease on Wanborough was nearly up, and Birkbeck was discontented, eager to find a better place to farm but especially to develop as a citizen.[3]

Flower, twenty-four years Birkbeck's junior, a wealthy Unitarian farmer and nephew of the radical journalist and political writer Benjamin Flower, became a partner in this search. In 1814, Birkbeck and Flower toured France for three months. With Napoleon exiled to Elba, the English economy slowing, and land cheap on the Continent, France looked attractive. Birkbeck penned a popular book, *Notes on a Journey through France in 1814* (1815), in which he portrayed Britain's former adversary positively: 'France, so peopled, so cultivated, moderately taxed, without paper money, without tithes, without poor-rates, almost without poor, with excellent roads in every direction, and overflowing with corn, wine and oil . . . is a rich country.'[4]

However, France, tainted by Catholicism and traces of feudalism, offered no remedy. As Birkbeck explained, 'The number and influence of the military and the clergy were, to persons of our republican tendencies, decisive against a residence in France'.[5] Birkbeck and Flower quickly turned their gaze to the United States, the end of hostilities in early 1815 having opened the gates for emigration. As Flower later recollected: 'To persons of fastidious political tastes, the United States of North America seemed to be the only country left for emigration . . . Men of reading read all that was written about the country.'[6]

Birkbeck and Flower had formed a number of remarkable trans-Atlantic friendships before their emigration. General Lafayette and the English radical William Cobbett supplied letters of introduction to greet important Americans. Birkbeck's friend Edward Coles, an American diplomat and soon to be Governor of Illinois Territory, offered advice.[7] Birkbeck even corresponded with George Washington in the 1790s, politely declining the President's invitation to be the manager of Mount Vernon.[8]

As a prosperous English farmer, Birkbeck's primary motivations for emigrating were political. Birkbeck resented a government that taxed heavily but refused dissenters the ballot or any modicum of civic life. In America, English farmers could own land, become full citizens with voting rights, and forgo tithing to a church to which they did not belong. The western United States was a place to escape the dead weight of European history, to overcome a corrupt system that was too slow to

reform. The English Prairie, though ostensibly non-utopian, represented a strong challenge to prevailing British notions of religion and polity. Birkbeck's political critique combined with the post-war recession in Britain and fears of emigration to make for one of the most contentious episodes in the Paper War.

Birkbeck did not come to America to find vestiges of old Europe. He rebuked the Americans for copying European standards in rebuilding the District of Columbia: 'Ninety marble capitals have been imported at vast cost from Italy, to crown the columns of the Capitol and shew how *un*-American the whole plan.'[9] Throughout his *Notes on a Journey in America*, Birkbeck emphasized a dichotomy between 'old America' and 'new America'. The Allegheny Mountains were no obstacle but rather a gateway to new Atlantis unspoiled by European religious or political hierarchies. Across the Ohio River was 'the land of promise'.[10] Although critics would mock Birkbeck's choice of Illinois' empty space, far away from most vestiges of English civilization, the isolation was deliberate. To Birkbeck, English history was a catalog of crimes and corruption. He would never publically admit to regretting England or its institutions.

Richard Flower, George's father, glorified the opportunity to begin life anew:

> Here are few public buildings worthy of notice. No kings going to open Parliament with gilded coaches and cream-coloured horses. . . . No old castles which beautify the rural scenes of the country. . . . No cathedrals or old churches to ornament the cities as well as the counties of England. . . . America has none of these costly ornaments or beautiful monuments of oppression. I thank God she has not; and hope she may be exempt from them.[11]

Birkbeck echoed Flower's radical sentiments: 'The world we have left at so remote a distance, and of which we hear so little, seems, to my imagination, like a past scene, and its transactions, as matter rather of history, than of present interest.' Life in England represented 'years wasted in the support of taxes and pauperism'. Only in America, at his old age, was 'a really useful career . . . just beginning'. Birkbeck explained in plain terms, 'ubi libertas ibi patria [where liberty dwells, there is my country]'.[12]

A feud between Birkbeck and Flower resulted in the creation of two villages between the Big and Little Wabash – 'Wanborough', Birkbeck's creation named after his former estate, and 'Albion', Flower's settlement. In 1818, a small wave of immigrants arrived in the settlements. Birkbeck

sang praise of the prairie in his sanguine *Letters from Illinois* (1818). As Birkbeck described, roasted wild turkey provided the main entree almost daily, berries grew to perfection, and, countering the charge of New World degeneration, Old World vegetables were 'improved by the change'. Manure accumulated as a nuisance. Winter was not as bad as warned.[13]

Birkbeck's writings drew immediate attention in Britain, as the post-war recession deepened, political agitation increased, and more Britons imagined a future in America. An Irish emigrant spoke of the magnetic appeal of Birkbeck's books given the distressed situation in Britain: 'It was impossible to resist them. Who could? Did ever man write like him?'[14] Unfortunately for Birkbeck his was only one of many competing images of Illinois and the United States. The English Prairie sparked vicious debates within the leading British and American periodicals with consequences for both British images of America and American self-representations.

British reviewers, travelers, and the English Prairie

The *Edinburgh Review* (founded 1802), the most important British periodical of the era, was an early champion of Birkbeck and the English Prairie. That the *Edinburgh Review*, a significant cultural arbiter and vehicle for the popularization of Scottish political economy, would devote dozens of pages, at the height of its prestige, to frontier Illinois requires explanation. The issue was not directly emigration. While emigration would be tempting to 'men of moderate fortunes and industrious habits', as the periodical noted, few of the *Edinburgh Review*'s readers would consider relocating to Illinois' virgin farmlands.[15] The journal mostly ignored practical matters of climate and farming techniques. Instead, the Scottish reviewers placed Birkbeck and the settlements within the context of post-Napoleonic War Whig calls for reform.

Henry Brougham's favorable review of Birkbeck's *Notes on a Journey in America* appeared in the June 1818 *Edinburgh Review*. Brougham, a future Lord Chancellor, began his article with a passionate claim: 'We have no hesitation in pronouncing this one of the most interesting and instructive books that have appeared for many years.'[16] Birkbeck's project aligned perfectly with the *Edinburgh Review*'s critique of British corruption, his emigration being glaring testimony of Britain's problems. Underlying Brougham's account was a conviction that government in the United States was frugal. Corruption burdened the British people with such a debt that 'Whoever prefers his own to any other country as

a place of residence, must be content to pay an enormous price for the gratification of his wish'. Birkbeck's patriotism was not at fault: 'Such persons as Mr Birkbeck are induced to emigrate by the defects which at present exist in our system of administration.' Those who remained needed to 'redouble their exertions in favour of a necessary reform'.[17]

Brougham emphatically warned of America's rising power: 'Where is this prodigious increase of numbers, this vast extension of dominion, to end? What bounds has Nature set to the progress of this mighty nation? Let our jealousy burn as it may; let our intolerance of America be as unreasonably violent as we please; still it is plain, that she is a power in spite of us, rapidly rising to supremacy.'[18] Unreformed, Britain would fall behind the rising American republic.

Still, America's potency never equaled perfection for the *Edinburgh Review*. Brougham maintained a moral superiority by being selectively disapproving of certain aspects of America. Birkbeck's entry into the United States at Norfolk and a short, disconcerting foray into the American South allowed for the condemnation of slavery.[19] The *Edinburgh Review*'s writers needed not to endorse all parts of the American experiment but only those pertinent to their own situation. Whig visions of America varied considerably; region and topic under consideration mattered, as did the contemporary British situation. In 1818, in the midst of economic and political crisis, Illinois was useful to the *Edinburgh Review*, helpful to illuminating the need for reform at home.

Ironically, the *Edinburgh Review* had found fault with Birkbeck just a few years before, giving *Notes on a Journey through France* by 'Moses' Birkbeck a mixed review. Birkbeck was a 'shrewd observer' and 'experienced farmer' but exceedingly sympathetic to the French Revolution and its effects.[20] Britain's continental adversary was a difficult topic for the Whigs. Since its founding, the *Edinburgh Review* had treated France's recent history with ambiguity, mostly defending the Revolution's early moderates – Turgot, Quesnay, and Mirabeau – while decrying the chorus of Tory demagogues in Britain who rallied without end against the threats of French atheism and Jacobinism.[21] However, as Biancamaria Fontana has noted, when it came to describing the *actual* revolution, the *Edinburgh Review* and Tories were not so distant in their analysis.[22] The *Edinburgh* reviewers were *anti*-anti-Jacobin but would not endorse Birkbeck's positive representation of France. From the perspective of the reform debate, the United States, not France, was a choice battlefield.

The *Edinburgh Review*'s depiction of Illinois faced opposition from other journals. The London *Quarterly Review*, founded in 1809 as a rival to the *Edinburgh Review,* was a commendable challenger when it

came to the subject of the English Prairie. William Gifford directed the assault on Birkbeck for Britain's most important Tory journal, ridiculing the 'new Albion.' Gifford, the *Quarterly Review*'s heavy-handed editor and self-anointed expert on the United States, was an outspoken critic of the fledgling republic, having co-authored, with John Barrow, a rather infamous review of Charles Jared Ingersoll's *Inchiquin's Letters* (1810) for the January 1814 issue of the journal. Unlike the ambivalent *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly Review*'s depictions of America were easy to characterize – almost uniformly negative. The Tory reviewers found cultural anarchy, negligent government, and dearth of religion in America – proof against the desirability of reform.

Since the 1790s, Tories had worried that the United States would join France in conflict against Britain. With the Emperor finally exiled to St. Helena, the United States could be seen without a Gallican lens, the 'intervening distractions' (the Jacobins and Bonparte) having been eliminated.[23] Unfortunately, Waterloo and the Treaty of Ghent only began a new campaign in the Paper War. Although the Franco-American threat had dissipated, a fresh look at America's growing potency combined with disorder of home and emigration fears to produce a more intensive wave of Americaphobic anxiety.

After reading Barrow's draft review of *Notes on a Journey in America*, Gifford welcomed his publisher John Murray's insistence that the article needed improvement: 'I am very glad that you have sent Birkbeck. He appears to me *the most dangerous man that ever yet wrote from America*, and is likely to do us much mischief. Our friend has missed his character; and I have nearly re-written the Article.'[24] That a Surrey farmer's emigration to America would provoke such apprehension between the leading Tory publisher and journalist of the era underscores the unease in post-war Britain and the centrality of the United State to those anxieties.

Barrow and Gifford's combined efforts appeared in the April 1818 issue of the *Quarterly Review*, a few months before the *Edinburgh Review*'s article. An 'imitator of a *gentleman* farmer', Birkbeck deserted farm, landlord, and country. The reviewers mocked Birkbeck's taste for Trans-Appalachia, finding Birkbeck's disappointment at the primitive condition of Pittsburgh – a town puffed up by the Americans – to be amusing and ironic. Birkbeck's promotion of Illinois was similarly fraudulent: 'He is already familiar with "the American figure of anticipation," and, like his adopted countrymen, "contemplates what *may be*, as though it were in actual existence"'.[25] The theme of American exaggeration was a consistent trope in the *Quarterly Review*. As Barrow proclaimed in the

1814 review of *Inchiquin's Letters*, 'Amplification indeed is . . . a favourite figure with this infant country'.[26]

Barrow and Gifford warned that the absence of public religious life made the English Prairie's demise inevitable: 'There is not one syllable mentioned of religious instruction, nor one set apart for any kind of public worship.' 'Friend Morris', like his adopted countrymen, was motivated only by greed: 'He no longer deals in insinuations, but openly avows his total disregard and dislike to religion under whatever form it may appear. . . . Self-interest is the predominant motive and the end of every measure.' Birkbeck became emblematic of the entire American republic, where disestablishment left society degraded and individual trumped community.[27]

British reviewers' treatment of the religious question and the English Prairie highlighted demarcations within understandings of institutional religion and piety at home. The religious question was fundamental for the Tory *Quarterly* reviewers, their obsession with preserving the Established Church a reaction to Birkbeck's avowed radicalism. 'This is Christmas day [1817],' Birkbeck had noted in the *Letters from Illinois*, 'and seems to be kept as a pure holiday – merely a day of relaxation and amusement: those that choose, observe it *religiously*.' Nor were births and deaths commemorated by religious ceremony: 'Children are not baptized or subjected to any superstitious rite; the parents name them, and that is all: and the last act of the drama is as simple as the first. There is no consecrated burial place, or funeral service.' Birkbeck flaunted his controversial opinions: 'After this *deplorable* account, you will not wonder when you hear of earthquakes and tornados amongst us.'[28]

In contrast, the *Edinburgh Review* cohort, favoring political rights for dissenters, including Catholics, cherished the effects of American religious disestablishment:

> [The Americans] have fairly and completely . . . extinguished that spirit of religious persecution . . . not only that persecution which imprisons and scourges for religious opinions, but the tyranny of incapacitation, which, by disqualifying from civil offices, and cutting a man off from the lawful objects of ambition, endeavours to strangle religious freedom in silence, and to enjoy all the advantages, without the blood and noise and fire of persecution.[29]

The Americans were 'devout without being unjust', What appeared to be religious apathy was actually the absence of religious animosity.[30] The *Edinburgh Review* writers were a skeptical bunch when it came to

religion, having even gone to some lengths to defend David Hume's piety.[31] It is telling that the reviewers defended a positive notion of American toleration and *not* Birkbeck's rabid anti-clericalism. To endorse the later would have been impolitic within Britain's paper wars. The *Edinburgh Review* also failed to mention Birkbeck's radical pronouncements about escaping from English traditions, hierarchy, etc. The Whig reviewers portrayed Birkbeck as a moderate, sensible man with real grievances against his government – a shining example of the need for moderate reform. In contrast to the sometimes-radical pronouncements by Birkbeck, the *Edinburgh Review*'s Illinois needed not be a blank slate for massive innovation.

As was readily apparent to critical readers, reviewers focused less on matters that concerned emigrant farmers than with the hypothetical implications of the disestablishment of religion and political reform at home. The possibilities for Old England, not New America, were at issue.[32] The *Quarterly Review*'s Gifford and Barrow emphatically denied any crisis. England was an 'elastic country' that was now 'basking in the broad sunshine of peace and prosperity.' 'Her soil,' the Tory reviewers explained, 'is covered with the richest blessings of heaven; the busy hum of industry is heard in all her streets; every port is crowded; and oceans groan under the fleets that are posting towards her with every wind that blows.' Those who would 'wage war with the bears and red Indians of the "back-woods" of America' would not be missed. Englishmen of modest means should be content to 'possess a little cottage, with a few roods of land, perched on the skirts of a smiling common, mantled with the golden furze and the purple heath, than as many thousand acres of the "pine barrens" and "savannahs" of either New or Old America.'[33] In Tory eyes, the English Prairie was an exercise in deculturation.

British commentators were aware of intra-American distinctions in political geography. A few years before, poet and *Quarterly Review* contributor Robert Southey had given Yale professor Benjamin Silliman the positive moniker of being one of the 'old Americans'.[34] In contrast, Birkbeck spoke of 'new America'. Some Britons perceived the distance between the two Americas, as represented by New Haven, with its colonial heritage and relative antiquity, and Illinois, foreign to European civilization, as greater than that of Old England and New England.

For a generation, travel writing had been a path to notoriety for British farmer-emigrants. Within months of the settlements' founding, travelers found the English Prairie a worthy destination, resulting in waves of controversy in the reviews. The first book to focus on the English Prairie was Henry Bradshaw Fearon's *Sketches of America* (1818), an Americaphobic

travel classic. Fearon combined criticisms of democracy with displeasure at the low level of frontier civilization. A London physician and wine merchant, Fearon was sent by thirty-nine middling Essex farm families to judge the prospects for emigration to America. An avowed Americaphile before his trip, Fearon soon came to detest much about American society, particularly in the West, separated from English civilization.[35]

Fearon's polemic against Birkbeck consumed his *Sketches*. Fearon damned Illinois' settlers, preferring the 'genuine *uncontaminated* Indian' to the 'half-civilized and half-savage' American frontiersmen. 'Duels are frequent,' he explained. 'The dirk is an inseparable companion of all classes; and the laws are robbed of their terror, by not being firmly and equally administered.' The West was devoid of culture: 'I have not seen a book in the hands of any person since I left Philadelphia.'[36] Illinois was territory for land-jobbers, not gentlemen. The West became America's future, and maybe Europe's – egalitarian, crude, and prone to violence.[37]

Fearon's 'Introductory Remarks' revealed the symbolism of the hunt for a place for emigration during the post-war crisis:

> Emigration had, at the time of my appointment, assumed a totally new character: it was no longer merely the poor, the idle, the profligate, or the wildly speculative, who were proposing to quit their native country; but men also of capital, of industry, of sober habits and regular pursuits; men of reflection, who apprehended approaching evils; men of upright and conscientious minds, to whose happiness civil and religious liberty were essential; and men of domestic feelings, who wished to provide for the future support and prosperity of their offspring.[38]

The prospect of a mass emigration of talented Englishmen combined with Birkbeck's outspoken politics to exacerbate fears of increasing American might and magnify the importance of the English Prairie beyond its meager number of actual immigrants, producing what James Chandler has described as 'anxieties of exodus'.[39]

It is common to view nineteenth-century Britain through the lens of the relatively stable and prosperous Victorian era, making it easy to forget that the final years of the Regency (1811–1820) and the first years of George IV's reign (1820–1830) were tumultuous. Britain had defeated Napoleon only to face the prospect of collapse at home, fears reflected in both the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh* reviews. As Asa Briggs noted, 'historians have chosen these tense years between Waterloo and Peterloo as the nearest point Britain ever reached to social revolution'.[40] Many

contemporaries thought so. Francis Jeffrey shared his fears in a tense *Edinburgh Review* article published in October 1819: 'Every reflecting man in this country has of late been impressed with the very serious apprehensions respecting its future welfare.'[41] The writings of Tories and former-Americaphile-turned-Americaphobe travelers, like Fearon, were also ripe with fear but contain an additional concern – that the Whig/radical obsession with America as a catalyst for reform was adding fuel to the fire.[42]

Fearon's letters warning against emigration were all for naught. He hurried back to England to plead his case without even visiting the English Prairie (as if he really needed to). It was too late. Samuel Thompson, Fearon's father-in-law and leader of the thirty-nine families, had already commissioned Flower to purchase 9,000 acres in Edwards County.[43] Fearon may have failed, but subsequent travelers built on his portrayal of Illinois as a fertile country with degenerate people.

The *Quarterly Review* responded hastily to Fearon's book with a forty-two page review by Barrow in the January 1819 issue. *Sketches of America* was the perfect gift for a Tory reviewer. Barrow mocked Fearon, who had arrived in the United States a 'democrat fieffé' with a 'sovereign contempt for the civil and religious institutions' of England and 'blind and sottish admiration of those of America, of which he knew nothing at all'.[44] Yet Barrow acknowledged Britain's troubles, a testimony to the depth of crisis facing the British in 1819, a year described by Briggs as 'one of the most troubled . . . of the nineteenth century'.[45] Barrow questioned the patriotism of English farmers who thrived during the war but were now 'too selfish to endure any reduction of their extravagant profits' to help their country out of crisis. The thirty-nine families ignored ties of blood and society, trampling over their ancestors' graves 'to deposit their wealth where it may be safe from the claims of their native land'. Fearon and others who dared to look to the American West were possessed with *patriophobia*. The English Prairie was an 'unbounded flat of swamps and forests' whose inhabitants were a 'medley group of Indian hunters, squatters, land jobbers, lawyers, doctors, and farmers occupying lands on speculation'.[46] Barrow again showed his obsession with the religious question: 'We fear, indeed, that there is very little religion of any kind in the greater portion of the United States.' The link between disestablishment and poor morals, American democracy and American decline was obvious: 'The evil in North America has a deeper root, the total absence of early religious instruction.'[47] Other Tory writers concurred. The London *Eclectic Review* protested that Birkbeck's proclamations against an Established Church represented 'irreligion'.[48]

The *Edinburgh Review*'s Sydney Smith reviewed Fearon's *Sketches* together with three other American travel narratives in the December 1818 issue. Smith began by reiterating the importance of the emigration discussion: 'These four books . . . contain a great deal of information and amusement; and will probably decide the fate, and direct the footsteps, of many human beings, seeking a better lot than the Old World can afford them.' Although Fearon was 'a little given to exaggeration in his views', Smith was more moderate in his criticism of Fearon than Brougham had been in his praise of Birkbeck. The change in tone illustrated the fluidity of Whig image-making of America and their tendency to use specific aspects of the American example to criticize explicit British flaws rather than give a blanket endorsement of American advantages. From a Whig perspective, a supreme American defect more than matched British shortcomings:

> The great curse of America is the institution of Slavery – of itself far more than the foulest blot upon their national character, and an evil which counterbalances all the excisemen, licensers, and tax-gatherers of England . . . And these are the men who taunt the English with their corrupt Parliament, with their buying and selling votes. Let the world judge which is the most liable to censure – We who, in the midst of our rottenness, have torn off the manacles of slaves all over the world; – or they who, with their idle purity, and useless perfection, have remained mute and careless, while groans echoed and whips clank'd round the very walls of their spotless Congress.[49]

By arranging parallel barbarities – British corruption with American slavery – the *Edinburgh Review* was able to retain the moral high ground, listing Britain's reasons for reform while denying the United States' claim to exceptionalism. The *Edinburgh* reviewers' purpose was to reform British politics, never to mimic the United States.[50]

Birkbeck went without mention by name, though, in the conclusion of his article, Smith addressed the question of emigration: 'A wise man should be quite sure he has so irresistible a plea, before he ventures on the Great or the Little Wabash. He should be quite sure that he does not go there from ill temper – or to be pitied – or to be regretted – or from ignorance of what is to happen to him – or because he is a poet – But because he has not enough to eat here, and is sure of abundance where he is going.'[51] The American West was a sometimes useful locale for the Whig reviewers, never a desirable one.

As the English Prairie settlements struggled to attract inhabitants, Illinois' extraordinary role in the battle of the reviews continued. In the April 1822 issue, the *Quarterly Review* again addressed the English Prairie. William Tell Harris' *Remarks Made during a Tour* (1821), Adlard Welby's *Visit to North America and the English Settlements* (1821), Richard Flowers' *Letters from the Illinois* (1822), and Frances Wright's *Views of Society and Manners* (1821) provided fuel for John Barrow's renewed criticism of the United States, as well as the reform movement at home.[52] Barrow condemned the authors under review for sharing the same traitorous motive – a desire to investigate the United States as a destination for emigrants.

The *Quarterly* savored the negative reports that Harris and Welby gave of the 'western paradise' of the English Prairie. Birkbeck was a 'hard-hearted, selfish, greedy, avaricious and unprincipled land-jobber . . . There are thousands of our poor countrymen who have been seduced from their homes . . . They cannot return, and the land of their birth will know them no more'. Great Britain could do without 'her Fearons, her Flowers, and her Birkbecks'. *Great Britain* was the best poor man's country: 'With all our drawbacks . . . there is no country in the world where the mass of the people are so well fed, clothed and lodged, as in England; where life and property are so well protected and secured, and where real and rational liberty, the Englishman's birthright, is so fully and so effectually enjoyed.'[53]

A proxy battleground for British polemics, the controversy over the English Prairie tells us more about the debate's participants than it does about Illinois' social history during early statehood. The periodicals' commentaries on the English Prairie – and America generally – were suited to their reading of the situation in Britain. As John Stuart Mill later remarked of the quarterlies' use of books about America in British political debate: 'For many years, every book of travels in America had been a party pamphlet, or had at least fallen among partisans, and been pressed into the service of one party or of the other.'[54] None of the reviewers had ever been to Illinois. The diverse traits attributed to Illinois by the leading Whig and Tory periodicals might be compared to an episode given by Dror Wahrman in his *Imagining the Middle Class* (1995). Wahrman analyzes the two very different conclusions presented in the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review* in review articles of travel books on Sicily. The Whig *Edinburgh Review* praised the middling parts of Sicilian society; the Tory *Quarterly Review* deftly concentrated on the higher and lower orders. A 'divergence of social description' was inherent to the periodicals' depiction of social order on the English Prairie.[55]

In its early years, the *Edinburgh Review*'s perspective on the western character had been indistinguishable from that of the Tory reviews. The *Edinburgh Review* doubted the need for emigration to the United States so long as labor was valuable at home or within the Empire. Moreover, the journal did not think much of the recently settled parts of the United States.[56] In 1805, as we saw in Chapter 1, the Whig periodical gave a memorable assessment of the political class in the American West: 'Their generals distil brandy; their colonels keep taverns; and their statesmen feed pigs,' a comment that Americans remembered verbatim fifteen years later.[57] In the post-war era, aspects of the *Edinburgh Review* perspective on the western parts of America as a destination for emigrants shifted. The situation at home had worsened, and questions about the desirability of emigration to the United States helped to focus attention on the need for reform.

The *Edinburgh Review*'s eager embrace of Birkbeck was no indication of an incurable love of Illinois, or America. The English Prairie had been useful for the *Edinburgh Review* to illuminate the problems facing Britain, in the post-Napoleonic War period, a time during which the Whigs had been out of power for over a decade. Later Whig writers were even less charitable to those who would leave, strongly discouraging emigration to Illinois in the early 1840s for fear that a Mormon exodus would deprive the English economy of skilled workers.[58] By that time, Whigs had been in and out of government leadership for more than a decade, having passed substantive reforms in 1832. Unlike the situation immediately after Waterloo, by the 1840s, Whigs needed to take credit for policies they helped to create. America was a weapon that could be unsheathed when needed in reform debates, but only by the perspective of British politics. The journal's tributes to the English Prairie were never really about the future of Illinois, but rather the future of Britain.[59]

In understanding the Whig reaction to the English Prairie, praise for Birkbeck and frontier Illinois must be reconciled with the *Edinburgh Review*'s taste for advanced commercial society. The Edinburgh reviewers had done their part to bring Whig thought into the nineteenth century through an embrace of progressive Scottish political economy, making the English Prairie a seemingly incongruent subject of focus. Edwards County was economically primeval, with hardly a hint of any division of labor or the arts of an advanced, commercial society. Yet Birkbeck, a representative victim of the archaic English system, suited Whig political critique. That an affluent, talented man would choose refuge in America was the best evidence of British shortcomings. As John Clive explained in his magnificent *Scotch Reviewers* (1957),

the *Edinburgh* reviewers valued three traits together as a yardstick for admiration – 'culture, virtue, and industry'.[60] Birkbeck was strong in the last two, adequate in the first, yet denied a civic life. Something was amiss in Britain.

The Whigs promoted a vision of America that highlighted certain political aspects, particularly what they supposed to be the unobtrusive and unornamented nature of American government. The New Republic lacked the venality of Europe and provided useful symbolism. The absence of robes and powdered wigs in the American courtroom was especially attractive. As Sydney Smith explained, 'The Americans . . . are the first persons who have discarded the tailor . . . and his auxiliary the barber . . . [The judge] is obeyed, however: and life and property are not badly protected in the United States.' More generally, Smith claimed that 'the example of America will in many instances tend to open the eyes of Englishmen to their true interests'.[61]

The *Edinburgh Review* cohort doubted that democratic aspects of the American experiment were relevant to Britain. The Whigs rationalized causes for America's relative stability, in spite of increasingly democratic institutions. As explained in James Mackintosh's review of Jeremy Bentham's *Plan for Parliamentary Reform* (1817), broad suffrage in America worked only because of very special circumstances that neutralized democracy's ill effects: 'There is no part of their people in the situation where democracy is dangerous . . . They had no populace; and the greater part of them are either landlords, or just about to be so.'[62] Given the promise of American entrepreneurship, no demagogue could distract the Americans from their hell-bent pursuit of money.[63] Praise for Birkbeck and Illinois in no way resembled panegyric for rule of the common people on the American frontier but rather for more enlightened stewardship of Great Britain.[64]

More generally, the Whigs could either take it or leave it when it came to the United States. Their pragmatic approach to America allowed for outright condemnation of certain characteristics. By the post-war period, the *Edinburgh Review* routinely criticized slavery. American cultural deficiency was also an obsession, as apparent in Smith's review of Fearon: 'Literature the Americans have none – no native literature, we mean . . . Prairies, steamboats, grist-mills, are their natural objects for centuries to come. Then, when they have got to the Pacific Ocean – epic poems, plays, pleasures of memory, and all the elegant gratifications of an antient [sic] people who have tamed the wild earth, and set down to amuse themselves. – This is the march of human affairs.'[65] Smith's query in the January 1820 *Edinburgh Review* would trouble Americans

for decades: 'Who reads an American book?' Criticism of culture (or lack of it) appeared simultaneously with praise for the English Prairie, evidence of variegated Whig opinion regarding America. Whether Birkbeck and the other English immigrants could carry enough books or other relative luxuries into Illinois to make life bearable was irrelevant. When Whigs spoke of advanced civil society and corresponding refinement of the arts, none of the United States, particularly the primitive westernmost part, was a model.

The very first issues of the *Edinburgh Monthly Review*, a Tory journal founded in opposition to the Whig *Edinburgh Review*, illustrated the centrality of the English Prairie to the Tory defense of existent Church–State relations in post-war Britain. The periodical promised a more loyal view of politics ('cordial regard to the just authority of the Magistrate') and traditional portrayal of religion ('nothing hostile to its interests shall be allowed') than the *Edinburgh Review*. From its inauguration, the journal was devoted to the intellectual demolition of Birkbeck's English Prairie.[66]

The *first* article of the *first* issue of the *Edinburgh Monthly Review* (January 1819) was a review of Birkbeck's *Letters from Illinois*. Birkbeck's fledgling settlement was ideal for illustrating the fallacy and hypocrisy of the reform movement at home. The writer criticized Birkbeck for leaving England after making a good living in his old situation, 'under the salutary protection of the British government'. Employing long-standing images from British anti-Jacobin discourse, the *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine* accused Birkbeck's *Letters from Illinois* of being a propaganda piece in the tradition of the sophists and economists, full of 'conjectures and calculations'. Birkbeck suffered not from persecution or a hopeless economic situation in England but from a 'total want of attachment to any spot in his native country'.[67] The next issue of the *Edinburgh Monthly Review* carried a review of Fearon's *Sketches of America* damning Birkbeck and emigration to the United States. Although Britain's republicans, blinded by their ignorance, would favor the United States, Canada, with 'the advantages which a liberal and wise policy has provided', was the proper choice.[68]

William Faux's *Memorable Days in America: Being a Journal of a Tour to the United States, Principally Undertaken to Ascertain, by Positive Evidence, the Condition and Probable Prospects of British Emigrants; including Accounts of Mr. Birkbeck's Settlement in the Illinois* (1823) spawned another battle in the Paper War. As shown in the elongated title, Faux's book was a polemic against Birkbeck. Faux introduced himself as a 'simple farmer'. His self-proclaimed 'sense of patriotic duty' prompted a visit to America.

Faux left for America in January 1819 and visited Illinois in November of that year. He damned previous travelers and emigrants' accounts: 'All have over-rated America. Hope told her a flattering, lying tale, and they believed her to their own undoing. A visit to this country will increase an Englishman's love for his own.' Liberty in America 'means to do to each as he pleases; to care for nothing and nobody, and cheat everybody'.[69] Although *Memorable Days* did not appear until 1823, Faux's work reflected the bitter atmosphere of 1819 when fears of mass emigration, and even revolution, haunted Tory and Whig alike.

The *Quarterly Review*'s Barrow and Gifford again combined to write a lengthy article (July 1823), devoted solely to Faux's provocative book. Their review was more notorious than the actual book, a litany of their previous complaints against American democracy with an even stronger condemnation of British Americaphiles. Barrow and Gifford reveled in stories of Englishmen who had been 'seduced' by Birkbeck's *Letters* into journeying into the wilderness. The 'new' Albion was already in a state of decay. Farms around the settlement were only 'partially cultivated'. Birkbeck had failed: 'He is, in fact, what we long ago said he was, a mere land-jobber; he has, however, deceived himself, as well as others, and made but a sorry job of it. Indeed Friend Morris appears to have less worldly wisdom than we were willing to give him credit for.' The West was long fated to remain without civilization: 'Long ages must pass away before the population, now thinly spread over the immense vale of the Mississippi, will become sufficiently dense to render any part of it a desirable habitation for civilized beings.'[70]

Barrow and Gifford's conclusion as to the cause of the English Prairie's impending failure (and the entire American Republic's eventual demise) again illustrated that essential Tory principle – the unity of Church and State:

> We are very much inclined to ascribe the vicious and heartless conduct of the Americans . . . to the total disregard of religion on the part of the government. This fatal mistake, in framing their constitution, has been productive of the most injurious consequences to the morals of the people; for to expect that men will cultivate virtue and morality, and neglect religion, is to know very little of human nature. The want of an established national religion has made the bulk of the people either infidels or fanatics.[71]

Mercilessly repetitious, the *Quarterly Review*'s continued depiction of America as a country without religion reflected the exigencies that

framed High Tory image-making of America. Birkbeck's use of America to preach reform and disestablishment could not stand. The *Quarterly Review*'s biased commentaries on the United States were not gratuitous but instead a precipitant of competing pro-American views. Another rabidly Tory journal, the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, pleaded for Leigh Hunt and other radicals to join Birkbeck 'on the Banks of Illinois . . . [and] leave us to hug our chains in peace'.[72] That Edwards County is hundreds of miles from the Illinois River demonstrated the marginality of the actual settlement within the debate over the English Prairie. From a Tory perspective, Americaphilism was particularly dangerous during this time of post-war crisis and escalating emigration.

The Unitarian *Monthly Repository* took a fervent interest in the English Prairie. The journal published letters from Richard Flower, Benjamin Flower, and other Britons living on the English Prairie.[73] Whereas the Tory Church-and-State journals stressed the discord between Flower and Birkbeck, the *Monthly Repository* hid the divisions of the English Prairie, conflating the two English settlements, telling of a church that was being built 'in Flower's and Birkbeck's settlement,' the English Prairie being a singular place.[74] The *Monthly Repository* did find a fundamental problem with the United States that would challenge the growth of Illinois – a 'maturity of social depravity' on the east coast of the United States. While American immorality was an issue ('We really fear that there are some dark shades in the character of our Transatlantic kinsmen'), the Unitarian journal did not blame the decline on morals on republican government and explained that the English residents of Illinois were improving the morals of their neighbors.[75]

The *Edinburgh Review* ignored Birkbeck after the initial spate of articles in 1818. The Scottish reviewers passed over books that might have served Birkbeck's cause, including John Wood's sympathetic *Two Years' Residence in the Settlement on the English Prairie* (1822) and Birkbeck's pamphlet, 'An Address to the Farmers of Great Britain' (1822).[76] Nor was the English Prairie even mentioned in Sydney Smith's July 1824 *Edinburgh Review* treatment of William Blane's *Excursion through the United States and Canada* (1824) though Blane had given a balanced, first-hand description of the then five-year-old settlements. In Whig eyes, the English Prairie episode had played out its usefulness. In 1818, Birkbeck personified the victimization of dissenters and the hope for American-inspired reforms. Unfortunately, his project had never really gotten off the ground, making Edwards County a somewhat dubious subject for sustained reflection.

More generally, as the British economy improved, and crisis atmosphere abated, the *Edinburgh Review* seemed to have lost its taste for American topics, at least until the revival of the reform debate in the late 1820s. David Paul Crook listed no articles on America in the *Edinburgh Review* for the nearly five-year period after Smith's July 1824 article and June 1829.[77] The disappearance of articles dealing with the United States is telling. American topics had been familiar to the journal's longtime readers. Susan Oliver's bibliography of *Edinburgh Review* articles dealing with North America notes 42 articles between the first issue in October 1802 and August 1820, including fifteen articles during the *Edinburgh*'s first five years of existence and ten articles in the five-year period following Waterloo.[78]

While John Quincy Adams-era America may have bored the Scottish Whigs, the key factor in the decline of a previously favored topic was the changed situation in Britain, namely, a relaxation of the crisis and relative lull in the reform debate. Despite the *Edinburgh Review*'s personal and professional connections with the United States – Jeffery's wartime trip to the United States and marriage to an American, Brougham's encouragement of American political causes, and the periodical's strong ties with counterparts at American reviews – America was an instrument, not an enduring addiction, for the Scottish reviewers.[79]

In 1824, Radicals, not Whigs, took the lead in defending America. Peregrine Bingham's critique of Gifford and Barrow's review appeared in the very first issue of James and John Stuart Mill's new Benthamite periodical, the *Westminster Review*. As John Stuart Mill later explained in his *Autobiography* (1873), the *Westminster Review* was founded to provide a progressive alternative to the timid *Edinburgh Review*.[80] Particularly in the journal's early years, the *Westminster Review* cohort were more zealous than the Scottish Whigs in embracing the United States.

In his review of a review, Bingham criticized Tory preconceptions regarding American democracy: 'A fitter opportunity could scarcely have presented itself for estimating the candour, knowledge, and integrity of that Review, – and for developing the process by which it fabricates a representation calculated to flatter the passions and prejudices of those who entertain an instinctive hatred of responsible and economical government.'[81] It was a testimony to the importance of periodical literature of the era that Bingham called out the *Quarterly Review*'s article but *not* Faux's book.

Bingham complained that the *Quarterly Review* article contained 32 pages of only the most unflattering particulars from Faux's book, only 'details of individual instances of ferocity, violence, knavery, boasting

and vulgarity, disappointment, failure, despondency, bad soils, bad climates, bad food, discomfort, dirt, and barbarism – all on the debtor side of the account, without hinting at the existence of a single item on the creditor side.'[82] The myopic Tories also misjudged the causes of America deficiency:

> It would not have suited his [the *Quarterly* reviewer's] purpose; which, from his sneers at the 'Land of Freedom,' and irrepressible expressions of hatred towards republican government, we may fairly assume to be, an endeavour to persuade the reader that the evils, physical and moral, inseparable from every infant state of society, are altogether the result of American institutions, or rather the absence of an established church, the Quarterly reviewer discovers the cause of every offence committed in the United States.[83]

Defense of American religious disestablishment was front and center for Bingham. In fact, the Americans were more devout than Anglicans, who, 'without bestowing a single thought on religion . . . say their prayers, go to church, nod through half the service, and pay tithes without a murmur'.[84] America's lack of refinement was a product of America's youthful circumstances and would abate as frontier conditions mitigated.[85]

In another article, in that same first issue of the *Westminster Review*, Bingham provided a detailed analysis of the English Prairie. The Edwards County settlements were promising, despite frontier circumstances. Birkbeck had done what he could to build a pleasant existence. His family enjoyed 'every comfort, and many of the elegancies of European life; books, music, & c.' The biggest threat to the settlements was not religious disestablishment or republicanism but rather the feud between Flower and Birkbeck, two Englishmen.[86]

Radical travelers took Birkbeck's cause as their own, providing more spirited defenses of the English Prairie than that given by Bingham. Thomas Hulme's *Journal made during a Tour of the Western Counties of America* (1818) gave one of the earliest accounts of the English Prairie and was emblematic of how radicals might use the West. Hulme, a Manchester bleacher, promised to answer 'Whether the Atlantic, or the Western, Countries were the best for *English Farmer* to settle in.'[87] Hulme's uninhibited praise of the United States amplified his criticism of Britain: '[In the United States] I saw an absence of human misery. I saw a government taking away a very small portion of men's earnings. I saw ease and happiness and a fearless utterance of thought every

where prevail. . . . I heard of no mobs, no riots, no spies, no transportings, no hangings.'[88]

Hulme's depiction of the English Prairie was positive and uncomplicated. The surroundings were picturesque: 'These prairies, which are surrounded with lofty woods, put me in mind of immense noblemen's parks in England.' Birkbeck and his family were cheerful and healthy, and the settlements showed signs of impending prosperity. Few settlers had joined, but Birkbeck was well prepared. The English Prairie would thrive, especially due to the superior agricultural skills of Birkbeck and the other Englishmen. In Illinois, all could enjoy noble landscapes without living like the parasitical aristocracy of England.[89]

In comparison, Barrow's vicious condemnation of Hulme in the *Quarterly Review* illustrates both the dichotomous meaning of America to Radicals and Tories and the degree of passions regarding the English Prairie: 'Of all the unnatural vipers who have sucked the nutriment of their country, and then turned to sting her to death, this is the most rank and poisonous. His language is that of an infuriate demon: the foam gathers round his mouth at the mention of a priest, and curses and execrations pour in full tides from his lips whenever the name of England occurs to him. We bless Providence for having put it into the heart of such a wretch to exhale his venom elsewhere.'[90]

Fanny Wright, a young Scottish reformer with sanguine views of the United States, gave possibly the most favorable praise of Birkbeck's Illinois experiment in her *Views of Society in America* (1821). Wright advised Americans to 'laugh in good-humour' at the work of Fearon and others among the 'ignorant and the prejudiced', who criticized the United States. Relying on the accounts of 'two American gentlemen' who had visited the settlement, Wright employed picturesque language to describe the English Prairie: 'The prairie in which it stands is described as exquisitely beautiful: lawns of unchanging verdure, spreading over hills and dales, scattered with islands of luxuriant trees, dropped by the hand of nature with a taste that art could not rival – all this spread beneath a sky of glowing and unspotted sapphires.'[91] Wright provided a favorable physical description of a place that she had not seen, proof of the importance of Birkbeck's experiment to Radicals.

Wright, who would later attempt a settlement for freed slaves in Tennessee, accentuated the sweeping, anti-hierarchal qualities of Birkbeck's experiment. Wright did not wish for a *new* Albion in North America, but rather a new society, devoid of any remnants of English feudalism. Wright praised the 'vigorous intellect and liberal sentiments' of Birkbeck and advised immigrants to clear their minds of lingering

British prejudices. Wright also disparaged Anglicized *New England*. The manly, self-assured western states, having never enjoyed formal connections with Great Britain, were truly American, humanity's brightest hope.[92]

John and Leigh Hunt's radical weekly magazine, *The Examiner*, extracted pages from Fearon's *Sketches*, framing the travel account around the question of emigration. The United States was a worthy country for those facing poverty in England, bad manners and poor education aside: 'If people are disposed to quit their country, the good or bad qualities of the people with whom they propose to live form but a minor consideration.' Negative writings about America would not check emigration so long as England remained unreformed.[93] In a lengthy treatment of *Letters from Illinois*, the progressive *Monthly Review* embraced Birkbeck's political goals, unafraid of the prospect of emigration to America:

> The rising prosperity and increasing population of Western America cannot fail to impress with satisfaction the philanthropist, when he contemplates the diffusion of institutions favourable to the progress of political, civil, and religious freedom, over a country so fertile and extensive. As Englishmen, also, we may feel a secret pride in the reflection that our language, and our works of genius and of science, are destined to illustrate so large a portion of the globe, and so long to preserve the remembrance of the land whence they emanated.[94]

Other leading Radical and Benthamite figures, including Thomas Love Peacock, an East India Company official and part of the *Westminster Review* cohort, took notice of the English Settlement in Illinois. Peacock deified Birkbeck:

> Birkbeck's *Notes on America* have fixed the public attention on that country in an unprecedented degree . . . Multitudes are following his example . . . He is a man of vigorous intellect, who thinks deeply and described admirably . . . The picture he presents of the march of cultivation and of population beyond the Ohio is one of the most wonderful spectacles ever yet presented to the mind's eye of philosophy.[95]

Whigs had used the peril of emigration to the United States as a weapon to bludgeon the Tory establishment; Radicals went further in promoting the United States as a model.

The novelty of the English Prairie was difficult for reviewers to comprehend: 'Some of the towns and rivers mentioned by Mr. Birkbeck have not yet found a place in this map.'[96] The *Gentleman's Magazine* decried the promotion of locations uninhabited and even unnamed: 'The fairy realms of mad enthusiasts, who would mislead their unsuspecting countrymen, possess not even a local habitation or a name.'[97] The *Kaleidoscope* three pence-half penny miscellany ran a curious article about an Illinois man, a 'Western Hermit', who lived 60 miles from the nearest human. The recluse, a retired Army physician, 'appeared displeased at the sight of a human being', a not so subtle reminder of the self-imposed isolation of Birkbeck's paradise in the West.[98]

To some British commentators, Illinois represented the end of the earth. Britons knew of vital connections between East Coast, 'old America', and England. There was an understanding that the original colonies – Plymouth, Jamestown, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and all the rest – represented traits of English character, if exaggerated. Illinois? Illinois was an Indian name for a place that had never been English.

Although Birkbeck was a committed opponent of slavery, purposely having settled in Illinois rather than slave territory, critics used American slavery against the English Prairie. The *Edinburgh Magazine* noted the hypocrisy of the British friends of America. Slavery's continuation in the United States was evidence of Birkbeck's duplicity; how could he make a claim for American liberality? [99] In regards to Birkbeck's aversion to slave-holding states, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* mocked, 'Now it is fit that Britons should know how freedom reigns in America, that land of liberty'. Birkbeck forced himself to live on the frontier amongst the Indians rather than amongst slave-holding republicans.[100]

In a review of Faux's *Memorable Days*, the *Gentleman's Magazine* exclaimed: 'America – the boasted land of freedom – the refuge for persecuted patriotism – is the very sink-hole of slavery – where the most cruel and relentless tyranny is exercised.'[101] The *Edinburgh Monthly Review*, aware of pockets of chattel slavery in Illinois, accused Birkbeck of hypocrisy for 'having renounced his birth-right under Magna Charta, for a settlement in a country where he may enjoy the rights, franchises, and immunities of a slave master'.[102]

As Illinois Secretary of State appointed by a long-time friend, Governor Edward Coles, Birkbeck was crucial in the fight in 1823–24 fighting a proposed constitutional convention meant to legalize slavery in Illinois. Coles, who had manumitted the slaves from his family's Virginia plantation, was a committed opponent of slavery. Unable to win the confirmation of the pro-slavery Illinois Senate, Birkbeck resigned from

his post and continued his anti-slavery crusade. His newspaper letters, signed 'Jonathan Freeman', rallied the anti-convention forces.[103] More importantly, Birkbeck's efforts to attract immigrants to Illinois contributed to a substantial number of foreign-born residents, typical anti-slavery voters. Illinois remained free, Birkbeck's most important contribution to the United States. Considering the state's reputation as the 'land of Lincoln', it is difficult to image Illinois' role in the Union during the antebellum without Birkbeck.

Amongst the range of British perspectives on the English Prairie, the Whig *Edinburgh Review*'s images of the United States were superior as compared with other British commentary, given the Whigs' pragmatism. Both Tory and Radical commentators promoted extremely dogmatic versions of America's future. The *Quarterly Review*, *Anti-Jacobin Review*, and other Tory periodicals depicted the Americans as degenerate and atheistic, predicting the United States' catastrophic failure. Radicals empowered themselves to reform Britain through America's example, depicting a nearly prelapsarian view of America. The Radicals' perspective required the United States' nearly complete success. While capable of rallying party loyalists, neither the High Tory nor Radical stance provided room to maneuver, having invested too much in the situation in Illinois.[104]

The Scottish reviewers' *via media*, incorporating praise for some political institutions and practices with a denigration of America's immature culture, avoided the nearly straightjacket approaches of the *Quarterly Review* and *Westminster Review*.[105] Even within a brief measure of time, the journal was able to pivot. The *Edinburgh Review* went from being a champion of Birkbeck and America to being completely silent about the United States. The periodicals' depictions of the United States, however self-referential, also needed to adapt to the changing realities, both good and bad, of the burgeoning American republic. In future decades, the United States would face both boom and bust, a growing cultural awareness on the part of its citizenry, as well as divisive sectionalism and a civil war. Images of America needed to be flexible and pragmatic.

Americans and the English Prairie

Americans shared the obsession with Birkbeck and Edwards County. The American reaction was divided, with newspapers mostly rejoicing in British immigration to America and quarterly periodicals and East Coast establishment authors doubting Birkbeck's experiment. For American newspapers, the publicity around Illinois confirmed

geopolitical trends – the United States' rise and Britain's decline. English villagers were moving into the American West, often emigrating in large groups with their neighbors. The *Alexandria Gazette and Daily Advertiser* enthusiastically welcomed the 'almost daily arrivals of persons emigrating or migrating into these western wilds'.[106] The *New-York Daily Advertiser*, citing a London newspaper, told of a village in England that had lost at least 100 farmers to the American West.[107] Americans keenly sensed Britain's post-war crisis, the English Prairie episode being an indication of a change in the Anglo-American balance of power. In his *Statistical Annals* (1818), former Congressman Adam Seybert noted: 'In 1817, the emigrants [from Britain to the United States] were, probably, more numerous than in any preceding year.'[108] Although the United States was suffering its own economic hardships in 1818–19 (the Panic of 1819), hopeful Americans suggested that the expansion of western America was surely coming at the expense of the British Empire and not American commercial centers. In January 1819, the *Daily National Intelligencer* indicated learning that some 'very wealthy' Englishmen were preparing to move to Illinois that spring.[109] *Niles' Weekly Register* explained the English Prairie to be healthy, with low mortality (despite the accidental death of an eight-year-old boy from drinking whiskey).[110] Newspapers saw Birkbeck through a nationalistic lens, less aware of the travails of the English communities in Edwards County than of the meaning of Birkbeck's venture for geopolitics. Illinois would bleed the British Empire to death, one village at a time!

Thomas Jefferson saw the English Prairie as a means to change Europe, not from the sheer number of immigrants but as a symbol of the potential for a reformed Europe. In a letter dated July 12, 1817, Jefferson encouraged George Flower, explaining in Mosaic terms that the Illinois settlement would be 'a sanctuary for those whom the misrule of Europe' forced to seek refuge in America:

> This refuge, once known, will produce reaction, even of those there, by warning their taskmasters that when the evils of Egyptian oppression became heavier than those of abandonment of country, another's Canaan is opened, where their subjects will be received as brothers and secured from like oppression by a participation in the rights of self-government. . . . A single good government becomes thus a blessing to the whole earth; its welcome to the oppressed restraining within certain limits the measures of their oppressions, but should ever this be counteracted by violence on the right of expatriation, the other branch of our example then presents itself to

> their imitation, to use on their rulers, and do as we have done. You have set your country a good example, by showing them a practicable mode of reducing their rulers to the necessity of becoming more wise, more moderate, and more honest.[111]

A committed enemy of unreformed monarchies and religious establishments, Jefferson saw the Illinois English settlement as a dagger aimed at the heart of Europe.

Conservative American periodical writers and book authors were more circumspect about the English Prairie. The Bostonian *North American Review* provided a comparison with the *Edinburgh Review* on the subject of the Illinois settlements. Historians consider the *North American Review* to have been the American counterpart to the *Edinburgh Review*.[112] Friendship, as well as circumstance, united American Federalists and British Whigs, both of whom had been out of power for some time and needed to accommodate to unfavorable political and cultural trends. The Federalists had not held the presidency since 1801 and were fading as a national party; the Whigs last shared power in 1806–7, under the 'Ministry of All the Talents'. In their early years, both journals represented generational change, efforts to reinvigorate their respective parties.

Yet, despite these salient commonalities, the *North American Review* split with the *Edinburgh Review* over the English Prairie. According to the *North American Review*, Birkbeck's criticisms of the British establishment were destructive: 'If instead of filling his pages with sneers at religion, or with tiresome newspaper declamations about English politics . . . he had given us more full accounts of the country where he settled, – of its scenery, its natural productions, its soil and climate, – the book would have been more worthy of the attention of a general reader.'[113] It is telling that the *North American Review* disparaged both the anti-American Faux *and* the Americaphile Birkbeck.[114] Birkbeck played a destabilizing role, his miniscule western settlement being a stalking horse in the British reform debate that threatened to drag American politics and religion further to the left. The *North American Review* also skewered Fanny Wright. Wright, like Birkbeck, an outspoken critic of mainstream British politics and sycophant of the extreme democratizing elements within American society, was potentially more dangerous than proclaimed enemies of republicanism for the conservative Boston journal.[115] While Tory criticisms of Birkbeck were fundamentally harsher, the *North American Review* and *Quarterly Review* were bedfellows on the issue of the English prairie; neither could tolerate the symbolism of Birkbeck's experiment in the West.[116]

Other American conservatives cautioned against Birkbeck's Anglophobic influence in the United States. John Bristed, an English-born naturalized American and Federalist, warily praised *Notes on a Journey* excepting 'some Jacobin slang against England and her institutions'. Bristed warned against understanding America at the extremes: 'This country is neither the garden of Eden nor the valley of Tophet.'[117] In his *Appeal to the Judgments of Great Britain* (1819), the Philadelphia scholar-editor Robert Walsh mined Birkbeck's writings for examples of American prosperity while avoiding endorsing the English Prairie. For Bristed and Walsh, Birkbeck's portrayal of the America was too flattering, the Edwards' County experiment too novel. *New* America was dangerous, capable of detaching Americanism from its English origins.

The Philadelphia magazines, the *Analectic Magazine* and the *Port-Folio*, were more optimistic about Birkbeck and the English Prairie, though the periodicals seemed to have read the Illinois settlements as much through perceived fissures within British politics as that of the expansion of the American West. The *Analectic Magazine* praised Birkbeck's *Notes on a Journey in America* as the work of a 'plain, sensible, and *practical* man'.[118] The *Port-Folio* similarly praised Birkbeck as 'a man of practical knowledge' whose 'statements may be received with perfect confidence'.[119] As late as 1823, the *Port-Folio* praised Birkbeck as a 'man of education' and 'unsullied character' who had not embraced the 'noble hatred' of America, thus earning the antipathy of British 'supporters of Church and State'.[120] The *Port-Folio* contextualized Birkbeck and his enemies within the Paper War *not* within any specific debate over the viability of Illinois as a real destination for farmers. British slanders of Birkbeck confirmed American perceptions regarding the internal struggles within British politics between republicans and monarchical forces. The condemnation of Birkbeck by his countrymen confirmed the existence of a conspiracy against the Anglo-American friends of liberty. These analyses, if paranoid, show a distancing from the previous habitual veneration of things-English by the Philadelphia periodicals. Although the Boston *North American Review* has received the attention of scholars looking for substantive changes in American nationalism, the metamorphosis of the *Analectic Magazine*, whose first editor was Washington Irving, and the *Port-Folio*, arch-Federalist Joseph Dennie's creation, provide still more remarkable examples of growing optimism and Anglophobia, the journals' encouragement of America's expansion into the West a telling sign of the post-War of 1812 nationalist moment.

The English Prairie's most devoted critic was the 'practiced literary pugilist' William Cobbett.[121] Cobbett attacked Birkbeck's 'Transalleganian

romance' from his home on Long Island in a letter to 'Morris Birbeck, Esp., of English Prairie, Illinois Territory' to the appendix of his *Years' Residence in America* (1819). The letter showed Cobbett's conflicts with Birkbeck on the subjects of society and agricultural method. By Cobbett's estimation, Birkbeck had not given an honest assessment of life in Illinois. Cobbett imagined the suffering of an English farmer family, 'who have always been jogging about a snug home-stead, eating regular meals, and sleeping in warm rooms, push back to Illinois, and encounter those hardships, which require all the habitual disregard of comfort of an American back-woods-man to overcome.' There was no need for the immigrant to go beyond the eastern states: 'Coming from a country like a garden, why should they not stop in another *somewhat resembling* that which they had lived in before?' The Atlantic seaboard was adequate: 'There is a country, a settled country, a free country, full of kind neighbours, full of all that is good, and when this country is to be *traversed* in order to *get at* the acknowledged hardships of the Illinois, how can a sane mind lead an English Farmer into the expedition?' Birkbeck and other promoters of the West underestimated the English farmer's need for society. 'To *cross* the Atlantic states in search of safety, tranquility and again in the Illinois', was, according to Cobbett, 'little short of madness'.[122]

Cobbett mocked Birkbeck's choice of Illinois: 'It is the *Prairie*, that pretty French word, which means green grass bespangled with daisies and cowslips! Oh God! What delusion!' Birkbeck might have chosen to settle in Pennsylvania: 'You would have had a beautiful farm of two or three hundred acres. Fine stock upon it feeding on Swedish Turnips. A house overflowing with abundance; comfort, ease, and, if you chose, elegance, would have been your inmates.'[123]

Historians explain Cobbett's eagerness to promote eastern farmlands – in Pennsylvania or near his home in Long Island – as a cynical attempt to elevate the value of eastern real estate that he was promoting.[124] This is only part of the story. At the heart of the complaints about Birkbeck's agricultural colony was an authentic argument about society and agricultural method. Cobbett hoped to import the best practices of English agriculture into America, habits that stood their best chance of catching on in the East where land was more precious. Illinois, with its plentiful land, scarcity of labor, and recent settling, represented devolution into the most wasteful methods of agriculture from the perspective of agricultural improvement. By moving West, Birkbeck had given up everything: 'The truth is, that this is not *transplanting,* it is *tearing up and flinging away*.'[125]

A disciple of the eighteenth-century agronomist Jethro Tull, Cobbett ridiculed Birkbeck for not following a 'Tullian system' of crop rotation and manure: 'Unfortunately for my advice, you sincerely believed your land would be already too rich, and that your main difficulty would be, not to *cart on* manure, but to *cart off* the produce!'[126] Cobbett's obsession with forage crops, turnips and rutabaga, was not idle speculation but rather vital to understanding his critique of the American West.[127] Tedious to the modern reader, Cobbett's ranting on the virtues of root crops was fundamental to his vision of a vibrant rural life. The West represented both feeble community and bad farming practices to Cobbett. Faux, who like Cobbett, also repeatedly criticized the sloppiness of American farms, repeated the observations of a Lincolnshire immigrant in regards to American agriculture: 'The English system is wanted.'[128]

Like the Americaphiles, Cobbett believed that England had declined. He found, however, a different foundation for England's problems. Cobbett blamed aggressive, middle-class-types – like Birkbeck – who he believed were selfish and apathetic to community.[129] To Cobbett, the lower orders needed to understand their place in society; the better-offs needed to provide the lowers with an opportunity to make a livelihood.[130] Cobbett's ideal was pre-industrialized England, not go-ahead America. If the excesses of the Protestant Reformation explained England's problems then the Americans, and Birkbeck, were the Protestants *par excellence* – individualists, unconcerned for the social welfare of community, land-jobbers and sloppy farmers. A dearth of rutabagas and manure, and excess of pride – that was frontier Illinois. In February 1822, after publishing dozens of pages on the subject, Cobbett promised to talk no more about Birkbeck or the English Prairie: 'Let the Birkbecks, Flowers, and their partners, on this side of the water . . . lie away as long as they please; let those who choose to be the dupes of this set of *land-gamblers*, be their dupes. I have done *my duty* in warning them; and I have now something else to attend to.'[131]

Alternatives to Illinois: Canada and the British Settlement

The prospect of an English Prairie in Illinois fed on British insecurities regarding the British Empire in North America. The habit of promoting Canada as a substitute for the United States went back to at least the turn of the century. In response to Thomas Cooper's *Some Information Respecting America* (1794), the *Anti-Jacobin Review* had encouraged emigration to Canada and not the United States: 'We will now shew the

superior inducements for an Englishman to settle in Canada, rather than in the United States, in opposition to Mr. Cooper, who has published on the subject of emigration to America.'[132] In 1807, the *Annual Review and History of Literature* hoped for 'an inducement [for emigrants] to prefer the banks of the St. Lawrence to those of the Mississippi, the Ohio, or the Delaware'.[133] By 1818–19, with Tory journals admitting the need for emigration, more writers worked to steer migrant Britons away from the United States and to Canada. The British colony became the best poor man's country in the eyes of reviewers weary of Birkbeck's impact on Britain and the Empire.

Charles Grece, a long-time resident of Lower Canada, provided critics of the United States with a real alternative to Birkbeck's American West. Grece's *Facts and Observations respecting Canada and the United States* (1819) provided useful contrasts between the British colony and American republic. The goal of contesting the 'delusions of such visionaries as Mr. Morris Birkbeck' served to animate Grece's work.[134] Grece deftly combined longstanding British fears of the American climate and chattel slavery. Illinois was too hot for 'those who have been accustomed to the air and climate of Great Britain'. By necessity, slavery would be the primary labor source in the West: 'This same English *Prairie* is indebted to the sweat, the toil, the groans, the heart-breaking pangs of slavery! Indeed, there is good reason to believe, that the western territory will for ever be subject to that species of labour; the heat of the climate being too great for white men's constitutions.'[135] Grece also accused Fearon, responsible for investigating prospects for the thirty-nine families' emigration to the United States, of neglecting to tell the '*whole* truth'. Illinois was bad *and* Canada was the best place for emigrate English farmers.[136]

The *British Review, and London Critical Journal* was not as hopeful for Canada, using an 1824 review of a traveler's account as the occasion to attack Catholicism in French Lower Canada: 'Popery and its necessary attendant, ignorance, prevail to a melancholy extent.' The Anglican Church had been effectively dis-established, losing its purpose and in danger of being replaced by American religious sects ('independent bodies of Christians').[137] In March 1823, the liberal *Monthly Review* addressed the Canada-Illinois debate, avoiding a conclusive judgment between the two, while deftly highlighting the need for reform in Britain. Settlement of Upper Canada required construction of costly infrastructure, more expensive than simply solving problems at home. The Illinois constitution, with its freedom of religion and democratic aspects, was promising, but Birkbeck owed potential immigrants a statistical account of the

state. Several months later, a reviewer complained of the inconsistencies in Faux's treatment of Birkbeck and the United States.[138] Tired of prose warfare regarding the English Prairie – and exaggerations from both sides – reviewers needed real numbers.

In addition to farmer-travelers, Tory reviewers and Cobbett, Birkbeck and the English Prairie also faced criticism, and direct competition, from the Englishman C. B. Johnson, founder of a 'British Settlement' on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. Johnson's *Letters from the British Settlement in Pennsylvania* (1819) was a response to Birkbeck's writings on Illinois.[139] Johnson aimed to show British farmers that his settlement was more advantageous for reasons of cost, access to markets, and security. Americans, more interested in seeing America rise at the expense of Britain's depopulation than caring where in the West that immigrants settled, did not take a strong interest in the argument between the two Englishmen.[140] For eastern journals, the symbolism of mass British immigration, and how that figured in the United States' ascension, was more important than aspects of actual society in the West. A May 1818 *Analectic Magazine* article indicated that Birkbeck resided 'in the state of Indiana'. The article took a geopolitical view of America's rise in the West at the expense of the European powers, the error being irrelevant to the author's purpose. For the Philadelphia reviewer, as for most commentators, the actual fledgling settlements on the Wabash River were never more than a symbol.[141]

The English Prairie fades

By 1822, the tide had turned against Birkbeck, the English Prairie, and public enthusiasm for emigration generally. Non-partisan, literary magazines found Adlard Welby's *Visit to North America* (1821) to be the best proof of the struggles of the English Prairie. A reviewer in the *Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review* remarked that 'if after what Cobbett and Mr. Welby have said of the Illinois, any Englishman has the folly to go to reside there, he deserves to suffer for it'.[142] In a review of Welby's book, a reviewer for William Jerdan's *Literary Gazette*, a journal known for impartial book reviewing, praised the author's critical view of the English Prairie, capable of saving potential emigrants 'who might otherwise be tempted by Birkbeck's fallacious and scandalous representations'.[143] Several months later, in another discussion of Illinois, a *Literary Gazette* reviewer explained that, though the United States afforded additional freedoms, Old England, 'the favoured seat of the arts and sciences', was

'the only nation where human nature had arrived to its highest perfection!'[144] Perhaps it was inevitable that commentators would take a more critical view of the English Prairie given the initial optimism regarding Illinois and increasing political and economic stability in Britain. After the *Westminster Review*'s January 1824 article, the English Prairie failed to attract much attention. The reviews had focused on the tiny settlements for six fruitful years, an indication of the centrality of Birkbeck's project to the debate over the condition of Britain. As seen through the English Prairie episode, British and American commentators created myopic perspectives of America that suited multiple paper wars, trans-Atlantic *and* domestic.

The English Prairie never grew either to the expectations of its founders or the fears of its critics – lots of flash and not much substance. According to an informal census taken in 1822, Wanborough counted only 68 people whose surname was something other than Birkbeck! Albion contained a robust 170 inhabitants.[145] Although both observers and immigrants blamed Birkbeck for being a better promoter than civic planner, his plans for a thriving agricultural community also suffered from circumstances that were out of his control, including drought in 1818–19. Economic contagion seemed to follow Birkbeck across the Atlantic. The Panic of 1819 and disintegration of markets worldwide meant lower prices than Birkbeck had promised. Some recent arrivals spent the last of their savings on a return ticket home, hating Birkbeck.[146] Birkbeck had also lost heart. In 1824, he declined a fifth term as president of the Illinois State Agricultural Society, privately telling Governor Coles that Illinois was not ready for an agricultural society.[147] Birkbeck had escaped the venality and corruption of England for an embryonic society of backwoodsmen who preferred hunting to farming.

Travelers stopped visiting and periodicals quit writing about the English Prairie as more attention went to Robert Owen's ambitious New Harmony, Indiana, cooperative. The Erie Canal opened in October of 1825, shifting Illinois' future prosperity to Chicago and the northern part of the state. The Great Lakes and not the Ohio and Mississippi rivers became the best outlet for Illinois farmers.[148] Charles Dickens traveled through Illinois in the 1840s but failed to mention the English Prairie in his *American Notes* (1842), instead making Cairo and the 'Looking-glass Prairie' near St Louis the focal point for pejorative commentary on the American West.

Birkbeck did not live long enough to see much of the history of the state he had done so much to promote. He drowned on June 4, 1825

while crossing the Fox River after visiting Owen. Birkbeck's body was found the next day, his right hand still clutching a green umbrella, evidence of a lingering material Englishness.[149]

Birkbeck's death failed to bring as end of the acrimony over the English Prairie. In August 1825, Cobbett broke his promise not to talk about Birkbeck, spitefully announcing his former friend's death:

> If what I have heard besides be true, that life must have been hardly worth preserving; for, they say, that he was reduced to a very deplorable state. . . . He seemed to me bent upon his own destruction. I thought it my duty to warn others of their danger: some took the warning; others did not; but he and his brother adventurer, Flower, never forgave me, and they resorted to all the means in their power to do me injury. They did me no injury, no thanks to them; and I have seen them most severely, but, most justly, punished.[150]

Cobbett used his *Rural Rides* (1830), a compilation of nearly a decade of writing, to denounce Birkbeck and the English Prairie one last time. Cobbett's trips on horseback through the southeast of England contained harangues about tithes, taxes, rotten boroughs, and fallacies of the political economists. In his very first trip through the county of Surrey, the home of both Cobbett and Birkbeck, Cobbett denounced Birkbeck. Cobbett claimed to have learned that Birkbeck would be coming back to England to receive the property of a deceased man who had guaranteed a loan from Birkbeck to a relative, the story being indicative of Birkbeck's pecuniary preoccupation.[151] By Cobbett's perspective, aggressive capitalist farmer-speculators like Birkbeck had destroyed the communal agrarianism of his youth. By stealing farm families from England, Birkbeck threatened to add to the devastation of the countryside.

Tory reviewers continued to abuse Birkbeck, even after death. The *Quarterly Review* repeated a rhyme from several years before:

> _____ Birkbeck and Flower,
> A 'quaker sly, and Presbyterian sour.'[152]

The inability of Birkbeck's enemies to let go of their anger for the former-English farmer was a telling sign of the importance of the English Prairie as a cultural and political symbol.

Birkbeck's Wanborough soon disappeared, and the Birkbeck family's English Prairie experience ended rather suddenly. A daughter and two

of his sons left for another North American republic, Mexico. Another daughter moved to Australia. George Flower, spirit broken and drained of his fortune by the failure of the English Prairie, remained in Albion until 1849 when financial dire straits (only $2.50 remaining of his previous fortune) forced him into taking a job as a hotel manager in Mt Vernon, Indiana. Flower and his wife made their home in Mt Vernon until they died on the same day in 1862.[153] Even Governor Edward Coles – Birkbeck's accomplice in bringing progressive ideas to Illinois – left the state in 1831 to reside in Philadelphia. Today, Albion has a population of less than 2,000 and an economy based on agriculture and light industry, according to United States Census figures.

In later articles, British periodicals occasionally addressed the English Prairie, usually addressing its failings. An 1832 article in the *Monthly Review* noted the misery of those English remaining in southeast Illinois, a more intriguing topic being the origins of the prehistoric mounds near Cahokia.[154] The same year, a *Monthly Magazine* retrospective written by an Englishman who had followed Birkbeck to Illinois in 1818 traced the author's nearly fifteen-year struggle in Illinois.[155] The dreams of Birkbeck and the Flowers for the English Prairie were long dead. At best, one could say that Illinois finally had a history. For British readers, Illinois, formerly a battleground for the aspirations/fears of the Anglo-American world, had become just another of the growing number of the United States. Anglo-American polemics would again be drawn away from the western gaze to Illinois, back to a Philadelphia/Boston–London/Edinburgh axis, symbolic of the continuing dominance of Britain in American intellectual life.

The failure of the English Prairie has blinded us to the episode's importance for Anglo-American cultural history of the period after Waterloo and the War of 1812. As James Chandler has noted: 'It is hard to come to terms with Birkbeck's importance in his own time when in ours he is so little known.'[156] For several years, in the midst of political and economic crisis, British readers identified the American experience with Birkbeck's Illinois. Birkbeck attempted to make western America a laboratory for the search for a better society, to the elation of proponents of reform and the consternation of British conservatives. Most remarkably, both the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review* spent a remarkable number of pages on the English Prairie at the very height of their importance.[157]

While William Gifford's assertion about Birkbeck being the 'most dangerous man' sounds preposterous, it illustrates the English Prairie's contemporary significance to the contest of molding images of the

United States in Britain and the reform debate within Britain itself. Likewise, Brougham's claim that Birkbeck had written 'of one of the most interesting and instructive books' rings hollow in light of Birkbeck's contemporaries – Bentham, Byron, Goethe, James Mill, and Scott, to name a few – but it should be read with complete seriousness. That staid observers of contemporary intellectual life would make such claims speaks volumes. Faux, Birkbeck's unforgiving critic, also magnified his nemesis – 'No man, since Columbus, has done so much towards peopling America as Mr. Birkbeck.' Faux's claim, again unsustainable, illuminated the intensity of the obsession with the English Prairie.[158]

4
The End of Anglo-mania[1]

Robert Walsh's *Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain*

History had not been kind to an American hero in the Paper War, Robert Walsh Jr. of Philadelphia. Walsh (1784–1859), a leading Philadelphia scholar, journalist, editor, and diplomat, did not survive the process of historical sifting and his accomplishments have faded from memory. By the second quarter of the twentieth century, Walsh's reputation had sunk into 'utter oblivion'. Respected by Thomas Jefferson as 'one of the two best writers in America' and designated by John Quincy Adams as 'the first internationally recognized American author', Walsh did not even receive an entry in the recent twenty-four-volume *American National Biography*.[2]

This historical amnesia blinds us to Walsh's role in the broadening of American nationalism. Born in Baltimore, of Irish Catholic and Pennsylvania Quaker descent, Walsh was the focus of an important episode of Anglo-American cultural history in the wake of the War of 1812. Readily identified by fellow Americans as an Anglophile and Federalist, Walsh earned the praise of prominent Federalists and Republicans alike with his book defending the United States, *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain Respecting the United States of America* (1819). His adoption of a critical bent towards Great Britain reflected an important shift within the worldview of the 'young Federalists' who were grasping for relevance in the aftermath of the War of 1812 and the Hartford Convention. During the Hartford Convention of December 1814 to January 1815, New England Federalists' anger at war with Britain had led them to propose severe changes in the Constitution aimed at curtailing the power of ruling Republicans. Walsh's influential *Appeal* provides further confirmation that Federalists responded to

political decline with 'energy, flexibility and effect'.[3] An unprecedented convergence of factors – trans-Atlantic economic disaster, political crisis in Britain, commercial rivalry, and severe British commentary regarding America – made an American response to British criticism timely. It was, however, Walsh's skill at producing a carefully crafted work of cohesive nationalism that made the *Appeal* the most widely acclaimed nonfiction nationalistic work to appear in the wake of the War of 1812. According to the perceptions of many of his contemporaries, Walsh had deftly navigated through the problematic features of American identity, most notably slavery, sectionalism, and cultural deficiency.

Walsh's previous career and oeuvre did not make him a likely candidate to write an Anglophobic defense of America. By the age of nineteen, Walsh had become a widely regarded essayist for Joseph Dennie's Philadelphia-based *Port-Folio*, a bastion of pessimistic literary Federalism. Scholars have noted that Dennie's promise to direct his weekly magazine to 'men of affluence, men of liberality, and men of letters' might, at that time, more easily have been meant for 'British gentlemen than American merchants, tradesmen, and landholders'.[4]

Walsh contributed several essays to the *Port-Folio*, the most noteworthy example of his Anglophobic, elitist High Federalism being a February 11, 1804, piece documenting the deleterious efforts of democracy: 'The annals of all democratical institutions uniformly record the triumph of vice, and the depression of virtue; that they are invariably the archives of licentious disorder, and tumultuary violence, of iniquitous intrigue, and shameless corruption, of bloodshed and massacre.' Walsh warned that the 'voice of the people' would undo the progress of recent centuries. He lamented the Federalists' loss of power to the Jeffersonians, 'who know no reverential awe, or puerile scruple'.[5]

Walsh traveled and lived in Britain and on the Continent between July 1806 and May 1809. Walsh made American literary history on his travels, writing articles for the *Edinburgh Review*, 'Code de la Conscription' (January 1809) and 'Biographie Moderne' (April 1809), both dealing with the French Revolution and Napoleon. Walsh's contribution to the most important British periodical, though overlooked by scholars of American literature, was an important step for American writers. Walsh's articles also gave a chance for the *Edinburgh Review* to pivot in regards to its understanding of France.[6] His American, Federalist-style condemnation of recent French history provided a harsher critique than that of the Scottish Whigs. The Edinburgh reviewers had generally portrayed Napoleon in terms that were more ambiguous.[7] In the rival London *Quarterly Review*, poet Robert Southey praised the articles' clear-cut

anti-Bonapartist views as being untypical of the *Edinburgh Review*: 'I thought those articles on the Conscription and the Revolutionary Biography could not come from any ordinary writer in that journal: they were in a wholesomer stream of thought and feeling, and accordingly said to be the work of an American by name Walsh.'[8]

In late 1809, Walsh completed, by his description, an 'anti-gallican pamphlet', *A Letter on the Genius and Disposition of the French Government* (1810).[9] Walsh contrasted prosperous Britain – blessed with good government – with despotic France, its cities half-deserted, drowning under draconian taxation and conscription. A commercial failure in the United States, Walsh's Anglophilic *Letter* was popular with British reviewers. The *Edinburgh Review*'s Francis Jeffrey doubly appreciated Walsh's 'warm eulogium on England' and 'powerful invective against France'; Jeffrey exclaimed: 'We must all learn to love the Americans, if they send us many such pamphlets.' George Ellis at the Tory *Quarterly Review* noted Walsh to be 'an acute and comprehensive mind, improved by much previous study'. As a contemporary remarked, 'sufficient justice has not been rendered to Mr. Walsh's literary efforts in the United States; in Britain he is better appreciated'.[10]

At the encouragement of editor Joseph Dennie and Nicholas Biddle, a prominent Philadelphia lawyer, author, and later director of the Bank of the United States, Walsh settled down in Philadelphia, a city better suited than Baltimore to his literary pursuits. Walsh succeeded the lately deceased Charles Brockden Brown as editor of the *American Register, or General Repository of History, Politics, and Science*, serving for the final two issues before that journal folded.

Walsh was especially pessimistic about the condition of the United States during the months following his arrival back in the United States – a new literary journal would help set the country straight. In January 1811, Walsh issued the first number of his *American Review of History and Politics*, the first American quarterly based on the preeminent British example, the *Edinburgh Review*. His prospectus promised 'the propagation of sound political doctrines, and the direction and improvement of the literary taste of the American people'. Walsh's taste in politics was High Federalist, his predilections in literature British.[11]

In the very first article of the *American Review*, Walsh took a passionate stance against war with Britain, noting that, 'To many, the destruction of the land of our forefathers would be the most satisfactory of all public events.' However, for Walsh, America's destiny remained linked with the mother country. Walsh, in typical Federalist fashion, portrayed hostility against Britain as surrender to Bonaparte's despotism: 'Any

close connexion with France will seal the ruin of the United States,' he argued. We will not hesitate to pronounce that our fate is indivisibly united with that of England, – and if she falls or should be provoked to consign us over to the irresistible force, or to the still more "hostile amity" of France, we may bid-adieu not only to the blessings of freedom but to the common comforts of existence.'[12]

It is illustrative of Walsh's deference to the Scottish critics that, in a treatment of Dugald Stewart's *Philosophical Essays* (1810), Walsh pleaded that he would copy excerpts from an *Edinburgh Review* treatment of Stewart's book, the reviewer having already 'so well executed' his task. Despite Walsh's promise to refute the 'poverty of conception and scantiness of knowledge' regarding European images of America, he published no reviews of foreign travel accounts of the United States during the *American Review*'s short existence (eight issues), a probable gauge of Walsh's reluctance to confront a favorite subject of British reviewers.[13] The *American Review*, though cis-Atlantic in name, was mostly a panoramic Federalist view of Europe and of American diplomatic-economic relations with Europe. Walsh's Anglophilia earned him the scorn of many prominent countrymen. James Kirke Paulding singled out Walsh for his British sympathies. Other American reviewers called Walsh a 'British Hireling' and 'little literary cuckoo' ('Bonaparte-Bonaparte-Bonaparte'). John Quincy Adams complained of Walsh's High Federalist politics. A lengthy letter condemning Walsh's repeated disparagement of Madison's foreign policy appeared in a Philadelphia periodical, *The Cynick*, in December 1811.[14]

The next few years had many vicissitudes for Walsh. The American Philosophical Society elected him to that learned body in January of 1812. In June, the United States entered into war with Britain, as Walsh had feared. His publisher, Farrand and Nicholas, went bankrupt the same year. In October 1812, Walsh put out the last number of the *American Review* at his own expense. The next year Walsh had published a lengthy essay forecasting the implications of Russia's victory over France in the Napoleonic Wars. Walsh confronted his former law mentor Robert Goodloe Harper's sanguine view of Bonaparte's debacle. Challenging Harper and other Federalists, Walsh argued that the triumph of Czarist Russia was no victory for liberty.[15] In 1817, Walsh resumed his work as editor of a new *American Register*, which only lasted two issues. He contributed articles to the *Analectic Magazine* in 1818, taking a position as professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania in the same year.[16]

An improbable candidate to cast suspicion upon British motives, Walsh began his defense of America in late 1818. His piece, which he

gave the working title 'Vindicia Americana', became a cumulative effort involving many prominent countrymen. Walsh petitioned a wide range of Americans, from presidents Jefferson and Madison to Archbishop Maréchal of Baltimore, for their expertise. *Niles' Weekly Register*, a widely circulated weekly national newspaper, published a call in April 1819 for 'gentlemen of observation in different parts of the country' to help Walsh in his 'refutation of European slander'. Walsh informed Jefferson that he hoped 'to demonstrate that we are the most respectable and flourishing people on earth'.[17] The fury of Walsh's response to foreign criticism reflected Americans' pent-up frustrations as seen in the previous chapter on the Inchiquin episode. Walsh would struggle in his *Appeal* to combat both the criticisms of America given by British writers as well as the shortcomings in previous American rejoinders in the Paper War.

The 512-page *Appeal* appeared the first week of October 1819. Walsh's work was less an 'appeal' than a declaration of total war, extreme in its protest against the treatment of America by British writers. Walsh promised to 'repel actively, and, if possible, to arrest, the war which is waged without stint or intermission, upon our national reputation'. Americans needed to go on the offensive in hopes of 'making inroads into the quarters of the restless enemy'.[18]

The since-forgotten matters that figured prominently in the *Appeal* illustrated American's peculiar nationalistic sensitivities. Walsh exploded at the British charge that Americans were tardy in adopting Edward Jenner's cowpox vaccination, the accusation being full of 'absurdity and malice' but also ironic. In Britain, the vaccine had to struggle 'with a longer and more violent opposition,' Walsh explained, 'than in any other of the countries into which it has been introduced. No heavier disgrace were [sic] ever brought upon the medical faculty . . . than by the prejudices with which it was encountered among a part of the British population, and the pamphlets sent forth against it from . . . London physicians eminent in their profession.' Walsh also strongly defended Robert Fulton, accused of copying British steamboat designs. The steamboat inventor had improved on other men's inventions, but such was the nature of scientific achievement. Americans had put steam-driven machines to providential use on their boundless lakes and rivers.[19]

Most importantly, the *Appeal* revealed a shift in Walsh's explanation of the genesis of American liberties. In his *Letter* of 1810, Walsh lectured as a political Anglophile, proclaiming that Americans and Britons were 'derived from the same common ancestors, speaking the same language, actuated by the same moral and religious habits and feelings, and alike

enjoying the inestimable benefits of a free constitution'. A 'vigor and independence' placed England 'so far above every other European country in the scale of excellence'. Walsh lamented those Americans who sympathized with France, breaking ties with their English political heritage: 'It is worse than ingratitude in us not to sympathize with them [the British] in their present struggle, when we recollect that it is from them we derive the principal merit of our own character – the best of our own institutions – the sources of our highest enjoyments – and the light of freedom itself.'[20]

In the *Appeal*, Walsh contradicted his glorification of the English heritage of American liberty of a decade earlier. All but one of the colonies (exempting Georgia) had been founded *before* the Glorious Revolution, when 'a slavish reverence of monarchy was nearly universal, and the system of administration altogether absolute and arbitrary'. American 'love of liberty and independence' – having cis-Atlantic origins, before 1688 – could not have been the product of English origins: 'It was not, therefore, by favour, but in spite of their political connexion with Great Britain, that they preserved their liberties, and became what they were at the end of the seventeenth century.'[21]

Walsh, a Catholic, was eager to glorify the pluralistic foundations of America, arguing that religious freedom had an early basis in the colonies. In comparison, Britain *still* had not embraced toleration: 'Her contemporary history is a tissue of all that can be conceived most atrocious, or malignant, or preposterous, in the hostilities and extravagances of fanaticism.' Walsh refused to concede the Salem witch trials of 1692 as representative of American fanaticism: 'On comparing the condition and pretensions of the English and Scotch nations . . . with those of the zealots of New England, every one will perceive at once on which side lies the greater load of guilt and shame.' Walsh argued that, since the end of the seventeenth century, New England suffered through no 'sanguinary or vexatious persecution for variations in opinion or worship'.[22]

In addition to his novel criticisms of England's political history, the *Appeal* provided other about-faces, especially Walsh's justification of individuals and events that Federalist writers previously disfavored. Walsh cited Benjamin Franklin, sometimes demonized for being a social-climbing libertine and plagiarist, as an example of American genius. Walsh even defended Franklin's religiosity. He also embraced the nationalism that grew out of American military successes during the War of 1812. Ironically, Walsh had been amongst the strongest critics of the war. He endorsed General Andrew Jackson's adventures in Florida,

where Jackson had ordered the execution of two Britons for advising and supplying the Seminole Indians, in a move get on the populist side of the debate over the controversial general.[23]

The longest section of the *Appeal* was the last, Walsh's 120-page treatment of American slavery. Walsh promised his best effort, acknowledging that this was the matter 'on which we appear most vulnerable, and against which the reviewers have directed their fiercest attacks'. He provided a defense in relative terms, pointing to the abasement of various categories of Britons and British colonials: West Indian slaves, English factory workers, Irish Catholics, and Indians on the Subcontinent.[24]

Adopting a Virginia perspective in order to defend the existence of American slavery, Walsh blamed the slave trade, and essentially slavery itself, on Britain: 'The greater portion of the negroes introduced into North America, was brought by British vessels, on account of British merchants, and under the special sanction of the British parliament,' he argued. Americans would, 'but for the oppressive and avaricious opposition of the mother country, have put a stop to the [employment] of negroes at a much earlier period than the era of their independence.' Britain was culpable for unleashing something worse than a 'Pandora's box' upon her offspring in North America. Slavery in America was the equivalent of a 'hereditary gout or leprosy, ascribable in its origin to the vices of the parent state'.[25]

In his careful treatment of slavery, Walsh avoided a solely northern perspective on American republicanism. In fact, President James Madison, a Virginia slave owner, had supplied both data and perspectives on slavery for the *Appeal*.[26] In the *Appeal*, Walsh nationalized southern apologies for slavery. Southerners were not morally culpable for practices that they had inherited and continued as a 'matter of necessity'. Total abolition would occur once practical: 'The plurality of the leading men of the southern states, are so well aware of its pestilent genius, that they would be glad to see it abolished, if this were feasible with benefit to the slaves, and without inflicting on the country, injury of such magnitude as no community has ever voluntarily incurred.'[27] In his *American Register* a few years before, Walsh had similarly predicted the not-so-distant demise of slavery. 'The Southern states,' he wrote 'are less infested with the evil of domestic slavery, and may cherish the hope of being, at no distant day, so far relieved . . . from that dreadful vicissitude.'[28] Walsh's optimistic nationalism precluded realistic thinking about the United States' future with race.

Despite his rather spirited depiction of British calumnies against the United States, Walsh nimbly avoided crossing certain boundaries. Walsh

did not tell the whole story of America's derogatory image, ignoring native sources for the disparagement of American democracy. The villains of the *Appeal* were Britons, not America's literary elite, though the latter had encouraged the anti-Jefferson sentiments of foreigners, providing their own repertoire of negative views to the discourse of anti-Americanism. Chief amongst the antagonists against Jeffersonian America was Walsh's former boss, Joseph Dennie. The young Walsh's anti-democratic rants were typical of the *Port-Folio*. Unwilling to point a finger at former associates and fellow conservatives, Walsh ignored their vital role in the production and proliferation of critical foreign views of the new republic.

Dedicated to writing a broad nationalistic narrative, Walsh wisely limited his survey primarily to events before Washington's second term, before the hardening of the split between Hamilton and Jefferson and the birth of party politics, common ground to Federalists and Republicans alike. Only the final three sections of the nine-part *Appeal* dealt significantly with events after the Revolution, which made perfect sense for Walsh's nonpartisan attempt at American nationalism. Discussion of events that occurred after the genesis of party politics would have divided Walsh from some portion of his readers.

Walsh's defense of American literature was half-hearted, calculated. In section 7, 'Of the Hostilities of the British Reviews', Walsh disapproved of the tone of British critics without providing a defense of American writers. Of John Quincy Adams' respected *Letters from Silesia* (1804) Walsh remarked, 'I will venture to affirm, moreover, that they possess much absolute, intrinsic merit; that they are greatly above the common standard of applauded English tours, and would have been declared creditable in all respects, had they been the production of an Englishman in a similar station' – hardly a ringing endorsement.[29] America needed time, as Walsh had noted in his introduction to the first volume of the *American Register*:

> In this country we cannot as yet be properly said to have a literature of our own, and the state of criticism among us scarcely deserves consideration. . . . We have had now and then a volume of poetry always below mediocrity, and a few romances or novels too contemptible to be remembered. . . . I would much prefer that our taste and intelligence should be tested by the English works reprinted among us.[30]

British critics aside, Americans needed to be realistic. A national literature would come only after other aspects of civilization matured.

A nationalist when it came to America's special providence, Walsh remained a literary Anglophile. In 1819, the same year that his *Appeal* appeared, Walsh began work on a series, *The Works of the British Poets, with Lives of the Authors* (1819–22), of which he edited thirty-one of the fifty volumes! As a scholar of American English has noted, 'It was to prove more difficult to declare independence from Samuel Johnson than it had been to reject George III.'[31] That was certainly the case with Walsh, a political nationalist but no Noah Webster.[32]

Walsh subscribed to the notion of *translatio studii*, the notion that knowledge gradually traveled from East to West – from Eden to Jerusalem, then Babylon, Athens, Rome, Paris, Amsterdam, and London – then, someday to on American shores. *Translatio studii* was vague, flattering of American aspirations of glory but not prone to get out of hand. Concrete praise for specific American literary works, especially Barlow's radical *The Columbiad*, was very different. Flattery for American literature as a distinct category inflated the claims of the Anglophobic ultranationalists, not something that Walsh desired. As Catherine O'Donnell Kaplan has noted of the Boston *Anthology* group, a predecessor to the *North American Review* cohort, *translatio studii* 'offered readers a way to participate in the nation without being transformed, or seduced, or overwhelmed by it'.[33]

One might contrast Walsh with Baltimore's Stephen Simpson, the Jeffersonian coeditor of the *Portico*, a Baltimore periodical. Simpson took delight in publishing American literature with the stated goal 'to excite the emulation of genius' in America. An English traveler noted that Baltimore 'occupies the foremost rank in deadly animosity towards England', an observation that was likely inspired by the *Portico* cohort.[34] In 1817, Simpson mocked Walsh for the praise that the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, Francis Jeffrey (the 'great Jeffries') had bestowed on Walsh. To Simpson, Walsh was a British puppet, unduly critical of anything French (or American) and capable only of repeating the catchphrase that Americans have no 'literature of our own'.[35]

The problem of American manners was largely absent from the *Appeal*. While correlating (bad) manners with republican government may have been an incomplete explanation for American behavior, this was how many commentators framed the issue, an inquiry with many predetermined answers and important ramifications for the possibilities of reforming British politics and society. A reviewer for the London *British Critic* noted that, 'It looks ill for Mr. Walsh's cause' that even defenders of America 'differ very little' from its detractors when they 'speak of American manners and institutions'.[36] Although this remark

ignored the vast, positive literature on the United States, it might also be a gauge of how important a negative conclusion to the manners question was to conservative British images of America. Walsh was a realist in the face of harsh foreign condescension. The manners question was much like that of literature: Republicanism was antithetical to neither good writing nor good manners. Rougher aspects of comportment would improve as society matured, but, for the time being, that was a battle not worth fighting.

Walsh also shied away from prominent British contemporaries who might have strengthened his arguments for America's greatness. He mostly ignored the work of the English dissenter Morris Birkbeck, in 1819 an important figure in the trans-Atlantic imagination. Birkbeck had immigrated to the United States a few years earlier, settling in Illinois while penning two popular books mainly praising the United States. Birkbeck's anticlericalism and the deliberate detachment of his prairie settlement from American East Coast civilization likely alienated Walsh.[37] The western prairies symbolized an escape from British civilization rather than an embrace of well-established American habits. While the *Appeal* showed no sectional bias against westward migration, an endorsement of Birkbeck's experiment in the West would have put Walsh on the wrong side of the manners/culture question.[38] As Walsh's Scottish mentors liked to remind Americans, civilization was a long-term process. Nor did Walsh depend upon the writings of pro-American, radical British travelers like Thomas Hulme.[39] Walsh's defense of America's reputation needed to be made without conceding to British radical (and, by association, Jeffersonian) views. The *Appeal*, however, did break other important ground, embracing an American vision that was optimistic and expansive. Whereas Federalists had previously gazed across the Atlantic for inspiration, British North America on their left and Spanish Florida on their right, Walsh confidently surveyed an American future – north, south, east, and west. The 'gloomy resignation' and theme of moral declension of previous Federalist writings, including Walsh's *Port-Folio* essays, were absent from the *Appeal*. Perhaps Walsh's most important contribution to the corpus of Federalist thought was his explanation that the greatest threat to American republicanism came from *outside* America's borders. None of the internal threats – impiety, democratic mediocrity, faction, or political tyranny – that conservatives had previously seen menacing the American experiment in republicanism featured in Walsh's account.[40] Americans would eliminate America's chief abomination, slavery. The political experiment and social fabric secure, Americans could be confident in the future. In the *Appeal*, Walsh

excised the ghosts of Federalist ultras like Joseph Dennie and Fisher Ames, the renowned Massachusetts congressman and orator, from the American conservative worldview.

Walsh's conversion: calculated Anglophobia

Understanding the causes for Walsh's turn away from pessimistic, Anglophilic Federalism to American nationalism is difficult. Walsh's private papers were accidentally destroyed after his death, complicating our ability to understand his process of choosing to devote most of a year to writing a nationalist narrative. Unlike the cohort who founded the Boston *North American Review*, Walsh did not suffer from a crisis of confidence after a sojourn in Europe, his nationalistic conversion coming nearly a decade after his return to the United States in 1809.[41]

Walsh's *Appeal* likely resulted from multiple stimuli, both personal and political. The predicament facing the young Federalists was undeniably a major cause. On the wrong side of the War of 1812, Walsh was eager to play a leading role in the Paper War battles that followed. As Marshall Foletta explains in his perceptive study of the first decade of the Boston *North American Review*, young Federalists needed to 'rethink their place in society'.[42] Silence in the face of increasingly vicious British criticisms would have been something of the cultural equivalent of another Hartford Convention for writers with Anglophile reputations, even a talent like Walsh. Walsh was right to sense the danger of relegation to a liminal role within American intellectual life. He had seen three periodicals fail in a brief career. The Federalists had lost a third of their congressional seats in 1816, another third in 1818, and in 1820 would not even bother to contest James Monroe's reelection.

The *Appeal* also reflected a very practical step in Walsh's seeking public office. Since Jefferson's election in 1800, exclusion from office-holding had been the biggest issue facing aspiring young Federalists. Monroe's northern tour of 1817 and seemingly conciliatory position towards Federalists promised 'a chance to return from the wilderness of proscription'. Walsh could better position himself for an appointment by writing a nationalistic American history narrative. Unfortunately, Monroe did not end proscription. In this Era of Good Feelings, Republicans still feared a Federalist resurgence. Nor did the situation change for Walsh under John Quincy Adams, despite his being 'perhaps the most militant of Adams's Federalist supporters' during the 1824 campaign. By 1826, Walsh was hedging his bets again, publicly noting that he was not either 'an Adams-man or a Jackson-man'.[43]

Walsh and his fellow former Federalists were reluctant to give up on their desire for public office. Unfortunately, the creative side of Federalist intellectual life, post-Hartford Convention, was paralleled by occasional desperation. Some moderate former Federalists who wished to impress J. Q. Adams's administration contacted Walsh in 1825, hoping to use his writing talents. They asked Walsh to produce a history of the United States from 1797 to 1817, a sequel to the *Appeal*, with mostly Republicans playing the role of America's leading men. Walsh was willing, but the project fell apart when old-school Federalists, not willing to amalgamate into the political mainstream through flattery of Republican presidents, denounced the idea.[44]

Despite the mercenary impulses of Walsh and other young Federalists, one cannot explain the *Appeal* as merely an attempt to pad his resume for job-seeking. A writer of Walsh's skill could have courted favor with the Monroe administration in many fewer than 512 pages. Walsh's history-centered *Appeal* would not have been the most direct way to serve such a purpose (the proposed book on the United States post-Washington being in the future). Moreover, the *Appeal* did not appear until two-and-a-half years into the Monroe administration, ill-timed if employment was his primary goal. Although one might judge the *Appeal* as an effort to create distance from the Federalist 'fathers', Walsh undoubtedly hoped that his book would rate alongside the foresighted and heroic acts of the founding generation. President Monroe was a perceptive employer and a veteran of the Revolution. In a letter of reconciliation, Walsh confessed to Founding Father James Madison that he wished, in writing the *Appeal*, 'to make amends for the encouragement which my early writings gave to the foreign slanders'.[45] The repentant Walsh, who had not fought in the War of 1812, defended the American cause in the Paper War, a third war for American recognition.

Some foreshadowing of Walsh's daringness to go against conventional Federalist thinking became manifest in the spring of 1813, in the wake of Russia's victory over Napoleon's armies. Francophobic Federalists held a public celebration of Russia's victories at Georgetown, where Robert Goodloe Harper, Walsh's former mentor and old family friend, toasted Tsar 'Alexander the Deliverer'. Despite having written an 'anti-gallican' pamphlet just a few years before, Walsh could not celebrate the Russian triumph. Against Harper and the collective wisdom of Federalist sages, such as John Marshall and Gouverneur Morris, Walsh argued that despotic Russia threatened all of Europe. The Federalists' fear of France obscured their judgment of European affairs. Walsh's break with the dominant atmosphere of Russophilia illustrated both his capacity

to act independently from Federalist elites and the limits to his fear of France.[46] Unmistakably a High Federalist, Walsh's career showed a complexity of motives. His Francophobia was nationalistic and pragmatic, his intellectual character slightly rebellious.

One can also read the *Appeal* through the lens of the tumultuous state of affairs facing both Great Britain and the United States in 1818–19. As in the highly publicized debate over Russia, Walsh's audacity lent itself to a rethinking of geopolitics. In Walsh's *Letter on the Genius and Disposition of the French Government* (1810), France loomed large as a menace to freedom. After Waterloo, Britain was no longer needed as a bulwark against Gallican atheism and the guillotine. Walsh referred to 'the new state of things', namely the defeat of Napoleon ('by which so many of us were petrified') and a 'consequent restoration of our powers of vision and reflection' in regards to Britain. Americans had overcome an 'inordinate preference' for the mother country. Walsh observed that 'The Anglo-mania has, I believe, almost universally subsided'.[47] A common fear of French radicalism, and not just cultural ligaments, had linked American conservatives and Great Britain. As Walsh had explained in 1817, 'Great Britain, since the subversion of the French despotism, has become the power against whose force and designs we shall have especially to struggle'.[48] Britain, though benign in her intentions in comparison with Napoleon's regime, was a power to be reckoned with. As became clear by 1816–17, Walsh's political Anglophilia was never congenital but rather contingent upon the foil of revolutionary France. The French peril removed, Britain stumbled along, a tottering giant.

In sharp contrast with his sanguine portrayal of Britain a decade earlier, in 1819 Walsh found the Mother Country to be facing calamity: 'We lament that perilous crisis at which England has arrived; when, with a crushing apparatus of government, a most distorted and distempered state of society, no reform can be admitted, lest it should run, by its own momentum, to extremes, and produce general confusion.' Parliament had suspended habeas corpus and expanded the list of capital crimes. In a footnote, Walsh made notice of the calamitous events at Manchester just weeks before (August 16, 1819), dubbed the Peterloo Massacre, 'at which women and girls were cut and trampled down by corps of dragoons, and left mangled and weltering, to be conveyed in carts to the hospitals'. There was a staggering dissimilarity between Walsh's depiction of Britain in 1819 and his earlier work where he dismissed the 1808 Manchester riots as having been 'scarcely noticed in London'. Walsh also provided a (shortsighted) comparison between the tumultuous

conditions in Britain and the principal American deficiency: 'This want of unanimity, this propensity to rebellious violence, among the lower orders, has placed the British rulers under another embarrassment, the most awful that can be imagined, and far outweighing any evil in our situation, realized or threatened by our negro slavery.'[49]

Walsh's awareness of the severity of problems facing Britain was keen. As we saw in the previous chapter, the historian Asa Briggs called 1819 'one of the most troubled years of the nineteenth century. . . . It was then that working-class "distress" took the clearest political form it had ever taken, and there was a consequent fierce struggle between the forces of "movement" and the defenders of order. Not surprisingly, some historians have chosen these tense years between Waterloo and Peterloo as the nearest point Britain ever reached to social revolution.' Whether revolution was in fact a possibility, many contemporaries believed that to be the case. The *Edinburgh Review* shared its fears in an article published in October 1819, nearly contemporaneous with the *Appeal*, claiming: 'Every reflecting man in this country has of late been impressed with the very serious apprehensions respecting its future welfare.'[50]

The Panic of 1819, America's first modern commercial crisis, enhanced the *Appeal*'s importance. Many Americans perceived the economic woes that struck the United States to be the result of a 'contagion' from across the Atlantic. Although Walsh finished the *Appeal* while the economic crisis was still in its development, he pinned blame on the British for difficulties facing American manufacturers. The volume of imported British goods after war's end was 'great beyond example', an imbalance of trade resulting from the 'rigorous enforcement of the colonial system of Great Britain' in discrimination against the United States.[51]

Walsh's *Appeal* appeared at an opportune moment, as both Britain and the United States struggled to define their identities, vis-à-vis each other, in the midst of geopolitical shift and economic calamity. British fear of emigration by the middling ranks, economic uncertainty, and popular unrest at home combined with the opening of the American West, growing American power in Florida, and American commercial policy to challenge British predominance. While British commentary on the United States had never been evenhanded, by 1818–19 Walsh needed to speak out. British criticisms had fertilized the maturation of American nationalism.

To have been previously 'anti-gallican' did not mean that Walsh was incurably pro-British, at least not politically. Historian Jennifer Clark has identified three causes for American sympathy toward Britain – 'a negative response to the French, a close affiliation with things English,

and a belief in the validity and morality of the British position' – all factors that had worked against a unified American response during the wartime Inchiquin controversy of 1814–15.[52] By 1819, the defeat of Napoleon, the post-New Orleans renewal of American nationalism, and crisis in Britain had undercut the validity of all three causes. Federalist Anglophilia was contingent upon both domestic and geopolitical circumstances that had mostly disappeared by 1819.

The lens with which Britons viewed America also changed after Waterloo. The United States replaced France as the most relevant tool to discuss British political/religious issues. Walsh and other Anglophiles regretfully noticed the increasingly venomous tone of British commentary on America, as conservatives rebutted use of the United States as a model for reform or as a refuge for middling types to flee from corruption and oppression.[53] Although British criticisms of the United States had strong self-referential aspects, meant to rally British readers, these denigrations also rallied Americans to develop stronger notions of nationality.

Walsh's *Appeal* and the reviewers

Many of Walsh's most distinguished compatriots sent congratulations for the *Appeal*, including Jefferson, Madison, and both John and John Quincy Adams. The elder Adams thanked Walsh and described the *Appeal* as 'the most able, the most faithful, and most ample apology for the United States. – At the same time the gravest and best supported indictment against Great Britain for the tyranny, arrogance and insolence that ever was written'. The Pennsylvania legislature passed a unanimous commendation of Walsh's book and purchased a copy for each of its members.[54]

A variety of American periodicals and newspapers welcomed Walsh's *Appeal*. The *Boston Patriot* teased that 'John Bull never before had so large a bone to pick'.[55] Without having seen Walsh's book, the *City of Washington Gazette* announced that the title was inadequate: 'An Appeal' implies a superior: And what is there among nations superior to the United States?'[56] A Charleston newspaper published the 'honest confession' taken from the British *Eclectic Review* article on Walsh's work showing remorse regarding British treatment of the United States.[57] Other American reviewers generally gave favorable responses to Walsh's effort. The Philadelphia *Port-Folio*, converted to the nationalistic cause nearly a decade before, embraced Walsh's book, exclaiming that 'Mr. Walsh's book will at least serve as a proof, that we are able not merely to defend ourselves, but to turn the tables on our accusers'.[58]

American reviewers particularly appreciated Walsh's courage in condemning *both* the *Quarterly Review* and the *Edinburgh Review*. Previously, most American critics had distinguished between the former, bad Tory journal and the latter, good Whig journal. As Walsh showed, the *Edinburgh Review* was culpable, both for adding to pejorative images of the United States and in using the American republic as a tool in British politics. In fact, Walsh was not the first to attack the *Edinburgh Review*, as a 53-page pamphlet, *The Reviewers Reviewed; or Remarks on the Edinburgh Review* by 'An American' appeared in Baltimore in 1816. The anonymous work, possibly the work of John Neal, took issue with nearly everything the *Edinburgh Review* had written, from that journal's style, substance of criticism, condemnations of everything from Russia to the poet Robert Southey, and even the *Edinburgh Review*'s grammatical errors and poor orthography.[59] Walsh energized American reviewers with his combativeness with the *Edinburgh Review* on the issue of the United States. The *Port-Folio* distinguished between the original *Edinburgh Review* and what the journal had become within the last 'three or four years'. Both the *Quarterly* reviewers ('who uphold the ministry') and the *Edinburgh* reviewers ('who labour to effect a change in favour of opposition') used the United States to excite political passions in Britain.[60] The *Literary and Scientific Repository* also complained of what the author believed to be the *Edinburgh Review*'s changed tone: 'The late contumely and ribaldry expressed toward us by the whig [sic] party, and its organ the *Edinburgh Review*, excite the more indignation, and are the more deeply felt, because they surprised our feelings as well as our expectations.' As Walsh had explained, the Whig understanding of the situation in Florida where General Jackson had two Britons – Ambrister and Arbuthnot – executed for helping the Native Americans against the United States was especially faulty, calculated to excite British passions against their government.[61] After nearly two decades, Americans had finally come to the realization that the *Edinburgh Review* did not exist for the sake of amiable Anglo-American cultural relations. Despite these rebukes of the *Edinburgh Review*, and still more controversies over the next few years, Americans would not easily give up on the Whig journal as the standard of good taste. As late as 1823, the American nationalist Charles Jared Ingersoll lamented that the *Edinburgh Review* probably outsold the *North American Review*, in America.[62]

Later scholars have questioned whether the *Edinburgh Review*'s commentary on America was fair. Did the Scottish reviewers give Americans their due? In his history of the *Edinburgh Review*'s commentary on the United States, Paul Mowbray Wheeler explained that the periodical

treated America fairly. Wheeler blamed the journal's reputation on the sensitivity of Americans, particularly Robert Walsh. A biographer of Sydney Smith explained that 'The *Edinburgh Review*, almost alone among British periodicals, treated American subjects and American books fairly, without automatically sneering at anything from the United States'. Andrew Hook also endorsed the view that the Scots were fair to America.[63] In fact, these verdicts miss an important point. The *Edinburgh Review*'s commentary on America had not been about America but rather about the future of Great Britain.

The first three issues of the *Literary and Scientific Repository* contained four articles on Walsh's *Appeal* – the first, second, and fourth being reprints of British reviewers' commentary on the book. Walsh's book had 'done great credit to the country', in the estimation of the reviewer: 'It may be said, that Mr. W. is the first who has broken the great head of the hydra'. Inspired in part by Walsh, novelist James Fenimore Cooper, a frequent contributor to the *Literary and Scientific Repository*, took up the task of replying to foreign criticisms in his *Notions of the Americans: Picked up by a Travelling Bachelor* (1828).[64]

The response of *Niles' Weekly Register* illustrated the importance of the *Appeal* to American self-perceptions. The Anglophobic Hezekiah Niles elevated Walsh (despite the 'former products of his pen') to the status of war hero. Niles wrote: 'Literary gentlemen, who feel and act like Americans, under the present disadvantages which prejudice casts in their way, are as well deserving of praise for patriotism and courage, as they who, on the land or the ocean, uplifted the "star-spangled banner" above the British cross.' By Walsh's estimation, the *Appeal* afforded no American the luxury to remain an Anglophile, claiming: 'It brings many wholesome truths directly before us; and the most stupid admirers of "mother Britain", though they may shut their eyes to avoid the blaze of conviction, will feel its warmth and be compelled to acknowledge their errors.'[65]

The *North American Review*'s Edward Everett – America's first PhD (Göttingen, 1817), editor of the *North American Review* (1820–23), and later Harvard University president – praised Walsh and called upon more Americans to challenge British criticisms. Everett noted: 'It is not only lawful for us, but it is our bounden duty to repeal it; and we should deserve the abuse which has been heaped upon us, were we so insensible to the value of national reputation as to leave it unrefuted, and, where occasion offers, unreturned.' Shortly afterwards, Everett, a future minister to the Court of St. James, proclaimed – in terms similar to those used by Walsh – that Americans had been opportunely cured of their Anglo-mania.[66]

Everett exclaimed that Americans were suffering a 'pitiless pelting from all quarters' of Britons, even the supposed friends of America, the Whigs. The Whigs, out of power since 1807, had changed their tune about America when it was given the opportunity to criticize the British government's ineptitude in dealing with General Jackson's incursion into Florida. As Everett explained, 'The most zealous eulogists of America in the British parliament or the British journals, showed themselves ready to veer to the opposite side of the compass the moment the ministry could with most success be assailed from that quarter.'[67]

Everett, a perceptive observer of trans-Atlantic relations, decried the political uses of images of the United States in British politics, even of positive images:

> [Favorable images of the United States] are merely the workings of domestick Party spirit. The object is to put a thorn in the Minister's side, & forasmuch as the Praise of America does this they are sometimes lavish of it. . . . Mr. Bentham talks of the President of y^{e} U.S., under the Ante-constitutional name of 'President of the Congress'; & Mr. Brougham in the last Edinburgh, says that our foreign ministers are abroad but a few Weeks. If it would serve their turn as well, they would praise Hayti as much.[68]

Everett distrusted the praise given to the United States by Britain's homegrown radicals such as Fanny Wright and William Cobbett. In a review of her *Views of Society and Manners in America* (1821), Everett attacked Wright, a young Scottish radical. In Everett's view, Wright had embraced *too positive* a view of the United States. Wright's book was 'a panegyric of the warmest cast'. Wright had criticized Everett's New England and praised the American West, a region that had never been a *new* England or a part of *old* England.[69] Wright, who had not even visited New England during her time in the United States, exhibited the spirit of party (Jeffersonian Republicanism). Particularly emblematic was her use of a pejorative term – 'Federals' – for the Federalist Party. Everett lamented the 'peculiar ferocity, which party politics have assumed in the hands of those active foreigners, who have from time to time found a welcome on our shores, and who have espoused our controversies with a more than native zeal'.[70] 'If we find a man praising us as zealously as our national vanity would dictate,' Everett exclaimed, 'be sure that it is out of despite to his own countrymen, and that he praises us to disparage them: as is the case with such writers as Cobbett.'[71]

Everett learned to criticize Britain without developing an allergy to the Mother Country. By his estimation, England was the source of *both* unjust criticisms of America and of American liberties. Like Walsh, Everett appreciated Britain as a continuing source for English-language literature. Unlike Walsh, Everett refused to condemn the English political system and continued to praise England as 'the cradle and refuge of free principles'.[72] Everett also discounted predictions of England's demise, despite its indebtedness and corruption: 'We believe, we certainly hope, that England will long survive, and exert her present preponderance in the world.'[73] Although his condemnations of British opinions of the United States were constrained, Everett had confronted a British society and economy that was the most modern in the world and produced most of the cultural productions that Americans enjoyed.

A seminal figure in the Paper War and inspiration to American writers, Walsh's notoriety was a sign of the times but also a result of his skill in vindicating America. He overcame the problem of northern partisanship exhibited in previous Federalist responses to British criticisms. As seen in the earlier chapter on the Inchiquin episode, clergyman and Yale president Timothy Dwight's *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters* (1815) represented a narrow parochialism, mostly scorning anything south of the Mason-Dixon Line (or even the Connecticut-New York border). Dwight signed his work 'An Inhabitant of New England', explaining that he hated the Jefferson-Madison clique more than any Englishman.

In his severely anti-Republican account, *America and Her Resources* (1818), John Bristed sarcastically listed the achievements of presidents Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe: 'disbanding the regular army, destroying the national army, annihilating the internal revenue, ruining the commerce of the country, breaking up the bank of the United States, and many other philosophical improvements in the art of misgoverning the commonwealth.'[74] Bristed, an English immigrant and naturalized citizen, did not impress American reviewers who were eager to share in the ecumenical nationalistic spirit of the times. A reviewer in the *Analectic Magazine* condemned Bristed for trying to change the American government to 'a closer resemblance to that of Great Britain'. The *Analectic Magazine*, a Philadelphia journal, specifically defended the South against 'British hirelings, and *British Americans*' like Bristed: 'We disclaim all ideas of any local distinctions in the United States. . . . No part of the United States can be calumniated, without staining the character of the nation.'[75] Bristed's harsh partisan nationalism was not suited to 1818. The tide of post-war nationalism added to the need to camouflage

northern Federalism within broader currents of nationalism. While Republican expressions of nationalism may have been duplicitous, using nationalism to defend partisanship, such were the times. Federalists needed to accommodate to the new nationalistic currents.

The limitations of other Federalists' narratives of Anglo-American relations illustrated the strengths of the *Appeal*. Walsh had the good sense to realize that intra-American political infighting was inimical to the creation of his nationalist narrative. Britons were the singular villains of the *Appeal*. A broad petition for cohesive nationalism, the *Appeal* was neither anti-Republican nor anti-Virginian. A minor episode spawned by light criticism of Walsh in the *Port-Folio* illustrates his overarching desire for unity. Walsh protested to the charge that he had disparaged immigrants by criticizing Irish-born Matthew Lyon, responding that he had only disapproved of the former representative's brawling in Congress. Walsh's insistence on not conflating Lyon's humble background (immigrant and former indentured servant) with his bad behavior demonstrated his accommodation to a less-than-elitist vision of politics. As Walsh explained, he wrote his *Appeal* 'without the least design to disparage any description of persons among us, or to exalt one description above another'.[76]

Walsh's ecumenicalism attracted the approval of Republicans. Whereas previous rejoinders to foreign criticisms exacerbated partisanship and sectionalism, Walsh endorsed American attributes and accomplishments broadly, social cement for a divided nation. The Virginian elites endorsed the efforts of their former Federalist adversary. Jefferson hoped the *Appeal* 'would furnish the first volume of every future American History'. Madison explained: 'The Preface alone could not but open many eyes which have been blinded by prejudices against this Country.'[77]

Yet, some Americans refused to join Walsh's criticism of Britain. Even in the wake of the upsurge of nationalistic expression brought about by Walsh's *Appeal*, regional variations in American participation in the Paper War remained. An August 1820 article in Walsh's *National Gazette* condemned the Anglophile attitude of Americans who too readily accepted the 'poorest apology' from the *Edinburgh Review* or 'other British slanderers of the American character'. The writer, presumably Walsh, complained that Boston-area newspapers had not yet lost their fatal attraction for Britain: 'The anglo-mania is still, we fear, inveterate there with too many; the desire of bringing into discredit whatever tends to affect the reputation of Great Britain, – let it be even a necessary defence of the United States – is too strong to be

suppressed on any occasion favourable to its object.'[78] In the next issue, the *National Gazette* continued the criticism of 'our Eastern brethren'.[79] The Philadelphia newspaper's admonitions of New Englanders' Anglo-centered Americanism were a sign of the continued fragmentation of images of the United States in America, even amongst conservatives.

A reprint of the *Appeal* was available in London bookstores on November 23, 1819, just six weeks after the release of the American edition. Walsh's book brought protestations of innocence from the *Edinburgh Review* (May 1820) in the form of a forty-page rebuttal by Walsh's old friend and editor, Francis Jeffrey. Although it was Walsh's right to challenge British critics, Jeffrey complained that his 'unjust attack' unfairly classified his *Edinburgh Review* with its Tory counterpart, the *Quarterly Review*. Jeffrey noted that significant numbers of Britons took pride in American achievements, the United States being a model for the 'liberal and enlightened part of the English nation'. Jeffrey also attempted to shift focus to the question of American literature, not Walsh's battleground of choice.[80]

Jeffrey, who had favorably reviewed the *Letter on the Genius and Disposition of the French Government*, asked, 'How then is it to be accounted for, that Mr W. should have taken such a favourable view of our state and merits in 1810, and [a] so very different one in 1819?'[81] In fact, a variety of circumstances had changed in a decade's time. The shifting contingencies of American nationalism as well as a changed geopolitical situation framed an altered understanding of the Anglo-American relationship for Walsh, who no longer saw British reviewers and Americans as having shared interests.

Unfortunately, for Lord Jeffrey and those seeking Anglo-American reconciliation, more damage had already been done by Sydney Smith's treatment in the January 1820 *Edinburgh Review* of Adam Seybert's *Statistical Annals of the United States* (1818), a compendium of data compiled by the scientist and former Philadelphia Democratic congressman. Seybert, who had studied at the universities in Edinburgh, Paris, and Göttingen, used numbers to defend his country from European criticism. In response, Smith asked:

> In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians or surgeons? What new substances have their chemists discovered? or which ones have they analyzed? What new constellations have been discovered by the telescopes of Americans? – what have they

> done in mathematics? Who drinks out of American glasses? or eats from American plates? or wears American coats or gowns? or sleeps in American blankets? – Finally, under which of the old tyrannical governments of Europe is every sixth man a slave, whom his fellow-creatures may buy and sell and torture?[82]

Oblivious to poor Seybert's demonstration of American success through numerical measures of growth in population, agriculture, and commerce, Smith's questioning went to the heart of Anglo-American controversies of the time. Although Seybert's *Statistical Annals* was meant to be read overseas, with a Paris edition (1820), the book was ill-suited to foreign critics of the United States.[83] Given the pessimism about democratic America's chances of developing culture and frustrated by American claims to a superior variety of liberty, no amount of American patriotism by the numbers could remedy European elites' doubts regarding the United States. The most critical points of conflict within Anglo-American cultural relations centered on manners/literature and which nation owned a more proper claim to liberty. Americans would settle neither by use of statistics.[84]

Smith's acerbic review also highlights an important weakness of Walsh's defense of America. The *Appeal* was suited to rally Americans of various persuasions but similarly skipped around the issues that mattered to British critics. The most stinging of Smith's questions dealt with the dearth of American culture, the absence of an American literature, and the hypocrisy of American claims to liberty in light of slavery. Walsh only faintly defended American literature. Smith's challenge on the question of slavery would become even more relevant to British self-identity in later years, particularly after passage of the Emancipation Act (1833), which anticipated the end of slavery in the British West Indies.[85] Contrary to Walsh's hopes, Britain, not the United States, freed her slaves first.

Walsh's arguments did not sway all British reviewers. Francis Jeffrey was right to distinguish his *Edinburgh Review* from the *Quarterly Review*. Unaware of any need to beg forgiveness of Walsh, or any American, the *Quarterly Review*'s Tory editors did not even acknowledge the *Appeal* but instead continued to pillory the United States. The *Quarterly Review*'s indexes for volumes 27 and 29 (July 1822 and 1823) contained entries for divisive topics such as 'the incivility of American servants at New York', 'filthiness of American inns', 'Kentuckyans, anecdote of the barbarity of', 'misery of the English settlers in this country', 'insalubrity of the newly-settled countries', 'Knavery (American), instances of', and

'effects of the total neglect of religion [in America]'. A negative image of American republicanism/democracy's effect on manners remained crucial to Tory efforts to forestall reform at home.

Walsh's efforts did provide, however, an important precedent in the development of American nationalism, offering an example for young Federalist intellectuals who sought to be relevant in an increasingly democratic era. His optimism was indicative of a shift in American intellectual life. Jeffersonian voices would no longer be the only ones speaking out in favor of the nation as a whole. Other young Federalist intellectuals took up the sword, sometimes going beyond Walsh's example. The progression of British counterattacks and American rejoinders that resulted from Walsh's *Appeal* served as a catalyst for Edward Everett's defense of the American development of the English language, a subject Walsh dared not tackle.[86] It was inevitable that other writers would venture further, Walsh's *Appeal* having failed to delineate positive notions of American culture.

There was a tragic quality to Walsh's public life after the *Appeal*, as his fame as a hero in the Paper War faded. A celebrity in 1819, literary nationalists would disparage Walsh in the 1820s as he only cautiously embraced America's growing taste for native literature. Although Walsh supported a 'softening' of political life and reconciliation with the Republicans, even denying a previous Federalist affiliation, he continued to fight on the losing side of the United States' first culture war. Political nationalism combined with cultural ambivalence would no longer suffice. Walsh's reputation suffered as the *American Quarterly Review* engaged in a futile three-year conflict with several New York periodicals after it published a critical review of progressive trends in American literature entitled 'American Lake Poetry'. Walsh continued his taste for things British, editing the *Select Speeches of the Right Honourable George Canning* (Philadelphia, 1835) and the *Select Speeches of the Right Honourable William Windham and the Right Honourable William Huskisson* (Philadelphia, 1837), an indication that he had perhaps rediscovered a taste for English politics as well. Stephen Simpson, who cofounded the *Democratic Columbian Observer* in Philadelphia in 1822, continued to mock Walsh, the 'Royal Editor'.[87] While mobilizing culture may have seemed easier than controlling democratic political passions, Federalists failed at that too. Americans began reading American books but less frequently the sort that Walsh recommended.

Walsh's success at inspiring Americans to respond to British criticisms encouraged the creation of an atmosphere that would not serve his assumed position as an arbiter of taste. In regards to the founders

of the *North American Review*, Marshall Foletta has noted, by 'advancing the cause of a national culture, they undermined their own status as cultural architects and custodians'. Likewise, Walsh encouraged a nationalism that was rapidly evolving away from his cultural predilections. In rallying Americans by use of nationalist rejoinders, the young Federalists were undermining the foundations of moderate Anglophilia. The second generation of Americans born in the United States would take understandings of nationality into a cultural realm that 'young Federalists' like Walsh never dared. Ironically, Walsh's *Appeal* was cited decades later by his friend and printer's son, William Henry Fry, to defend a nativist, 'Young American' approach to music.[88]

If we judge Walsh's *Appeal* by its stated aim to beat back British critics, the book was a failure. Although swarms of British travelers and reviewers continued to denigrate America, it is unfair, however, to criticize Walsh for his inability to make Britons admire the United States. He wrote the *Appeal* in response to British criticisms, but contingencies within the development of American nationality shaped his work. Consequently, his work achieved a broader purpose. Walsh deftly avoided the traps facing authors of early nineteenth-century American nationalist narratives. Americans heard the *Appeal*, if not Britons.

Walsh's *Appeal* was a special creation, yet he failed to solve the endemically problematic issue for the genre of nationalistic writing – slavery and the literature and manners questions. Most central was slavery. Walsh addressed the issue in considerable detail and was accommodating towards the South, aware that both American and British readers needed to be convinced of America's right path on the matter.

Walsh's *Appeal* and pro-slavery

American periodical reviewers responded positively to Walsh's treatment of slavery. The *Port-Folio* noted that Walsh had 'triumphantly shown, that with all their pretensions to philanthropy, the British have no more pretensions to merit in the abolition of the slave trade than we do'. Like Walsh, the *Port-Folio* looked forward to the day that gradual emancipation 'once reasonable and practical' would deliver the United States from 'this evil'.[89] One can judge the ecumenical charm of Walsh's paper warring from the reaction of the Charleston, South Carolina, *City Gazette*. The southern newspaper reprinted two articles from Walsh's Philadelphia *National Gazette* detailing the 'Honest Confessions' and 'A Palinode' of the British journals that had been humbled by Walsh's *Appeal*. Walsh was successful in uniting North and South. The articles

on Anglo-American relations, from a Philadelphia anti-slavery newspaper, appeared alongside advertisements for slave sales and the recovery of runaways in the Charleston paper.[90] While, in retrospect, these images appear incongruous, one can imagine that the prospect of the approval of a broad geography of Americans would have been seductive for Walsh.

Although judiciously fashioned to suit his contemporaries, Walsh's defense of the South predictably comprises the most problematic aspect of the *Appeal* for modern readers. The historian Larry E. Tise justly describes Walsh's *Appeal* as 'the longest and most extensive defense of slavery yet published in America'. A work on Black Nationalism argues that Walsh's *Appeal* was a 'paradigm or prototype', the 'blueprint for subsequent proslavery defenses'.[91]

In fact, Walsh's relationship with slavery was complex. Just months after the publication of the *Appeal*, he took a very hard line against the extension of slavery into Missouri. In his 116-page *Free Remarks on the Spirit of the Federal Constitution* (1819), Walsh insisted that the founders recognized American slavery to be a 'gross anomaly and incongruity'. Slavery was not inherent to American republicanism, but would disappear once the United States was 'secure in independence' and 'matured in strength and resources'. According to Walsh, the Constitution granted Congress the power to forbid the transportation of slaves into new territories and states, an interpretation that provoked the strong displeasure of James Madison, a source for Walsh's information on the South and slavery for the *Appeal*.[92]

The contrast between the *Appeal* and Walsh's pamphlet on Missouri is telling. The *Appeal* was ecumenical and irenic, the product of a mindset hopeful that a broad nationalism might trump sectionalism.[93] After the Hartford Convention, Federalists needed to speak in broad nationalistic terms. The *Free Remarks* of just a few months later presented a progressive reinterpretation of the American founding, a wishful reading of the Constitution and finale to the American Revolution, fulfillment of America's highest ideals.[94] Most of all, the *Free Remarks* served as a heart-to-heart plea for southerners to serve the cause of American liberty by showing restraint on the issue of slavery's expansion. Slavery, that 'pre-existing, unavoidable evil, imputable to the mother country', could be defeated in America, by Americans. Walsh foresaw the removal of the blemish of slavery and the republic perfected. The situation in Missouri also allowed for the reinvigoration of the Federalists' anti-slavery position. It was reasonable and necessary to prod the South on slavery.[95]

Walsh's antislavery stance was sincere, not just a passion of late 1819. He worked to fight slavery's expansion by organizing mass meetings and correspondence campaigns. In 1820, Walsh joined with the printer William Fry and Robert Vaux, a Quaker activist and leading Philadelphia abolitionist, to found an antislavery newspaper, the *National Gazette and Literary Register*, which he would edit for sixteen years. The *National Gazette*, initially a semiweekly, was so successful that after seven months it became a daily.[96]

The *Appeal* represented a pinnacle of Walsh's ecumenical nationalism; Missouri was a turning point. In the 1820s, Walsh sometimes showed a regional understanding of American nationalism, coining a popular phrase, 'The Universal Yankee Nation', denoting the correctness of northern principles.[97] Walsh defended southerners in the *Appeal*. They failed him over Missouri in their insistence on making it a slave state. From a nationalistic perspective, southern concessions on slavery would have been a choice weapon for Walsh in the Paper War.[98]

Walsh, always a believer in the value of quarterly publications, tried his hand at a new periodical, the *American Quarterly Review*, in 1826. He continued to challenge negative European impressions of the United States, providing forceful rebuttals to a new wave of critical travelers. While avoiding America's growing sectional divisions, Walsh spoke with even more confidence about the nation's future, noting: 'The unshackled genius of the new world is now exerting itself with gigantic vigour, aided by the treasures of nature, to strengthen its powers, increase its commerce, its resources, and its wealth. . . . The eyes of the world are upon us.'[99] While he was often a step behind his countrymen in appreciating American cultural products, Walsh was always a patriot, convinced of America's special providence.

The Tories and Radicals on America, post-war

One would imagine that the War of 1812 and expansion of vociferous nationalism in the United States would have been the death knell for Tory fantasies about British leadership of an Anglo-American coalition. Before the War of 1812, Tory infatuation with the American Federalists had not yielded results. Soon after the war, William Cobbett mocked the Tories' habit of trusting in the Federalists to '*re-unite* the colonies to the parent state'.[100] Yet, some Britons continued to be optimistic for increased Anglo-American ties.

Robert Southey's July 1816 treatment of Yale professor Benjamin Silliman's *A Journal of Travels* (1810) demonstrated the uncanny and

unceasing Tory ability to find useful American friends for intra-British political debates, even in the aftermath of the War of 1812. A number of continental works, including Frenchman Louis Simond's *Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain, during the Years 1810 and 1811* (1815) played the foil for Southey, flawed and dangerous in their portrayals of Britain. Southey connected foreign critics with the domestic opposition, decrying the '*Ultra-Whigs*' who took part 'on every occasion against England'. Silliman, a good American ('a good representative of the best American character'), corrected the biases of foreigners and British radicals alike. Silliman's account refuted Simond's criticism of Oxford University. More vitally, the American's account set readers straight on the dangers facing Britain: 'If the fabric of government in this country was overthrown, the English Revolution would have its Robespierres and its Heberts; its proscriptions and persecutions; a course as bloody as that which we have witnessed in France; and in all probability, a far more deplorable termination.'[101] Silliman had done his part in flattering old England in his *Journal of Travels*, playing the role of the good American and son of England in giving his description of the skylark, foreign to New World climes but 'so much celebrated by the poets'.[102]

In fact, though Southey's article reflected the difficult situation facing *post-war* Britain, the Englishman used Silliman's account from *before* the war. Silliman's account of Britain was outdated, his observations having been published several years earlier (1810). Silliman's complete title – *A Journal of Travels in England, Holland, and Scotland, and of Two Passages over the Atlantic in the Years 1805 and 1806* – indicated that Silliman's observations were from a decade before. Southey mischievously reached back well before the war, to a high point of Federalist Anglophilia, and before the post-war crisis, in order to boost his claim against British reformers. From the *Quarterly Review*'s perspective, Silliman was the useful American authority on the dangers of Jacobinism and the strengths of old England. Ever desirous of trans-Atlantic love for skylarks and the un-reformed Constitution, English conservatives needed reminders of American admiration more than ever during the post-Napoleonic War economic and political crisis.

Forty years after the Americans' declaration of independence, Southey continued to define the achievements of the United States according to the American republic's connections with England:

> The American is indebted to England for every thing which has humanized, every thing which may adorn, every thing which can ennoble his character: and that the old Americans, the genuine

> people of the country feel this, is envinced by the volumes before us. England is to them what Italy and Greece are to the classical scholar, what Rome is to the Catholic, and Jerusalem to the Christian world.[103]

As literary scholars have shown, Southey was one of the more conciliatory reviewers towards the United States within the *Quarterly Review* cohort. In 1823, Southey's review of Timothy Dwight's posthumous *Travels in New England and New York* was mollifying towards the United States, made easier by editor William Gifford's absence.[104] The flaw in Dwight's articles on the United States was not necessarily that he was too critical, but that he refused to see the United States' autonomy and future apart from England.

Uninhibited American Anglophiles were harder to find in the post-war period, yet, as late as February 1819, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* continued to flatter the Federalists, explaining that Americans of that party were 'inclined to improve the [American] constitution' by abolishing its democratic aspects.[105] If myopic views of the United States made for impossible expectations in Britain, this was a prime example. The sixteenth Congress would begin in March 1819 with only 26 Federalists in the House of Representatives, compared with 157 Republicans, making it difficult to imagine what the Tories expected from the dying American political party. Democracy was doing away with the Federalists rather than the other way around. The *Anti-Jacobin Review* would cease publication just a few years later, never having seen the Anglo-American alliance they had predicted for more than twenty years.

American writers in England: Irving and Neal

In the wake of Sydney Smith's query about the nonexistence of American books, Britons were finding their answers to that terrible taunt. In December 1820, the *New Monthly Magazine* article praised the novels of the deceased American author Charles Brockden Brown. According to the author, Britons *should* have been reading American books, particularly those of Brown. The author claimed to have just learned of Brown, who had passed away in 1810 and whose last novel appeared in 1801.[106] Unfortunately, a hack publisher had handled the early London editions of Brown's novels, consigning the American to temporary obscurity. The *New Monthly Magazine*'s reviewer understood the chances for American literature through the lens of Britain's decline. While the reviewer was not certain that the current generation would

live long enough to see the appearance of 'some transatlantic Fielding or Scott', the Americans had taken some important steps. The 'now-exhausted resources of the parent country' meant that Americans might have their chance to develop a superior literature.[107]

The posthumous discovery of Charles Brockden Brown would not suffice to vindicate America's literary reputation. For many Anglo-American observers, the rise of Washington Irving, beginning with the appearance of his *Sketch-book* in 1819–20, was refutation of Smith's charge. By every measure, Irving did receive the attention of Britons. Irving's *Bracebridge Hall* (1822) received at least 32 reviews in the British press, equaling the attention given the work of the two most popular British authors, Byron and Scott.[108] Irving, anxious for the esteem of Britons, played the part well. Unlike his lifelong friend and collaborator on *Salmagundi*, James Kirke Paulding, who remained in the United States to battle British detractors of America, Irving sought the approbation of Britons. In his 'Advertisement' in the 1820 London edition of the *Sketch-book*, Irving was conciliatory to potential British readers and reviewers. Dated February 1820 (Smith's notorious query had appeared the month before), Irving noted that he was 'aware of the austerity with which the writings of his countrymen have hitherto been treated by British critics'. The American pleaded for 'courtesy and candor' from his English readers.[109]

Irving was a peacemaker in the Paper War. In his *Sketch-book* (1819–20) essay 'English Writers on America', Irving blamed the harsh tone of commentary on the unsophisticated background of travelers – 'broken-down tradesman, the scheming adventurer, the wandering mechanic, the Manchester and Birmingham agent'. Irving, cognizant of sacred bonds of blood and tradition, cautioned against overreaction: 'We attach too much consequence to these attacks. They cannot do us any essential injury. The tissue of misrepresentations attempted to be woven round us are like cobwebs woven round the limbs of an infant giant. Our country continually outgrows them. . . . We have but to live on, and every day we live a whole volume of refutation.' Irving's sheepish defense of America, and failure to implicate the British periodical reviews, did not register positively with some American reviewers who wanted to see a stronger display of patriotism.[110]

Irving's timidity in challenging the dominant British reviews would not have surprised his longtime readers. In the wake of Jackson's triumph at New Orleans, in a March 1815 *Analectic Magazine* article on the Scottish author Thomas Campbell, Irving laid out an Anglophilic version of Americanism. The status of American literature was too low to imagine

'any feeling of national rivalship'. Anglo-American literary relations were vital, the writers of Britain being 'the adopted citizens of our country . . . who exercise an authority over our opinions and affections, cherished by long habit and matured by affection. . . . We have British valour, British magnanimity, British might, and British wisdom, continually before our eyes, portrayed in the most captivating colours.' American readers of British literature were like Egyptians looking towards the source of the Nile. Avoiding controversy with British reviewers, Irving blamed Anglophobic 'hireling scribblers' – but not British periodical reviewers – for poisoning Anglo-American literary relations.[111]

Yet, despite his eagerness to please British critics, there were limits to Irving's ability to change the prevailing British attitudes towards the United States. Resistance from Americaphobes kept him off a committee formed to plan a Shakespeare monument in 1823 (no monument was erected).[112] More intriguing was the reaction of some British Whigs and Radicals to Irving. His static, antiquated visions of England were disconcerting. The *Newcastle Magazine* took James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pioneers* as a more authentically American response to Smith's sarcastic query. The reviewer questioned some of Cooper's Americanisms but also suspected that *The Pioneers* would be more popular than *The Spy*, Cooper's first novel, 'in proportion as its subject is more peculiarly American'. Most telling was the article's analysis of Irving. A real American (Cooper) was better than an American copycat of England (Irving): 'Why does not Washington Irving . . . write some good American novel? It would be much more to his honor, as well his profit, than attempting to describe English manners, of which he knows little or nothing.'[113]

The Whigs at the *Edinburgh Review* continued to favor some American political and religious practices over American literature. While the earliest reviews of Irving's work were positive, an 1827 article accused Irving of plagiarism. Still worse, blinded by a fantastical Anglophilia, Irving drew an anachronistic portrait of England, imagining that 1819 was 1709. While Americans had nothing yet to write about, they needed not to cross the Atlantic to praise a fossilized version of England. For the *Edinburgh Review*, the only good American author was a dead American author – Charles Brockden Brown. Brown, condemned to obscurity by his nationality, was forced by circumstances to create imaginative stories out of sheer will: 'No ghost, we will venture to say, was ever seen in North America.'[114]

The radical *Westminster Review* was especially critical of Irving. Irving had ingratiated himself with the 'Somebodys' in Britain at the expense

of the 'Nobodys', making himself a traitor to American egalitarianism. The 'unoriginal and timorous' American author advocated the 'barbarian manners and oppressive institutions of the days of chivalry'. The United States was the 'one favoured country, to which all must look, who sincerely desire any improvement in the general condition of man'.[115] The *Westminster Review* celebrated the lack of a feudal past in America, 'no place of pilgrimage for the epicure pilgrim, or wilderness of turrets, towers, and battlements . . . no feudal gentry, lords, or knights.' The things that Irving could not find in America were the things that radicals resented about Britain. The *Westminster Review* warned Americans not to consider English examples, the literature of 'an aristocratic and corrupt country' being detrimental to 'the citizens of a new and free democratic state'. Americans needed to produce literature 'in harmony with their institutions'.[116] From an English radical perspective, Irving needed to be more American!

Similarly, the London *European Magazine* criticized the Boston *North American Review*'s timid nationalism. The English journal accused the American journal of being misnamed, incapable of giving readers, 'either a just or a good notion' of American literature. The *North American Review* instead gave 'rather heavy speculation about foreign literature, foreign politics, and foreign scholarship; but for all that concerns the literature, politics, and scholarship of North America, one might as well refer to a publication of Paris, or Edinburgh; London, or Copenhagen'. Committed to satisfying English tastes, the Boston journal would continue ignoring things American and instead work 'to make the *North American Review* attractive in Europe, and especially in Great Britain' – a mission impossible.[117]

If Irving's relationship with England was problematic, Portland, Maine, writer John Neal's time in England illustrates still more of the pitfalls of American writers going native while abroad. Neal wrote three novels in 1823. Having given the United States a literature, Neal journeyed to England late in the year to vindicate his country against English criticism. Neal arrived in England in January 1824, ready to refute Smith's charge against American literature – a novelist-scholar in enemy territory. Historians of American literature have been kind to Neal, praising his British venture. Fred Lewis Pattee noted that Neal's 'critical judgments have held. Where he condemned, time has almost without exception condemned also'.[118] A biographer of Neal notes that 'There is little question that he succeeded in an unprecedented way'.[119] Although Neal did have numerous articles published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and the *Westminster Review*, from the perspective of

the Paper War, his invasion of Britain was a disaster, a failed effort at providing reasonable defenses of the United States and its culture.

Writing in British quarterlies, Neal berated expressions of American nationalism, proclaiming against the 'tirades of vulgar and lying abuse' uttered against Britain during July Fourth celebrations. Neal denounced the 'absurd bundle of ignorance and stupidity' in James Kirke Paulding's many Anglophobic writings.[120] Perhaps these criticisms were a byproduct of mimesis, Neal fitting into the costume of a 'British' writer. For reasons that are difficult to discern, Neal also found it necessary to cannibalize moderate understandings of the Paper War. For example, in a review of Harvard historian George Bancroft's translation of a scholarly German work on ancient Greece, a writer for the *North American Review* had remarked: '1776 is the Trojan war of America. . . . The war of 1812 will be found to be the Persian war of our country.'[121] Neal ridiculed, 'Can flesh and blood stand this without laughing', mocking the comparison of the several British regiments that had attempted to invade the United States during the War of 1812 with Xerxes' millions.[122] The *North American Review*'s elevation of the war of 1812 to the level of antiquity, however ridiculous, repudiated the legacy of Boston Federalist regionalism. Whether Neal meant to settle personal scores with prominent American conservatives or was still acting out his disguise as a British reviewer, the effect was the same. By attacking the *North American Review*, Washington Irving, and Robert Walsh – from the right, nonetheless – Neal was helping to discredit sources for some of the most palatable Anglo-American ideas about the new republic.

Scholars have paid high regard to Neal for his 'American Writers', a series of five articles on 135 American authors in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Review*. Although scholars recognize the articles as having been the first history of American literature – done from memory without a reference library – Neal's articles do not appear to have matched any prevailing American strategy for understanding the early fruit of American letters.[123] Of Washington Irving, Neal doubted that it was worth buying his books, if works by 'the ablest men of the British Empire, may be had for half the money'. By Neal's description, James Fenimore Cooper was 'a man of sober talent – nothing more'. Of himself, Neal wrote: '[Neal] is, undeniably, the most original writer, that America has produced – thinks himself the cleverest fellow in America – and does not scruple to say so. – He is in Europe now.'[124]

In an October 1824 *Blackwood's* article, Neal defended the unreformed British constitution. Neal called out the *Edinburgh Review* and

its American devotees who wished to use the American example to 'overthrow the constitution among us' by blaming domestic problems on 'a want of due preponderance of the democratical part of the state'. Use of American examples was only a 'pretext' to reform. Neal lamented: 'We hear nothing but praise of the institutions of America, mixed with all kinds of insulting slanders on our own.' He warned against copying the American style of politics: 'Some of us will not like the dominion of King Mob, and may among us fail to discover all the social and political blessings which we are told such a dominion bestows.'[125] Neal's charge that reformist Whigs were at the head of an American-inspired, democratic revolutionary movement was bizarre, ignorant of the quantity and subject matter of Whig interest in the United States in the fall of 1824. Having attacked the most important Whig image-makers of America, Neal went after the Radical Americaphile, Jeremy Bentham. Neal decried the 'utter ignorance of old [Jeremy] Bentham' on matters American. Although Bentham (and probably every other British writer) failed to comprehend many aspects of the United States, Neal's attack on the pro-American left is puzzling.[126] Neal was hell-bent on destroying existing Anglo-American ties without demonstrating any strategy to replace them. Rather than pruning away the worst preconceptions of America in Britain, Neal had turned against the most benign image-makers of the United States, on both sides of the Atlantic. No one was immune from Neal's acerbic pen.

When he did defend the United States, Neal's rejoinders contained gratuitous comments, adding poison to Anglo-American relations. Remembered by posterity for his contributions to feminism, Neal suggested that a matching response to 'Who reads an American book?' might be, '"Who ever heard of a modest Englishwoman?" How would such a question be received, if put forth by the North American Review?'[127]

Neal's autobiographical account of the *Blackwood's* interlude, published decades later, was predictably self-serving:

> Up to this period, May 1824, no American writer had ever found his way into any of these periodicals, and that American affairs were dealt with in short, insolent paragraphs, full of misapprehension, or of downright misrepresentation, as if they were dealing with Fejee Islanders, or Timbuctoos, without fear of contradiction, say that they would, it must be admitted, I think, that my plan was both well-conceived, and well-carried out.[128]

Neal was forgetful of Robert Walsh Jr.'s participation in the *Edinburgh Review* (two lengthy wartime articles about Napoleon's empire) and, more remarkably, of an unknown American's contribution to *Blackwood's* in 1819, a feat that Neal mentioned specifically.[129]

Although ostensibly a Tory journal, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (founded in 1817) was nothing like the *Anti-Jacobin Review* or *Quarterly Review* when it came to the United States, having shown no tendency towards anti-Americanism. In 1819, the Philadelphia *Port-Folio*, ever sensitive to America's reputation abroad, remarked that *Blackwood's* notion of the United States 'seems not yet settled'.[130] An 1820 *Blackwood's* article 'On the Writings of Charles Brockden Brown and Washington Irving' praised both American authors.[131] In another review of a traveler's account, a writer for *Blackwood's* grumbled that the author (the merchant William Faux) had not included information on the present condition of American literature, also complaining that Irving should write more about American and less about English themes.[132] *Blackwood's* exhibited a curiosity about American literature, even including a column on 'Books Imported from America', the perfect rejoinder to Smith's taunt.[133] In the November 1823 issue, just months before Neal arrived in England, a *Blackwood's* writer had complained of the absence of an adequate work on the United States.[134] As Duncan Andrew Campbell has noted, '*Blackwood's* was to remain a conduit for Anglo-American literary development'.[135] Neal's recollection of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* as 'the cleverest, the sauciest, and the most unprincipled of all our calumniators' was not credible.[136] The periodical had shown no inherent bias against American letters.

A historian of American literature explained that Neal had 'invaded England and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* to further the cause of American literature and his own literary career'.[137] It is difficult to understand how the experience helped either. Neal admitted to having a difficult time after returning to his hometown of Portland. 'Because of my writings while abroad,' Neal lamented, he had earned the reputation of an 'enemy of our country, of her institutions, and her literature.'[138] Considering the difficulties the Americans had in shaping a positive identity in Britain in the half-century after independence, the reaction of Portlanders to Neal's portrayal of the United States was understandable.

Truce in the Paper War

The early to mid-1820s saw a distinct pivot by British writers who became less prone to dwell on American examples. The United States

remained a popular subject for British writers, but passions were less tense than in preceding years. Although difficult times in Anglo-American cultural relations did not formulaically parallel economic hardship, the improvement of both the British and American economies certainly helped lessen the intensity of the Paper War. The bad years within the post-war economy – especially 1817 and 1819 – were also high points for trans-Atlantic paper warring. The circumstances underlying these attempts at a truce in the Paper War had a great deal to do with the end of the crisis in the Anglo-American economies and in Britain's ability to right the ship following the nearly catastrophic convergence of an economic downturn and political agitation.

From about 1820 to 1825, it must have seemed to Anglo-American readers that everyone on the British side was apologizing for atrocities committed while paper warring. The Tory *British Critic* was one of the first parties to admit to taking literary hostilities too far, calling for a truce:

> We are at peace with America, and ought to therefore to feel the obligation under which we stand, to cultivate amity towards her, in language as well as in deeds: and, in truth, it were greatly to be deplored that the good understanding, subsisting between the two countries, should be exposed to a premature interruption, or the evils of war hereafter unnecessarily aggravated, by the childish practice of calling names, and grinning in one another's faces.[139]

A more charitable view towards the United States was fundamental to the *New Monthly Magazine*'s shift from a Tory political focus to literature in 1821. Founded in 1814 as a competitor to Sir Richard Philip's *Monthly Magazine*, the *New Monthly Magazine* announced a new liberality towards the United States in a preface by the new editor, the Scottish poet Thomas Campbell: 'If America has been violent in this war of words, it is clear that we have not been moderate.' As Campbell understood, even England's natural allies in America, the Federalists, 'have been insulted by us'. Campbell warned of another war that might result: 'From calumnies like these . . . spring antipathies that prepare the human mind for the guilt of war.'[140]

Victories were hard to come by in the Paper War, but it seemed to American reviewers that Campbell had just surrendered the rock of Gibraltar – Britain's moral high ground. Not surprisingly, American reviewers reprinted Campbell's *mea culpa*. The journal *Spirit of the English Magazines* gave the remarks the title 'Apology to the American

People'.[141] The *Literary and Scientific Repository* reprinted Campbell's apology together with a February 1821 *New Monthly Magazine* article discussing the controversies between the *North American Review* and British reviewers.[142]

John Davis, the author of *Travels of Four and a Half Years in the United States* (1803) and object of much American consternation for his unbending condemnation of the Jeffersonians and portrayal of American manners, offered an apology to the Americans in the form of a poem, *The American Mariners: or, The Atlantic Voyage, a Moral Poem* (1822). To his 232-page poem, Davis added a prefix, 'A Vindication of the American Character, From the Aspersions of the *Quarterly Review*', and an appendix on the 'Naval Annals' of the War of 1812, both suited to please readers in the United States. Davis addressed his 'Vindication' to poet Robert Southey, a favorite target of Americans.[143]

Most telling of the British changes towards America was the lull in output from the *Edinburgh Review*. The bibliography supplied by David Paul Crook in the appendix of his *American Democracy in English Politics, 1815–1850* listed no articles on the United States in the *Edinburgh Review* in the years 1825, 1826, 1827, and 1828.[144] In comparison, Susan Oliver's bibliography lists fifteen articles on North America during the *Edinburgh Review*'s first five years of existence and ten articles in the five-year period following Waterloo. John Quincy Adams's presidency may have been a relatively quiet era in the Anglo-American relationship, but it is likely that the decline in interest in America amongst the Whig reviewers had more to do with the tranquil situation in Britain.

With the post-war crisis abated, the worst fears for the depopulation of skilled and middling-rank English would pass. Fears of Britain's bleeding to death – 50 or 100 families at a time – had been overblown. As a writer for the London *Eclectic Review* noted in 1824, during the previous several years, British commentators on America enjoyed a poisonous fashion for ascertaining 'which part of the land of freedom was the freest, which prairie was the most paradisiacal. But the Americo-mania has passed away: and with it will pass, we trust, much of the feverish jealousy and splenetic feeling which, by a short of re-action, resulted from it.'[145]

Britain stabilized, Americans noted the more amiable attitude from across the Atlantic. Perhaps the tide of the Paper War had turned and British critics were in retreat. In an article on 'British Liberality', a Boston newspaper noted: 'It appears, from recent publications, that the British have not only changed their manner of speaking of this country, but have really changed their sentiments towards us.'[146] The *American*

Athenaeum sensed the change, ascribing it to the progress of American literature in the five years since Reverend Smith's query: 'America begins to feel her own power, and no longer plays the baby in depending on others for support. There already appears a vast change both in the exertions of authors and the liberality of patrons. . . . We no more hear the silly question 'Who reads an American book?' . . . We have at last, after years of arduous struggles, obtained the gracious privilege of having our works read before they are condemned.'[147]

American letters matured, the British reviewers might no longer torment American with inane criticism. Nevertheless, nearly every volume of every American periodical – literary, legal, or medical – continued to be inspired by Anglo-American rivalry. If Americans were no longer playing the baby, they remained content to act the role of the neglected child of Britain. Perhaps the most memorable image of persisting American frustrations appeared in a medical journal. From 1820 to 1827, under the editorship of Nathaniel Chapman, the *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences*, the most important American medical journal of the era, carried Sydney Smith's taunt, on each issue's title page: 'In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue? *What does the world yet owe to American physicians or Surgeons*?' Chapman's journal was a living repudiation of Smith's insult. A nineteenth-century history of American medicine claimed that Chapman began the journal 'under the stimulus of the phrase'.[148]

Despite some indications of newfound Anglo-American harmony, Americans needed to feel themselves to be the victim. One American reviewer linked the ongoing critique of American culture with the nearly-century-old debate over the American climate:

> They say of us (God forgive them) that our atmosphere is prejudicial to the growth of mind – that our breezes bear no inspiration on their perfumed wings, and the same frost that kills our flowers nips our fancy in the bud. Our skies shed no poetry from their expanse of azure light, and that our sun melts the energy of our matter, and disarranges the shape of our type.[149]

Reference to the Buffon debate – a red herring meant to distract from serious questioning of American culture and chattel slavery – was the surest means of rallying the broadest segment of the American reading public.

Some prominent Americans sensed that new campaigns in the Paper War were imprudent. Thomas Jefferson fretted that Charles Jared Ingersoll had gone too far in his *Discourse Concerning the Influence of America on the Mind* (1823), penning a letter protesting his friend's continued polemic against British critics of America. For Jefferson, the time had passed for trans-Atlantic quarrels:

> After the severe chastisement given by Mr. Walsh . . . to English scribblers, which they well deserved and I was delighted to see, I hoped there would be an end of this intercrimination, and that both parties would prefer the course of courtesy and conciliation, and I think their considerate writers have since shewn that disposition, and that it would prevail if equally cultivated by us. Europe is doing us full justice; why then detract from her. It is true that the pamphlet, in winding up, disavows this intention, but in opposition to the fact of repeated sets made at England, and too frequent assumptions of superiority. It is true we have advantages, and great advantages over her in some of our institutions, and in some important conditions of our existence. But in so many as are assumed will be believed by ourselves only, and not by all among ourselves. It cannot be denied that we are a boasting nation.[150]

Jefferson had correctly perceived the current trend in Anglo-American cultural relations. Trans-Atlantic polemics continued, but nothing attracted the fiery passion engendered by previous episodes in the Paper War – the *Quarterly Review*'s article on Charles Jared Ingersoll's *Inchiquin's Letters*, the publication of Walsh's *Appeal to the Judgments of Great Britain*, or Morris Birkbeck's Illinois venture.

Yet, those Americans desirous of an end to the Paper War would be disappointed. The change in the British tone regarding the United States in the mid-1820s represented a lull in trans-Atlantic paper warring, not an armistice. British commentators had always written for British readers, and, after a few years of relative quiet, British writers needed the example of the American republic to prove points about the situation at home. The United States would again play a role in British debates over society and polity in the late 1820s and 1830s, beginning with Captain Basil Hall's three-volume *Travels in North America* (1829). American innovations in politics and religion once more captured the imagination of would-be British reformers, while opponents of reform responded in kind. It is telling that the *Edinburgh Review*'s treatment of Hall's book appeared in the June 1829 issue. That number was Francis

Jeffrey's last as editor and also contained Thomas Carlyle's 'Signs of the Times' essay. Carlyle's article, a damning critique of the 'spirit of the age', doubted the progressivism found in most of the previous articles during Jeffrey's tenure at the Whig periodical.[151] Not surprisingly, in an age of fracture and doubt, the United States had again become the focus of Britons. Nor did the passage of reform in 1832 lessen interest in the American experiment. The year 1833 alone would see the publication of seven popular works on the United States.[152] Given that images of America in Britain had always been refracted through domestic concerns, the prevalence of these images was itself a 'sign of the times'.

Conclusion: Heroes, But No Victors

The Paper War provides troubling lessons for the development of Anglo-American nationalisms. From the perspective of the development of American letters, American authors did not show themselves in a flattering light. One might note Washington Irving's subservience to English opinion, John Neal's conceit, the myopic regionalism of New Englanders, or the plagiarism of Charles Jared Ingersoll and Charles Brockden Brown. The prevalence of nationalistic literary piracy shows that the development of American nationality wandered along a more convoluted path than usually suspected. Still more troubling, American writers used the chance to engage with foreign critics to invent divisive, partisan understandings of Americanism. Nothing that foreign critics ever said about the United States could heal the fissures within American national culture.

Most problematic were the illiberal expressions of American nationalism in the Paper War. Anglo-American polemics were an unwelcome place for Americans to test the limits of their new republic's freedom. American responses to foreign criticisms helped to create an insidious discourse that legitimized slavery and denied women's political rights. The legacy of the Paper War lives on in contemporary debates over the northern origins of pro-slavery discourse and historic support for slavery by northern institutions. Looking back, perhaps Joseph Dennie was right – the man of letters should mock politics and be wary of faddish modes of nationalism.

From the perspective of cross-cultural understanding, the lessons for British self-identification are similarly disconcerting. British commentators on the United States championed certain Americans to be representative, their 'good Americans'. These portrayals exhibited a self-referential view of the American republic. Within the copious

periodical literature and travelers' accounts, Britain was the subject, the United States only the object. In perspectives of America, commentators searched for confirmation of their own parochial views. Myopia made for essentialist images – and impossible expectations – from across the Atlantic, both good and bad.

British anti-American discourse appears anti-reformist and regressive, an instrument to deny the existence of problems at home. Ironically, those Britons who were most critical of the United States were also those most invested in seeing the Americans as Englishmen. Psychologically unprepared to see the Americans as a different people, British commentators insisted on giving copious advice as to how the United States should continue to follow Britain's lead or on how the new republic needed to remain 'English'. Americans did retain ties to England and English culture, but only in ways that made sense within American contexts. That these culturally and linguistically closest of nations were so unbearably shortsighted in their cultural relations does not make one hopeful for the possibilities for trans-national understanding.

A generation of paper warring (not to mention two real wars) had not resulted in American cultural or economic independence from Britain. As James Kirke Paulding had lamented in his *Diverting History*, Brother Jonathan was 'a true chip of the old block'.[1] In the 1830s, a Frenchman described New Englanders as 'double-distilled English'.[2] As Kathleen Burk notes, the Anglo-American relationship was one of 'appropriation or co-optation' and 'evolution, not revolution'.[3] In 1819, in the fifth decade after American independence, Hezekiah Niles lamented America's immaturity: 'Our character is not yet fully formed: it will take fifty years perhaps, or at least another generation, *entirely* to cause the American people to believe and act, if they belonged to and had a country for *themselves*.'[4] Most strikingly, A. G. Hopkins has recently surveyed American political, economic, and cultural history, suggesting the United States' status as 'Britain's honorary dominion' until the American Civil War.[5]

American letters continued to be too fragile, too sparse for Americans to relax in their quest for culture. As shown in Benjamin Spencer's masterful *Quest for Nationality: An American Literary Campaign* (1957), despite the successes of Irving, Cooper, and other writers, Americans continued to defer to the English clerisy for judgment about American culture.[6] In 1860, the *Westminster Review*, usually concerned about matters other than American culture, taunted that, 'For almost every work of note which has been produced there, the mother nation can show a better counterpart.'[7] In 1915 – a hundred years after the appearance of the *North American*

Review had portended the advent of American literature – a writer for the New York *Bookman* magazine warned: 'Americans who do not follow with eagerness the writers of England are cutting their own throats.'[8] Recent scholarship has shown that even Americans' image of the British monarchy improved in the nineteenth century, and that Queen Victoria was able to influence Anglo-American relations.[9] As Sam Haynes notes, the United States remained 'a cultural and economic satellite of the British empire'. The Americans had many reasons to believe that theirs was, as Haynes notes, an 'unfinished revolution'.[10]

The old soldiers of Anglo-American paper warring continued to recount the glory days when they had defended their rising nation, yet lamented the lack of a decisive outcome. In a letter from September 1832, James Kirke Paulding praised Charles Jared Ingersoll's Fourth of July oration of that year for its 'manly, eloquent, and conclusive vindication of Republicanism'. Paulding wished that other writers had followed the same course rather than 'administering to the imaginary superiority of Europe, and perpetuating as far as possible that Subserviency to its opinions, tastes and manners, which prevents our being Substantially independent'.[11] Years later, Paulding exclaimed: 'The greatest merit I claim is that of being emphatically an American writer. My Productions have been addressed to my Countrymen alone; nor did I ever on any occasion ask myself what they would say of them in Europe. If any one can find in all of my writings, a word or a sentiment not American, I will resign my claim.'[12] Paulding's self-congratulation was blind to the diversity of American letters. For generations, trans-Atlantic ties of dependence had persisted alongside declarations of American independence. Both aspects were vital to the development of Americanism.

In his *Recollections* (1861) Ingersoll heaped praised on his *Inchiquin's Letters* for providing 'a zealous vindication of the political, social, and literary condition of this new country, then so much disparaged abroad and mistrusted at home that it seemed to be a desperate undertaking; noticed, however, by European liberalism there perhaps more than here.' Ingersoll continued to berate Americans for copying English 'social regulations' of 'food, habitation, dress, equipage, and fashion'.[13] More than a half century after Thomas Moore's visit to the United States, Ingersoll again decried the anti-Americanism of the 'pigmy poetaster Moore'.[14] Paulding, who promised as Navy Secretary in 1839 not to embrace steamboats ('never consent to let our old ships perish, and transform our Navy into a fleet of sea monsters'), sailed through the sectional crises of antebellum America with an unwavering focus on the iniquities of the British Empire.[15] For the ultra-nationalists, fighting

trans-Atlantic polemics was always more glorifying than explaining intra-American differences.

The next generation struggled with their fathers' failure to break decisively with Britain, adopting their own strategies suited for changed circumstances. Three of Morris Birkbeck's children went to Mexico after his death. Richard Flower's son, Edward Fordham Flower, left the United States in 1824, his abolitionist views having become problematic, returning to England to found a brewery at Stratford-on-Avon. The younger Flower served as mayor and was instrumental in building the Tercentenary Theatre and the first Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, a mecca for American Anglophiles visiting England. Ironically, the son of an emigrant to America had succeeded in building a durable monument for the Bard of Avon, something that the earlier Shakespeare committee (without the American-born, Anglo-flatterer Washington Irving) had failed to accomplish. Under the short editorship of Robert Walsh's son, Robert Moylan Walsh, the *American Quarterly Review* became more admiring of American trends in romantic literature. As the literary historian William Charvat noted, the transformed *American Quarterly Review* provided the 'best appreciative criticism of the period. . . . It was as though a new *Quarterly* had displaced the old'.[16] The next generation also struggled with their fathers' failure to reconcile provincialism with cosmopolitanism and state with nation. Captain Robert Coles, the son of Illinois governor Edward Coles, Birkbeck's ally in fighting slavery in the new state, was killed in the American Civil War, at the Battle of Roanoke Island in February 1862. Ironically, the younger Coles died fighting for the Confederacy, as attachment to the state of Virginia trumped the family's devotion to free labor.

Edward Everett continued to lament that no foreign observer properly understood the American political system.[17] Lord Grey, Jeremy Bentham, and the writers at the *Edinburgh Review* – all continued to confuse the workings of state and national politics.[18] In 1836, Everett finally found a book he could like about America, written by a foreigner – Alexis de Tocqueville's *De la démocratie en Amérique*: 'We regard his work now before us, as by far the most philosophical, ingenious, and instructive, which has been produced in Europe on the subject of America.' Not surprisingly, prominent Americans – Everett, Robert Walsh, and Charles Jared Ingersoll included – had supplied Tocqueville with their impressions (and even an assortment of pamphlets and magazines in Walsh's case) to mold the Frenchman's account of the United States.[19] Although Americans had long sought understanding and approval from the English, a French aristocrat finally gave the United States its proper interpretation.

In ill-health, Robert Walsh retired from his editor's position at the *American Quarterly Review* in 1836 and moved abroad, to France, another sign that youthful 'anti-Gallican' sympathies were not innate. As he had as a young writer decades before, Walsh labored to bridge American and European cultures. Walsh hosted a prominent Paris salon, the first successful salon conducted by an American. In 1844, after decades of longing for a United States government post, Walsh was finally offered a position, that of consul general. Not surprisingly, in his labors to correct French misunderstandings of the United States, questions of American race relations dominated Walsh's labors as public diplomatist.[20]

Moreover, Walsh never lived down his pre-War of 1812 Anglophobic writings, despite the efforts of his *Appeal to the Judgments of Great Britain* and decades engaged in paper warring with British travelers and critics. In 1852, after Walsh called for Americans to embrace the ascent of Napoleon III, the *New York Times* attacked Walsh as an 'advocate and apologist of absolutism'. The *Times*' writer warned the new French dictator to read Walsh's book on European affairs from 1810: 'With what unsparing pen did he lash the shoulders of the uncle, in younger days!'[21] While he continued to write for American newspapers from Paris until his death, Walsh never again set foot in the nation that he had defended as a young editor, struggling to find his way amongst the swift currents of American nationalism.

Many of the figures who helped defend the United States against foreign criticisms died during a time when sectionalism trumped nationalism, and trans-Atlantic paper warring was supplanted by the most bloody struggle in American history – Walsh in 1859, James Kirke Paulding in 1860, Charles Ingersoll in 1862, and Edward Everett in January 1865. An obituary for Walsh explained that the *Appeal* had been 'an unanswerable vindication of his country from the calumnies of British writers'.[22] In 1859, faced with the prospect of disunion, Americans were eager to invoke a time when the *Appeal* had united Americans in defense of the young republic against foreign calumnies. Unfortunately, the writer exaggerated the claim of the nationalists' unity in the Paper War. In the face of foreign criticisms, Americans had never agreed in their understandings of the meaning of America.

Notes

1 Introduction

1. The Pulitzer Prize-winning historian of American journalism Luther Mott called 'a third American war with England . . . a paper war – which raged with surprising fury in the magazines and newspapers for many years'; Mott, *American Journalism: A History, 1690–1960* (New York, Macmillan, 1962), 207.
2. Perkins, *Prologue to War: England and the United States, 1805–1812* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1968), vii. Although Perkins devoted a chapter to the Paper War in his third volume on Anglo-American diplomacy during the era, *Castlereagh and Adams: England and the United States, 1812–1823* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), he did not elaborate on literary controversies in the previous volumes.
3. A growing body of scholarly work deals with the growth of American literary nationalism in the early republic. See Catherine O'Donnell Kaplan's *Men of Letters in the Early Republic: Cultivating Forums of Citizenship* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Joseph Eaton, 'A Federalist Rejoinder to Early Anti-Americanism: Robert Walsh's *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain* and the Development of American Literary Nationalism', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 132 (April 2008); Marshall Foletta's *Coming to Terms with Democracy* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001). James D. Drake, *The Nation's Nature: How Continental Presumptions Gave Rise to the United States of America* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011) explains the rise of American nationalism from American involvement in eighteenth-century European polemics.
4. Daniel Rodgers finds the period between 1880 and 1940 to have been a unique time for Europe to have an impact on America: 'Between the democratic confidence of the early nineteenth century and the hubris of the late twentieth century, one begins to discern a moment when American politics was peculiarly open to foreign models and imported ideas'; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 4. For the recent trends and possibilities for globalization in the study of the early American republic, see Rosemarie Zaggari, 'The Significance of the "Global Turn" for the Early Republic', *Journal of the Early Republic*, 31 (Spring 2011), 1–37.
5. Perkins, *Adams and Castlereagh*, 195.
6. For the practice of domestic paper warring in the early republic, see Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).
7. Robert E. Spiller, 'The Verdict of Sydney Smith,' *American Literature* 1 (March 1929), 13.
8. As Matthew Rainbow Hale has noted, 'More work remains to be done on the external, rather than internal, sources of Americans' struggle to define their nationality'; Hale, 'Many Who Wandered in Darkness': The Contest over

American National Identity, 1795–1798', *Early American Studies*, 1 (Spring 2003), 128. For an overview of American history in a global context, see Thomas Bender, *A Nation among Nations: America's Place in World History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006).

9. Ingersoll, [Some Unknown Foreigner], *Inchiquin, The Jesuit's Letters, During a Late Residence in the United States of America: Being a Fragment of a Private Correspondence Accidentally Discovered in Europe; Containing a Favourable View of the Manners, Literature, and State of Society, of the United States, and a Refutation of Many of the Asperations Cast Upon This Country, By Former Residents and Tourists* (New York: I. Riley, 1810), 138.
10. 'By any criteria the years following the Peace of Ghent . . . must be considered a time of exceptional growth and development in the United States. . . . Above all . . . it may be considered a time of the evolution and ripening of American nationalism'; 'Editors' Introduction' by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, in George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism: 1815–1828* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965, reprint Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1994), viii; 'The downfall of Federalism – cautious, conservative, Anglophile – helped loose the flood of nationalism'; Bradford Perkins, *Castlereagh and Adams: England and the United States, 1812–1823* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), 176; 'The historian seldom finds an epoch more distinctly marked than was that which began about 1815'; William B. Cairns, *On the Development of American Literature from 1815 to 1833 with Especial Reference to Periodicals* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1898), 2. Paul C. Nagel's *This Sacred Trust: American Nationality, 1798–1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971) uses 1815 as demarcation for chapters (Chapter 1 – 'Survival: 1798–1815'; Chapter 2 – 'Search: 1815–1848'). As Nagel explains, only after the 'miracles of 1815' could Americans come together: 'Republican survival appeared so dubious that men considered miraculous the intelligence of a peace treaty and Andrew Jackson's great victory at New Orleans. News of both prompted scenes of unaccustomed jubilation during February 1815. Suddenly a new phase opened in the development of America's nationality' (11, 6). A scholar of American literature noted, 'The period naturally divides into two sections, marked off by the second war with Great Britain'; Cairns, *British Criticisms of American Writings 1783–1815*, 6.
11. In his classic account of the origins of American periodical reviewing, William Charvat overlooked American rejoinders to foreign calumnies, missing an important focus of energy for writers in the early republic; Charvat, *The Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810–1835* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936).
12. Ingersoll, *Inchiquin's Letters*, 164.
13. For examples of the multi-vocal nature of American nationalism in the early republic, see Andrew W. Robertson, '"Look on This Picture . . . And on This!": Nationalism, Localism, and Partisan Images of Otherness in the United States, 1787–1820', *American Historical Review*, 106 (October 2001); David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Harlow Sheidley, *Sectional Nationalism: Massachusetts Conservative Leaders and the Transformation of America, 1815–1836* (Boston: Northeastern

University Press, 1998); Stephanie Kermes, *Creating an American Identity: New England, 1789–1825* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

14. Republican ideology has received more attention from scholars. For example, Steve Watts and Marie-Jeanne Rossignol have described how American weakness in confrontation with European powers pressured Americans to develop a clearer nationalist vision, these scholars' primary concern being the progressive, liberal vision of the Republicans; Steven Watts, *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790-1820* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); Marie-Jeanne Rossignol, *The Nationalist Ferment: The Origins of US Foreign Policy, 1789–1812*, trans. Lillian A. Parrott (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2004).
15. More than a generation after foundational studies by David Hackett Fischer, James M. Banner, Jr., and Linda Kerber, research on the Federalists is growing. For example, see William C. Dowling, *Literary Federalism in the Age of Jefferson: Joseph Dennie and the Port Folio, 1801–1812* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999); Marshall Foletta, *Coming to Terms with Democracy: Federalist Intellectuals and the Shaping of an American Culture* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001); Catherine O'Donnell Kaplan, *Men of Letters in the Early Republic: Cultivating Forums of Citizenship* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Rachel Hope Cleves, *The Reign of Terror in America: Visions of Violence from Anti-Jacobinism to Antislavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Doron S. Ben-Atar and Barbara B. Oberg (eds), *Federalists Reconsidered* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999).
16. Recent work on American Anglophilia shows that affinities for England allowed for uniquely American expressions. For example, see Elisa Tamarkin, *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Frank Prochaska, *The Eagle and the Crown: America and the British Monarchy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); and Leonard Tennenhouse, *The Importance of Feeling English: American Literature and the British Diaspora* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Kariann Akemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
17. John Clive, 'England and America', *Perspectives in American History*, 2 (1969), 438. In his classic *American Democracy in English Politics 1815–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), David Paul Crook found that images of the United States in British politics were usually self-referential, the United States providing examples to confirm existing predilections rather than to provide guidance or inspire novel inspiration.
18. 'Memorable Days in America', *Literary Chronicle*, 28 (July 12, 1823), 433.
19. R. K. Webb, *Harriet Martineau: A Radical Victorian* (London: Heinemann, 1960), 172.
20. Charles Caldwell, 'Review of Inchiquin, The Jesuit's Letters', *Port-Folio*, 5 (April 1811), 305.
21. The classic in the formation of British identity vis-à-vis France remains Linda Colley's magnificent *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992, revised edition 2009).
22. For example, see Henry Cranbrook Allan, *Great Britain and the United States: A History of Anglo-American Relations* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1955);

Frank Thistlethwaite, *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959); Robert Lloyd Kelley, *The Transatlantic Persuasion: The Liberal-Democratic Mind in the Age of Gladstone* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969); and Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*.

23. Recent scholarship presents interactions between Americans and Europe in a more critical light. For example, see Brian Steele, 'Thomas Jefferson's Gender Frontier', *Journal of American History*, 95 (June 2008); Duncan Andrew Campbell, *Unlikely Allies: Britain, America and the Victorian Origins of the Special Relationship* (London and New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2007); Timothy Roberts, *Distant Revolutions: 1848 and the Challenge to American Exceptionalism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009); Sam W. Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010).
24. Macall Medford, *Oil without Vinegar, and Dignity with Pride*, 2nd ed. (London: W. J. and J. Richards, 1807), viii.
25. Jack P. Greene, *The Intellectual Construction of America: Exceptionalism and Identity from 1492 to 1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 156.
26. Publius [Hamilton], *Federalist* no.11, 'The Utility of the Union in Respect to Commercial Relations and a Navy'.
27. 'On doit être étonné que l'Amérique n'ait pas encore produit un bon poète, un habile mathématicien, un homme de génie dans un seul art, ou une seule science'; Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des deux Indes*, new edition, vol. 6 (Amsterdam, 1773), 526. For analysis of the debate over American nature, see Henry Steele Commager and Elmo Giordanneti (eds), *Was America a Mistake? An Eighteenth-Century Controversy* (New York: Harper, 1967); Antonello Gerbi, *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750–1900*, trans. Jeremy Moyle (Italian edition 1955, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973). Durand Echeverria, *Mirage in the West: A History of the French Image of American Society to 1815* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); Gilbert Chinard, 'Eighteenth Century Theories on America as a Human Habitat', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 91 (1947); Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Lee Alan Dugatkin, *Mr. Jefferson and the Giant Moose: Natural History in Early America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

1 Travelers, Reviewers, and Jeffersonian-era America

1. Allan Nevins described this as an era of travel given to 'utilitarian inquiry', explaining that later travelers had motives that were more complex. In her survey of Anglo-American relations, *Old World, New World: Great Britain and America from the Beginning* (2008), Kathleen Burk begins her chapter on Anglo-American literary controversies with Jacksonian-era travelers' accounts. Jane Louise Mesick, a historian of British travel to the United States, examined Jeffersonian-era travelers' accounts, noting, however, that, 'The real beginning of the hostilities was, however, to come a little later.' In his *Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World*

(Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), Sam Haynes identifies a London *Quarterly Review* article in January 1814 as the 'opening salvo' of the Paper War (27); Nevins (ed), *America through British Eyes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), Part I, 'Travelers of the First Period, 1789-1825: Utilitarian Inquiry'; Kathleen Burk, *Old World, New World: Great Britain and America from the Beginning* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2008); Jane Louise Mesick, *The English Traveller in America, 1785–1835* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1922), 274.

2. 'The Stranger in New York', *Port-Folio*, 6 (December 1811), 586. Isaac Weld, *Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada*, 2 vols (1799); Dietrich von Bulow, *Der Freistaat von Nord-americka* (Berlin, 1797); Charles William Janson, *The Stranger in America* (1807); Thomas Moore, *Epistles, Odes and other Poems* (1806); Richard Parkinson, *A Tour in America, in 1798, 1799, and 1800* (1805).
3. Mill, *Dissertations and Discussions: Political, Philosophical, and Historical*, vol. 2 (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1859), 2–3.
4. James Chandler, *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 450.
5. Bradford Perkins, *The First Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1795–1805* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955), 7.
6. Richard Parkinson, *The Experienced Farmer*, 2 vols (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1798).
7. Richard Parkinson, *A Tour in America in 1798, 1799, and 1800, Exhibiting Sketches of Society and Manners, and a Particular Account of the American System of Agriculture, with its Recent Improvements* (London: J. Harding & J. Murray, 1805), 2, advertisement n.p., 26, 27, 18.
8. Parkinson, *Tour*, Dedication, n.p.
9. 'Parkinson's *Tour in America*', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 22 (September 1805), 22, 31.
10. 'Original Criticism', *Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine*, 35 (March 1810), 300.
11. Charles William Janson, *The Stranger in America, Containing Observations Made During a Long Residence in that Country* (London: Albion Press, 1807), 94.
12. Janson, *Stranger in America*, 198.
13. Janson, *Stranger in America*, 198, 297.
14. Janson, *Stranger in America*, 300–304. For the significance of brutality to frontier masculinity, see Elliott J. Gorn, '"Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch": The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry', *American Historical Review*, 90 (February 1985), 18–43.
15. In 1788, an anonymous American writer sought to set the record straight: 'When American shall erect societies for the promotion of chastity in Europe . . . then Europe will discover that there is more Christian philosophy in American bundling, than can be found in the customs of nations more polite'; *Columbian Magazine*, October 1788, 561, as quoted in William J. Free, *The Columbian Magazine and American Literary Nationalism* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), 140–141. See also William Austin, *Letters from London: Written during the Years 1802 & 1803* (Boston: W. Pelham, 1804), 4. Ironically, Sir John Carr's *Stranger in Ireland* (London: R. Philips, 1806), an inspiration for the title and tone of Janson's book, documented bundling in Ireland and other parts of Europe (Carr, 7).

16. *Philadelphia, Three Centuries of American Art: Selections from the Bicentennial Exhibition held at the Philadelphia Museum of Art from April 11 to October 10, 1976* (Philadelphia: The Museum, 1976), 182.
17. Janson, *Stranger in America*, xiii.
18. Janson, *Stranger in America*, xiii.
19. For the Birches' Views of Philadelphia, see Wendy Bellion, *Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, and Visual Perception in Early National America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), Chapter 3, 'Sight of the City', 113–170.
20. Janson, *Stranger in America*, 203.
21. James Kirke Paulding, *The United States and England: Being a Reply to the Criticism of Inchinquin's Letters* (New York: A. H. Inskeep, 1815), 22.
22. Chandler, *England in 1819*, 278.
23. 'Strictures on the Literary Character and Writings of Anacreon Moore', *La Belle Assemblée*, 1 (August 1806), 346.
24. 'Janson's Stranger in America', *Annual Review*, 6 (January 1807), 43.
25. By a Lady [Anne Ritson], *A Poetical Picture of America, Being Observations made, during a Residence of Several years, at Alexandria, and Norfolk, in Virginia* (London: Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe, 1809), 'To the Reader', n.p., 'List of Subscribers', n.p.
26. Ward, 'American Authors and British Reviewers', 16, 5. Ward counts only five British reviews of *The Columbiad*.
27. At approximately the same time, hundreds of romantic Irish radicals were choosing the United States as a place of political exile. Michael Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), Chapter 3, 'Irish Radicals'.
28. Isaac Weld, *Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, During the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797*. 4th ed., 2 vols (London: John Stockdale, 1807), 1:127.
29. Weld, *Travels*, 1:390; 2:9; 1:418.
30. Martin Roth, Introduction to *Travels through the United States of North America*, by Isaac Weld (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1968), xx. Decades later, Isaac's half-brother, Charles, gave a similar comparison between the United States and Canada in his *Vacation Tour in the United States and Canada* (1855). Charles noted the impact that Isaac's work had on Canada almost fifty years earlier: 'There can be no question that the colonization of Canada was mainly promoted and influenced by this book.' Charles also explained Upper Canada to be more developed and prosperous than the United States, a distinction apparent along the St Lawrence: 'The contrast between the American and Canadian shores of this mighty river is very remarkable. On the left bank extensive farms, rivaling those in the old country are of frequent occurrence, while the right bank is clothed by the unbroken primeval forest, which comes down to the water's edge'; Charles Richard Weld, *Vacation Tour in the United States and Canada* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855), 3–4, 121.
31. John Davis, *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802* (London: T. Hurst, 1803).
32. Davis, *Travels*, 176, 85.
33. As Catherine O'Donnell Kaplan has noted, the average lifespan for a periodical was fourteen months; *Men of Letters in the Early Republic: Cultivating*

Forums of Citizenship (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 140.

34. 'Miscellaneous Paragraphs', *Port-Folio*, 3 (April 23, 1803), 135.
35. *Port-Folio*, 1 (November 21, 1801), 47.
36. James Playsted Wood, *Magazines in the United States*, 3rd edition (New York: Ronald Press, 1971), 30.
37. O'Donnell Kaplan, *Men of Letters*, 149.
38. As quoted in Harold Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle: A Study in American Literature from 1792–1812* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1915), 101.
39. Scott Ellis examines Davis's unsuccessful attempts at making connections within the American literary establishment and finds Charles Brockden Brown to have been more successful in building literary networks. Ellis, '"Reviewers Reviewed": John Davis and the Early American Literary Field', *Early American Literature* (2007), 157–188. In fact, Brown became a respected author *after* his death in 1810. Brown never enjoyed quality of connections in Britain that Davis had in America.
40. Pratt defines *travelee* as 'persons traveled to (or on) by a traveler, receptors of travel'; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, revised edition (New York: Routledge, 2008), 8, 133, 258.
41. Davis, *Travels*, 311, 69. Other travelers praised Dennie. Charles William Janson, while noting that, 'literature is yet at a low ebb in the United States', proclaimed that Dennie's *Port-Folio* 'would do credit to the most polished nation in Europe'; Janson, *Stranger in America*, 422.
42. Davis, *Travels*, 57, 136–137.
43. *The Farmer of New-Jersey, or, A Picture of Domestic Life* (New York, 1800), *Captain Smith and Princess Pocahontas, An Indian Tale* (Philadelphia, 1805), and *American Mariners, or, The Atlantic Voyage* (London, 1822).
44. Frances Mossiker, *Pocahontas: The Life and Legend* (New York: Knopf, 1976), 324.
45. William Warren Jenkins, 'The Princess Pocahontas and Three Englishmen Named John', in J. Lasley Dameron and James W. Mathews (eds), *No Fairer Land: Studies in Southern Literature before 1900* (Troy, NY: Whitson Publishing Company, 1986), 19.
46. Robert S. Tilton, *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3, 48.
47. Richard Beale Davis, *Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1964), 300–302, 314–319.
48. Kemp Malone, 'John Davis on American English', *American Speech*, 4 (August 1929), 473–476.
49. John Davis, *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America; during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802* (London: Ostell, Ave-Maria-Lane, and T. Hurst, 1803), 3.
50. 'Davis, *The Life of Thomas Chatterton*', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 26 (April 1806), 394.
51. 'Davis's Travels in America', *Monthly Review*, 44 (August 1804), 391.
52. As quoted in Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle*, 168.
53. 'Parkinson's *Tour in America*', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 22 (September 1805), 22.
54. 'Preface', *Monthly Magazine, and British Register*, 1 (February 1796), iii–iv; 'Davis's *Travels in America*', *Monthly Magazine*, 387–391, 391. The Pocahontas

story itself was subject to debate in Britain. The *Monthly Review* praised the story as giving value to Davis's *Travels*. The *Edinburgh Review* 'never met with any thing more abominably stupid'; 'Davis's Travels in America'. *Monthly Magazine*, 389; Brougham, 'Davis's Travels in America', *Edinburgh Review*, 2 (July 1803), 451.

55. Looker-On, 'Politics for the Port-Folio', *Port-Folio*, 1 (January 24, 1801), 4; 'Politics for the Port-Folio. No. II', *Port-Folio*, 1 (January 31, 1801), 5. Thomas Moore, 'Mr. Moore's Sketch of the Imperial City', *Port-Folio*, 2 (September 13, 1806), 36.
56. Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle*, 196.
57. Eliza, 'Anecdote of the Celebrated Volney', *Port-Folio*, 1 (July 18, 1801), 29.
58. William C. Dowling, *Literary Federalism in the Age of Jefferson: Joseph Dennie and The Port Folio, 1801–1812* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 21. *Port-Folio*, 2 (March 20, 1802), 84.
59. 'Interesting Travels in America', *Port-Folio*, 2 (May 8, 1802), 1.
60. 'Moore's Epistles, Odes, and other Poems', *Literary Journal*, 1 (June 1806), 646.
61. 'Moore's Poems', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 24 (July 1806), 264.
62. Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle*, 146, 168, 170.
63. Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle*, 171.
64. Dowling, *Literary Federalism in the Age of Jefferson*, 74. See Herbert G. Eldridge, 'Anacreon Moore and America', *PMLA*, 83 (March 1968), 54–62.
65. Thomas Moore, *The Works of Thomas Moore: Epistles, Odes, and Other Poems*, vol. 2 (Paris: A. & W. Galagnani, 1823), 7–8.
66. Thomas Moore, *Epistles, Odes, and Other Poems* (Philadelphia: John Watts, 1806), 190 footnote.
67. Moore, *Works of Thomas Moore,* 151.
68. 'Thomas Moore's Epistles, Odes, &c', *National Aegis*, 5 (December 3, 1806), 4.
69. 'English Tourists continued', *New-York Evening Post* (November 7, 1806), 2.
70. 'Moore's Epistles, odes, and other poems', *Monthly Anthology, and Boston Review*, 4 (January 1807), 42, 44.
71. 'English Tourists [continued]', *United States' Gazette*, 30 (November 8, 1806), 2.
72. Similarly, in 1820–1, the English Shakespearean actor Edmund Kean was an easy target during his New York performances because of his presumed moral indiscretions; Nigel Cliff, *The Shakespeare Riots: Revenge, Drama, and Death in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Random House, 2007).
73. *New-York Spectator*, 10 (October 22, 1806), 3.
74. For a critical analysis of Federalist motives, see Richard Buel, *America on the Brink: How the Political Struggle over the War of 1812 Almost Destroyed the Young Republic* (New York: Palgrave, 2005).
75. John Russell Young, *The Memorial History of the City of Philadelphia: From Its First Settlement to the Year 1895*, vol. 2 (New York: New York History Company, 1898), 249.
76. William Cliffton, *Poems, Chiefly Occasional, by the Late Mr. Cliffton* (New York: J. W. Fenno, 1800), 53.
77. 'Moore's Epistles, odes, and other poems', *Monthly Anthology, and Boston Review*, 4 (January 1807), 41.
78. 'Politicks', *Monthly Anthology, and Boston Review*, 4 (July 1807), 361, 363.

79. 'Letter of a German Baron', *Monthly Anthology*, 8 (February 1810), 89–94, 93.
80. Fessenden, *Democracy Unveiled; or, Tyranny Stripped of the Garb of Patriotism*, 2nd edition (Boston: David Carlisle, 1805), v, vii.
81. Fessenden, *Democracy Unveiled*, 1–3.
82. Fessenden, *The Modern Philosopher; or Terrible Tractoration!*, 2nd edition (Philadelphia: E. Bronson, 1806), xxiv.
83. Janson, *Stranger in America*, 200–201.
84. Leonard Tennenhouse, *The Importance of Feeling English: American Literature and the British Diaspora, 1750–1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 12. For the vacillation of Americans towards things English as seen through the lens of travel, see Daniel Kilbride, 'The Ambivalent Anglophobia of American Travelers in Europe, 1783-1820', paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Historians of the Early American Republic, Rochester, New York, July 2010.
85. John Russell Young, *The Memorial History of the City of Philadelphia: From Its First Settlement to the Year 1895*, vol. 2 (New York: New York History Company, 1898), 249. William Cliffton, *A Poetical Rhapsody on the Times, in Tit for Tat; Or, a Purge for a Pill: Being an Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet, Lately Published, Entitled 'A pill for porcupine'* (Philadelphia: Printed for the Author, 1796).
86. Jane Louise Mesick, *The English Traveller in America, 1785–1835* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1922), 271, 343–344.
87. Austin, *Letters from London*, 5.
88. Steven Watts, *The Romance of Real Life: Charles Brockden Brown and the Origins of American Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 25; Ringe, *Charles Brockden Brown* (Boston: Twayne, 1991), 108–109.
89. Michael Cody, *Charles Brockden Brown and the* Literary Magazine*: Cultural Journalism in the Early American Republic* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004), 94, 98–103.
90. For example, 'Literary Intelligence: Great Britain', *Literary Magazine, and American Register*, 7 (April 1807), 317–318. In this particular column, Brown announced forthcoming works on Canada, Northmore's *Washington, or Liberty Restored*, and Charles William Janson's book on America.
91. For the original article, see 'On the Manners and Customs of the United States', *Monthly Magazine*, 16 (September 1803), 122–126.
92. Brown, 'The American Character', *Literary Magazine, and American Register*, 2 (July 1804), 252.
93. Brown, 'The American Character', 254, 255.
94. Brown, 'The American Character', 252, 254.
95. Brown, 'American Prospects', *Literary Magazine, and American Register*, 3 (February 1805), 97.
96. Brown, 'Description of the River and Falls of Niagara', *Literary Magazine, and American Register*, 2 (September 1804), 432–442.
97. Brown, 'Weld's Travels', *Literary Magazine, and American Register*, 5 (January 1805), 30, 31.
98. Charles Brockden Brown, trans., *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America: with Supplementary Remarks upon Florida; on the French Colonies on the Mississippi and Ohio, and in Canada; and on the Aboriginal Tribes of America by C. F. Volney* (Philadelphia: J. Conrad & Co., 1804). xxiv.
99. Brown, *A View of the Soil and Climate*, 225, xxiii, xxii.

100. William Dunlap, *The Life of Charles Brockden Brown*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: James R. Parke, 1815), 85. The *Monthly Anthology* did not care for Brown's treatment of the Volney work; 'Volney's View of the United States', *Monthly Anthology, and Boston Review*, 5 (August 1808), 442.
101. Brown, 'Account of Parkinson's Tour in America', *Literary Magazine, and American Register*, 5 (March 1806), 219–226.
102. Brown, 'Account of Parkinson's Tour in America', 219, 220, 224.
103. 'Parkinson's Tour in America', *Edinburgh Review*, 7 (October 1805), 29–42.
104. Walter E. Houghton and Jean Harris Slingerland (eds), *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824–1900* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 437, lists Napier as the probable author of the Parkinson review. Other editors were sometimes more frank about lifting from British journals. Robert Walsh explained that his review of a book by Dugald Stewart would consist principally of excerpts from an *Edinburgh Review* treatment of the book, the critic having already 'so well executed' his task; *American Review of History and Politics*, 1 (April 1811), 355. In the dedication of the *Literary Magazine*, Brown had promised to 'ransack the newest foreign publications' to find materials valuable to his readers; see 'The Charles Brockden Brown Society: Plot and Publication Abstracts', at: www.brockdenbrownsociety.ucf.edu/publications/syllabi.htm#Literary

    In an 1804 article titled, 'On Plagarism', Brown remarked of the temptations/rewards to plagiarize: 'I am afraid the injury done to my own character and feelings, by any deception, however plausible and palliable, will be more than equivalent'; 'On Plagiarism', *The Literary Magazine, and American Register*, 2 (June 1804), 182.
105. Brown, 'Account of Parkinson's Tour in America', 219.
106. According to Peter Kafter, in Brown's novel *Arthur Mervyn*, the novelist replicated 'the essentials of [William Godwin's] *Caleb Williams* almost to the point of plagiarism'; Kafer, *Charles Brockden Brown's Revolution and the Birth of American Gothic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 136.
107. Brown, 'Account of Parkinson's Tour in America', 225.
108. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (first published 1983; revised edition, London: Verso, 2006).
109. Macall Medford, *Oil without Vinegar, and Dignity without Pride: Or, British, American, and West India Interests Considered*, 2nd edition (London: W. J. and J. Richardson, 1807), 101–102.
110. 'For the CITY GAZETTE', (Charleston) *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 24 (October 1, 1805), 2.
111. 'Miscellany', *Port-Folio*, new series, vol. 3 (January 17, 1807), 33.
112. 'English Tourists [continued]', *United States' Gazette*, 30 (November 7, 1806), 2.
113. 'English Tourists [continued]', *United States' Gazette*, 30 (November 12, 1806), 2.
114. 'English Tourists [continued]', *United States' Gazette*, 30 (November 13, 1806), 2.
115. Washington Irving, James Kirke Paulding, William Irving, *Salmagundi: Or, the Whim-Whams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff, esq*, 3rd ed., Vol. 1 (New York: Thomas Longworth and Co, 1820), 159–160.

116. Irving, *Salmagundi*, 160n.
117. 'Remarks on Mr. Thomas Jefferson', *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* (October 1811), 509.
118. Articles on America were essential to the formation of the *Edinburgh Review*'s worldview. Susan Oliver's bibliography of *Edinburgh Review* articles dealing with North America lists 42 articles between the first issue in October 1802 and August 1820, including fifteen articles during the *Edinburgh*'s first five years of existence and ten in the five-year period following Waterloo. STAR (Scottish Transatlantic Relations) project, at: www.star.ac.uk/Archive/Resources/ER_North_America.html, accessed June 29, 2010.
119. 'Lives of Washington', *Edinburgh Review*, 13 (October 1808), 157.
120. 'Lives of Washington', 153.
121. 'Hillhouse on Amendment of American Constitution', *Edinburgh Review*, 12 (July 1808), 469.
122. 'Hillhouse on Amendment of American Constitution,' 476, 477.
123. 'The Quarterly Review of Birkbeck's Travels', *Camden Gazette*, 3 (January 28, 1819), 3.
124. Macvey Napier, 'Travels to the Westward of the Allegany Mountains, in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tenessee [sic]', *Edinburgh Review*, 7 (October 1805), 162–163. Walter Houghton gives Napier as the probable author. Houghton (ed.), *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824–1900*, 438.
125. John Clive, *Scotch Reviewers: The Edinburgh Review, 1802–1815* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), 169.
126. 'Barlow's Columbiad', *Edinburgh Review*, 15 (October 1809), 24.
127. Henry Brougham, 'Davis's *Travels in America*', *Edinburgh Review*, 2 (July 1803), 447. The *Wellesley Index* attributes to article to Brougham (433).
128. Henry Brougham, 'Transactions of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful Knowledge', *Edinburgh Review*, 2 (July 1803), 352, 354–355. The *Wellesley Index* attributes authorship to Brougham (432).
129. 'Adams's Letters on Silesia', *Edinburgh Review*, 5 (October 1804), 186–189.
130. 'Molina's Account of Chili', *Edinburgh Review*, 14 (July 1809), 333–353, 333.
131. Lloyd Kramer, *Lafayette in Two Worlds: Public Cultures and Personal Identities in an Age of Revolutions* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
132. 'Lord Sheffield and others on Foreign Affairs', *Edinburgh Review*, 14 (July 1809), 475.
133. 'Adams's Letters on Silesia', 182.
134. 'Lives of Washington', *Edinburgh Review*, 13 (October 1808), 168.
135. 'Hillhouse on Amendment of American Constitution', 471. Belief that the United States was on its last legs was widespread. Joseph de Maistre had referred to the United States as a 'babe-in-arms', noting that the infant would probably not survive. For de Maistre's writings regarding the American republic, see Joseph Eaton, '"This Babe-in-Arms": Joseph de Maistre's Critique of America', in Carolina Armenteros and Richard A. Lebrun (eds), *Joseph de Maistre and the Legacy of Enlightenment* (Oxford: Voltaire Society at the University of Oxford, 2011), 31–43. A 1794 dispatch from a French diplomat stationed at Philadelphia, intercepted by the Royal Navy, asked, 'What will

be the old age of this government, if it is thus early decrepit!' As quoted in Worthington Chauncey Ford (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington*, vol. 13 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892), 88 footnote.
136. 'Parkinson's Tour in America', *Monthly Review*, 51 (September 1806), 47.
137. Tudor, 'United States and England', 63.
138. Benjamin Silliman, *A Journal of Travels in England, Holland and Scotland*, vol. 2 (Boston: T. B. Wait and Company, 1812), 337.
139. 'Foreign Literature', *New Annual Register* (January 1809), 398.
140. Thomas Northmore, *Washington, or Liberty Restored* (Baltimore: John Vance, 1809).
141. 'Northmore's Washington,' *Quarterly Review*, 2 (November 1809), 374.
142. Smith, 'America', *Edinburgh Review*, 33 (January 1820), 79.
143. 'Foreign Publications, America', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 3 (August 1799), 578.
144. 'Fenno's View of the United States of America', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 2 (April 1799), 569.
145. William B. Cairns, *British Criticisms of American Writings 1783–1815* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1918), 8, 18.
146. In 1808, the *Edinburgh Review* cautioned Americans that, though 'America had thrown off the yoke of the British nation . . . she would do well, for some time, to take the laws of composition from the Addisons, the Swifts, and the Robertsons, of her antient sovereign'; 'Lives of Washington', *Edinburgh Review*, 13 (October 1808), 170.
147. For an overview of the republication of American books in England, see William B. Cairns 'British Republications of American Writings, 1783–1833', *PMLA*, 43 (March 1928), 303–310. Cairns described 'three periods during which republication of American works was notable – one shortly after the Revolution, one, longer but less marked, from about 1802 through the War of 1812, and another after 1820' (308).
148. Rachel Hope Cleves, *The Reign of Terror in America: Visions of Violence from Anti-Jacobinism to Antislavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 36.
149. 'Speech of R. Goodloe Harper, Esq. &', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 1 (October 1798), 422–423.
150. 'Summary of Politics, United States of America', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 6 (August 1800), 477, 478.
151. 'Fenno's View of the United States of America', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 2 (April 1799), 563. See also 'Desultory Reflections on American Affairs', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 6 (August 1800), 534–543.
152. 'Tracts on American Politics', *British Review, and London Critical Journal*, 1 (March 1811), 128, 129. See also 'A Sermon Preached in Boston', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 40 (November 1811), 307–310.
153. 'Past and present relations of France and the United States', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 39 (May 1811), 22. The pagination of this particular article and issue of the *Anti-Jacobin* was faulty, continuing the pagination from the previous issue, up to 462, after which the next page is 17.
154. Walsh, *Letter on the Genius*, 181–182.
155. 'Tracts on American Politics', 115.
156. 'Past and present relations of France and the United States', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 39 (May 1811), 449–50.

157. 'Letter on the Genius and Disposition of the French Government', *Literary Panorama*, 7 (April 1810), 1264.
158. Francis Jeffrey, 'Letter on the French Government', *Edinburgh Review*, 16 (1810), 1; George Ellis, 'Disposition of the French Government', *Quarterly Review*, 3 (1810), 320–339; John Bristed, *America and Her Resources* (London, 1818), 363.
159. 'Biblical and Theological', *New Annual Register* (January 1811), 372–375, 375. See also 'Nelson', 'To the Editors of the Antijacobin Review', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 45 (January 1813), 91.
160. 'Letter on the French Government', *Edinburgh Review*, 16 (April 1810), 1, 4.
161. 'Letter on the Genius of the French Government', *Monthly Review*, 61 (March 1810), 305–306.
162. 'Paper-Money', *Cobbett's Political Register*, 18 (July 21, 1810), 69.
163. Stephen liberally used the term *indulgence* to describe the British Empire's policy of the previous several years. *War in Disguise, Or, the Frauds of the Neutral Flags* (London: C. Whittingham, 1805), 25, 27, 34, 46, 48, 53, 69, 119, 137.
164. Bradford Perkins, *Prologue to War: England and the United States, 1805–1812* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 15, 78.
165. 'Concessions to America the Bane of Britain'. *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 27 (July 1807), 275–290.
166. 'War in Disguise; or the Frauds of Neutral Flags', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 23 (March 1806), 250.
167. *The Speech of the Hon. J. Randolph, Representative from the State of Virginia, in the General Congress* (London: J. Butterworth, 1806).
168. 'Politics', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 24 (August 1806), 417.
169. 'Janson's Stranger in America', *Edinburgh Review*, 10 (April 1807), 114.
170. 'Randolph and others on the Neutral Question', *Edinburgh Review*, 11 (October 1807), 3.
171. Medford, *Oil without Vinegar*, 3, viii.
172. 'Medford's Oil without Vinegar, &c.,' *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 28 (November 1807), 243.
173. 'Medford's Observations on European Courts, &c.', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 28 (October 1807), 187.
174. Perkins, *Prologue to War*, 5.
175. Quoted in William Cobbett, *Porcupine's Work; Containing Various Writings and Selections, Exhibiting a Faithful Picture of the United States of America*, vol. 2 (London: Crown and Mitre, 1801), 19. 'Joel Barlow', *Satirist, or, Monthly Meteor*, 9 (October 1811), 312–313. Despite the avalanche of criticisms, not every British reviewer was critical of Barlow's epic. The *Poetical Register* exclaimed that 'America has reason to be proud of *The Columbiad*'; 'The Columbiad', *Poetical Register*, 8 (January 1814), 551.
176. 'Barlow's Columbiad', *Eclectic Review*, 6 (May 1810), 403–404, 417.
177. 'Barlow's Columbiad', *London Review*, 2 (November 1809), 300.
178. 'Barlow's Columbiad', *Edinburgh Review*, 15 (October 1809), 24.
179. Larry Kutchen, 'Review of "Steven Blakemore, Joel Barlow's Columbiad: A Bicentennial Reading", (2007)', *Early American Literature*, 44 (June 2009), 438.
180. Everett, 'England and America', *North American Review*, 13 (July 1821), 29.
181. 'Barlow's Columbiad', *Eclectic Review*, 6 (May 1810), 404.

182. Simon Schama, 'The Unloved American', *The New Yorker* (March 10, 2003), 34.
183. 'Northmore's Washington', *Quarterly Review*, 2 (November 1809), 370.
184. 'Janson's Stranger in America', *Annual Review and History of Literature*, 6 (January 1807), 44.
185. Parkinson, *A Tour in America*, 20.
186. 'Weld's Travels in North America', *New London Review*, 6 (June 1799), 554, 553.
187. 'Davis's Travels in America,' 446. Brougham's first speech after taking his seat in the House of Commons in 1810 admonished the Government for not doing more to end the global slave trade.
188. 'Davis's Travels in America'. *Monthly Review*, 44 (August 1804), 390.
189. 'Weld's Travels through America', *Monthly Review*, 30 (September 1799), 9.
190. Adams, 'Reply to the Appeal of Massachusetts Federalists', in Henry Adams (ed.), *Documents Relating to New-England Federalism* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1905), 178. Quoted in Norval Neil Luxon, *Niles' Weekly Register: News Magazine of the Nineteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1947), 165.
191. Austin, *Letters from London*, 170–171.
192. Stuart Andrew, *British Periodical Press and the French Revolution, 1789–99* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 151.
193. 'Prospectus', *Anti-Jacobin, or Weekly Examiner*, 1 (November 20, 1797), 4, 7. In 1798, the *Anti-Jacobin* changed names to the *Anti-Jacobin Review* and began publication as a monthly.
194. 'Impromptu', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 28 (September 1807), 111.
195. 'Parkinson's Tour in America', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 22 (September 1805), 31.
196. Review of 'An Inquiry into the Past and Present Relations of France and the United States of America', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 39 (May 1811), 450.
197. 'Lambert's Travels through Canada and the United States', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 47 (December 1814).
198. 'Politics', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 32 (January 1809), 97.
199. 'A Caution to English Emigrants', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 7 (December 1800), 508–509. 'American Annual Register', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 1 (December 1798), 829.
200. 'The Stranger in America', *European Magazine, and London Review*, 51 (April 1807), 279 (May 1807), 371.
201. 'American Annual Register', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 1 (December 1798), 832.
202. 'Summary of Politics, United States of America', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 6 (August 1800), 480. See also 'A description of the City of Washington', *Weekly Entertainer*, 35 (June 1800), 484–488.
203. Francis Jeffrey and Henry Brougham, 'Don Pedro Cevallos on the French Usurpation of Spain', *Edinburgh Review* 13 (October 1808), 215–234. See also Richard Wharton, *Remarks on the Jacobinical Tendency of the Edinburgh Review* (London: J. Hatchard, 1809). For a Tory perspective on the Cevallos article, see the first article in the first issue of the *Quarterly Review*: 'Affairs d'Espagne', *Quarterly Review,* 1 (February 1809), 1–19.
204. Robert Southey, 'Holmes' American Annals', *Quarterly Review*, 2 (November 1809). For evidence of Southey's authorship, see 'Quarterly Review Archive' at: www.rc.umd.edu/reference/qr/index/04.html, accessed April 8, 2012.

205. Letter to Thomas Southey, March 21, 1795, in Kenneth Curry (ed.), *New Letters of Robert Southey*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 93.
206. Southey, 'Holmes' American Annals', 320–322, 326, 329–330, 335, 334, 337.
207. Southey, 'Holmes' American Annals', 331, 333, 334, 321.
208. 'Hints to both Parties, & c.', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 30 (August 1808), 400.
209. Pasley included his admonition not to conduct war 'by halves' at least seven times in his *Essay*; Sir Charles William Pasley, *Essay on the Military Policy and Institutions of the British Empire*, 2nd edition, part I (London: A. J. Valpy, 1811), 115, 132, 224, 234, 286, 335, 442.
210. Pasley, *Essay*, 442–443.
211. Perkins, *Prologue to War*, 142.

2 *Inchiquin's Letters* and Anglo-American Nationalism

1. Winthrop D. Jordan explained: 'When the second war for independence came in 1812, it brought, in striking contrast to the first, no benefit to the Negro'; Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes towards the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 331; Rosemarie Zaggari, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).
2. Jared Ingersoll would serve as Federalist/Anti-War Republican DeWitt Clinton's vice-presidential running mate in 1812.
3. Charles Jared Ingersoll, *Recollections, Historical, Political, Biographical, and Social* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1861), 316.
4. As Ingersoll's biographer (and grandson) noted, 'These were the years when the country was so near to drifting into open war with France, and the son evidently shared all the burning passions which then prevailed so generally against that country. He was himself a subscriber to Mathew Carey's *Democratic Journal*, but Fenno's *Gazette of the United States* was sent him by his father; and with this paper before him, and with the strongly Federal inclinations general at Princeton, it was almost unavoidable that the boy should be swept along with the intense patriotic passions of the day. He tells us how great a disappointment it was to him at the time that he was too young and too small for his age to wear a sword or an epaulet, or even the black cockade which many wore in their hats, at Cobbett's suggestion, as a mark of their anti-Gallican sympathies'; William M. Meigs, *The Life of Charles Jared Ingersoll*, 2nd edition (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1900), 30–31. Ingersoll's authorship of *Port-Folio* articles is documented in Randolph C. Randall, 'Authors of the Port Folio Revealed by the Hall Files', *American Literature*, 11 (January 1940), 402. The members of the Tuesday Club have been described as mostly 'Federalist in politics, and all were imbued with a love of literature, and ambitious of gaining literary fame'; Harold Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle: A Study in American Literature from 1792–1812*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1915), 157. Dennie's other lawyer was Joseph Hopkinson, author of the lyrics to 'Hail, Columbia' (1798).
5. Meigs, *Life of Charles Jared Ingersoll*, 38.

6. 'Europe Long Ago', *United States Magazine, and Democratic Review*, 5 (January 1839), 75.
7. Quoted in Meigs, *Life of Charles Jared Ingersoll*, 147.
8. Meigs, *Life of Charles Jared Ingersoll*, 35–36.
9. Meigs, *Life of Charles Jared Ingersoll*, 36–37.
10. Meigs, *Life of Charles Jared Ingersoll*, 40–41.
11. For analysis of the extreme partisanship of early republican Philadelphia, see Albrecht Koschnik, *'Let a Common Interest Bind Us': Association, Partisanship, and Culture in Philadelphia, 1775–1840* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007).
12. Charles Jared Ingersoll, *A View of the Rights and Wrongs, Power and Policy, of the United States of America* (Philadelphia: C. & A. Conrad & Co.; Baltimore, Conrad, Lucas & Co., 1808). Ingersoll [Some Unknown Foreigner], *Inchiquin, The Jesuit's Letters, During a Late Residence in the United States of America: Being a Fragment of a Private Correspondence Accidentally Discovered in Europe; Containing a Favourable View of the Manners, Literature, and State of Society, of the United States, and a Refutation of Many of the Asperations Cast Upon This Country, By Former Residents and Tourists* (New York: I. Riley, 1810). I refer to Ingersoll's work by its common title, *Inchiquin's Letters*.
13. Ingersoll's decision to write books, and not in periodicals, may have reflected the continuing dominance of arch-Federalist editors, including Joseph Dennie and Robert Walsh, in that particular genre. The Orders in Council were expanded in January 1807, November 1807, and April 1809.
14. Charles Jared Ingersoll to Rufus King, October 8, 1809 as quoted in Meigs, *Charles Jared Ingersoll*, 56–57.
15. Ingersoll, *View of the Rights and Wrongs*, 149.
16. Historians have praised Ingersoll's innovation and spirit of independence. His biographer and grandson explained that, '[*Inchiquin's Letters*] was the very first American book . . . that dared to speak openly in favor of our country, and did not cringe to foreign ideas and criticisms. And not only did it not cringe, but it boldly asserted the superiority of the American character in many particulars'; Meigs, *Life of Charles Jared Ingersoll*, 44–45. The literary scholar Robert Spiller described *Inchiquin's Letters* as a 'direct essay upon America's greatness'; Robert B. Spiller, 'Brother Jonathan to John Bull', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 26 (October 1927), 351. Gordon Wood has called Ingersoll's book 'one of the first avowed defenses of the American national character against foreign, particularly British, criticism'. Wood refers to Ingersoll's unlikely familial pedigree and 'coming to terms with the emerging popular and commercial spirit' of the age; Wood, *The Rising Glory of America 1760–1820*, revised edition (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990), 382.
17. Ingersoll hoped that French books would replace British ones for American readers: 'There are no politics in literature. Our antipathies to France and Bonaparte need not make us fear French contagion in the numerous works in every branch of science, which his munificent patronage has produced from the fertile soil of their genius and erudition' (*View of the Rights and Wrongs*, 151). Throughout his career, Ingersoll used continental examples as remedies to continued British imperialism over the United States. During a speech regarding tariff policy, Ingersoll described the French-Italian coat he

was wearing, as a 'counteraction of the overwhelming English influence of fashionable tailors and others' (Meigs, *Charles Jared Ingersoll*, 305, 319–321).

18. Ingersoll, *Inchiquin's Letters*, Letter IV, 30–50.
19. 'Domestic Occurrences', *Port-Folio*, 1 (August 22, 1801), 269. Federalists had attacked Jefferson as a 'mammoth infidel'; Edwin Thomas Martin, *Thomas Jefferson: Scientist* (New York: Shuman, 1952), 2: 222. Visiting Federalist congressmen described the 'mammoth cheese' given to Jefferson by Cheshire, Massachusetts Baptists in 1802 as a 'monument of human weakness and folly'; Jeffrey L. Pasley, 'Democracy, Gentility, and Lobbying in the Early Congress,' in Julian E. Zelizer (ed.), *The American Congress: The Building of Democracy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004), 53.
20. Of the District of Columbia, Ingersoll explained during his first tour in Congress, he was 'too patriotic to be homesick, but beginning to be very impatient to be at home'; quoted in Meigs, *Charles Jared Ingersoll*, 74.
21. Ingersoll, letter to Rufus King, October 8, 1807, as quoted in Meigs, *Charles Jared Ingersoll*, 57.
22. Ingersoll, *Inchiquin's Letters*, 64, 75.
23. Ingersoll, *Inchiquin's Letters*, 80.
24. Critics of American literature had anticipated Ingersoll's hyperbole. Francis Jeffrey of the *Edinburgh Review* stated in an October 1809 review that 'Mr Barlow . . . will not be the Homer of his country; and will never take his place among the enduring poets of either the old or of the new world'; Francis Jeffrey, 'Barlow's Columbiad', *Edinburgh Review*, 16 (October 1809), 24. Fisher Ames had noted in 1800 that, 'Excepting the writers of two able works on our politics, we have no authors. . . . Shall we match Joel Barlow [author of *The Vision of Columbus* (1787)] against Homer or Hesiod?'; *The Works of Fisher Ames,* vol. 2 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1854), 430. The *Edinburgh Review* correctly surmised that, Marshall's monumental work would be surpassed 'by some less ostentatious, but more tasteful and pleasing, memorial'; 'Lives of Washington', *Edinburgh Review*, 13 (October 1808), 149. In 1815, Lord Byron asked George Ticknor if Americans considered Barlow to be their Homer; *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, vol. 1 (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1876), 59.
25. Ingersoll, *Inchiquin's Letters*, 81, 90. Though reviewers of *Inchiquin's Letters* focused on Ingersoll's panegyrics regarding American literature, he had criticized some aspects of Barlow's poem and found Marshall's history prosaic (84–90). Overall, Ingersoll's claims regarding the conservative Federalist historian and radical Republican poet distracted from his harmonic narrative. Most of Ingersoll's American contemporaries understood Barlow's poem and Marshall's history as highly anticipated failures. Michael Cody, *Charles Brockden Brown and the Literary Magazine: Cultural Journalism in the Early American Republic* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2004), 65–66. As William Cullen Bryant explained in the *North American Review*, 'The plan of the work is utterly destitute of interest [as compared with Barlow's earlier edition]. . . . Nor are the additions of much value, on account of the taste in which they are composed'; Bryant, 'Brown's Essay on American Poetry', *North American Review*, 7 (July 1818), 203.
26. Ingersoll, *Inchiquin's Letters*, 144–145.
27. Ingersoll, *Inchiquin's Letters*, 92.

28. Benjamin T. Spencer, *The Quest for Nationality: An American Literary Campaign* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1957), 61. In a July 1814 letter to President Madison, Ingersoll continued his lament: 'We read none but English books, adopt none but English ideas of law and politics' (quoted in Meigs, *Life of Charles Jared Ingersoll*, 325).
29. John C. McCloskey, 'The Campaign of Periodicals after the War of 1812 for National American Literature', *PMLA*, 50 (March 1935), 262–273.
30. Ingersoll, *Inchiquin's Letters*, 99, 101, 102.
31. Ingersoll, *Inchiquin's Letters*, 103. Ingersoll's prediction that the American population would reach 100 million in a hundred years was accurate. According to the 1910 Census, the population of the 48 states was approximately 92 million. Counting outlying possessions, the number reached 101 million. In 1816, a Boston newspaper estimated that the 1902 population would be 112 million (*Boston Recorder* as cited in *Niles' Weekly Register*, 19 [August 17, 1816], 232).
32. Ingersoll, *Inchiquin's Letters*, 110–111.
33. Ingersoll, *Inchiquin's Letters*, 117, 123, 129.
34. Ingersoll, *Inchiquin's Letters*, 158, 161.
35. Steven Watts, *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790–1820* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).
36. Nicholas Guyatt contrasts early American optimism with the pervasive fear of moral decline, and even national collapse, after 1800; Guyatt, *Providence and the Invention of the United States, 1607–1876* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 159–161.
37. *The Papers of James Madison: Presidential Series*, vol. 3 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 187.
38. Ironically, Federalists continued to taunt Ingersoll about the incident. A Federalist newspaper taunted 'Charles Janus' for the 'would have been a TORY' remark; 'The New Democrats', *Tickler*, 4 (October 2, 1811), 4. See also Meigs, *Life of Charles Jared Ingersoll*, 64.
39. 'Situation of England', *The Yankee*, 1 (May 15, 1812).
40. Southey, 'History and Present States of America', *Quarterly Review*, 2 (November 1809), 309–327; 'National Prejudice; or, the Reviewers Reviewed', *The Balance and State Journal*, 1 (June 18, 1811), 193.
41. 'M. Perrin du Luc's Travels', *American Watchman and Delaware Republican*, 3:165 (March 6, 1811), 1.
42. 'Inchiquin's Letters', *National Intelligencer* (June 22, 1811), 3.
43. *American Watchman and Delaware Republican*, 3 (March 6, 1811), 1.
44. 'INCHIQUIN, the Jesuit's Letters, during a late Residence in the United States', *The Cynick*, 1 (November 16, 1811), 133, 136, 137, 132, 136–138.
45. Caldwell was likely aware that Ingersoll was the author of *Inchiquin's Letters*. Both men were Philadelphians and it had been some months since the work's appearance. If Joseph Dennie had any role in editing the issues of the *Port-Folio* in which the reviews of *Inchiquin's Letters* appeared, he was apparently forgiving of Ingersoll's pointed criticism of a few years earlier in *Rights and Wrongs*.
46. Charles Caldwell, 'Review of [Charles Jared Ingersoll's] Inchiquin, The Jesuit's Letters' , *Port-Folio*, 5 (April 1811), 300–317 and (May 1811), 385–399; Caldwell, 'Review of Inchiquin', 302.

47. On Caldwell's medical career, see Edward Clarke, H. Bigelow, S. Gross, T. Thomas, and J. S. Billings, *A Century of American Medicine, 1776–1876* (Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea, 1876), 361–362.
48. Caldwell, 'Review of Inchiquin', 389.
49. Caldwell, 'Review of Inchiquin', 394.
50. Caldwell, 'Review of Inchiquin', 302.
51. Caldwell, 'Review of Inchiquin', 302, 304, 303.
52. Caldwell, 'Review of Inchiquin', 387.
53. 'The Stranger in New York', *Port-Folio*, 6 (December 1811), 586.
54. The *Port-Folio*'s pre-1812 shift towards an increasing nationalism and measured Anglophobia has sometimes gone unnoticed by historians: 'Before the war [the *Port-Folio*] . . . flew conservative colors under the editorship of Joseph Dennie. . . . After Dennie's death and especially after the *Quarterly Review*'s 'filthy invective' against Ingersoll's *Inchiquin* [in January 1814], the *Port Folio* brought its guns to bear upon England'; Bradford Perkins, *Castlereagh and Adams: England and the United States, 1812–1823* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 188. Harold Ellis, an early twentieth-century biographer of Dennie, recognized the change in Dennie and the *Port-Folio*: 'Dennie, in his later years, distressed as they were, seems to have come into a saner state of mind regarding his countrymen. Absurdities like "authour" and strictures on the American language and manners disappeared after 1808. How much of the change of sentiment expressed in the pages of the *Port Folio* from 1809 to 1812 is due to the suggestion of the proprietors and how much was uttered by those who assisted Dennie during his period of illness is a matter of conjecture, but a real change, unaccompanied by any spirit of compromise, is certain'; Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle*, 208. For an analysis of pre-War 1812 Anglophobia, see Lawrence A. Peskin, 'Conspiratorial Anglophobia and the War of 1812', *Journal of American History*, 98 (December 2011), 647–669.
55. 'Criticism – The Columbiad, a Poem by Joel Barlow', *Port-Folio* 1 (January 1809), 65, 61.
56. 'The Columbiad', *Port-Folio*, 1 new series (May 1809), 432–433.
57. For the metamorphosis of the *Port-Folio*, see Catherine O'Donnell Kaplan, *Men of Letters in the Early Republic: Cultivating Forums of Citizenship* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), Chapter 7, 'The Port Folio Remade, 1806–1812'.
58. 'Strictures on Volney's "View of the Soil and Climate of the United States"', *Port-Folio*, 4 (December 1810), 587–592.
59. Neal L. Edgar, *A History and Bibliography of American Magazines 1810–1820* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1975), 31, 46.
60. 'Inchiquin and O'Scapey', *Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette*, 8 (November 15, 1813), 2.
61. 'Inchiquin's Criticism on Barlow's Columbiad', *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, 11 (Tuesday, April 16, 1811), 2.
62. 'Official Style', *Bennington Newsletter*, 3 (October 19, 1813), 1.
63. 'A Short Criticism on Inchiquin's Letters', *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 6 (August 11, 1814), 2–3. For the source of Ingersoll's plagiarism, see Fr. Noel and Fr. Delaplace, *Leçons de literature et de morale*, volume 1 (Paris: Chez le Normant, 1804), 531–532.

64. 'Inchiquin and O'Scapey,' *Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette* 8 (November 22, 1813), 2.
65. 'Inchiquin, the Jesuit's Letters', *Northern Whig*, 8 (July 30, 1816), 3.
66. 'INCHIQUIN, the Jesuit's Letters, during a late Residence in the United States', 134.
67. 'To the Editor of the Analectic Magazine', *Analectic Magazine*, 3 (May 1814), 405, 406, 409. Herbert G. Eldridge believes that this article's author was James Kirke Paulding; Eldridge, 'The Paper War between England and America: The *Inchiquin* Episode, 1810–1815', *Journal of American Studies*, 16 (1982), 59.
68. Eldridge, 'Paper War', 60.
69. John Lambert, *Travels through Canada, and the United States of North America in the Years 1806, 1807, & 1808*, 3rd edition, vol. 1 (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1816), 'Preface to the Second Edition', vii, viii.
70. 'Beaujour's United States of N. America', *Critical Review*, 6 (December 1814), 590, 592.
71. 'View of the points to be discussed with America', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 47 (July 1814), 38–46; 'Lambert's Travels through Canada', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 46 (March 1814), 252.
72. 'Tracts on American Politics', *British Review*, 1 (March 1811), 145, 131.
73. 'America – Orders in Council, &c.', *Quarterly Review*, 7 (March 1812), 33.
74. Barrow, 'Inchiquen's Favourable View of the United States', *Quarterly Review*, 10 (January 1814), 494–539. Attribution of the article to Barrow is given on the 'Quarterly Review Archive'; Jonathan Cutmore (ed), www.rc.umd.edu/reference/qr/index/20.html, accessed 10 June, 2010. Robert Southey, commonly thought to the author of the 'Inchiquen' article by Americans, denied authorship of the article in a terse letter to the *North American Review*: 'I did not write the criticism of Inchiquin's Letters; and every body in England who knows the *Quarterly Review*, knows that I am not the Editor of it' ('Miscellaneous and Literary Intelligence', *North American Review*, 1 [September 1815], 443).
75. Barrow's approach was typical for reviewers of his generation. Sydney Smith of the *Edinburgh Review* quipped, 'I never read a book before reviewing it; it prejudices a man so'; quoted in Hesketh Pearson, *The Smith of Smiths: Being The Life, Wit and Humor of Sydney Smith* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1934), 54. The *Quarterly Review* even misspelled the title of Ingersoll's book as 'Inchiquen'.
76. Barrow, 'Inchiquen's Favourable View', 500. Barrow was referring to a December 1796 House of Representatives debate over the response to Washington's last State of the Union speech. The House debated for three days whether to include language describing the United States as the 'freest and most enlightened nation in the world'; *Abridgement of the Debates in Congress from 1789 to 1856*, vol. 2 (New York: A. Appleton and Company, 1858), 28–33. See Joseph Eaton, '"Freest and Most Enlightened": Washington, the French Revolution, and Strange Origins of American Exceptionalism', paper presented at the annual meeting of the British American Nineteenth Century Historians (BrANCH) annual Conference, Madingley Hall, University of Cambridge, October 2011.
77. Barrow, 'Inchiquen's Favourable View', 509, 512. The 'Corinthian capital' reference appeared frequently in Anglo-American critiques of the United

States. Catherine O'Donnell Kaplan notes that Joseph Dennie's *Port-Folio* made reference to Burke's passage at least twice in its early years, an indication of Dennie's adherence to British-style conservatism (*Men of Letters*, 182). A later traveler turned the Burkean understanding that the United States suffered without the influence of hereditary elite on its head: 'If the social structure in the Republic has no florid Corinthian capital rising into the clear air above, neither has it a pedestal in the mire beneath. If it is devoid of much of ornamental, so is it also wanting in much of the painful and degrading. . . . It is to English society, what a modern house is to an Elizabethan mansion – it is not built so much to attract the eye as to accommodate the inmates'; Alexander Mackay, *The Western World; or, Travels in the United States in 1845–47*, 3 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1849), iii, 340. An 1839 laudatory article about Ingersoll claimed that, while he had been 'cast in the 'corinthian order of society', Ingersoll 'preferred the doric to the corinthian order of politics'; 'Political Portraits, With Pen and Pencil. No. XVI. Charles Jared Ingersoll', *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, 6 (October 1839), 341.

78. Barrow claimed that neither Franklin nor Rittenhouse were either Americans or original: 'The foundation of Franklin's knowledge was laid not in America, but in London. Besides, half of what he wrote was stolen from others; and the greater part of the other half not worth preserving. . . . [Rittenhouse's model of the planetary system] was invented by Mr. George Graham, about the year 1715, and finished by Rowley the mathematical instrument maker. . . . Rittenhouse was an Englishman, and not an American, born nearly twenty years after the completion of this instrument; and all that posterity knows about him is, that, as president of a democratic club of Philadelphia, afterwards called the Philosophical Society, he signed some inflammatory resolutions, tending to abet the western insurrection; and that he was a good measurer of land' (524). Revolutionaries, plagiarists, landjobbers – Franklin and Rittenhouse fit longstanding American archetypes.
79. Barrow, 'Inchiquen's Favourable View', 528.
80. Barrow, 'Inchiquen's Favourable View', 499, 497.
81. As seen in the previous chapter, Americans celebrated in British journals had included John Fenno, Robert Goodloe Harper, Robert Walsh, Jr., William Ellery Channing, Joseph Dennie, and Timothy Dwight.
82. Forster, *Life of Landor*, I: 361, as quoted in William B. Cairns, *British Criticisms of American Writings 1783–1815* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1918), 11.
83. Hill Shine and Helen Chadwick Shine, *The Quarterly Review Under Gifford: Identification of Contributors 1809–1824* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 39.
84. Eldridge notes that, 'There was near silence from American commentators for about half a year [after the Barrow review]' ('The Paper War', 59).
85. 'Our character defended against the Quarterly Review, NO. IV', *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 6 (August 25, 1814), 3.
86. 'Our character defended against the Quarterly Review', *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 6 (August 20, 1814), 2. 'Our character defended against the Quarterly Review. NO. VII', *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 6 (August 29, 1814), 3.
87. 'Our character defended against the Quarterly Reviews. NO. II', *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 6 (August 22, 1814), 2–3.

88. 'Our character defended against the Quarterly Reviews. NO. II', 3. The third and fourth installments of the series, on August 23, and August 25, 1814, focused on British corruption.
89. 'Our character defended against the Quarterly Review. NO. V', *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 6 (August 26, 1814), 2.
90. 'Our character defended against the Quarterly Review. NO. VI', *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 6 (August 27, 1814), 3.
91. 'Our character defended against the Quarterly Review. NO. VII', *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 6 (August 29, 1814), 3.
92. Donald R. Hickey, 'Review of Richard Buel, America on the Brink: How the Political Struggle over the War of 1812 Almost Destroyed the Young Republic (New York: Palgrave, 2005)', *Journal of American History*, 92 (December 2005), 968.
93. Quoted in Walter Lord, *The Dawn's Early Light* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972), 176.
94. Benjamin Elliott, *A Sketch of the Means and Benefits of Prosecuting the War against Britain* (Charleston, SC: John L. Wilson, 1814), 34.
95. Ralph M. Aderman, *Letters of James Kirke Paulding* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), 170.
96. The *New-York Evening Post* indicated that Paulding's United States and England appeared a few days before Christmas 1814 in New York City bookstores. Paulding took less than four months to respond to the *Boston Daily Advertiser*'s articles.
97. James Kirke Paulding, *The United States and England: Being a Reply to the Criticism on Inchiquin's Letters Contained in the Quarterly Review for January 1814* (New York: A. H. Inskeep, 1815), Advertisement, n.p, 112, 113.
98. 'Lay of the Scottish Fiddle', *Quarterly Review*, 10 (January 1814), 463–467.
99. Tudor, 'United States and England', *North American Review*, 1 (May 1815), 91.
100. Paulding, *The United States and England*, 11.
101. Paulding, *The United States and England*, 43.
102. Paulding, *The United States and England*, 103.
103. William Austin, *Letters from London: Written during the Years 1802 & 1803* (Boston: W. Pelham, 1804), 169. Just as predictions of America's decline rattled American readers, Britons noted American forecasts of Britain's dissolution with anger. The March 1811 issue of the *British Review* reported that Jefferson had forecasted the impending destruction of Great Britain in 1807 ('Tracts on American Politics', *British Review, and London Critical Journal*, 1 [March 1811], 121).
104. Paulding, *The United States and England*, 52–53.
105. Paulding, *The United States and England*, 61. Anglophile Virginia Congressman John Randolph had argued against war with Britain 'whose blood runs in our veins; in common with whom we claim Shakespeare, and Newton, and Chatham'; quoted in 'Mr. Randolph's Speech', *Niles' Weekly Register*, 1 (December 28, 1811), 319.
106. Paulding, *The United States and England*, 99.
107. Finn Pollard, *The Literary Quest for an American Character* (New York, London: Routledge, 2009), 166.
108. Bradford Perkins, 'George Canning, Great Britain, and the United States, 1807–1809', *American Historical Review*, 63 (October 1957).

109. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters, published in the Quarterly Review; addressed to the Right Honourable George Canning, by an inhabitant of New-England* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1815), 13, 14–15. In contrast, as a young man, Dwight had declared himself 'an American, a republican, and a Presbyterian'; quoted in Kenneth Silverman, *Timothy Dwight* (New York: Twayne, 1969), 141.
110. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, 15.
111. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, 17.
112. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, 16. Jennifer Clark provides more examples of Americans who continued to depict Britain as the defender of liberty. 'The War of 1812: American Nationalism and Rhetorical Images of Britain', *War and Society*, 1 (May 1994), 4–6, 11.
113. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, iii.
114. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, v.
115. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, 32–40, 91.
116. John Hadley, an Englishman, and Thomas Godfrey, a Philadelphian, independently developed similar navigational quadrants around 1730. The 'Hadley or Godfrey?' question troubled Anglo-American cultural relations at least into the 1820s. For example, see 'Godfrey's Quadrant', *Niles' Weekly Register*, 13 (September 27, 1817), 68.
117. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, 20, 34.
118. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, 27.
119. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, 44.
120. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, 54, 70, 87–89, 90.
121. 'Dwight is never constructive or incisive. . . . In the end, *Remarks* never rises above the din of the fracas into which it was cast. It appeals to reason and aesthetics are insufficient to hide its anger, its partisan character, and its insecurity. Dwight was stooping low indeed, and had this been his first literary effort instead of his final contribution the history of American literature would have passes him by with little more than a footnote'; John R. Fitzmier, *New England's Moral Legislator: Timothy Dwight, 1752–1817* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 74. For a sympathetic treatment of Dwight, see Larzer Ziff, *Writing in the New Nation: Prose, Print and Politics in the Early United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), Chapter 7, 'The Persisting Past', 126–150, especially 133.
122. Leon Howard, *The Connecticut Wits* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1943), 395.
123. Eldridge, 'Paper War', 61.
124. As quoted in George B. Kirsch, *Baseball in Blue and Gray: The National Pastime during the Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 3.
125. In his *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, David Waldstreicher provides a penetrating analysis of the dynamics of regionalism and nationalism, and their compatibility in the early republic, arguing that regionalism and nationalism were not mutually exclusive phenomena; see Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 248–262; Stephanie Kermes explains that 'The invention of a New England regional identity was a pivotal step toward the emergence of an American identity';

Kermes, *Creating an American Identity: New England, 1789–1825* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 2.

126. 'Review of Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters, published in the *Quarterly Review*: Addressed to George Canning, Esq.', *Literary Panorama and National Register* (July 1816), 588.
127. Marshall Foletta, *Coming to Terms with Democracy: Federalist Intellectuals and the Shaping of an American Culture* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), 80. A scholar of the Inchiquin episode describes Tudor's response as 'perhaps the ablest among an otherwise undistinguished volley of rejoinders'; Eldridge, 'Paper War', 64. The very first article in the first issue of the *North American Review* was an article on 'Books Relating to America', specifically books on early Virginia, some indication that the new periodical promised to give more than New England perspectives. 'Books Relating to America', *North American Review*, I (May 1815), 1–14.
128. Foletta, *Coming to Terms*, 80.
129. Julius H. Ward, 'The North American Review, 1815–1830', *North American Review*, 201 (February 1915), 124.
130. Eldridge, 'Paper War', 64.
131. Tudor, 'United States and England', 88.
132. Foletta, *Coming to Terms*, 79–81. 'The Spy', *North American Review*, 15 (July 1822), 250–283.
133. Leonard Tennenhouse, *The Importance of Feeling English: American Literature and the British Diaspora, 1750–1850* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), 101.
134. 'The United States and England', *Port-Folio*, 5 (January 1815), 103–104, and (February 1815), 123–140.
135. 'The United States and England', *Port-Folio*, 139–140.
136. Ingersoll's declaration for Congress had probably determined that the *Port-Folio* would not run a third installment of Caldwell's review of *Inchiquin's Letters*, as promised.
137. Roy Benjamin Clark, *William Gifford: Tory Satirist, Critic, and Editor* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 30.
138. 'American Literature', *Cobbett's Political Register*, 29:6 (November 11, 1815), 176. The *Daily National Intelligencer* reprinted Cobbett's article; Vol. 4 (March 11, 1816), 2.
139. Tudor, 'United States and England', 87.
140. William Cobbett, 'On the Political Effects Produced in America by the Peace of Ghent', *Cobbett's Political Register*, 27:22 (June 3, 1815), 673–674.
141. 'The Colonial Policy of Great Britain', *British Critic*, 6 (December 1816), 620.
142. 'American Navy', *Boston Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser* (January 4, 1820), 1.
143. House of Lords Report on 'Naval Administration', February 21, 1815; Thomas Curson Hansard, *The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time*, 29 (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1815), 905–913.
144. 'Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters', *Port-Folio* 6 (August 1815), 154.
145. 'Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters', *Port-Folio*, 6 (August 1815), 156.

146. 'Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters', *Port-Folio*, 6 (August 1815), 157.
147. 'Naval and Military Chronicle of the United States', *Port-Folio*, 6 (December 1815), 4.
148. 'An Oration in Defence of the American Character', *Port-Folio*, 6 (July 1815).
149. 'An Oration in Defence of the American Character', 19, 22, 26, 23.
150. 'An Oration in Defence of the American Character', 27, 28.
151. 'Seppings on Ship-Building', *Analectic Magazine*, 6 (December 1815), 451, 458.
152. 'Seppings on Ship-Building', 453.
153. Eldridge, 'Paper War', 67.
154. Norval Neil Luxon, *Niles' Weekly Register: News Magazine of the Nineteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947), 164. For Niles' Anglophobia, see Luxon, *Niles' Weekly Register*, chapter, 'Anglo-American Relations', 164–193.
155. 'War against England', *Niles' Weekly Register*, 2 (June 27, 1812), 283.
156. 'The Constitution and the Guerriere', *Niles' Weekly Register*, 3 (September 12, 1812).
157. 'War against England', *Niles' Weekly Register*, 2 (June 27, 1812), 284.
158. 'Reasons against the War!', *Niles' Weekly Register*, 5 (October 30, 1813), 144.
159. 'War Events', *Niles' Weekly Register*, 8 (June 17, 1815), 198.
160. 'Dartmoor Prison', *Niles' Weekly Register*, 8 (July 8, 1815), 328.
161. [A British Traveller], *The Colonial Policy of Great Britain* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1816), xxv, 34, 20, 17.
162. 'Review of the "Colonial Policy of Great Britain"', *Niles' Weekly Register*, 11 (September 14, 1816), 38–41; 'Criticism. – The Colonial Policy of Great Britain', *Port-Folio*, 4 (July 1817), 66.
163. 'Disputes with America, By a Merchant of the Old School', *Edinburgh Review*, 19 (February 1812), 291, 303.
164. 'War with America', *Edinburgh Review*, 20 (November, 1812), 460. Duncan Campbell makes the same point about British cultural relations with Americans: 'Strange as it may seem, Britain at times enjoyed better relationships (and not just at the diplomatic level) with European states such as Portugal, Spain and Prussia'; Campbell, *Unlikely Allies: Britain, America and the Victorian Origins of the Special Relationship* (London: Continuum, 2008), 5.
165. 'War with America', 462.
166. 'Disputes with America', *Edinburgh Review*, 19 (February 1812), 291.
167. *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, ed. Pierre M. Irving, vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley, 1862), 248–249.
168. 'Literary Intelligence', *Analectic Magazine*, 2 (October 1813), 346.
169. 'Conquest of Granada', *Quarterly Review*, 43 (May 1830), 55–80.
170. William Charvat, 'Francis Jeffrey in America', *New England Quarterly*, 14 (June 1941), 312, 324. Charvat explained that details about Jeffrey's trip were 'suppressed by his official biographer', Lord Cockburn (Charvat, 309).
171. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, 133, vii.

172. 'Biographical Sketch of William Gifford, Esq', *Monthly Anthology, and Boston Review*, 1 (December 1803), 63–71.
173. 'United States and England', 64, 90.
174. In his memoirs, Robert Southey gave a recollection of his early impressions of the importance of the Westminster play, and the students selected to participate. Westminster School expelled Southey for denouncing flogging in the school paper. Charles Cuthbert Southey (ed.), *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849), 143–144.
175. The London *Gentleman's Magazine* reprinted the prologue. 'Prologus in Phormionem, Fabulam ab Alumnis Reg. Schol. Westm. acclam, A.D. 1814', *Gentleman's Magazine* (April 1815), 351–352.
176. 'Westminster Epilogue', *North American Review*, 2 (November 1815), 43.
177. 'Westminster Epilogue'. 43, 44.
178. Review of 'Pillet's View of England', *North American Review*, 3 (May 1816), 62.
179. Tudor, 'United States and England', 64.
180. 'The Quarterly Review of Birkbeck's Travels', *Camden Gazette*, 3 (January 28, 1819), 3.
181. 'British Abuse of American Manners', *Port-Folio* 1 (May 1816), 403.
182. 'Strictures on Moore, The Poet', *Port-Folio*, 6 (November 1815), 506–512.
183. Barrow, 'Inchiquen's Favourable View of the United States', 501. Rosemarie Zaggari, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 30–37.
184. Paulding, *The United States and England*, 33.
185. [Robert Southey] 'Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella', *Letters from England*, vol. 2 (New York: David Longworth, 1808), 31–32.
186. Paulding, *The United States and England*, 34, 35.
187. Whether the 1776 New Jersey constitution deliberately allowed female suffrage is a matter of debate. In a 1790 election statute specifically allowed women in certain counties the vote. In 1797, legislators gave qualified women statewide that privilege. In their article '"The Petticoat Electors": Women's Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776–1807', Judith Apter Klinghoffer and Lois Elkis explain that the 1776 constitution was deliberately intended to allow female suffrage; *Journal of the Early Republic*, 12 (Summer 1992), 159–193; Joseph Eaton '"Every Free-Woman in this Country is a Voter": New Jersey Suffrage in the Anglo-American Paper War', paper presented at the 'Warring for America, 1803–1818' conference, Washington, DC, March 31–April 1, 2011.
188. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, 30.
189. Anthony Dugdale, J. J. Fueser, and J. Celso de Castro Alves, *Yale, Slavery and Abolition* (New Haven: Amistad Committee), 12–14. The Yale report referenced Larry E. Tise's seminal work, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701–1840* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 45.
190. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, 81.
191. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, 23–24.
192. Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and 1780–1860* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998), 76.

193. Melish, *Disowning Slavery*, 7, 76.
194. Melish, *Disowning Slavery*, Chapter 5, '"To Abolish the Black Man": Enacting the Antislavery Promise'. In another work, Dwight acknowledged the free black population in New Haven, depicting them as immoral and indigent; Dwight, *Statistical Account of the City of New Haven* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1811), 57–58. In her *Making Slavery History: Abolitionism and the Politics of Memory in Massachusetts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), Margot Minardi finds discussions of the local history of slavery to have been central to historical memory and commemorations of the American Revolution in Massachusetts. For a study of later proslavery nationalists, see Robert E. Bonner, *Mastering America: Southern Slaveholders and the Crisis of American Nationhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
195. Anglophobes like Hezekiah Niles, though possessing anti-slavery sentiments, were less likely to trust the sincerity of Britons for their role in the abolitionist movement. As Norval Luxon explained, 'Niles' antagonism toward Great Britain made it difficult for him to give that nation credit for its fight against the traffic in negroes'; Luxon, *Niles' Weekly Register*, 265.
196. Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters*, 81, 82, 86, 71, 83, 86.
197. 'Review of Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters, published in the Quarterly Review: Addressed to George Canning, Esq.', *Literary Panorama and National Register* (July 1816), 590.
198. As Alexander H. Everett related to Jared Sparks in 1821: 'It is a work of national importance and a most effective instrument for all good purposes. . . . I doubt whether the president of the U.S. has a higher trust to be accountable for the Editor of the N.A.'; quoted in Eileen Ka-May Cheng, *The Plain and Noble Garb of Truth: Nationalism and Impartiality in American Historical Writing, 1784–1860* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 41.
199. Ingersoll, *Inchiquin's Letters*, 164.
200. C. Edward Skeen, *1816: America Rising* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2003), 33.
201. In 1812, Charles Ingersoll lost as the vice-presidential candidate for the Federalists. In 1814, a challenging year for Philadelphia Republicans, Charles Jared lost his seat in Congress, amidst the controversies spawned by his book.
202. Sydney Smith, 'America', *Edinburgh Review*, 33 (January 1820), 79.
203. 'Political Portraits, With Pen and Pencil. No. XVI. Charles Jared Ingersoll', *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, 6 (October 1839), 342, 340.
204. *Niles' Weekly Register*, 10 (August 17, 1816), 401. 'Emigration – Again', *Niles' Weekly Register*, 10 (August 24, 1816), 419.

3 A Blessing to the Whole Earth: Birkbeck's English Prairie

1. Portions of this chapter appeared as 'A New Albion in New America: British Periodicals and Morris Birkbeck's English Prairie, 1818–1824', *American Nineteenth Century History*, 9 (March 2008), 19–36.

2. Charles Boewe, *Prairie Albion: An English Settlement in Pioneer Illinois* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1962, reprint 1999), xi. Boewe gives the best overview of the episode, considering both the social history and cultural significance of the English Prairie. In his *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), James Chandler contextualizes the English Prairie within the political/economic crisis and rich intellectual environment of post-War Britain. See also James Hurt, 'Reality and the Picture of Imagination: The Literature of the English Prairie', *The Great Lakes Review*, 7 (Summer 1981), 1–24.
3. George Flower, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, founded in 1817 and 1818 by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower* (Chicago: Fergus Print Co, 1882), 26–7; Frank Thistlethwaite, *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959), 48; Boewe, *Prairie Albion*, 6–7.
4. Mackintosh, 'France', *Edinburgh Review*, 24 (February 1815), 505–537, 520. Flower, *History of the English Settlement*, 26–7.
5. Boewe, *Prairie Albion*, 7; Eliza Julia Flower, *Letters of an English Gentlewoman: Life on the Illinois-Indiana Frontier, 1817*–1861, ed. Janet R. Walker and Richard W. Burkhardt (Muncie: Ball State University, 1991), 3.
6. Flower, *History of the English Settlement*, 28.
7. For the friendship between Birkbeck and Coles, see Kurt E. Leichtle and Bruce Carveth, *Crusade against Slavery: Edward Coles, Pioneer of Freedom* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2011).
8. Boewe, *Prairie Albion*, 8; Thistlethwaite, *Anglo-American Connection*, 48. George Flower visited Monticello, where he spotted Birkbeck's *Notes on a Journey through France* on the bookshelf at the president's home. Flower, *History of the English Settlement*, 24.
9. Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois* (London: J. Ridgway, 1818), 28.
10. Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America*, 48, 30, 45, 49.
11. Richard Flower, *Letters from Lexington and the Illinois, Containing a Brief Account of the English Settlement in the Latter Territory, and a Refutation of the Misrepresentations of Mr. Cobbett* (1819; reprint, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*. vol. 10 (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1904), 92. In sharp contrast, John Ruskin later refused to visit the United States because it lacked castles! Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin, *Hating America: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press), 54.
12. Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey*, 9, 28.
13. Birkbeck, *Letters from Illinois*, 18, 40–41, 37, 39.
14. William Faux, *Memorable Days: Being a Journal of a Tour to the United States, Principally Undertaken to Ascertain, by Positive Evidence, the Condition and Probable Prospects of British Emigrants; including Accounts of Mr. Birkbeck's Settlement in the Illinois* (London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1823), 266.
15. Brougham, 'Notes on a Journey', *Edinburgh Review*, 30 (June 1818), 134–135.
16. Brougham, 'Notes on a Journey', 120–121.
17. Brougham, 'Notes on a Journey', 123, 124.
18. Brougham, 'Notes on a Journey', 136, 137.
19. Brougham, 'Notes on a Journey', 124–127.

20. Mackintosh, 'France', 519. In the review of *Notes on a Journey in America,* Brougham did not mention the *Edinburgh Review*'s treatment of Birkbeck's book on France.
21. John Clive, *Scotch Reviewers: The Edinburgh Review, 1802–1815* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), 95–9; Biancamaria Fontana, *Rethinking the Politics of Commercial Society: The Edinburgh Review, 1802–I832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, I985), 15.
22. Fontana, *Rethinking the Politics*, 22.
23. James Chandler, *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 453.
24. Quoted in David Paul Crook, *American Democracy in English Politics, 1815–1850* (London: Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965), 101. The emphasis is mine.
25. Gifford and Barrow, 'Birkbeck's Notes', *Quarterly Review*, 19 (April 1818), 55, 77, 62. See also Barrow, 'Fearon's Sketches', *Quarterly Review*, 21 (January 1819), 151; Barrow, 'Views, Visits, Tours', *Quarterly Review*, 27 (April 1822), 78; Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey*, 38–9.
26. Barrow, 'Inchiquen's Favourable View of the United States', *Quarterly Review*, 10 (January 1814), 527.
27. Gifford and Barrow, 'Birkbeck's Notes', 72, 74.
28. Birkbeck, *Letters from Illinois*, 24, 25, 24. Richard Flower gave Albion a more openly religious character. Boewe, *Prairie Albion*, 114–115.
29. Sydney Smith, 'America', *Edinburgh Review*, 33 (1820), 429.
30. Smith, 'America', 430; Smith, 'Travellers in America', *Edinburgh Review*, 31 (December 1818), 144–145.
31. Fontana, *Rethinking the Politics*, 87, 90.
32. Reviewers of this era took extreme latitude within their articles, often showing an ignorance of the book under examination, a larger goal being to score debate points in broader polemics. As seen above, the *Edinburgh Review* gave Birkbeck the given name Moses in the review of his book on France. The *Quarterly Review*'s January 1814 review of Charles Jared Ingersoll's *Inchiquin's Letters* misspelled the title of the American book as Inchiquen's Letters. Sydney Smith's flippant remark that, 'I never read a book before reviewing it; it prejudices a man so' had a grain of truth for this generation of literary men. Quoted in Hesketh Pearson, *The Smith of Smiths, being the Life, Wit and Humor of Sydney Smith* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1934), 54.
33. Gifford and Barrow, 'Notes on a Journey', 77, 78.
34. 'Works on England', *Quarterly Review*, 15 (July 1816), 558.
35. The elongated title of Fearon's work told of the centrality of Birkbeck and the English Prairie to his mission: *Sketches of America: A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles Through the Eastern and Western States of America; Contained in Eight Reports addressed to the Thirty-Nine English Families by whom the Author was deputed, in June 1817, to ascertain whether any, and what part of the United States would be suitable for their Residence, with Remarks on Mr. Birkbeck's 'Notes' and 'Letters'* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818). Some believed that Robert Southey, the Poet Laureate, had written *Sketches of America*. Boewe, *Prairie Albion*, 158.
36. Fearon, *Sketches of America*, 261, 262, 249.
37. Fearon's critique of the West built on previous accounts by Charles William Janson and Thomas Ashe, both of whom portrayed the American frontier as a

violent, forbidding place, unworthy for emigrants. Janson, *Stranger in America: Containing Observations Made During a Long Residence in that Country* (London: James Cundee, 1807); Ashe, *Travels in America, Performed in 1806 …* (London: Richard Phillips, 1809).

38. Fearon, *Sketches of America*, vii–viii.
39. Chandler, *England in 1819*, 459.
40. Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement 1783–1867* (London: Longmans, Green, 1959), 208.
41. Jeffrey, 'State of the Country', *Edinburgh Review*, 32 (October 1819), 293; Chandler, *England in 1819*, 20–22, 84.
42. Geoffrey Carnall, *Robert Southey and His Age: The Development of a Conservative Mind* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), Chapter 3, 'Bellum Servile', 141–170, connects the economic/political crisis and Britain's leading literary figures.
43. Fearon's letters, along with the growing chorus of criticism against the English Prairie, may have had some effect. Only a portion of the thirty-nine families made the trip to Illinois, excluding Mr Thompson. Only years later did Thompson's two sons emigrate to Edwards County to live on the land they had inherited: Jane Rodman, 'The English Settlement in Southern Illinois as Viewed by English Travelers, 1815–1825', *Indiana Magazine of History*, 44 (March 1948), 59; Flower, *History of the English Settlement*, 321.
44. Barrow, 'Fearon's Sketches', 125.
45. Briggs, *Age of Improvement*, 208.
46. Barrow, 'Fearon's Sketches', 156.
47. Barrow, 'Fearon's Sketches', 125, 166, 132, 148.
48. 'Birkbeck's Letters from Illinois', *Eclectic Review*, 10 (August 1818), 171.
49. Sydney Smith, 'Travellers in America', 133, 146, 148.
50. As Smith explained, attempts to copy American institutions neglected tradition, and might prove dangerous: 'If we were to build the house afresh, we might perhaps avail ourselves of the improvements of a new plan; but we have no short of wish to pull down an excellent house, strong, warm and comfortable, because, upon second trial, we might be able to alter and amend it, – a principle which would perpetuate demolition and construction. Our plan, where circumstances are tolerable, is to sit down and enjoy ourselves. . . . America is so differently situated from the old governments of Europe, that the United States afford no political precedents that are exactly applicable to our old governments'; 'America', 433 (footnote *), 439.
51. Smith, 'Travellers in America', 150.
52. Barrow, 'Views, Visits, and Tours', 71–99.
53. Barrow, 'Views, Visits, and Tours', 89, 91, 99.
54. Mill, 'Democracy in America', *Edinburgh Review*, 72 (October 1840), 2.
55. Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780–1840* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995), 164, 157–158.
56. 'Parkinson's Tour in America', *Edinburgh Review*, 7 (October 1805), 29–30.
57. 'Michaux's Travels in America', *Edinburgh Review*, 7 (October 1805), 162–163. In his *An Appeal to the Judgments of Great Britain* (Philadelphia, 1819), Robert Walsh boasted of victorious American armies in the War of 1812 being led by 'generals that distil brandy, and the colonels that feed pigs'. British observers must have been 'astonished' (210).

58. Crook, *American Democracy*, 84, note 2.
59. As James Chandler explains in regards to William Cobbett, 'Cobbett needed the leverage of an *opportunity* for emigration, and the *idea* of an America to which Britons might properly be attracted, but he needed them to carry on his struggle for reform at home' (*England in 1819*, 467). Although the *Edinburgh Review* and Cobbett, who had taken refuge on Long Island, came to different conclusions about the English Prairie (Cobbett finding virtue in the American East, not West), Chandler's perceptive comment about the latter's utilitarian view of America might be applied to the Scottish reviewers as well.
60. Clive, *Scotch Reviewers*, 145.
61. Smith, 'Travellers in America', 133; Smith, 'America', 427. Thomas Jefferson's 1817 letter to Birkbeck illuminated the capacity of the English Prairie to work as a moral force within British politics: 'You have set your country a good example, by showing them a practicable mode of reducing their rulers to the necessity of becoming more wise, more moderate, and more honest, and I sincerely pray that the example may work for the benefit of those who can not follow it, as it will for your own.' Jefferson to Birkbeck, 12 July 1817 quoted in Boewe, *Prairie Albion*, 62–63.
62. Mackintosh, 'Universal Suffrage', *Edinburgh Review*, 31 (December 1818), 200–201.
63. 'Notes on a Journey', 138–139.
64. Clive, *Scotch Reviewers*, and Fontana, *Rethinking the Politics*, both note the careful moderation of the *Edinburgh Review*'s calls for reform, at least until the late 1820s.
65. 'Travellers in America', 144. As Clive noted, 'The *Review* took it as axiomatic that in the realm of culture and intellect nothing better than the mediocre could, for the time being, emerge from America'; *Scotch Reviewers*, 169.
66. 'Prospectus', *Edinburgh Monthly Review*, 1 (January 1819), n.p.
67. 'Birkbeck's Letters from Illinois', *Edinburgh Monthly Review*, 1 (January 1819), 8, 12, 15, 16.
68. 'Fearon's Sketches', 218.
69. Faux, *Memorable Days*, viii, vii, viii, 102, 194.
70. Gifford and Barrow, 'Faux – Memorable Days in America', 359, 365, 368.
71. Gifford and Barrow, 'Faux – Memorable Days in America', 365.
72. 'Fearon's Sketches of America', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 55 (February 1819), 530.
73. 'Extracts of Letters from the Illinois', *Monthly Repository*, 14 (November 1819), 690–692. 'Letters from the Back Settlements of America', *Monthly Repository*, 15 (October 1820), 602–612.
74. 'Letters from the Back Settlements of America', 606.
75. 'Review. – Flower's Letters from the Illinois, 1820, 1821', *Monthly Repository*, 17 (April 1822), 241.
76. The *Edinburgh Review* ignored important books on the United States when political pragmatism dictated. Brougham promised a review of François de Chassebœuf, Comte de Volney's book on the United States, *Tableau du climat et du sol des Etats-Unis d'Amérique* (1803). The *Edinburgh Review* never published a review of Volney's work, the author's political radicalism and religious skepticism likely being a liability in Britain's paper wars. See Brougham, 'Davis's Travels in America', *Edinburgh Review*, 2 (July 1803), 453.

77. Crook, *American Democracy*, 209. Crook lists four articles in the *Quarterly Review* on America during that same period. In the next five years, during the debate over reform and its consequences, the *Edinburgh Review* published eight articles on America. The *Quarterly Review* had nine.
78. Oliver, STAR (Scottish Transatlantic Relations) project, at: www.star.ac.uk/Archive/Resources/ER_North_America.html, accessed June 29, 2010, 'Edinburgh Review articles'.
79. William Charvat, 'Francis Jeffrey in America', *New England Quarterly*, 14 (June 1941), 309–34.
80. Mill, *Autobiography*, (New York: Columbia, 1924), 66.
81. Bingham, '*The Quarterly Review*, no. LVIII', 250.
82. Bingham, '*The Quarterly Review*, no. LVIII', 251.
83. Bingham, '*The Quarterly Review*, no. LVIII', 251.
84. Bingham, '*The Quarterly Review*, no. LVIII', 251.
85. The Benthamites initially had no inclination, political or cultural, against embracing the cause of America. As David Paul Crook explained, 'Unembarrassed by qualifications or hesitations, they commended full-blooded democracy, having at that stage apparently no doubts that the Republic was such a system.' The low state of American culture was not shocking to hardheaded utilitarians, the new industrial cities of northern England, Radical strongholds, not ordinarily being strong in cultural refinements. Crook, *American Democracy*, 27.
86. Bingham, 'Travels of Duncan, Flint, and Faux', *Westminster Review*, 1 (January 1824), 109–10.
87. William Cobbett, Preface to *Journal made during a Tour in the Western Countries of America, by Thomas Hulme*, Vol. 10 of *Early Western Travels 1748–1846*. ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1904), 21.
88. Thomas Hulme, *Journal made during a Tour in the Western Countries of America*, Vol. 10 of *Early Western Travels 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1904), 26.
89. Hulme, *Journal*, 48, 80, 81. Barrow's vicious condemnation of Hulme illustrates the dichotomous meaning of America to Radicals and Tories: 'Of all the unnatural vipers who have sucked the nutriment of their country, and then turned to sting her to death, this is the most rank and poisonous. His language is that of an infuriate demon: the foam gathers round his mouth at the mention of a priest, and curses and execrations pour in full tides from his lips whenever the name of England occurs to him. We bless Providence for having put it into the heart of such a wretch to exhale his venom elsewhere'; 'Fearon's Sketches,' 159, note‡.
90. 'Fearon's Sketches,' 159, note‡.
91. Wright, *Views of Society and Manners*, a *Series of Letters from that Country to a Friend in England, During the Years 1818, 1819, and 1820* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821), 132, 261, 262.
92. Wright, *Views of Society and Manners*, 205, 183, 137.
93. 'Emigration. – Mr. Fearon's Work', *Examiner* (December 27, 1818), 818–820.
94. 'Birkbeck's Notes on a Journey in America', *Monthly Review*, 85 (February 1818), 163.
95. Peacock, *Letters to Edward Hookham & Percy B. Shelley*, 78, as quoted in Dorothy Anne Dondore, *Prairie and the Making of Middle America: Four Centuries of Description* (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1961), 169.

96. 'Birkbeck's Notes on a Journey in America', 164.
97. 'Faux's Memorable Days in America', *Gentleman's Magazine* (September 1823), 244.
98. 'A Western Hermit', *Kaleidoscope; or, Literary and Scientific Mirror*, 4 (July 15, 1823), 13.
99. 'Review. – Birkbeck's Journey in America', *Edinburgh Magazine* (March 1818), 253.
100. 'Birkbeck's Notes on a Journey in America', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 52 (August 1818), 495.
101. 'Faux's *Memorable Days in America*', *Gentleman's Magazine* (September 1823), 244.
102. The Illinois Constitution allowed for indentured servitude at salt mines in southern Illinois, a practice perceived by some contemporaries as slavery.
103. See Birkbeck's *An Appeal to the People of Illinois on the Question of a Convention* (Shawneetown, Illinois: C. Jones, 1823).
104. Radicals and Tories reassessed the United States in the late 1830s. In both cases, a careful reading of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840) pulled them closer to the center in their understandings of America. See Crook, *American Democracy*, Chapter V, 'The Influence of Alexis de Tocqueville'.
105. Clive cited the *Edinburgh Review*'s pragmatic streak, sometimes supporting innovation, at other times the status quo: 'One tends to find an amalgam whose ingredients vary according to the general political situation at the time of writing.' The Scottish Whigs balanced calls for reform with conservative sounding 'prim and old-maidish' political discussion, though some tendency towards a more reformist view became apparent after 1807 (*Scotch Reviewers*, 114, 120, 73). Crook noted the Whigs' relative impartiality: 'The most objective impression of America often came from the Whigs; partly, it would seem, from temperament – the Whig tradition was a pragmatic one which rarely countenanced eulogy – but also for political reasons, for objectivity did no obvious harm to Whig interests' (8).
106. 'English Settlements in Illinois', *Alexandria Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 19 (February 18, 1819), 2.
107. 'Emigration', *New-York Daily Advertiser*, 2 (November 17, 1818), 2.
108. Seybert, *Statistical Annals of the United States: Embracing Views of the Population, Commerce, Navigation, Fisheries, Public Lands, Post-Office Establishment, Revenues, Mint, Military and Naval Establishment, Expenditures, Public Debt and Sinking Fund, of the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1818).
109. 'Late accounts from England', *Daily National Intelligencer*, 7 (January 23, 1819), 3.
110. 'British Settlement in Illinois', *Niles' Weekly Register*, 18 (April 15, 1820), 117.
111. Thomas Jefferson, letter to George Flower, July 12, 1817, in Flower Family Collection, Museum of Chicago Research Center.
112. Marshall Foletta, *Coming to Terms with Democracy* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001), 228–31.
113. W. T. Spooner, 'Birkbeck's Letters', *North American Review*, 8 (1819), 359. Likewise, John Bristed, a naturalized citizen and Federalist, complained that

Birkbeck's otherwise 'valuable and interesting' *Notes on a Journey* contained 'some Jacobin slang against England'. Bristed, *America and Her Resources* (London: Henry Colburn, 1818), 10.

114. Everett, 'Faux's Memorable Days in America', *North American Review*, 19 (July 1824), 92–125.
115. Everett, 'Views of Society and Manners in America', *North American Review*, 14 (January 1822) 15–26.
116. There was inevitably some geographical bias in American criticism of the English Prairie. Many thoughtful Americans, including James Fenimore Cooper – no minor image-maker of the American West – believed that the West had become disproportionately large in the making of images of America, a phenomenon readily apparent to readers of British periodical literature from the period. Unfortunately, as Cooper later explained in his *Notions of the Americans* (1828): 'Nearly all of the English travellers who have written of America pass lightly over this important section of the Union [New England].' Suspicious of what he presumed to be an 'unworthy motive', Cooper lamented: 'Volumes have been written concerning the half-tenanted districts of the West, while the manners and condition of the original States, where the true effects of the American system can alone be traced, are usually disposed of in a few hurried pages'; James Fenimore Cooper, *Notions of the Americans: Picked up by a Travelling Bachelor* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 91–2.
117. Bristed, *America and Her Resources*, 10.
118. 'Notes on a Journey in America', *Analectic Magazine*, 10 (November 1817), 488.
119. 'Notes on a Journey in America', *Port-Folio*, 5 (March 1818), 216.
120. 'Letter from Morris Birkbeck', *Port-Folio*, 250 (February 1823), 138.
121. 'Review. – Flower's Letters from the Illinois, 1820, 1821', 242.
122. William Cobbett, *A Year's Residence in America* (London: Chapman, n.d.), 238, 241, 244. Faux referred to the Cobbett-Birkbeck controversy; *Memorable Days*, 260, 286.
123. William Cobbett, *A Year's Residence*, 241, 242. Pennsylvania was not Cobbett's first choice for prospective British settlers. Long Island was Cobbett's America. As he explained in a letter to a friend: 'If this untaxed, beautiful, fertile, and salubrious island were inhabited by Englishmen, it would very far surpass the garden of Eden; for here the trees produce golden fruit, and we are forbidden to eat none of them'; James Sambrook, *William Cobbett* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 94, citing William Reitzel (ed.), *The Autobiography of William Cobbett: The Progress of a Plough-boy to a Seat in Parliament* (London: Faber, 1967), 262.
124. Dorothy Anne Dondore, *The Prairie and the Making of Middle America: Four Centuries of Description* (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1926), 166.
125. Cobbett, *Year's Residence in America*, 239.
126. Cobbett, *Year's Residence in America*, xix, 250.
127. Cobbett's preoccupation with rutabagas 'can today be of interest only to historians of agriculture (if to them!)'; J. E. Morpurgo, 'Introduction' to William Cobbett, *A Year's Residence in the United States of America* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), 13.
128. Faux, *Memorable Days*, 105.

129. Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class*, 213–214.
130. Alice Chandler, *A Dream of Order: The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), especially Chapter 2, 'Historical Background: Cobbett'; Leonora Nattrass, *William Cobbett: The Politics of Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 129–131.
131. 'Messrs Birkbeck and Flower', *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, 41:6 (February 9, 1822), 369–370.
132. 'Weld's Travels through North America [part II]', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 2 (March 1799), 241.
133. 'Janson's Stranger in America', *Annual Review and History of Literature*, 6 (January 1807), 48.
134. Charles F. Grece, *Facts and Observations Respecting Canada, and the United States of America: Affording a Comparative view of the Inducements to Emigration Presented in Those Countries* (London: J. Harding, 1819), 7.
135. Grece, *Facts and Observations*, 11.
136. Grece, *Facts and Observations*, 7.
137. 'Duncan's Travels in North America', *British Review, and London Critical Journal*, 22 (May 1824), 148–149, 154.
138. 'Birkbeck's Address, and Sketches of Upper Canada', *Monthly Review* (March 1823), 250–256; 'Memorable Days in America', *Monthly Review*, 102 (December 1823), 443–445.
139. C. B. Johnson, *Letters from the British Settlement in Pennsylvania* (London: John Miller, 1819), especially Letter XIV, 'Remarks on Birkbeck's Letters'.
140. The *National Register* printed Birkbeck's July 1819 letter 'To British Emigrants arriving in the Eastern States', without additional commentary; *National Register, a Weekly Paper*, 8 (August 28, 1819), 135.
141. 'Emigrant's Guide', *Analectic Magazine*, 11 (May 1818), 374.
142. 'A Visit to North America and the English Settlements in Illinois', *Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review*, 184 (November 23, 1822), 739.
143. 'A Visit to North America and the English Settlements in Illinois', *Literary Gazette*, 226 (February 23, 1822), 114.
144. 'An Address to the Farmers of Great Britain', *Literary Gazette*, 298 (October 5, 1822), 626.
145. Boewe, *Prairie Albion*, 98, 116.
146. Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607–1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940), 118; Wilbur S. Shepperson, *Emigration and Disenchantment: Portraits of Englishmen Repatriated* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 47.
147. Leichtle and Carveth, *Crusade against Slavery*, 90.
148. Walker and Burkhardt, Introduction to Flower, *Letters of an English Gentlewoman*, 21.
149. Boewe, *Prairie Albion*, 276–277.
150. Cobbett, *Rural Rides* (London: Macdonald, 1958), 298–299.
151. William Cobbett, *Rural Rides* (London: William Cobbett, 1830), 10.
152. 'Judge Hall – Letters from the West', *Quarterly Review*, 39 (April 1829), 353.
153. Boewe, *Prairie Albion*, Chapter 9; Flower, *History of the English Settlement*, 254–255, 358.

154. 'Rambles in America', *Monthly Review*, 3 (September 1832), 59.
155. 'A Visit to the Illinois', *Monthly Magazine, or, British Register*, 14 (October 1828), 430–435.
156. Chandler, *England in 1819*, 455–456.
157. William B. Cairns, *British Criticisms of American Writings 1783–1815* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1918), 10.
158. Faux, *Memorable Days*, 298.

4 The End of Anglo-mania

1. An abbreviated version of this chapter appeared as 'From Anglophile to Nationalist: Robert Walsh's An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 132 (April 2008), 141–171.
2. 'What was the attitude of American writers toward this stream of ridiculous calumny? With but one exception it was that of a meek acceptance and compliant acquiescence. Why was the name and work of this lone exception – Robert Walsh Jr. – long since allowed to sink into utter oblivion? He deserves a living place in American memory'; Gustavus Myers, *America Strikes Back: A Record of Contrasts* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1935), 122; two decades later, Merle Curti explained that, 'Walsh spared no pains, negatively or positively, in defending American civilization'; *Probing Our Past* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), 201. Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 94; Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams, July 10, 1811, as quoted in Sr. M. Frederick Lochemes, *Robert Walsh: His Story* (New York: American-Irish Historical Society, 1941), 71. Walsh received an entry in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928), 19: 391–392, but not in the updated *American National Biography*, John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes (eds) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).
3. I will refer to the following edition: *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain Respecting the United States of America. Part First, Containing an Historical Outline of Their Merits and Wrongs as Colonies; And Strictures upon the Calumnies of the British Writers*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1819). A 1969 reprint of the *Appeal* (New York: Negro Universities Press) failed to generate new scholarship concerning Walsh's most important work. David Hackett Fischer identified three generations of Federalists: 'gentlemen of the old school'; transitional figures born between 1755 and 1765; and 'young Federalists' born afterwards; *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 227. The *North America Review* cohort that Marshall Foletta describes in his *Coming to Terms with Democracy: Federalist Intellectuals and the Shaping of an American Culture* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001) are more precisely Walsh's contemporaries, born between 1779 (William Tudor) and 1790 (Alexander Hill Everett and John Gorham Palfrey), and provide more useful comparison despite differences in religion (Catholic vs. primarily Unitarian) and geography (Philadelphia vs. Boston). Fischer, *Revolution of American Conservatism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), xiii.

Fischer's account was avowedly 'revisionist'. Other historians have since contributed to the rehabilitation of the Federalists.

4. Lochemes, *Robert Walsh*, 26. Michael Cody, *Charles Brockden Brown and the Literary Magazine: Cultural Journalism in the Early American Republic* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2004), 19. As Cody adds, 'Dennie's *Port Folio* . . . could, for the most part, have been as easily written by British journalists as American, the attitude . . . being so often pro-British' (92). See also William C. Dowling, *Literary Federalism in the Age of Jefferson: Joseph Dennie and The Port-Folio, 1801–1812* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999).
5. Florian [Robert Walsh Jr.], 'Original Papers', *Port-Folio*, 4 (1804), 42. Guy R. Woodall established Walsh to be the author of the 'Florian' essays; Woodall, 'The Relationship of Robert Walsh, Jr., to the *Port Folio* and the Dennie Circle: 1803–1812', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 92 (1968), 195–219.
6. John Neal usually gets the credit for being, as Fred Lewis Pattee explained, 'the first American product strong enough to break into the British reviews' for his 1824-25 'American Writers' series in *Blackwood's Magazine*; Fred Lewis Pattee (ed.), *John Neal, American Writers: A Series of Papers Contributed to Blackwood's Magazine (1824–1825)* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1937), 'Preface', n.p.
7. Stuart Semmel, *Napoleon and the British* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 135, 148, 154–159, 169, 179, 208, 210–212, 215–217.
8. John Wood Warter (ed.), *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey* (London, 1856), 2:151, as quoted in Guy R. Woodall, 'The American Review of History and Politics', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 93 (1969), 393.
9. Walsh to Biddle, Sept. 18, 1809, as quoted in Woodall, 'Relationship of Robert Walsh, Jr., to the *Port Folio*', 212.
10. Francis Jeffrey, 'Letter on the French Government', *Edinburgh Review*, 16 (1810), 1; George Ellis, 'Disposition of the French Government', *Quarterly Review*, 3 (1810), 320–339; John Bristed, *America and Her Resources* (London, 1818), 363. G. K. Palfrey acknowledged the importance of Walsh's *Letter* some years later: 'Rarely has any American work created such a sensation'; Palfrey, 'Walsh's Didactics', *North American Review*, 43 (1836), 258.
11. Lochemes discusses Walsh's negative opinions of the course of the country; Lochemes, *Robert Walsh*, 52–53. Walsh, 'Prospectus', *American Review of History and Politics, and General Repository of Literature and State Papers*, 1 (1811), i. Though Walsh promised in his 'Prospectus' that his *American Review* would work 'to the promotion of the literary fame of this country' (iv), he made little effort to promote native writers. Guy R. Woodall notes that Walsh gave only one article over to contemporary American literature in the *American Review*. Walsh did boast, however, that the United States had a broader reading public than England. Woodall, 'The American Review', 399, 401.
12. Walsh, 'An Inquiry into the Past and Present Relations of France and the United States', *American Review*, 1 (1811), 3, 4.
13. Walsh, 'Review of Philosophical Essays, by Dugald Stewart', *American Review*, 1 (1811), 355; Walsh, 'Prospectus', v. One might contrast Walsh with Charles Brockden Brown. Brown's *Literary Magazine* used reviews of travelers' accounts to show Americans the 'obvious misrepresentations' within British accounts of the United States. Cody, *Charles Brockden Brown*, 103.

14. Conversely, some conservatives found Walsh's obsequiousness towards Britain reassuring. During the 1814–15 controversy over Charles Jared Ingersoll's *Inchiquin's Letters*, William Tudor of the *North American Review* pleaded with British reviewers to imitate Walsh as a peacemaker within the Anglo-American literary establishment. Lochemes, *Robert Walsh*, 72; Woodall, 'The American Review', 406; Hylactor, 'To Robert Walsh, Esquire', *Cynick*, 1 (1811), 181–186; Review of The United States and England, *North American Review*, 1 (1815), 87–89.
15. Robert Goodloe Harper and Robert Walsh Jr., *Correspondence Respecting Russia, between Robert Goodloe Harper, Esq. and Robert Walsh, Jun. Together with the Speech of Mr. Harper, Commemorative of the Russian Victories. Delivered at Georgetown, Columbia, June 5, 1813. And an Essay on the Future State of Europe* (Philadelphia, 1813).
16. Walsh never appears to have offered a course at the University of Pennsylvania. He held the professorship until 1828, when he became a trustee, serving in that capacity until 1832; Lochemes, *Robert Walsh*, 135.
17. *Niles' Weekly Register*, 16 (1819), 160. Quoted in Lochemes, *Robert Walsh*, 101.
18. Walsh, *Appeal*, vi.
19. Walsh, *Appeal*, xli, 257–270. In reality, many Federalists had denounced the cowpox vaccination and its most vocal supporter, Dr Benjamin Waterhouse, a Jeffersonian associated with the suspect American Philosophical Society. Linda K. Kerber, *Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1970), 77–79. Within the pages of the *American Register*, Walsh had trumpeted the importance of steamboats to navigation of the Mississippi and memorialized Fulton, despite his association with ultra-Republican Joel Barlow; *American Register*, 2 (1817), 223–224, 462–464.
20. Walsh, *Letter on the Genius and Dispositions of the French Government, Including a View of the Taxation of the French Empire by an American Recently Returned from Europe*, 4th ed. (London, 1810), 48, 188.
21. Walsh, *Appeal*, 43–44, 40, 77; Jennifer Clark notes the previous Federalist tendency to excuse British aggression. Clark, 'The War of 1812: American Nationalism and Rhetorical Images of Britain', *War and Society*, 12 (1994), 11.
22. Walsh, *Appeal*, 51.
23. For early negative views of Franklin, see Keith Arbour, 'Benjamin Franklin as Weird Sister: William Cobbett and Federalist Philadelphia's Fears of Democracy', in D. Ben-Atar and B. B. Oberg (eds), *Federalists Reconsidered* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999), 179–198; and Richard D. Miles, 'The American Image of Benjamin Franklin', *American Quarterly*, 9 (1957), 117–143. Walsh wrote an essay on Franklin for the *Analectic Magazine* (11 [1818], 449–484) and had plans for a 'Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin' that he never completed; Lochemes, *Robert Walsh*, 152. See also Walsh, *Appeal*, 216–17, 209–10, xii–xvii, 93; Foletta, *Coming to Terms*, 37; and Shaw Livermore Jr., *The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815–1830* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 62–63.
24. Walsh, *Appeal*, 306, 307, 396, 404–18.
25. Walsh, *Appeal*, 315, 319, 386. Winthrop D. Jordan contrasted southern incapacity for self-condemnation with Puritan and Quaker jeremiads against the

sins of an entire nation in *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Williamsburg: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1968), 298–301.

26. Letter, Madison to Robert Walsh, Mar. 2, 1819, in *Writings, by James Madison* (New York: Library of America, 1999), 723–728.
27. Walsh, Appeal, 421.
28. Walsh, 'Introduction', *American Register; or, Summary Review of History, Politics and Literature*, 2 (1817), xii.
29. Walsh, *Appeal*, 221. The comparison between John Quincy Adams and Walsh, former colleagues at the *Port-Folio*, is telling. Adams was already a 'mild' cultural nationalist and moderating force against the Anglophiles making Adams's later avowal of nationalism more predictable than Walsh's *Appeal*. L. K. Kerber and Walter John Morris, 'Politics and Literature: The Adams Family and the Port Folio', *The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series*, 23 (1966), 452–454.
30. Walsh, 'Introduction', *American Register*, 2 (1817), xxvii–xxxviii. For a more positive assessment of American literature, see John C. McCloskey, 'The Campaign of Periodicals after the War of 1812 for National American Literature', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 50 (1935), 262–273.
31. David Simpson, *The Politics of American English, 1776–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 33.
32. Webster, though a conservative in politics, encouraged the creation of a distinctly American English language. Kemp Malone, 'A Linguistic Patriot', *American Speech*, 1 (1925), 26–31.
33. Catherine O'Donnell Kaplan, *Men of Letters in the Early Republic: Cultivating Forums of Citizenship* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 202.
34. Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *Sketches of America* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), 344.
35. Portico, *A Repository of Science and Literature*, 2 (1816), 125, as quoted in Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1741–1850,* vol. 1, 1741–1850 (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 1930), 184; 'The American Register', *Portico*, 3 (1817), 352, 364; McCloskey, 'A Note on the Portico', *American Literature*, 8 (1936), 300–304; Marshall W. Fishwick, '*The Portico* and Literary Nationalism after the War of 1812', *William and Mary Quarterly*, *Third Series*, 8 (1951), 238–245.
36. 'Walsh's Appeal of America', *British Critic*, 13 (April 1820), 395.
37. Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America, from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois* (London: J. Ridgway, 1818); Birkbeck, *Letters from Illinois* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1818). Although Walsh did not spell out his opinions regarding Birkbeck, the conservative Bostonian *North American Review* condemned his experiment in the American West. See W. T. Spooner, 'Birkbeck's Letters', *North American Review*, 8 (1819), 359. John Bristed, an important source for Walsh, complained that Birkbeck's otherwise 'valuable and interesting' *Notes on a Journey in America* (1817) contained 'some Jacobin slang against England'; Bristed, *America and Her Resources*, 10. See the previous chapter for conservative American reactions to the English Prairie.
38. Walsh's failure to rely upon Birkbeck's criticisms of Britain was ironic. Walsh claimed to have been inspired to write the *Appeal* after reading the *Quarterly*

Review's forty-three-page treatment of Henry Bradshaw Fearon's *Sketches of America* (London, 1818), a book that was substantially a critique of Birkbeck and the English Prairie.

39. Walsh, *Appeal*, preface; Hulme's extremely Americophile, pro-western journal was contained in William Cobbett's *A Year's Residence in the United States of America* (1818).
40. John M. Murrin, 'The Jeffersonian Triumph and American Exceptionalism', *Journal of the Early Republic*, 20 (2000), 11; Dowling, *Literary Federalism*, 22–23, 31, 49; J. M. Banner, *To the Hartford Convention*: *the Federalists and the Origins of Party Politics in Massachusetts, 1789–1815* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 24–26; Kerber, *Federalists in Dissent*, 199.
41. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 10:392; Foletta, *Coming to Terms*, Chapter 3, 'Sons'.
42. Foletta, *Coming to Terms*, 44.
43. Walsh praised Monroe's attempt at reconciliation as a 'laudable undertaking' for its 'tendency to convince foreign nations with what cheerfulness and ease, we rally to the standard of a national feeling when left to ourselves'; Walsh, 'Introduction', *American Register*, 2 (1817), xv. For the office-seeking attempts of Walsh and other Federalists, see Livermore, *Twilight of Federalism*, 44, 59–60, 67–68, 102–112, 139, 145, 184, 266; Foletta, *Coming to Terms*, 38–44. Walsh is quoted in Albrecht Koschnik, *'Let a Common Interest Bind Us': Association, Partisanship, and Culture in Philadelphia, 1775–1840* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 190.
44. Other young Federalists used books as a means to seek an office. William Tudor Jr.'s *Letters on the Eastern States* (New York, 1820) failed to persuade President Monroe to hire the veteran Federalist writer; Livermore, *Twilight of Federalism*, 45–46, 193.
45. Quoted in Drew R. McCoy, *The Last of the Fathers: James Madison and the Republican Legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 106.
46. Harper and Walsh, *Correspondence Respecting Russia*. Walsh's gloomy admonition has been described as 'the clearest warning during the Napoleonic era of a Russian menace to the world'; Joseph I. Shulim, 'The United States Views Russia in the Napoleonic Age', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 102 (April 1958), 155. Lochemes explains that Walsh was a sort of renegade in the 1820s, emphasizing his courageous stands in favor of free trade, the Second Bank of the United States, and General Jackson (in 1828); Lochemes, *Robert Walsh*, Chapter 8.
47. Walsh, *Appeal*, xlix. Doron Ben-Atar has shown that Federalist attempts to emulate, and even pirate, British economic practices, were done not out of pure Anglophilia or a desire to turn the United States into 'a British satellite', but rather to make the new nation a potent rival. Ben-Atar, 'Alexander Hamilton's Alternative: Technology Piracy and the Report on Manufactures', in Ben-Atar and Oberg (eds), *Federalists Reconsidered*, 41–60. The term 'Anglomania' was antique by the early nineteenth century. In his *Preservatif contre l'anglomanie* (1757), Fougeret de Montbron popularized the word *anglomanie* as a negative term to describe the prevailing enthusiasm for English things and institutions, a French phenomenon that had grown since the 1730s. Montbron decried the *anglomanes*, championing French intellectual and material culture; Josephine Grieder, *Anglomania in France, 1740–1789:*

Fact, Fiction, and Political Discourse (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1985), 6–8; Ian Buruma, *Anglomania: A European Love Affair* (New York: Random House, 1998), 41.

48. Walsh, 'Introduction', *American Register*, 1 (1817), xxv.
49. As Walsh idealized in 1810, 'I saw no instances of individual oppression, and scarcely any individual misery. . . . I witnessed no symptom of declining trade or of general discontent. . . . I found there every indication of a state engaged in a rapid career of advancement. I found the heart and spirit of commercial industry at the acmé; – a metropolis opulent and liberal beyond example; – a cheerful peasantry, well fed and commodiously lodged, – an ardent attachment to the constitution in all classes'; Walsh, *Letter*, 182, 183; see also Walsh, *Appeal*, l, 241–42, xliii– xlv.
50. Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement* (London: Longmans, Green, 1959), 208; 'State of the Country', *Edinburgh Review*, 32 (October 1819), 293; James Chandler, *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 20–22, 84.
51. George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism, 1815–1828* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 75; Walsh, *Appeal*, 165–167.
52. Jennifer Clark, 'The War of 1812: American Nationalism and Rhetorical Images of Britain', *War and Society*, 1 (May 1994), 4; Herbert G. Eldridge, 'The Paper War between England and America: The Inchiquin Episode, 1810–1815', *Journal of American Studies*, 16 (1982), 49–68.
53. In his *Napoleon and the British*, Stuart Semmel provides an insightful treatment of how Bonaparte had been central to a generation of British debates over society, politics, and history. As James Chandler explains, concerns about Jacobins and Napoleon overshadowed any understanding of America as America: 'Not until the end of the wars did the English begin in earnest to develop a sense of a specific US national identity, development profoundly related to a simultaneous crisis over the question of English identity'; Chandler, *England in 1819*, 449–450, 453. Jennifer Clark explains the role of British domestic political concerns in the Paper War and the American blindness about such matters in 'Poisoned Pens: The Anglo-American Relationship and the Paper War', *Symbiosis: A Journal of Anglo-American Literary Relations*, 6 (April 2002), 45–68.
54. Lochemes, *Robert Walsh*, 101–105; Salem (MA) *Gazette*, Dec. 28, 1819, 4.
55. *Boston Patriot and Daily Mercantile Advertiser*, 6 (January, 4, 1820), 4.
56. 'New Work', *City of Washington Gazette*, 4 (October 9, 1819), 3.
57. 'Honest Confession', *City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 40 (August 5, 1820), 4.
58. 'For the Port Folio: An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain', *Port-Folio*, 8 (December 1819), 508.
59. [An American] *The Reviewers Reviewed; or Remarks on the Edinburgh Review* (Baltimore: Benjamin Edes, 1816).
60. 'For the Port Folio: An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain', 504, 496.
61. 'An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain', *Literary and Scientific Repository, and Critical Review*, 1 (October 1820), 479, 480.
62. Ingersoll, *A discourse concerning the influence of America on the mind: being the annual oration delivered before the American Philosophical Society, at the University in Philadelphia, on the 18th October, 1823, by their appointment, and published by their order* (Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1823), 19.

63. Paul Mowbray Wheeler, *America through British Eyes: A Study of the Attitudes of the Edinburgh Review towards the United States of America from 1802 until 1961* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1935), vii, 17, 40. Sheldon Halpern, *Sydney Smith* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1966), 117; Andrew Hook, *Scotland and America: A Study of Cultural Relations, 1750–1835* (Glasgow: Blackie, 1975), Chapter IV. For an assessment of the *Edinburgh Review* and America, see Joseph Eaton, 'The Scots and America: Images of America in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1802–1829', paper presented at the annual meeting of the British Scholar Society, Austin, Texas, February 2009.
64. 'Walsh's Appeal', *Literary and Scientific Repository and Critical Review*, 1 (1820), 475, 496; Gary Williams, 'Historical Introduction' to James Fenimore Cooper, *Notions of the Americans: Picked up by a Travelling Bachelor* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), xvi–xvii.
65. *Niles' Weekly Register*, 17 (1819), 423.
66. Edward Everett, 'Mr. Walsh's Appeal', *North American Review*, 10 (1820), 349; Everett, 'England and America', *North American Review*, 13 (1821), 35. Praise for the *Appeal* did not preclude sectional rivalry when Walsh later recruited *North American Review* writers for his *American Quarterly Review*. The Bostonian reviewers shared an 'obsessive concern' that defections to the Middle Atlantic's only quarterly would deflate New England's claim to cultural leadership; Harlow W. Sheidley, *Sectional Nationalism: Massachusetts Conservative Leaders and the Transformation of America, 1815–1836* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 106–107, 22.
67. Everett, 'Mr. Walsh's Appeal', 337, 336.
68. Letter to John Pickering, August 14, 1818, quoted in Read, 'Edward Everett's Attitude', 120. David Paul Crook gives a masterful analysis of the myopic use of America in British politics in this era. Crook, *American Democracy in English Politics 1815–1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).
69. Everett, 'Views of Society and Manners in America', *North American Review*, 14 (January 1822), 19.
70. Everett, 'Views of Society and Manners in America', 16. In an article some months before, Daniel Webster similarly decried the praise that British radicals gave to the United States: 'The leaders of such assemblages as the Manchester mob, and the orators in the palace-yard, find it convenient to inflame the passions of their auditors by declaiming, in terms of high panegyric, of the condition of America; wisely contriving, by a sort of contrast, to breed discontent, and to sharpen the feelings of hatred towards their own government'; Webster, 'Law of Creditor and Debtor in the U.S.', *North American Review*, 11 (July 1820), 197.
71. Everett, 'Mr. Walsh's *Appeal*', 339.
72. As quoted in Paul A. Varg, *Edward Everett: The Intellectual in the Turmoil of Politics* (Cranbury, NJ: Susquehanna Press, 1992), 30. See also Varg, *Edward Everett* (36) for Everett's Burkean reading of British history. Everett spoke of America as the place where 'English principles of liberty have taken deeper root and produced finer fruit than they have done in their own soil'; 'England and America', 36.
73. Everett, 'England and America', 41.
74. Bristed, *America and Her Resources*, 207.
75. 'Resources of the United States', *Analectic Magazine*, 11 (June 1818), 503, 523.

76. The *Port-Folio* had complained that while Lyon had been part of a 'disgraceful scene', the problem was not one of foreign influence: 'Vulgarity is not exclusively English, Irish, or American'; 'For the Port Folio: An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain', 510. For Walsh's response: 'Explanation of a Passage in Walsh's Appeal', *Port-Folio*, 9 (1820), 1.
77. Quoted in Lochemes, *Robert Walsh*, 104; Madison, *Writings*, 745; Letter to John Holmes, Apr. 22, 1820, in *The Works of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul Leicester Ford (New York, 1905), 12:158.
78. 'Edinburgh Review', *National Gazette*, 1 (August 16, 1820), 2.
79. 'Edinburgh Review', *National Gazette*, 1 (August 23, 1820), 2.
80. *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, DC), January 1, 1820, 3; Lord Francis Jeffrey, 'Dispositions of England and America', *Edinburgh Review*, 33 (May 1820), 395, 405, 409–415.
81. Jeffrey, 'Dispositions', 426.
82. Sydney Smith, 'America', *Edinburgh Review*, 33 (1820), 79–80. Walsh's biographer sees Smith's article as a 'counter-attack' against Walsh's Appeal; Lochemes, *Robert Walsh*, 96.
83. *Annales statistiques des États-Unis* (Paris: A la librairie constitutionnelle de Brissot-Thivars, 1820).
84. Robert E. Spiller, 'The Verdict of Sydney Smith', *American Literature*, 1 (March 1929), 3–13.
85. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 359–360. Matthew Mason clearly elucidates the uses of nationalist antislavery Anglo-American discourse in *Slavery and Politics in the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), Chapter 4, 'Slavery in Anglo-American Relations'.
86. During successive trips to England in 1817 and 1818, Everett was outspokenly critical of the state of English in England. The following year he contributed a section on 'Americanisms' to David Warden's *Statistical, Political and Historical Account of the United States of North America* (Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1819). It is hard to imagine Walsh arguing, as Everett did, with William Gifford, the *Quarterly Review*'s prominent critic, that the state of English was sounder in America. Allen Walker Reed, 'Edward Everett's Attitude towards American English', *New England Quarterly*, 12 (1939), 112–129. See also Everett, 'England and America,'; Paul K. Longmore, '"They . . . Speak Better English than the English Do": Colonialism and the Origins of National Linguistic Standardization in America', *Early American Literature*, 40 (November 2005), 279–314; Robert E. Spiller (ed.), *The American Literary Revolution, 1783–1837* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967); Foletta, *Coming to Terms*, Chapter 4, 'Literature: The Prospects'.
87. Livermore, *Twilight of Federalism*, 58, 100–101, 122, 143, 102–105. [James McHenry], 'American Lake Poetry', *American Quarterly Review*, 11 (1832), 154–174. William Cullen Bryant attacked Walsh in a letter to Richard Henry Dana: 'Mr. Walsh is the greatest literary quack of our country and deserves to be taken down a peg or two'; William Cullen Bryant II and Thomas G. Voss (eds), *Letters of William Cullen Bryant, vol. 1, 1809–1836* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1975), 262; see also Charles H. Brown, *William Cullen Bryant* (New York: Scribner's, 1971), 196; Guy R. Woodall, 'Robert Walsh's War with the New York Literati: 1827–1836', *Tennessee Studies in Literature*,

15 (1970), 25–47; McCloskey, 'A Note on the Portico,' 303–4; Simpson, *Columbian Observer*, 1 (1822), 105–106.

88. Foletta, *Coming to Terms*, 132; also see Chapter 5, 'Literature: The Problems', and Chapter 8, 'Legacy'. See also Sheidley, *Sectional Nationalism*, Chapter 4, 'The American Athens'; William Charvat, *Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810–1835* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), 171–172; Christopher Hatch, 'Music for America: A Critical Controversy of the 1850s', *American Quarterly*, 14 (Winter 1962), 580.
89. 'For the Port Folio: An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain', *Port-Folio*, 8 (December 1819), 511.
90. 'Honest Confessions' and 'A Palinode', *City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 40 (August 5, 1820), 2.
91. Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701–1840* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 47, 49–50, 98; Dexter B. Gordon, *Black Identity: Rhetoric, Ideology, and Nineteenth-Century Black Nationalism* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2003), 43.
92. Lochemes, *Robert Walsh*, 107–117; Drew R. McCoy provides rich treatment of the Madison-Walsh debate in *Last of the Fathers*, 107–113.
93. As Susan-Mary Grant has noted, moderate northern opinion before the 1840s was charitable, often blaming southern slavery on Britain. Grant, *North over South: Northern Nationalism and American Identity in the Antebellum Era* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2000), 47–48. I believe that Walsh's conciliatory tone on slavery in the *Appeal* was not hypocritical but instead reflected a nationalistic purpose. A 'your slavery is worse than my slavery' argument was shortsighted but not exceptional in its attempt to understand the merits of the American experiment, both North and South. The *Appeal* reads much like other contemporary vindicatory accounts of America by antislavery writers, including Scottish radical Frances Wright's *Views of Society and Manners in America* (1821). Wright, undeniably an opponent of slavery, but also a defender of American republicanism, echoed Walsh in emphasizing the singular praise that Americans deserved for both the colonial resistance to slave trafficking and early national successes in curtailing slavery: 'The history of African slavery is at once the disgrace and honor of America; the disgrace she shared in common with the whole civilized world – the honor is all her own.' Like Walsh, Wright borrowed southern apologetics without internalizing a broader worldview. Wright, *Views of Society and Manners in America* (1821; repr. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 37–38. One might note that Wright's book was published after the Missouri controversy – Walsh's defense of the South, penned in the summer of 1819, before the full impact of Missouri was understood, can be more easily excused. Robert Pierce Forbes correctly understands the inherent anti-slavery of Walsh's *Appeal*, which assumed that Americans would do nothing to extend the slavery that tradition, and the British Empire, had given them. As Forbes explains, 'Read carefully – which it rarely was – Walsh's *Appeal* contained one of the most powerful arguments offered for slavery restriction' (Forbes, The *Missouri Compromise and its Aftermath: Slavery and the Meaning of America* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007], 53).
94. Walsh's wishful interpretation regarding the Constitution and Northwest Ordinance may be more troublesome than even his defense of the South

relative to the British West Indies. Duncan MacLeod mocked Walsh's views as 'surprising', a reflection of a 'rose-coloured ignorance' of the origins of the two documents. MacLeod, *Slavery, Race and the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 59. Paul Finkelman offers unenthusiastic conclusions regarding the founding generation's intentions on slavery in his *Slavery and the Founders*, 2nd ed. (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2001). See also David Waldstreicher, *Slavery's Constitution: From Revolution to Ratification* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010). One might consider Walsh's willingness to dismiss Madison's testimony regarding the Constitutional Convention against two of the more significant 'reinterpretations' of that year that David Brion Davis describes – the Marshall Court's vision of an active federal government and William Emery Channing's expansion of the boundaries of Christianity. Davis, '1819: Signs of a New Era', Chapter 2 in *Challenging the Boundaries of Slavery* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 35–59. Walsh, *Free Remarks on the Spirit of the Federal Constitution, the Practice of the Federal Government, and the Obligations of the Union, Respecting the Exclusion of Slavery from the Territories and New States* (Philadelphia, 1819), 4–5; Lochemes, *Robert Walsh*, 114–117; Walsh, *Appeal*, 398–400.

95. For Walsh's relationship with southerners, see Daniel Kilbride, *An American Aristocracy: Southern Planters in Antebellum Philadelphia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 23, 116–123.
96. Historians have sometimes depicted the Federalists' discussion of slavery in 1819–20 as a political sideshow. Walsh's criticism of slavery predated the Missouri debate. In an 1817 article, Walsh described slavery as a 'curse' and gave strongly contrasting portraits of the enterprising, robust North and luxurious, discordant South. Although Walsh did not condemn the South in the *Appeal*, he depicted slavery as the central problem, contradictory to America's ideals. The time that Walsh invested in the *National Gazette* shows a devotion to the cause rather than use of the issue for immediate gain. For more critical views of the Federalists and slavery, see Glover Moore, *The Missouri Controversy, 1819–1821* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1953), 83; Jeffrey Pasley, *The Tyranny of Printers: Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 256–257; Arthur Schlesinger Jr., *Age of Jackson* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1945), Chapter 12, 'Whig Counter-Revolution'; Richard Buel Jr., *America on the Brink: How the Political Struggle over the War of 1812 almost Destroyed the Young Republic* (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 235, 243; David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 253; For more sympathetic treatments, see Jordan, *White over Black*, 328–329, 413; Kerber, *Federalists in Dissent*, 23–66; and Finkelman, *Slavery and the Founders*, 105–128. In his biography, *William Jay: Abolitionist and Anticolonialist* (Westport: Praeger, 2005), Stephen P. Budney links the younger Jay's long involvement in the abolitionist cause with his continuing Federalist sense of moral responsibility. Walsh, 'Preliminary Discourse', *American Register or Summary Review of History, Politics, and Literature*, 2 (1817), 12; Walsh, *Appeal*, 308.
97. Livermore, *Twilight of Federalism*, 95–97, 144.

98. Contact with foreign ideas and institutions could provoke a unifying, nationalistic response. Daniel Kilbride finds that antebellum southerners traveling in Europe did not use a southern, sectional lens to describe what they saw: 'If domestic travel encouraged sectional analogies, overseas tourism made the nation the standard of comparison'; 'Travel, Ritual, and National Identity: Planters on the European Tour, 1820–1860', *Journal of Southern History*, 69 (August 2003), 562.
99. As quoted in John Tebbel, *The American Magazine: A Compact History* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1969), 26.
100. William Cobbett, 'On the Political Effects Produced in America by the Peace of Ghent', *Cobbett's Political Register*, 27:22 (June 3, 1815), 675–676. See also Joseph Eaton, 'Who Won the War of 1812?: A Cultural-Historical Reassessment', *Whampoa: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 59 (October 2010).
101. Southey, 'Works on England', *Quarterly Review*, 15 (July 1816), 548, 561–562, 556. The July issue did not appear until mid-November 1816 ('Quarterly Review Archive').
102. Benjamin Silliman, *A Journal of Travels in England, Holland and Scotland*, 2nd edition, vol. 2 (Boston: T. B. Wait and Company, 1812), 335.
103. Southey, 'Works on England', 558.
104. Hill Shine and Helen Chadwick Shine, *The Quarterly Review under Gifford: Identification of Contributors 1809–1824* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), xviii. Gifford revised Southey's articles to be more critical of the United States. Roy Benjamin Clark, *William Gifford: Tory Satirist, Critic, and Editor* (New York: Columbia, 1930), 184. As one critic explained, 'Southey particularly disliked the hostile and patronising attitude of the *Quarterly Review* took up towards the United States. . . . He continually complained of it, but to no effect'; Jack Simmons, *Southey* (London: Collins, 1945), 239, note 180; see also Walter Graham, *Tory Criticism in the Quarterly Review, 1809–1853* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1921), 7, 10.
105. 'Fearon's Sketches of America', *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 55 (February 1819), 523.
106. Just seven out of 25 of the British reviews of Brown's works appeared before Brown's death in February 1810; William S. Ward, 'American Authors and British Reviewers 1798–1826: A Bibliography', *American Literature*, 49 (March 1977), 5–6.
107. 'On the Writings of Charles Brown', *New Monthly Magazine*, 14 (December 1820), 609, 616–617. Scott Ellis compares John Davis with Charles Brockden Brown, finding that Davis lacked sophistication in developing relationships with the American literary establishment, which resulted in his being forgotten by posterity: 'While scholars have explored the career and works of Brown at length, Davis, a likewise prolific author, remains unknown to most scholars of American literary history'; Ellis, '"Reviewers Reviewed": John Davis and the Early American Literary Field', *Early American Literature*, 42 (January 2007), 157. In fact, Brown failed at creating sufficient connections with his British contemporaries. The British reviews did not appreciate Brown until *after* his death in 1810. British and American reviewers recognized Davis, in part because of his connection

with Dennie, even if they did not always give his books complimentary reviews.

108. Ward, 'American Authors and British Reviewers 1798–1826', 2.
109. Geoffrey Crayon [Irving] *The Sketch-book of Geoffrey Crayon*, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1820), v, vi.
110. Jeffrey Rubin-Dorsky, *Adrift in the Old World: The Psychological Pilgrimage of Washington Irving* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 40–41, 80–81.
111. 'A Biographical Sketch of Thomas Campbell', *Analectic Magazine*, 5 (March 1815), 236, 246, 247.
112. For analysis of the Irving-Shakespeare committee episode, see Benjamin Lease, 'John Bull versus Washington Irving: More on the Shakespeare Committee Controversy', *English Language Notes*, 9 (June 1972); and Ben Harris McClary, 'Mr. Irving of the Shakespeare Committee: A Bit of Anglo-American Jealousy', *American Literature*, 41 (March 1969).
113. 'Remarks on the Pioneers', *Newcastle Magazine*, 3 (January 1824), 35, 37.
114. 'American Literature – Dr. Channing', *Edinburgh Review*, 50 (October 1829), 126, 127.
115. 'Tales of a Traveller', *Westminster Review*, 2 (October 1824), 334, 335, 340, 344, 345.
116. 'United States', *Westminster Review*, 5 (January 1826), 174, 194.
117. 'Present State of Literature in North America', *European Magazine*, 1 (September 1825), 60–61.
118. Pattee, *American Writers: A Series of Papers Contributed to Blackwood's Magazine (1824–1825), by John Neal* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1937).
119. Donald A. Sears, *John Neal* (Boston: Twayne, 1978), 72.
120. 'America and England', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 16 (October 1824), 482.
121. 'Politics of Ancient Greece', *North American Review*, 18 (April 1824), 401.
122. 'America and England', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 16 (October 1824), 482.
123. For a more positive reading of Neal's experiences in England, see Benjamin Lease, *That Wild Fellow John Neal and the American Literary Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972); and Lease, *Anglo-American Encounters: England and the Rise of American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
124. Neal, 'American Writers. No IV', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 17 (January 1825), 58; 'American Writers. No II', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 16 (October 1824), 428, 426.
125. Neal, 'America and England', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 16 (October 1824), 478, 477.
126. Neal, 'America and England,' 478.
127. Neal, 'A Summary View of America', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 16 (December 1824), 645.
128. John Neal, *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1869), 251–252.
129. 'On the State of Learning in the United States of America', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 4 (March 1819), 641–650. For Neal's claim that 'a

young American gentleman, an honour to his native land' wrote the article, see Neal, 'America and England', 476.
130. 'For the Port Folio: An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain', *Port-Folio*, 8 (December 1819), 505.
131. 'On the Writings of Charles Brockden Brown and Washington Irving', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 6 (February 1820).
132. 'The Memorabilia of William Faux', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 14 (November 1823), 571, 564.
133. 'Books Imported from America', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 7 (July 1820), 452–453.
134. 'The Memorabilia of William Faux', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 14 (November 1823), 562.
135. Campbell, *Unlikely Allies: Britain, America and the Victorian Origins of the Special Relationship* (London, New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 52.
136. Neal, *Wandering Recollections*, 245.
137. Benjamin Lease, 'John Neal and Edgar Allan Poe', *Poe Studies*, 7 (December 1974), 39.
138. Neal, *Wandering Recollections*, 252.
139. 'Walsh's Appeal of America', *British Critic*, 13 (April 1820), 396.
140. 'Preface', *The New Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal*, 1 new series (January 1821), 3.
141. 'Apology to the American People', *Spirit of the English Magazines*, 10 (March 1822), 437–440.
142. 'New Monthly Magazine – On the Complaints in America against the British Press', *Literary and Scientific Repository, and Critical Review*, 4 (January 1822), 226–232. 'Preface – To New Monthly Magazine by Thomas Campbell', *Literary and Scientific Repository, and Critical Review*, 4 (January 1822), 232–237.
143. John Davis, *The American Mariners: or, The Atlantic Voyage, A Moral Poem* (London: Brodie and Dowding Salisbury, 1824).
144. Crook, *American Democracy in English Politics*.
145. 'Duncan's Travels in America', *Eclectic Review*, 22 (July 1824), 79.
146. From the *Boston Patriot* as printed in 'British Liberality', *The New England-Galaxy and United States Literary Advertiser*, 7 (November 26, 1824), 3.
147. 'American Literature', *The American Athenaeum: A Repository of Belles Lettres, Science, and the Arts*, 1 (May 19, 1825), 1.
148. Edward Clarke, H. Bigelow, S. Gross, T. Thomas, and J. S. Billings, *A Century of American Medicine, 1776–1876* (Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea, 1876), 332.
149. 'American Literature', *The American Athenaeum: A Repository of Belles Lettres, Science, and the Arts*, 1 (May 19, 1825), 1.
150. Thomas Jefferson, *The Works of Thomas Jefferson,* Federal Edition (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904–5), Vol. 12, Chapter: *TO CHARLES JARED INGERSOLL 1,* accessed from http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/808/88485 on April 9, 2012.
151. 'Signs of the Times', *Edinburgh Review*, 49 (June 1829), 439–459; 'United States of America', *Edinburgh Review*, 49 (June 1829), 473–525.
152. Sam W. Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 37. Haynes gives a rounded view of a range of Anglo-American connections and jealousies from 1815 to the 1850s.

Conclusion: Heroes, But No Victors

1. Paulding, *The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan* (New York: Inskeep and Bradford, 1812), 7.
2. Michel Chevalier, *Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961), 139.
3. Kathleen Burk, *Old World, New World: Great Britain and America from the Beginning* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2007), 306.
4. 'National Feelings and Prejudices', *Niles' Weekly Register*, 16 (April 3, 1819), 106.
5. A. G. Hopkins, 'The United States, 1783–1861: Britain's Honorary Dominion?', *Britain and the World*, 4 (September 2011), 232–246.
6. Spencer, *Quest for Nationality: An American Literary Campaign* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1957).
7. As quoted in Robert Weisbuch, *Atlantic Double-Cross: American Literature and British Influence in the Age of Emerson* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 12.
8. 'Bookman Brevities', *The Bookman: An Illustrated Magazine of Literature and Life*, 41 (April 1915), 224.
9. Walter L. Arnstein, 'Queen Victoria and the United States', in Fred M. Leventhal and Roland Quinalt (eds), *Anglo-American Attitudes: From Revolution to Partnership* (Burlington; Ashgate, 2000); Frank Prochaska, *The Eagle and the Crown: Americans and the British Monarchy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).
10. Sam W. Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 10. See also Hopkins, 'The United States, 1783–1861: Britain's Honorary Dominion?'.
11. *The Letters of James Kirke Paulding*, ed. Ralph M. Aderman (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), 123–124.
12. *Letters of James Kirke Paulding*, 425–426.
13. 'Europe Long Ago', *United States Magazine, and Democratic Review*, 5 (January 1839), 66.
14. Ingersoll, *Recollections, Historical, Political, Biographical, and Social*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1861), 17, 330–331.
15. Quoted in William Irving Paulding, *Literary Life of James K. Paulding* (New York: Charles Scribner and Company, 1867), 278.
16. William Charvat, *Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810–1835* (Philadelphia, 1936), 171–172.
17. Everett doubted that a traveler's limited view of a foreign country could satisfy epistemological concerns: 'We are aware how difficult it is to find a way of obtaining correct views of the political relations of foreign countries; but we know that it is not the way, to take a zealous side with either of the parties in these controversies, where both are sure to be more or less in the wrong; – or equally in the right'; Everett, 'Views of Society and Manners in America', *North American Review,* 14 (January 1822), 18. In other articles, Everett noted the impossibility for travelers to know correctly a country, 'not only English travellers in America, but all travellers in all countries'; 'England and America', *North American Review*, 13 (July 1821), 24. 'It is impossible to become acquainted with a foreign country in a short or even

a long excursion through it'; 'Mr. Walsh's *Appeal*', *North American Review*, 10 (1820), 338.

18. 'We have never yet seen any discussion of American affairs in Europe, or any attempt to speak definitely of the nature of our political constitutions which evinced an accurate acquaintance with this fundamental part, this essential feature of our organization, the distinction and limitation of the national and state sovereignties respectively'; Everett, 'Mr. Walsh's *Appeal*', 345.
19. Everett, 'De Tocqueville's Democracy in America', *North American Review*, 43 (July 1836), 179. Everett spent lots of time with Tocqueville and likely influenced his account of America. See George Wilson Pierson, *Tocqueville in America*, reprint (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). For Ingersoll and Walsh's contact with Tocqueville, see Pierson, Chapter XXXVI, 'Sounding the Pennsylvania Mind', and Chapter XXXIX, 'Philadelphia Again'. A century later, Pierson found the documents from Walsh still bundled in Tocqueville's Normandy chateau, 'their condition indicating that perhaps after all they had served as edification only . . . for worms' (537).
20. Joseph Eaton, 'America in Paris: Cultural Diplomacy and the Evolution of American Nationalism, 1810–1860', paper presented at the annual meeting for the Society for the Historians of American Foreign Relations, Alexandria, Virginia, June 2011; David McCullough, *The Greater Journey: Americans in Paris* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011), 196.
21. *New York Times* (April 14, 1852).
22. 'Obituary of Robert Walsh', *Historical Magazine*, 3 (1859), 160.

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