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Revolutionary Political Propaganda
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REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL PROPAGANDA
IN EARLY AMERICAN MAGAZINES

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Preface

It is not the purpose of this study to sharply define the meaning of political propaganda. But rather it represents an investigation into and a summarization of the political writing published in three American magazines from 1770 to 1780. Since these magazines did wholeheartedly support the colonial cause, it has been assumed that the political writing therein had, in essence, propaganda purposes.

In addition to the presentation of a detailed examination of magazine political propaganda, it is hoped that the summarization of individual essays, speech texts, and poems will have, in some way, added to the history of the American Revolution and to the histories of revolutionary literature.

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I consider such easy vehicles of knowledge more happily calculated than any other, to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry and meliorate the morals of an enlightened and free people.

George Washington to
Matthew Carey on American
Magazines (1788).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND: 1752-1770.

By most historians it has been commonly agreed that the American Revolution was first fought and won in the hearts and minds of the American people. Perhaps it can be said that any revolution, political or otherwise, must be fought by a people who clearly see the reasons for the revolt against the prevailing order. The ideology of revolution must have become a part of the cultural ideology of the people who resort to revolt before that movement can have hope of success.

The success of the American revolution depended much on the scattered and ill-equipped colonies recognizing a common purpose in their attempt at independence. Just what the reasons for revolt, the real origins of the revolution, were has been pointed out at great length by Philip Davidson, Moses Coit Tyler, Carl Becker, John C. Miller, and a host of other capable historians. This study is concerned with the dissemination of revolutionary propaganda throughout the colonies. Advertisement of reasons for revolt is a necessary prelude to the issue of guns and ammunition. The constant restatement of the aims of the conflict is necessary throughout the revolutionary campaign. Though the American people felt individual and group resentment toward British control of colonial affairs, it must be conceded that without concerted effort on the part

of organized propaganda open and successful revolt probably would not have occurred.

The pamphlet, broadside, newspaper, and magazine furnished the American revolutionary writer with a means for distributing opinion, bombast, and argument which spurred the colonial population toward the official declaration of independence and, more important, the physical support of that declaration by united colonial armed force.

The magazine as a propaganda medium has been treated lightly in almost every study of American revolutionary propaganda. Lyon Norman Richardson and Frank Luther Mott have given space to the near dozen American magazines which included articles of political importance prior to and during the revolution. However no close, detailed examination of political propaganda in early American magazines is available at this time. Davidson in his Propaganda and the American Revolution dismisses¹ the magazine as a real propaganda instrument. This is done in view of their short existence and limited circulation. Such an argument could have been used as a valid excuse for disregarding the potent pamphlet--or the broadside. True the magazine was in its infancy--and also true the political magazines were few in number. It is not the purpose of this study, however, to attempt to present the magazine as the important propaganda medium. It is not suggested that the magazine ranks higher than last among the four listed types of propaganda media. However of the ninety-eight magazines published in this country before 1800, there were twelve published between 1752 and 1779 which were either in whole or in

1 Philip Davidson, Propaganda and the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: 1941), p. 224.

part political. Not all of them supported the revolutionary policies. Until 1769, when The American Magazine or General Repository was published in Philadelphia, none of the magazines show any matter within their pages smacking of political unrest in the colonies. At the onset it can be demonstrated that Mr. Davidson's comment that there were no Tory magazines is invalid. The existence of The New American Magazine (1758-60), The Censor (1771-72), and The Penny Post (1769) as loyalist journals is certain.²

It is the purpose of this study to give a summary account of the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary political propaganda which was published in American magazines between 1752 and 1770. The chief attention of the study, however will be given to a detailed account of revolutionary political propaganda in three magazines published between 1770 and 1780. Three magazines, one in Boston and two in Philadelphia, which were published during the decade after 1770 will serve as the chief sources for this study. Previous to 1770 and beginning in 1752 nine other magazines containing political articles and commentary were published in America. These will be considered as preliminary sources denoting a changing colonial attitude toward their relationship with the mother country during and after the French and Indian War.

Though the circulation of the magazines individually and en toto is not impressive, the effect of their publication cannot be lightly dismissed. Too many of these magazines were financed and printed for specific political purposes, too many rabid revolutionary leaders had a hand in

2 Lyon Norman Richardson, A History of Early American Magazines (New York: 1931), pp. 123-24, 149, 156-62. Hereinafter this work will be referred to as Richardson.

their publication, too many other leaders read them for the total impact of magazine propaganda during the revolutionary years to go unexamined.

Three cities--Boston, New York, and Philadelphia--were the centers of magazine production in America during the period from 1752 to 1790. Only one other site, Woodbridge, New Jersey, favored a printing house devoted to this type of periodical. Of the nine political magazines whose publication ended before 1770, four were printed in New York, three in Philadelphia, and one in Boston.³

From November 1752 to July 1755, James Parker and various associates, chiefly William Weyman, intermittently undertook magazine publication. The experience was a trying and unhappy one for the persistent Parker who ran into no end of trouble with royal authority while publishing and printing The Independent Reflector: or, Weekly Essays on Sundry Important Subjects (November 30, 1752-November 22, 1753), The Occasional Reverberator (September 7, 1753-October 5, 1753), The Instructor (March 6, 1755-May 8, 1755), and John Englishman (April 9, 1755-July 5, 1755). All four magazines were printed in New York City. In addition to the Parker publications were The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies (October 1757-October 1758) published in Philadelphia by William Bradford; The New American Magazine (January 1758-March 1760), another Parker publication, published in Woodbridge, New Jersey; and The New-England Magazine (August-October 1753) published in Boston by Benjamin Mecom.⁴

These publications comprise the sources which denote an under-current of change in colonial America due to the French and Indian War and subsequent

3 See Appendix I for a chronological listing of these magazines.

4 Richardson, pp. 364-66.

English legislation regarding the colonies.

The four Parker periodicals published in New York during 1752-55 were all weeklies of short duration. All were four page publications, journalistic in style, but so altered in make-up that they may be considered magazines. William Livingston, William Smith, Jr., and John Morin Scott were editorial assistants on Parker's newspaper, The New York Gazette,⁵ and much of the writing in the first two magazines is attributed to them. In a predominately Dutch colony Parker and his associates had some ideas on religious and political liberty which they wished to print. These magazines were a safer medium than the newspaper for opinion which might offend royal authority to the extent that the guilty publication would be ordered closed. Parker often ran into difficulty with the King's officers and used these magazines to voice his demands for a free press. He was also opposed to a state church. Livingston and Smith wrote so effectively that Parker stopped the first publication. At the same time he reluctantly agreed to print the second, The Occasional Reverberator,⁶ which his assistants wrote. This periodical lasted only four issues.

By 1755 the French and Indian War was a reality and Parker fought, verbally, the territorial claims of France and Spain. His attitude was not that of an English loyalist but of an enterprising colonist who wanted the western lands for profitable colonial expansion. He urged the colonists⁷ to fight and demanded English aid.

5 Richardson, p. 75 ff.

6 Richardson, pp. 90-91.

7 See The Instructor, Nos. 1-6, University Microfilm, American periodical Series 63, Ann Arbor.

The Rise of the American Spirit

The Period 1752-1763. The years surrounding the French and Indian War in America had an effect on colonial thinking which whispered of things to come after 1770. The revolutionary period in America can best be said to begin in 1770 when Lord North succeeded Lord Grafton as English Prime Minister under George III who came to the throne in 1760. The Seven Years' War with France, which had begun during the reign of George II, ended in 1763, leaving the burden of a heavy debt on the new Hanover king. During the Seven Years' War and its American phase, the French and Indian War, colonial thinking about the relationship of colony and mother country underwent a decided change.

Although America held to British ideas of law, admired and defended the British Constitution, and felt themselves to be Britons, a difference was growing in America. This was recognized by J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur in his Letters from an American Farmer. De Crevecoeur recognized in the American descendants of English forebears a spirit of independence that went with the newness of the country. This spirit created a cultural ideology different from that of England.

In Britain's war against Catholic France religion helped draw American men into the conflict. Protestant America, especially Calvinist New England, found the idea of French domination repulsive and eagerly suppressed border uprisings to the north and west. Benjamin Franklin wrote of Canada's

8 John C. Miller, Origins of the American Revolution (Boston: 1943), pp. 65-78, 279-80.

9 The Literary History of the United States (New York: 1948), pp. 195-96.

fall: "None can more sincerely rejoice than I do, on the reduction of
Canada; and this is not merely as I am a colonist, but as I am a Briton." ¹⁰

At this same time, especially after the Peace of Paris in 1763,
men like John Adams, Francis Hopkinson, Benjamin Rush, and Albert and
William Lee exulted in being a "Briton". ¹¹ Sectional boundary disputes
in the West in the 1760's between the colonies and with France were
caused by an American premonition of "manifest destiny", which envisioned
England with its prize possession America defending English supremacy
and the English Constitution against all foes.

At the same time some early American magazines registered the rise
of political differences. Most magazines in America from 1741 to 1794
"were more concerned with informational articles than belles lettres . . .
and conformably the chief topic of the period was politics." ¹² It may
easily be noted by magazine sub-titles that treating current political
matters was a chief purpose of the journals. Two early Philadelphia
magazines devoted most of their pages to politics. "The American Maga-
zine and the General Magazine gave more than half its space to such
material." ¹³

The General Magazine was chiefly interested in the currency question,

¹⁰ Writings of Benjamin Franklin, ed. Albert Smyth (New York: 1907),
IV, 4.

¹¹ Evarts Boutell Greene, The Revolutionary Generation: 1763-1790
(New York: 1943), p. 182. Hereinafter this work will be cited as Greene.

¹² Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines: 1741-1850
(New York: 1930), I, 46. Hereinafter this work will be cited as Mott.

¹³ Mott, p. 47.

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printing many documents. Andrew Bradford's American Magazine, or a Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies was America's first magazine. Immigration, colonial legislative systems, currency, and the centralized government of Maryland were popular topics with
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 Bradford.

By 1757 a clear, bold American voice was sounded in the pages of Provost Smith's American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle. The journal's purposes were said to be:

We shall think it our duty to give our readers such an authentic account of everything relating to our happiness and safety, as a free people have a right to expect; and, as we are independent in our situation, no power whatsoever shall either awe or influence us, in the discharge of our engagements with the public . . . The articles published shall tend to promote peace and good government, industry and public spirit, a love of LIBERTY and our excellent
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 English Constitution.

This magazine carried articles on colonial defense against the French and Indians, called attention to violent acts of the enemy on Americans of the various frontiers, and made much of France as a foe who represented the opposite of American custom.

14 Mott, pp. 73-77. This was Franklin's magazine, printed during 1741 when the business of establishing colonial currency was of much interest.

15 Richardson, pp. 17-28.

16 The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle, I, p. 82.

Reverend Smith's journal was the first real expression of American spirit via the magazine. James Parker was highly critical of religious and political control by royal officers during the 1750's but on other particulars than those which concerned Smith. This editor was much concerned with the defense of the colonies against threatened French invasion.

It is important to note that during the French War, England was so occupied with trouble close at home that colonial pleas for military aid were for the most part unanswered. Hence, the task of defense against Indian uprisings, which were encouraged by the French, in New England, New York, and Western Pennsylvania was a task for colonial forces. This justifies the elation of Franklin and others when victory came. It also justifies certain colonial resentment to an unjust share of the war debt which George III heaped upon them after 1763.

It is also important to note that both England and France looked upon America as additional territory for the crown in the vast international land-hunt underway during this period. The colonies, on the other hand, desired industrial and commercial expansion; they looked forward to
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extensive growth and development.

The previously mentioned American Magazine (1757-58) and James Parker's New American Magazine (1758-60) are most important as political documents during this period. Both favored colonial war with France; Parker based his opinions on the rights of Great Britain in colonial America; both evidenced an extended suspicion of Catholic France on the north and Spain on the south; both suppressed a rising desire in some

quarters to break with Britain over lack of military aid. The desire to cultivate civilization, promote knowledge, and advance an American literature was expressed by both magazines.¹⁸

The Period 1762-1770. Some of the first unrest in America came after the Peace of Paris in 1763. The effect of the French and Indian War on American political thinking was not to be easily erased by subsequent British legislative action. Rather, the effect was to be more strongly felt in the colonies and further alienation from English ideology was in the offing.

Colonial trade fell off during and immediately after the war. In an effort to regain this trade American merchants once again sought French markets only to have the British navy exercise seizure of colonial vessels for running customs. Further commercial regulations came about adding power to royal customs officials in the colonies and to the admiralty courts.

The accession to the throne of George III in 1760 began the series of

18 Richardson, pp. 98-100. Samuel Nevill, who edited Parker's magazine, included his A History of the Continent of America in the New American Magazine. Provost William Smith headed the College and Academy of Philadelphia which later became the University of Pennsylvania. Smith at this time had trouble with the Quaker non-defense plan regarding the Pennsylvania frontier. In 1779 he resigned as provost because of his Tory sympathies. Smith's pro-British opinions are expressed in seven articles signed "Antigallican". See The American Magazine, I, pp. 78-82, 116-19, 146-69, 231-34, 321-34, 423-31, 484-86.

events which led to the Revolution. Insofar as the colonies were concerned the French and Indian War was fought to insure colonial expansion into the West. Then after Pontiac's rebellion came the Proclamation of 1763 which forbade that expansion beyond the rivers which empty into the Atlantic. This, however, the colonists ignored, pushing on into upper ¹⁹ Ohio in 1767. Thus with sea-trade thwarted and inland expansion illegal as a result of the French war, the colonists felt their efforts had been in vain. Not to be permanently deprived of growth and prosperity venturesome colonists violated both edicts and ran into British trouble, especially regarding foreign commerce.

To list the subsequent acts briefly which led to open hostility, the dates below will help fill the gap in magazine production in America. By 1767 regulations were severe. In 1769 a general magazine with political commentary appeared. Since the coronation of George III in 1760 a decade had passed before America felt the first British assault. Not until 1774 would an American magazine liberally stud its pages with revolutionary writing. However, by the end of Lord North's first year as Prime Minister, if not before, the die was cast. After 1770 propaganda vehicles were needed to stir the colonists to open declared rebellion.

The events:

1764--the Sugar Act, taxing certain imports to raise funds for the support of British government in the colonies; the Currency Act forbidding colonial issue of paper money.

19 John D. Hicks, A Short History of American Democracy (New York: 1946), pp. 73-75.

1765--the infamous Stamp Act on many articles, including publications, presumably to pay costs of British colonial government; the Quartering Act requiring Americans to house and feed British regulars in the colonies.

1766--the Declaratory Act asserting the supreme legislature of George III which made all colonial law.

1767--the Customs Collecting Act placing British collectors in the colonies; the Revenue Act adding more taxes on imports needed by the colonists (lead, paint, etc.); the Tea Act which favored the East India Company over American competitors.

1768--the arrival of British troops in Boston.

1770--the ministry of Lord North began; the Boston massacre in March.

1773--the Tea Act strengthened.

1774--the closing of the Port of Boston; the transporting of accused colonists to England or other colonies for trial; the Quebec Act allowing French-Canadians all land south to the Ohio river.

1775--North's conciliatory propositions and the colonies' subsequent refusal of them.

The period just after the arrival of British troops in Boston saw the American Magazine, or General Repository begin publication in Phila-

20 Opinions of important steps toward the war were compiled from Hicks, pp. 73-84; and Miller, pp. ix-x.

delphia. By 1774 when The Royal American Magazine came into being the road back was impossible, it seemed. Yet as late as the spring of 1775 colonists who were ardent supporters of the revolution were still calling themselves Englishmen.

In January 1769 under the editor-ship of Lewis Nicola and published by William and Thomas Bradford The American Magazine or General Repository was marketed in Philadelphia. In all nine numbers were published before the magazine went out of business in September. This publication marked the end of a low-point in American magazine production. The Bradford's offered the American reading public the first general magazine of any size since James Parker's The New American Magazine had ceased publication in March 1760. (See Appendix I). Following in Philadelphia were the nineteen monthly issues of The Pennsylvania Magazine or American Monthly Museum published by Robert Aitken and edited by Tom Paine. During the war Hugh Henry Brackenridge's The United States Magazine: a Repository of History, Politics and Literature was published monthly, January through December, for 1779. Francis Bailey was publisher of the journal with
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Brackenridge as editor. The two Boston periodicals of political importance: The Censor published by Ezekiel Russell, twenty-four numbers between November 23, 1771 and May 2, 1772, and The Royal American Magazine, or Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement, a monthly published by the famous and rebellious Isaiah Thomas from January 1774 until March 1775.

The period to be covered in detail begins in 1774 when Thomas began publication. Three months before Thomas disbanded The Royal American

Magazine, the partnership of Aitken and Faine took up the political torch in Philadelphia with their Pennsylvania Magazine. This periodical ended the month the Declaration was signed. The Magazine edited by Brockenridge contains the only political writing during the war years and was the only magazine published in America from July, 1776 until October, 1783. The Royal American Magazine, The Pennsylvania Magazine, and The United States Magazine will serve as the primary sources of political propaganda, commentary, and documents for the remainder of this study. The Censor, previously but briefly discussed, the Tory organ in rebellious Boston, will not be included for detailed examination since this paper is devoted entirely to the revolutionary side of the issue.

Reference to events happening in America which definitely led to war have purposefully been excluded from those dates and events mentioned here. They are treated in accounts and commentary to be examined in detail. The journals will be treated individually and in order of their initial publication dates.

CHAPTER II

THE ROYAL AMERICAN MAGAZINE, OR
UNIVERSAL REPOSITORY OF INSTRUCTION AND AMUSEMENT.

In Boston Isaiah Thomas, publisher of the Massachusetts Spy, a leading colonial newspaper, issued the first number of The Royal American Magazine in January, 1774. This publication was the first of two magazines of political value to be offered the American reading public immediately previous to the Revolutionary War. This magazine survived for fifteen months in troubled Boston ending publication in March, 1775, at the time of the Lexington-Concord battle. Fortunately the last three issues of this repository overlap the first three numbers of The Pennsylvania Magazine which began publication in January, 1775. Thus magazine political propaganda can be traced continuously from January, 1774, through July 1776, in these two magazines the latter of which will be dealt with in the subsequent chapter.

The Royal American Magazine was published for fifteen consecutive months under the editorship of Thomas for the first six issues and his successor, Joseph Greenleaf, for the remaining nine. Each issue contained forty octavo pages with illustrations from time to time of a varied nature.

The first editor; Isaiah Thomas, was a well travelled man. He had seen the Atlantic seaboard from Halifax to Charleston as he wandered about as a journeyman printer. This man was as much hated by the Royalists as Sam Adams and John Hancock. His Massachusetts Spy proved him "a bold patriot and trumpeter of sedition." (Mott, p. 83). As early as 1771 Thomas was ordered to court for libelling Governor Thomas Hutchinson "an usurper" but the court refused to indict him. His was the first general magazine in the colonies for four years and, consequently, the first to

carry political writing with direct reference to events and opinions which lead to war.

The style and make-up of the magazine was set by Thomas. His three main sections: conventional and political essays, poetical essays, and historical chronicle or current news were not violated by Greenleaf. The patriot cause is most evident in the six issues supervised by Thomas though Greenleaf continued to print both essays and poems of a political nature. A conspicuous absence is noted in the August issue of Thomas' caustic preface to the "Historical Chronicle" section which he had always printed in italics. Greenleaf's discontinuance of this practice greatly diminished the propaganda value of this section. Where Thomas could not refrain from comment, his successor subjectively reported foreign and domestic news.

The magazine's cover was of heavy brown paper with the space usually given to announcements on the front and advertisements on the back. However in May and June Thomas embellished the front with a Milton quotation of political significance:

Our necks are under Persecution. What man can do against them,
not afraid, Though to The Death; against such Cruelties with
inward consolation recompens'd: And oft supported so, as shall
amaze Their Proudest Persecutors.

In the preface to the June, 1774, issue Thomas announced that he was ceasing publication because of the troubled times:

The Distresses of the Town of Boston, by the shutting up of our
Port, and throwing all Ranks of Men into Confusion, has so embar-
rassed those good Gentlemen, among the rest of their Fellow-
Countrymen, who kindly promised to assist the editor . . . Fully
vindicating the Propriety of the ancient observation, that "Arts

and Arms are not very agreeable companions" . . . He Thomas therefore proposes to suspend the publication for a few months, until the affairs of this Country are a little better settled . . . than at present bless the Neighbourhood of unhappy Boston!

Actually the July and August issues were late since Greenleaf did not immediately assume editorship. However the new publisher issued six more numbers for 1774 beginning in September. (Mott, p. 8²²). Greenleaf did an admirable job by fulfilling his subscriber's contracts. He regretted the poor craftsmanship of the printing but he was using American ink because his patriotic subscribers wanted no British goods.

I was unprepared with a TYPE so good as I could wish for the business; the evil would have been remedied but for the non-importation agreement, which it was MY DUTY to comply with: The INK also has been poor, but as it was of AMERICAN MANUFACTURE my customers were not only willing but desirous that I should use it.

Thomas, though he must have hated the author, began printing Gov. Thomas Hutchinson's The History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, in installments, from the first issue. Greenleaf continued this practice throughout the magazine's life.

22 See preface to the Supplement at the end of Volume I.

23 Unpagged Preface at end of Volume II.

24. The reader might notice that Greenleaf makes an error in pagination in the August issue. He prints page 328 then numbers the next 297. This error is partially corrected in the September issue. Footnote references, however, will follow the actual page numbers as printed by Greenleaf.

Each section of the magazine will be dealt with separately. The conventional and political essays fill the largest single section of the magazine's pages. Of course only those essays of political importance will deserve mention in this study. Following the essays will be a detailed discussion of the political poetry. The "Historical Chronicle" section, due to its comparative unimportance, will be treated last. The engravings of Paul Revere include four political cartoons which are described in the final pages of this chapter.

The Political Essays.

Some attempt has been made to separate the political essays into categories worthy of separate discussion. This presents some difficulty since not every essay falls entirely within the proposed categorical bounds. However considering their authors' chief aims the essays are grouped as follows: essays on kings, prime ministers and tyranny; essays on patriotism; anti-Tory essays; essays on liberty; essays on progress and union in America; and texts of orations and sermons. Each of the seven types will be dealt with in order.

Lord North was singled out for the most caustic criticism by the essay writers. In many cases his name was mentioned only by inference as was the case in the October attack "The Minister."²⁵ There can be little doubt that the criticism was intended for North. Feeling against him was rising throughout the colonies. This essay declared that George III was violating his legal bounds by retaining his prime minister. Heavy sarcasm outlines the seven steps by which tyrannous prime ministers are created.

25 The Royal American Magazine I, pp. 373-76. Hereinafter references will be made by volume and page number.

With the aid of a strong army and bribed party followers the minister could begin his usurpation of the people's rights. Legislating against far removed colonies was recommended as a sound second step especially if the minister fought his critics with a hired crew of writers. If his propagandists weren't successful a jury of well-chosen men could fill the jails with the journalistic opposition. In order to convince the King of his abilities the minister should cause a rebellion, then bravely suppress it with armed force. Trickery of excellent minds would advocate free elections of Parliament members among the people. This lulled the populace into a sense of security. Later their political choices could easily be bought. Once control of Parliament was gained, legislation to enslave the people could begin in earnest. The ultimate victory would be won when the people were so suppressed that they must either follow the minister's edicts or starve. The stubborn who starved slowly should be shot.

The target for a July essay, "Why Princes seldom come to Truth", is again Lord North. This writer openly calls the prime minister a liar--and King George lazy and haughty: "Princes, whose heads are full of nothing but high ideas of their own Majesty, fancy it below them to make friendship among their subjects." (I, p. 233). Instead they rely upon those around them for information and seldom hear a just account of their subjects' desires.

North was criticized severely in the final issue by one essayist who not only demanded his removal but advocated an extensive change in British government. In "Steps to Tyranny" the essayist demands a separation of executive and legislative powers with limits provided for both in "a constitution where every man is truly free", not one where a blending of

the two agencies produce laws that confound individual rights. (II, p. 101).

Three essays submit a great deal of advice to George III on the business of being an able monarch. "The Bees, A Fable" is an address to a young Prince who has been observing the well-ordered life of these insects. The sage Queen Bee eventually speaks to the observer: "We suffer nothing like disorder, no licentiousness among us: they are most esteemed, who by their capacity and diligence, can do most for the publick weal. Our first places are bestowed where there is most merit Go and imitate us." (I, p. 246).

An often argued point at this time was the origin of princes and the seat of their power. George III is here reminded that his first duty to his subjects is their care. Men seated their peers as royalty only to preserve justice and restrain the appetites of men who "were always invading the liberty, the property, and even the lives of each other." The kind, by the eternal practices of men, was bound "under the most sacred ties to
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protect and defend" his subjects.

The King was further advised that freedom of speech and thought advance the growth of a kingdom. This freedom was an inherited right of every subject. A king who usurped this right overstepped his powers and must suffer the wrath of his people. "He who attempts to destroy the rights and liberties of a free people must expect their highest resentment." (I, p. 339).

In September Greenleaf printed an account of a Chinese ruler who at thirty-two years was bereft of his kingdom by two clever ministers who hid

his people's grievances. Almost every step of downward progress noted by the author parallels the relationship of North and George III after 1770. The stupidity of the monarch and the knavery of his counsellors are described at length.

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The "Thirty-three Maxims of State" by George Lord Saville, former Marquis and Earl of Halifax, offered a great deal of advice which George III definitely was not heeding. Three of these maxims for rulers became familiar points of argument in America. They are numbered below as the author intended:

4) That power and liberty are like heat and moisture; where they are well mixt, everything prospers; where they are single, they are destructive.

19) That it is less dangerous for a prince to mind too much what the people say, than too little.

33) That a people may let a king fall, yet remain a people; but if a king let his people slip from him, he is no longer a king. (I, pp. 253-54).

The December issue, for its political commentary, relied upon "An Essay on British Government." The King, Lords, Ministers, and all titled men in England were ridiculed by this article. The chief aim of the author was to demonstrate that England was governed by an aristocracy. The cabinet members, especially Lord North, were called "artful ministers" who hated liberty and the commoner. (I, pp. 456-59).

Patriotism was by 1774 a favorite theme among American essayists and poets. Five essays intended to excite the colonists to strong, effective

resistance were published in The Royal American Magazine. The number is unimpressive but the tone is one of fire and earnest conviction. Definite lines were being drawn throughout the colonies in 1774 with the rebels on one side, the Tories on the other. Definite actions were proposed to thwart and resist British pressure. The essayist advertised the resistance measures and deepened the mark of the line.

Two articles especially reflect the tone of the rebel propagandist. "Tertius Cato" in December, 1774, issued an earnest petition for nationwide support of Congressional proposals. He requested patriots to send nothing to Britain and told of the mother-country's desperate need for American goods. Cato was, at this early date, ready to forego the business of petitioning the King in hope of conciliation. American petitions would go as far as Lord North, he assured his readers, then be tossed aside. Furthermore, he declared, petitioning was a sign of weakness, of retreat: "This is what Lord North wants; this is what he threatened, to bring America to his feet, shall America then hold their rights, at the will of Lord North? God forbid!" (I, p. 455). An exhortation to pray to God and stand aloof from tyranny concludes this brave attack. Americans must remain firm: "O Americans, tarnish not the glory of your former actions, by your
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future conduct."

The patriotic motive of the magazine, if doubted in the first issue, was easily discernible in February, 1774. "The Character of the American Patriot", published during the Thomas regime, glorified the rebel as a man of devout purposes. (I, pp. 44-45).

The American patriot was described as a citizen in a blessed land where

the Bible was the law book, where men were not devoted to money, title, or birth. The continuance of liberty under God was said to be the sole aim of the patriot who "considered all men his brethren." He was the earth's most noble creature. "The heavens will weep if this man is destroyed." (I, p. 45).

The July issue played the patriotic theme heavily with essays "On Public Spirit", "Of Cowardice", and the story of how St. Pierre led the French at Calais in a valiant defense of their liberty against the powerful army of Edward III. The use of the historical example was intended to demonstrate that the brave and resolute were richly rewarded for defending their rights. (I, pp. 248-52).

The essay "On Public Spirit" rebuked the selfish, the opportunists, and those who lived in comfort at the expense of liberty. The writer was not Tory-baiting but trying to arouse a "spirit against destruction." To him the first concern of the colonists should have been the protection of their rights. All else was secondary. (I, pp. 239-40).

Human cowardice was discussed with Tory in mind. The essay an account of how brave men follow those who risk their lives for the safety of their "townfolks and countrymen". At the same time it is a satire on men who hid when the noise of battle was heard. The writer told the story of Theophrastus, the man who went to battle without his sword that he might return to his tent and safety when the enemy drew near. (I, p. 242).

Only one essay, "The High Church Catechism" by "Charles Tory", was wholly directed against Toryism in the colonies. (I, pp. 307-10). In a vicious parody on the Church of England and Catholicism the Tories are described as descendants of James II and his followers. The implication was that such men as Lord North in England and his supporters in America

were undermining the Hanover rule by making it seem as "odious" as possible. The essay's parody on the ceremony of baptism and the ten commandments would have been effective political satire in an America where anything tainted with popery was much distrusted. The state church, as it existed in England and America, was charged by the writer of giving baptismal orders to parents that they teach their children to renounce charity, believe in Christian slavery and persecution, and obey all royal commands. The church further taught the divine right of kings, absolute passive obedience of the king as a guard against damnation, and the idea "that even popish slavery is infinitely better than our present protestant liberty". The ten commandments were rewritten, said this writer, to promote Toryism.

The dissemination of the American idea of true liberty was a frequent essay subject. Even in the worst of times colonial writers based much of their argument on the idea that English liberty was a national birthright. The noted advocates of liberty in English history, especially Locke, were often paraphrased or quoted.

One of the best articles on liberty was "The Freeholders Political Catechism". (I, pp. 62-64). This writer declared that all Englishmen were freemen, that no one gave them their liberty, but that it was a natural right supported by law: "I am free, not from the law, but by the law." (I, p. 63). The freeholder's duties were to let all men enjoy their natural rights and oppose "with all the powers of my mind and body, such as are enemies of our good constitution." (I, p. 63). The trinity of English law-making, the King, Lords, and Commons, were declared a unity bound by law to act with a single purpose. The question of a freeholders loyalty was not one of obeying royal commands though contrary to law but

but of obeying that law which was intended for the good of the people. Contrary obedience made a freeholder a traitor.

This sort of logic allowed the American rebel to appear the most loyal of Englishmen. If believed, the argument could have converted many of the doubtful to the colonial cause. A religious basis for liberty was also presented for the edification of the reluctant. In an essay, "Liberty in General" (I, p. 7), one writer insisted that if the golden rule were a rule of government "hated tyranny would no longer sully humanity." "Freedom", he said, "is the greatest blessing in the world, and therefore to deprive a man of it, is the greatest injury we can do him." Massachusetts was commended in the article for outlawing all human slavery.

George III's tendency toward absolute rule was attacked in two essays, "The Sad Effects of General Corruption" (I, pp. 334-35) and "Of Power".²⁹ Corruption and absolute monarchy were seen as the chief enemies of liberty. The King represented power collective in his people. A royal action not beneficial to the people branded the monarch as a tyrant. Effort to indict Lord North as an evil force behind the throne and to lift as much blame as possible from George III's shoulders was a significant theme in most essays. The political writing on liberty was more concerned with stressing the true sources of freedom than with condemning the King as the cause of discord. In the final issue Thomas edited, some advice to future essayists recommended that they return to the laws of nature for clear political insight. Essayists were urged to write from their own thoughts

²⁹ II, p. 65. The former was an extract from the works of Algernon Sidney, slain by James II for his radical views.

instead of following the style of their predecessors if they hoped to
 effect a conclusion to the colonial controversy.³⁰

Four essays were devoted to the advancement of America with one definitely suggesting a closer union in colonial America. All but one were published during Thomas' editorship and demonstrate the devotion of this man to American progress. In Thomas' first issue "The Address of America's Genius, to the People in the American World" (I, pp. 10-11) and "To the Literate of America" (I, pp. 6-7), the American way of life was glorified. Men were urged to advance knowledge and create an American language in this land of promise where new ideas could flourish free of Old World influence. One writer, perhaps Thomas, had fine visions of the future:

---Here the streams of wealth, beams of science, the stars
 of wisdom, the light of virtue, and the sun of liberty, will all
 unite their rays, and form a sublime circle of human splendor
 and felicity.----

.
 Go on my Sons, in the ways of virtue and religion, and you shall
 be the glory and astonishment of the whole earth---The name of
 AMERICAN, will carry honour and majesty in the sound. (I, p. 6-7).

The great strength of America was said to lie in her agricultural resources. In March, 1774, "Agricola" asserted that agriculture, fully developed, would make America rich and independent. She would become superior to all her enemies, and become the terror as well as the envy of Europe". (I, p. 88).

30 "Theory of Agency", I, pp. 212-15.

A plea for inter-colonial organization is made in "An Essay on Union." (I, pp. 233-39). This writer believed Britain intended "to divide and conquer" and offered the Psalmist's advice "to dwell together in unity" as a means of opposition. There is more suggested here than just unity for English rights. This writer had ideas of independence which were clearly shown in his reference to England as a "foreign power." This writer maintained that the chief hope of the colonies was union against the "foreign power, from breach of faith, or solemn treaties, who persidiously presume to break in upon such public tranquillity" as one time existed in America. (I, p. 239). In a Boston magazine this would refer to nothing else but English plans to alter the colonial charters.

The texts of two orations and one sermon of propaganda value were printed in The Royal American Magazine. The first was the Hancock oration delivered in Boston on the fourth anniversary of the Boston massacre, March 5, 1774.³¹ (I, pp. 83-87). In the style typical of this first signer of the Declaration of Independence, Hancock declared his friendship to a government founded on justice and reason, a righteous government, "but I glory in publicly avowing my eternal enmity to tyranny." He branded the present British king as a monster who took away all local powers of government and sent troops to assist "a band of Traitors in trampling on the rights and liberties of his most loyal subjects in America". (I, p. 84).

The King's agents in America, Governor Hutchinson and Chief Justice

31 Also in the March issue opposite the contents page is the Revere portrait of Hancock "supported by the Goddess Liberty and an Ancient Briton [in Armor] of the time of the Magna Charta."

Oliver, were singled out for bitter denunciation. The British soldiers in Boston were cursed as "knaves, murderers, parricides, bloody butchers, villians, and noxious vermin." They were blamed for many things: the taking over of public buildings, filling the streets with noise and debauchery, violating the peace of the Sabbath, cursing in the streets, and violating Boston womanhood. (I, p. 35).

Hancock praised the abstinence of his townsmen from tea drinking and exhorted the men to stand ready to defend themselves. Further pleas were made by Hancock for colonial unity and for support of the Committee of Correspondence. At this time he proposed a colonial Congress whereby more resistance could be offered and "we shall also free ourselves from those unmanly pillagers who impudently tell us that they are licensed by an act of Parliament to thrust their dirty hands into the pockets of every American." (I, p. 37). To gain their rights, Hancock asserted, Americans must "follow the name of Adams." This was the road to patriotism, toward the fight against tyranny. The oration was delivered by a fearless man. In the Boston of March, 1774, a fearless editor passed it on to his readers.

In June Thomas published "Extracts from the Rev. John Lathrop's Artillery Election Sermon". (I, pp. 203-6). From Romans 12:13 Lathrop chose the words of Paul: "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men" as his text. Living in peace with present British rule, however, was described as an impossibility by this speaker. He attempted to justify the rebellion for two reasons: first, the rebellion was against a king guilty of violating an accepted constitution; second, that sovereign was attempting to enslave the people he had sworn an oath to protect. Locke's principle of the social contract, wherein men agree to live together, was designated by Lathrop as the supreme law. This,

along with his coronation oath, George III was accused of violating. Lathrop charged George III with treason. He further pronounced: "For such treason as many rulers as subjects have lost their heads." Most of Lathrop's abuse was directed against Lord North though the speaker did not exonerate from blame the king who tolerated such a prime minister.

If the oration of Hancock and the sermon of Lathrop were acceptable to Boston ears in the first months of 1774, one can well understand the alarm this city aroused in the Court of St. James.

Greenleaf soon added the text of a speech to the Magazine's pages. In the August issue he printed the pro-American remarks of the English bishop of St. Asaph (I, pp. 321-25). This long text was concluded in the September number (I, pp. 327-32). The English clergyman was highly critical of Parliament's plan to alter the charter of Massachusetts-Bay. He demanded full rights for American subjects, shamed British rule in India, and placed "arbitrary taxation" at the root of colonial discord. Parliament was taken to task for the "innocent language" of its recent bills which assumed that the colonies were entirely at fault. The bishop saw nothing remarkable in Boston's rebellious attitude: "I consider these violences as a natural effects of such measures as ours on the minds of freemen." (I, p. 327). This clergyman also condemned crown-appointed governors and judges in the colonies and urged that the colonies be allowed to manage their own affairs. The present rule, he declared, was making the love of English liberty a crime and had managed to destroy England's commerce, wealth, and power at an incredible speed--and by the government's own stupidity. (I, p. 331).

It is of some support to the idea that the early magazine editors intended their journals as propaganda media when the temper of such

printed texts are fully examined. No neutral or cautious editor would have included Reverend Lathrop's sermon or the bishop's speech. Nor would he have ventured so far as to listen to the fiery Hancock.

The Political Poetry

Political poetry can be separated into four classes: those singing the glory of America, criticism of British rule and English political figures, the dream or vision poem, and the popular Riddle or poetic riddle. The Riddle, which Brackenridge would not tolerate in The United State Magazine, is of minor importance as political writing yet one riddle and two answers are included because of their relevance to the contemporary turmoil in Boston. (See Appendix II).

Four "Poetical Essays" sang the glory of America, the haven of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed. Thomas included two of these in his first issue.³² The author of "Description of America" praised his country as the "Asylum of Mankind" where "the free-born spirit flies." He described each colony in turn mentioning beauties of nature peculiar to America. He prophesied a prosperous future when America would claim world superiority in trade. "A Prophecy on the Future Glory of America" anticipates an Emersonian golden age when man would fulfill his intended destiny. By the "eager swords" of America's heroes the poet promised peace; a peace in which free Americans could prosper. (See Appendix III).

In the March issue Dr. George Berkeley's "To the Honour of America" was printed (I, p. 114). Berkeley's opinions of America, from his one visit

32 "Description of America" (I, pp. 32-33); "A Prophecy on the Future Glory of America." (I, p. 31).

here in the 1720's, are of no political value except that he, too, saw the dawning of a golden age in this country. Berkeley had recognized an independence of spirit "Where men shall not impose, for truth and sense/
The pedantry of courts and schools." This was the sort of praise, though perhaps an anachronism in 1720, which rebel leaders sought.

A "Song for America", published in November (I, p. 429), predicted the liberation of besieged Boston through God's divine intervention. God, declared this poet, would smite the tyrants and drive "the sons of blood" from America. He would not long endure such evil in the land of the devout.

Poems on patriotism were frequent additions to the "Poetical Essays" section. The appeal to the patriot was made in rousing songs, satire on Toryism, and humorous verse wherein political figures were subject to poetic ridicule.

The October number devoted almost its entire poetry section to patriotic verse and song. A six stanza poem, "A Song" (I, p. 391), was submitted to "raise the dejected spirits of some" who were suffering most from the effects of arbitrary power. Now that the "Illustrious Congress" had met this writer assured his readers "our charter rights will we claim." The poet anticipated war and urged his countrymen to action: "If George should strike the blow/ We must for freedom fight,/ Undaunted courage show/ While we defend our right;/ In spite of the oppressive band/ Maintain the freedom of this land." (I, p. 391).

A poem with more patriotic fire was "A Liberty Song. Or, a small shoot from a New Hampshire Liberty Tree." (I, p. 394). This was a song of praise for the "sons of liberty" who harbored no fear of the British. The poet planned a rough reception for the British. (See Appendix IV).

Lord North's ability as a politician was attacked in "In Memory of Pedant All-Sense". (I, pp. 391-92). The Tory schoolmaster in the poem praised North as an astute politician and minister. By the same logic the poet maintains one could make an ass into a lady.

The final patriotic poem had no title. This clever verse revealed Tory sentiment when read as two separate columns but made patriotic sense if the lines were followed "right through." (I, p. 392. See Appendix V).

"Thoughts on Tyranny" (I, p. 67) told how the great nations of the ancient world, Greece and Rome, had risen to grandeur by throwing off oppressive rule. The poet awaited that time in America: "Hail! happy day, while patriotic fire/ Glows in the breast the noble mind t' inspire./ Flam'd by this spark America will shine,/ And lighten distant worlds with rays benign." (I, p. 67).

Lord North was called "the wretch that would ensnare" in "A Song on Liberty". (I, p. 192). The prime minister created such oppression in Boston that the poet called the patriot to fight for freedom. Confident rebel poets, like this one, often wrote of an America not yet free: "Torn from a world of tyrants, beneath this Western sky,/ We formed a new dominion, a land of liberty."

George III was the butt of ridicule in "Good Happy Kings." (I, p. 263). The poet promised to make the king's selfish crown "all thorny" and advised George III to mend his ways: "That state is certainly most blest/ Where most can be bestowed:/ Then who can doubt, that/ King's the best,/ Whose heart is great and good." (I, p. 263).

Even the poet laureate for George III, William Whitehead, was subject to ridicule. He was asked in "An Ode" (I, pp. 430-31) to "stop the stupid

verse", hear "prophetic Chatham speak", then join the poets of liberty instead of spending his powers in praise of "impious" statesmen.

"The Dying Negro", (I, pp. 71-72), supposedly written by a martyred "black", described brutality aboard a British prison ship. Later this poem was reprinted by Paine in The Pennsylvania Magazine. (II, p. 36). Paine said of the poem: "It marks with indelible infamy, a nation that boasts of its humanity." Thomas printed it without comment.

King George, his advisers, and British officials in Boston were the butt of satire in three poetical "visions" published in the magazine. "A Vision" published in November was direct criticism of British officials in America. (I, pp. 41-45). In his dream this writer witnessed the shooting of a twelve year-old boy by a customs house officer. The boy, standing on the dock with his mother, had cried "a Tea-shi" as he watched a vessel enter the harbor. When brought to trial the British official was acquitted by General Gage and pensioned by Lord North for his bravery in "subduing the turbulent Americans." It was assumed by the British that the shouting boy was attempting to collect a crowd to destroy the incoming tea cargo.

In order to insure the effect, this poem was followed immediately by "The Vision Realized." (I, pp. 45-46). This interpretation expanded the idea that Parliament had ordained that "killing is no murder" insofar as Americans were concerned. Such brutality, this writer insisted, had actually been committed. He was probably referring to the Boston massacre of 1770 though he insisted that he knew the true account of the boy's murder and the official's acquittal. He warned his readers that the day would come when the British would murder non-tea drinkers and citizens who aired grievances in public meetings.

In December two dreams were related. One nocturnal wanderer found himself in the palace of King Tyranny. (I, pp. 443-45). This correspondent in his waking hours had wanted to see George III before submitting to his laws. His wish was granted in a dream. He found the monarch, a horrible monster with blackened teeth and gore-stained lips, attended by Flattery and Ambition. Cruelty, Oppression, and Lunacy were the king's counsellors. These men ruled England from a roofless palace; the iron roof was said to have been removed to forge chains for Americans. Tyranny's feet rested upon "the petitions of injured innocence." In the dream royal thievery of colonial property was illustrated in the story of a farmer who so reluctantly gave his watch to the king that the prime minister, Hypocrisy, had him hanged.

Another "Vision" published in December (I, p. 471), needed an explanation of its allegorical meanings. This was done in January. (II, pp. 3-4). A snake (British troops) which had entered a well-tended garden (America) had been left alone until it grew large and fierce. British troops were rapidly growing in number and fierceness in Boston by 1775. In the dream residents of the garden of both sexes pounced on the snake and destroyed the menace as did the Massachusetts men when they met the British at Lexington. This writer unconsciously anticipated the event which would halt the publication of this magazine.

III The Historical Chronicle

As a section devoted to political discussion or political propaganda, the "Historical Chronicle" in The Royal American Magazine was extremely weak in comparison with The Pennsylvania Magazine. However during the six months Thomas supervised the publication the news section was prefaced with the editor's own opinions of recent happenings. These opinions were

often seditious and their absence, after the June issue, robbed the magazine of a barbed pen.

The blockading of Boston in June drove Thomas out of magazine publication and if one wishes to know the editor's fury toward British oppression let him turn to the preface to the Chronicle for that month. When news of the Boston Port Bill was announced in the May issue (I, p. 193), Thomas requested that the colonies form a strong union to throw off the "yoke of bondage." Coge's appointment as Governor and the removal of the seat of government to Salem angered Thomas. By June the Port Bill was in effect and his ire was roused sufficiently that strong utterance followed. (I, pp. 235ff.). His anger was the anger of rebellious Boston:

The Port of Boston, agreeable to an Edict of the British Parliament, and signed by his Majesty, is now entirely shut up, and the Constitution of the Province intended to be subverted, for no other reason than that some tea belonging to the East India Company was destroyed there. The Inhabitants of that Metropolis says a writer on the Subject, "Now receive that Insult and Damage, which was never experienced in the hottest wars we have engaged in with France and Spain, and their Allies, the Savages of the American Woods. (I, p. 235).

The British blockade prevented food, fuel, liquor, timber, fish and oil, Carolina rice, and other necessities from being transported by water in any manner. The port and streams for sixty miles inland were forbidden highways of commerce and transportation. Boston people and businessmen suffered immediately. Thomas praised their steadfastness in this entry:

Notwithstanding which they remain firm and unshaken, and are determined, by the Help of God, never to give up the cause of America, or tarnish her Freedom, if they even die in the Defence of it.

One great Soul now animates the American World, unites all the Colonies in one Band of Brothers, and every Pulse beats Ardour for American Freedom.

The Patriotism and Beneficence of every Considerable Colony and Town, exhibited in the contributing to support the oppressed and suffering People of Boston, is beyond a parallel, and astonishes those contracted minds which never were warmed with the God-like Principles of Liberty.

Tell it in Gath and print it in Askelon, that the Boston Port bill, in all its parts is now carrying into execution and Boston is thereby put into greater distress, and is more insulted by an English armament than ever she was by a French or Spanish fleet in the hottest war, when left without one British ship for her protection. --- The town is become a spectacle to the angels and men, God grant that it may not be intimidated by the present horrors to make a surrender of the rights of Americans; or in any respect to dishonour herself in this day of trial and perplexity. (I, pp. 235-36).

In the sub-section of domestic news Thomas warned Britain that resistance would be offered. "Is it not the duty of a virtuous, brave, and free people to resist Tyranny?" Be it forever remembered, to thy grief and shame, O Britain!" Even into the news reports Thomas extended his ire, "In the Boston Port Bill we have a striking specimen of the justice and lenity of a modern British administration." (I, p. 236). Thomas also reported Gage's attempt to destroy the Committee of Correspondence and Sam Adams successful stand against him. A petition was being circulated throughout Boston to stop all trade with Great Britain. Gage threatened arrest of any who signed. Thomas reported the threat with due comment. (I, p. 239).

Other items of interest are Thomas' reactions to and comments on the refusal to unload British tea in Boston (I, pp. 35-37), Governor Hutchinson's use of a veto over the Massachusetts legislature (I, pp. 73-75), and his account of Chief Justice Peter Oliver's violating the charter and taking excessive pay (I, pp. 76-79).

No study of The Rural American Magazine as a propaganda organ would be complete without mention of the early political cartoons of Paul Revere. Five engravings of political significance were done by this patriot and craftsman for this periodical. His first was probably his best. In the June, 1775, issue the female figure of America is shown having scalding tea poured down her throat by an English legislator. This forceful law-maker has the Boston Port Bill protruding from his coat pocket. Safety for the British is in the hands of a soldier armed with two pistols and a sword which bears the inscription "Military law." Nearby the Godless Liberty hides her eyes in shame and sorrow. Revere's contempt for the British is shown in the sharp featured official he pictures peeking under America's skirts. Ships in the background are cannonading Boston.

Two Revere cartoons had accompanying essays of explanation. In January, 1775, the Liberty maid was pictured praying, in the midst of English cabinet members, for God to drive out her enemies. From the clouds came the words: "I have delivered and I will deliver." To validate this plea for a miraculous deliverance, Greenleaf published several accounts of God's intervention in favor of America. (II, pp. 20-23). The chief miracle related was the well-remembered storm which drove the French fleet from besieged Louisbourg during the French and Indian war.

33 This cartoon is opposite the contents page in the July issue.

"The Mitred Minuet" of October, 1774, reflects the bitter New England reaction to the Quebec Act. The cartoon shows Canadian Catholic priests gleefully dancing around the document which lies on the floor. The accompanying essay is one of indignation at the sanction given to "Popery" by Parliament. North was held responsible for its passage. (I, pp. 364, 365-66).

An effective cartoon in the final issue depicted America collapsed in a chair while "evil Physicians, corrupt members, and wicked counsellor" attended her. These men were those who denied America's petition of grievances. Comments from her attending enemies are: "Secure her now or it is all over with us", and "She must lose more blood. Petitions are ³⁴rebellious."

The fifth cartoon was the least effective. The story of Spanish cruelty at Cartagena was pictured. Native dockhands were being lashed into submission with cats-o'-nine-tails. This cruelty was being paralleled by the British who had begun their port blockade by the date of this ³⁵July issue.

³⁴ (II, opposite contents page, March, 1775).

³⁵ I, opposite contents page, July, 1774.

CHAPTER III
THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE; OR
AMERICAN MONTHLY MUSEUM.

The Pennsylvania Magazine is perhaps the best publication of its kind published in America up to the formal declaration of a state of war between the United Colonies and Great Britain. In its pages during the nineteen months of its publication are recorded a storehouse of political information covering the year and one-half previous to the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

Under the auspices of Robert Aitken, publisher, and the probable editorship of Thomas Paine the Pennsylvania Magazine printed its first number in January, 1775. This was only four months after the meeting of the first Continental Congress in September, 1774, and three months following the formation of the Continental Association on October 20, 1774, "to obtain redress of these grievances, which threaten destruction of the lives, liberty, and property of His Majesty's subjects in North America."³⁶ Since this Association was formed to combat British legislative evils by a "non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement" (Morison, pp. 122-3), the attitude of the colonial leaders at the time of Aitken's magazine venture was near-belligerence.

Aitken was to have a particular advantage in filling his section "Monthly Intelligence" by being in the city where colonial leaders planned to hold their second congressional meeting in May 1775. This particular section of the Pennsylvania Magazine is probably the most valuable to the

³⁶ S. E. Morison, The American Revolution 1764-1783 (Oxford: 1929), pp. 122-125. Hereinafter to be referred to as Morison.

historian. Official transactions of the Congress were easily available for printing along with letters and speeches of importance. Aitken's journal covers the critical months before the Declaration was signed and it immediately ceased publication after printing its July, 1776, issue which contained the famous document in its entirety. The Pennsylvania Magazine was America's only monthly publication since the Royal American Magazine of Boston had ceased publication in March, 1775, as the third issue was completed by Aitken. The Declaration of Independence was printed, therefore, in no other manner, at that time, so well suited for its permanent recording.

The first volume of this monthly octavo publication consisted of 625 pages, fifteen excellent engravings, and an index. There were 344 pages with five engravings in the 1776 volume. (Richardson, Most of the engravings bear the signature of Aitken, p. 368). The circulation evidently was well scattered though there is no record of the number of subscriptions Aitken sold.

In a letter to Franklin, then in London, Thomas Paine wrote:

A printer and bookseller here Philadelphia, a man of reputation and property, Robert Aitken, has lately attempted a magazine, but having little or no turn that way himself, he has applied to me for assistance. He had not above six hundred subscribers when I

37 Richardson states that a newspaper, The Pennsylvania Packet, listed agents in Charleston, Williamsborough, Annapolis, Baltimore, Newton, Chester, Wilmington, New Castle, Trenton, Princeton, Norfolk, Talbot Court House, Carlisle, Burlington, New York, New Haven, Boston, Salem, Portsmouth and Philadelphia, p. 368.

first assisted him. We now have upwards of fifteen hundred and
³⁸
 are daily increasing.

According the Mott's findings Paine began editorship with the February, 1775, issue and continued through May, 1776, with Aitken editing the last two issues of the magazine.

Though several writers of noteworthy fame have been credited with contributions to the magazine most of their articles were of a scientific
³⁹
 nature and of no concern in this study. Paine evidently contributed most of the original political matter; the remainder is either beyond identification or reprinted from other sources.

The two chief historians of American magazines have given brief accounts of political writings published in the Pennsylvania Magazine but neither treats with any sense of completeness the whole of the matter. The political writing usually falls into three departments of the journal: the first part of each issue contained most of the original articles, that is, pieces discussing the unrest in the colonies or the more obvious propaganda pieces; following were the "Poetical Essays" section which contained from time to time odes, elegies, parodies, and songs of a political nature; and in the final pages of each issue the section called "The Monthly Intelligence" which furnished a month by month account of the struggle plus letters, addresses by and replies to George III in Parliament, and many documents of political importance. Accounts,

³⁸ Mott, p. 87.

³⁹ Richardson list John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, David Ramsay, Matthew Wilson, Benjamin Rush (who admired the journal) and Samuel Chew. Mott adds David Rittenhouse to this list. See Richardson, p. 163; Mott, p. 90.

frequently by witnesses or from official military reports, of battles were popular entries in this latter section. In addition to the aforementioned sections of the magazine the book review department "Select Passages from the Newest British Publications" (which included American works at times) often printed excerpts from larger works which reflect the political intent of Editor Paine.

The entries of political importance will be dealt with in order of the magazine departments as mentioned but the chronology of publication will not be violated in an effort to handle the essays as a group or the poems as a group. It is hoped that by preserving the order of publication the relating of the sense of each particular entry to the military and political situation will be facilitated.

40

January 1775

The frontispiece to the first volume is in accord with the tenor of this periodical study. Though Aitken sought to publish a magazine excluding both religious and political controversy, except for "philosophical disquisition", his frontispiece reflects the state of the colonies in January, 1775. (Pennsylvania Magazine, preface to volume I). A female figure representing America sits in the center foreground crowned with a war helmet and bearing both shield and spear. This figure is looking toward a supply of powder kegs and piled cannon ball. Beside her lay a discarded lyre and several books. A spear and battle axe lean against

40 The Pennsylvania Magazine; or, American Monthly Museum, pub. Robert Aitken, University Microfilms, American Periodical Series 73, Ann Arbor, vol. I, II. Entries will hereinafter be footnoted by volume and page number.

a tree upon her left while flags fly before an evergreen at her right. Also in the left foreground is a cannon with "THE CONGRESS" inscribed on its base. To complete this symbolic setting is a man-of-war with full sail and flags flying in the bay pictured in the background.

The first issue is not devoid of political commentary by any means. In the publisher's preface Aitken states that the magazine will be restricted to "interesting matter" because of the country's newness. His hopes of success are not high considering the hazardous times. He anticipates trouble.

"The principle [sic] difficulty in our way, is, the present unfortunate situation of public affairs. Those, whose leisure and abilities might lead them to a successful application of the muses, now turn their attentions to the rude preparations for war --- Every heart and hand seem to be engaged in the interesting struggle for American Liberty --- Till this important point is settled, the pen of the poet and the books of the learned must be in a great measure neglected. The arts and sciences are not cultivated to advantage, but in the fruitful soil of Peace, and in the fostering sunshine of Constitutional Liberty.

That all public contentions may find a speedy and equitable reconciliation, and this once happy country may again enjoy the unviolated blessings of the British Constitution is the sincere wish --- the earnest prayer of the publisher of the Pennsylvania Magazine. (I, preface).

In the January issue only one essay "An Extraordinary Dream" makes any reference to the colonial trouble. This unknown writer does, however, speak of Philadelphia citizens as being of two kinds: "Lovers of liberty" and "lovers of no liberty at all." (I., p. 15). If the writer had reference

to the intent of the non-importation agreement, perhaps the October, 1774, edict of the Continental Congress was responsible. The boycott of British-made products by colonials sharply divided the home camp. Those who still bought British goods were Loyalists; those who held to the agreement were Patriots. Philadelphia, by January, 1775, undoubtedly had noted the difference in its citizens.

(The "Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress" were published without comment.) (I, p. 49). This was drafted and signed October 14, 1774, in Philadelphia and forthwith sent to England via a delegation headed by Franklin.)

In the "Select Passages" sections during January was one of the most interesting editing jobs of the first year. The larger work was Lord Kaines Sketches of the History of Man. Considering the vastly different selections chosen in the second issue the following becomes even more interesting --- so much so that one would think Paine were already at work here. Kaines represents a friend of the colonists in his commentary on past Parliamentary legislation. From Kaines book is this selection:

"Between the mother country and the colonies the following rule ought to be sacred, That with respect to commodities wanted, each of them should prefer the other before all other nations. Britain should take from her colonies whatever they can furnish for their use. In a word everything regarding commerce should be reciprocal and equal among them. To bar a colony from the fountain-head for commodities, that cannot be furnished by the mother-country, but at second-hand, is oppression; it is so far degrading the colonists from being free subjects to be slaves. What right, for example, has Britain to prohibit her colonies from purchasing tea or porcleane sic at Canton, if they can procure it cheaper there than

in London? No connection between the two nations can be so intimate, as to make such a restraint an act of justice. Our legislative however have acted like a step-mother to her American colonies, by prohibiting them to have any commerce but with Britain only. They must land first in Britain all their commodities, even what are not intended to be sold there; and they must take from Britain, not only its own product, but every foreign commodity that is wanted. This regulation is not only unjust but impolite; as by it the interests of the colonies in general is sacrificed to that of a few London merchants. (I, pp. 33ff).

Considering the "Declarations and Resolves" which the recent Congress had passed, such a statement from an English author of title must have been some consolation to the colonial readers of the Pennsylvania Magazine. However careful consideration of Kaines implications could be construed as further reason for colonial aggression toward a "step-mother" "sho would sacrifice their well-being for "a few London merchants."

February 1775

The February issue, which is supposed to be the first Paine edited, carries all items of political significance in "Monthly Intelligence."⁴¹ Herein were printed the King's address to the then convened Parliament. The king at this time reminded his people "everywhere, in every dominion . . . to have due reverence for the laws." (I, p. 93). George III, in this instance, was referring to recent actions in the Massachusetts-Bay Colony where, under the leadership of Samuel Adams in Boston, open de-⁴²fiance of parliamentary legislation was becoming more and more common.

⁴¹ This was the Parliament session late in 1774.

⁴² See John C. Miller, Sam Adams, Pioneer in Propaganda, Little, Brown,

The House of Lords sent their formal acknowledgement of the king's address which is printed immediately following the text of George III's remarks. The Lords declared an:

"abhorrence and detestation of the daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws which so strongly prevails in the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, and of the unwarrantable attempts in that and other provinces in America, to obstruct by unlawful combinations, the trade of this kingdom." (I, p. 93).

The following bit from the same document should have smacked of hypocrisy to the more hot-headed colonial leaders.

... . to his majesty our humble thanks . . . that he has taken such measures military resistance to rebellion in Boston . . . for the protection and security of his majesty's subjects."

Both the king and Lords advocated even stronger measures to coerce the colonists into submission and a proposal to that effect was immediately voted. (I., p. 94).

⁴³
Nine members of this house lodged a protest against such measures. This protest was also printed by Aitken. These men felt that the attitude as expressed in the Chancellor's letter to the king would "lead to measures in the event fatal to the lives, properties, and liberties, of a very great part of our fellow subjects." They also asked for evidence to support the charge that Massachusetts Bay was rebellious to "just" regulations.

and Co., (Boston: 1936) for an excellent account of Boston during the pre-revolutionary years.

⁴³ Members signing the protest were: Richmond, Portland, Rockingham, Stamford, Stanhope, Torrington, Ponsonby, Wycomb, and Cambden. See I, p. 94.

and for a temperate inquiry into colonial policy reminding the House of Lords that the present one, Lord North's, was a "detriment to the mother country" and might cause "Civil War."⁴⁴

Evidence that Paine's cleverness in editing, for effective propaganda purposes, can be found in the interesting position he gave to the various Parliament records in the February issue. A letter from the king to the House of Lords thanking them for their voted support of his proposal for stronger measures was printed. But Paine placed the king's letter, wherein he could be quoted as having a "hearty concern for the true interests of my people," after the "protest" account --- not after the action to which it had immediate reference. (See I, pp. 94-97).

Also in the February issue is an interesting notice to the various correspondents to the magazine. Aitken regrets that he could not print two poems on political subjects "as it is our design to keep a peaceable path." (I, p. 98). This "design" was to be violated in the May, 1775, "Poetical Essays."

March 1775

The petition of grievances drafted by the first Continental Congress in October, 1774, had been dispatched immediately to England where its bearers arrived on December 23, 1774. That day the petition was presented to Lord Dartmouth, a secretary for the American department, by Franklin, William Bolland, and Arthur Lee. Franklin had written to America that the

⁴⁴ The February issue also printed Jamaica's petition of grievances to the king passed in their assembly December 28, 1774. This island wished to remind the king that his parliament was costing him the confidence of once loyal subjects in the several colonies. I, p. 96.

king responded more favorably than some Americans thought he would. (I., pp. 137-39).

His majesty directed his Lordship [Dartmouth] to inform the gentlemen to whom the charge of the petition was intrusted . . . That it was of so great importance, that he should as soon as the Parliament met, lay it before both Houses. (I, p. 139).

This Parliament was to convene January 19, 1775, but no news of its reception was in America by the date of this issue.

London news in the March issue did report a meeting of 400 to 500 North American merchants at the Kings'-Arms Tavern, Cornhill, on January 14. These men drafted a petition of grievances regarding the injury to trade since the repeal of the Stamp Tax in 1773 and subsequent enactment of "several revenue bills." No doubt the non-importation resolves of October, 1774, had by this time severely damaged sea commerce. (I, p. 139).

In March some far-sighted Americans began organization of The United Company of Philadelphia whose aim was to become more independent of English manufactures by promoting such industry in America. The March issue gives a detailed account of their plan which they proposed to extend if Parliament did not favor the petition of grievances. Woolen, linen, and cotton products were of immediate concern. (I, p. 140).

April 1775

"Monthly Intelligence" for April began to carry news of alarming portent from Massachusetts. News of the battles of Lexington and Concord on April 19 had reached Philadelphia by April 24. At least Aitken and Paine were able to include three signed and two anonymous accounts of this fray from letters bearing that date. (I, pp. 190-92). One account was signed by one "Palmer", Committee of Correspondence man of Watertown.

This issue shows the beginning of open printing of news of propaganda value in the form of letters and dispatches concerning violence caused by British troops in America. The April letters tell in detail of the Lexington Commons shooting and the subsequent defeat of two brigades of British regulars which Gage committed against the minute men.

In its fourth issue, the Pennsylvania Magazine had cast its lot with the patriots by printing accounts, all reflecting American bias, of British armed preparations and violence. Aitken announced in this issue that news of births, deaths, and marriages were excluded "to make room for matter of a more public nature." (I, p. 192).

Evidently the petition of grievances had received immediate attention in Parliament, for London news dated January 20 recorded the reception of the American proposals. The magazine includes two speech texts of importance.

The American proposals were readily defended by old Lord Chatham who rose to reprimand the House of Lords for its past actions against the colonies. What, he wanted to know, did the Lords expect from Englishmen deprived of their rights than rebellion? Chatham was surprised that such a notice of grievances had not earlier been received. England could no longer treat Americans as infants for in the petition he heard "the voice of a man." Chatham scoffed at the idea of George III's 17,000 soldiers in America suppressing "three million Englishmen bereft of their rights". (I, p. 185-86).

Chatham advocated speed in righting these wrongs before the people at home "arose to revolt of such treatment of their American brethren."

He went on to warn the king: Who, then, in the name of Heaven, could advise this measure sending troops to America ? Or can continue

to give this strange and unconstitutional advice? I do not mean to level at one man, or at any set of men --- but this much I will declare, that, if his majesty is to hear such counsellors --- he will not only be badly advised --- but UNDONE [sic]. --- He may wear his crown that is true, but it will not be worth wearing: robbed of so principle sic a jewel as America. (Ibid, p. 186. The principle jewel had fallen from George's crown during coronation. See Aitken's note, p. 86).

In a further attempt to alarm the king Chatham declared that every whig in England and all of Ireland now favored America. He asked for the withdrawl of General Gage from Boston before trouble began.⁴⁵

Chatham's plea went unheeded, however, as subsequent reports in April's "Monthly Intelligence" clearly disclose. North's reply to the petition was printed. (I, pp. 186-87). On February 7, 1775, Lord North reported:

We find, that a part of your majesty's subjects, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, have proceeded so far to resist the authority of the Supreme legislature, that a rebellion at this time actually exists, with the said province.

.

We have ever been, and always shall be, ready to pay attention and regard to any real grievances of any of your majesty's subjects,

⁴⁵ It must be kept in mind that though the Lexington-Concord affair had taken place before the magazine published Chatham's speech that the speech was made in January. An Atlantic' crossing took from a month to six weeks during this time.

which shall, in a dutiful and constitutional manner, be laid before us. (I, pp. 136-37).

North further asked that the king suppress any acts of rebellion toward "the laws of the supreme legislature."

Eighteen members of the House of Lords protested North's attitude for its "violent manner" and lack of "legal grounds" in its argument. The grievances had been considered and rejected by North's conference committee in a single day.⁴⁶ The men saw cause for real grievances.

The king's reply to North's action ignored both the protest of these men and the grievances. George III backed his Prime Minister in every move and declared the papers of Dr. Franklin were not thought to be "proper and dutiful application." (I, p. 138). Paine once again placed the king's words following the protest lodged by Parliament⁴⁷ members.

The April issue also carried an account of North's speech before both Commons and Lords on February 21, 1775. The Prime Minister at this time said British troops must stay in America until the colonies could support their own army and control their own affairs. He further advocated heavier taxes on the colonies to erase the cost of protecting them during the French and Indian War. This motion carried 272 to 88 to accept North's reply as final to colonial requests. (I, p. 138).

⁴⁶ See the Lords protest I., p. 136).

⁴⁷ In addition to the men listed in footnote ⁴³ were Cravea, Archer, Abergovenny, Courtney, Cholmondesey, Abingdon, Effingham, Scarborough, Fitzwilliam, and Tonkerville. Stamford, who first protested, this time abstained.

May 1775

Three original pieces were included in the fifth issue of the Pennsylvania Magazine which are the most important of propaganda devices used during the entire first year of publication. Two are essays; the other a poem, "The Irishman's Epistle to the Officers and Troops of Boston."

"Vox Populi", probably Paine, submitted some "Reflections on Titles" that mark the first inclusion of political bombast in this magazine. The Lexington-Concord affair had evidently provoked some change in Aitken's "peaceable path" policy. Even in the most extreme times it was unusual to hear the English king attacked openly in this journal but if the analogy drawn is a correct one, one can hardly think of another "plunderer" than George III when reading this essay. George was certainly ridiculed
48
by Paine at this time.

Vox Populi's use of the word "Honourable" does suggest that he is attacking Lord North, not George III, --- or possible both. The essay is bitter, full of satire.

"When I reflect on the pompous titles bestowed on unworthy men, I feel an indignity that instructs me to despise the absurdity. The Honourable plunderer of his country, or the Right Honourable murder of mankind, create such a contrast in ideas as exhibit a monster rather than a man. Virtue is inflamed, and sober reason calls it nonsense. (I, p. 210).

48 Ascribing "Reflections on Titles" to Paine is, of course, pure conjecture. However he was contracted by Aitken to make some original contribution each issue. The style of "Reflections on Titles", and the logic of the argument certainly suggest that he is the author. Mott believes Paine wrote "Reflections on the Duty of Princes" in the December issue.

The admiring of a man for his title, says this writer, is "a sacrifice of common sense . . . which distinguishes slavery from freedom; for when men yield up the privilege of thinking, the last shadow of liberty quits the horizon."

The English theory of the social contract is the point of argument when the essayist declares that "all honours, even that of kings, originated from the public, the public may justly be called the true fountain of honour."

The word "honourable", it is made clear, applies to men who sacrifice ease and private interest to do good --- as "The Honourable Continental Congress." ⁴⁹

The second essay was received in the form of a letter and entitled by the editor "An Original and Timely Letter." (I, pp. 217-220). Basically it is an attempt to explain differences in English and American temperament from grounds akin to Toynbee's climate theory. This writer describes Americans as "deliberate, persevering, and determined, grateful under obligation, spirited in their resentment." (I, p. 218).

Britain's denial of the petition of rights is seen as a blessing which will unite the separate colonies into a nation.

"Before this present dispute America was an assemblage of different states, which had separate interest to pursue, that in many cases opposed each other; now the family is united, the circle enlarged; provincial distinctions are laid aside, and the name of an American is the general title. (I, pp. 218-19).

(Mott, p. 88). The two essays are very similar.

⁴⁹ Further support for Paine's authorship might be deduced from the phrases "common sense" and "do good". Both are compatible with his deistic code.

There is a great deal of patriotic horn blowing praising the structure of colonial government, the committees of correspondence, and the new found strength, especially military strength. The military are obviously better than Britain's because in their casue "property and liberty are at stake." (I, p. 220). A final note of optimism, a result of the recent colonial success in Massachusetts, is injected. Britain's troops are pictured in Boston, seat of their retreat, as fearful and starving, afraid to leave their billet to get food.

Aitken's refusal to print "Poetical Essays" on political subjects was relaxed in May in order to admit "The Irishman's Epistle" to the British troops who had isolated themselves in Boston. The subject is more military than political, if the two can be separated. It is a ribald three stanza poem of humorous rhymed couplets in stage-Irish dialect meant to razz the British regulars of General Gage.

The first review of a military volume was printed with lengthy extracts in the May issue. This first was "An Essay on first Military Principles" by Major Thomas Bell in which discipline, battalion firing, sieges, and other tactics were discussed for the edification of colonial leaders. (I, pp. 222-26).

"Monthly Intelligence" included a letter from Connecticut's Governor Jonathan Trumbull to General Gage and Gage's reply. Trumbull accuses the general of dealing unfairly with the, yet, British subjects in America and places the blame for the April 19 bloodshed on him. Gage, of course,

50 (See Appendix II.) Frank Moores' Collection Song and Ballads of the American Revolution includes this poem, p. 92. Moore notes that it was reprinted in broadsides four times in 1775.

absolves himself of forcing the issue and transplants the cause to colonial leaders. Trumbull's plea for peace is ignored. (I, pp. 233-34).

Provost William Moore Smith's address "On the Fall of Empires" to graduate of Philadelphia College was published entire. Smith made a Franklinish plea for men to do good, permit rational thinking to be their only luxury, and insist that "Liberty is our idol!"

News of the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point by Arnold, the Lexington casualty list, and Franklin's report, he had now returned from London, on Lord North's conciliatory proposals were also included in this issue.

June 1775

This marked the beginning of publication of lengthy battle accounts in the Pennsylvania Magazine. On June 19 Gage's forces charged the colonial breastworks on Bunker Hill. Aitken carried a generous account of the fracas in his "Monthly Intelligence" and appended an excellent map of Boston showing the defense lines, Prospect, Cobbled, and Bunker. Hill which the American troops defended with their backs to the sea. (I, p. 284). British casualties were estimated at 1,400 in Aitken's account of the battle.

"Monthly Intelligence" also included the trouble ensuing between the Virginia House of Burgesses and John Earl of Dunsmore, royal governor there. Virginia had rejected North's consiliatory proposals and had driven Dunsmore aboard the man-of-war Fowey for his efforts to enforce revenue acts.

More fiery writing of real propaganda value is found in the other magazine sections however. The casualties and gallant defence of Bunker Hill added to the Lexington-Concord engagement spurred several writers

to efforts of real propaganda value.

Most patriotic and eloquent was "An Eulogium sacred to the memory of the late Major-General Warren, who fell June 17th, fighting against the Ministerial Army at Boston" by "A Gentleman of this City Philadelphia . (I, pp. 387-89). This was a strong oratorical appeal to the patriot in memory of a man who forsook his family "in the full bloom of life" to die for his cause, liberty:

He has taught the sons of freedom in America, that the laurel may be engrafted upon the cypress, and that true glory may be acquired not only in the arm's of victory but in the arms of death ---: (I, p. 288).

The blast of the propagandist is turned on the "Vindictive ministers" and their "bloody edicts."⁵¹ Warren is lauded as a loyal Briton fighting for "English liberty."

Gage and his men are soundly cursed as the writer pours hatred on "the mercenary wretches" who killed Warren. The call is made for America to throw out standing armies --- "let the name of Warren fire our hearts."

The eulogium concludes by exhorting Americans to prize liberty, the rights to be Englishmen, and turn "the monster tyranny" out of the British Empire. (I, p. 289).

Another poem, by "the daughter of an English dissenting minister", a Miss Aikin praises bravery in combat as a virtue in man. (I, p. 274).

The Lexington-Concord battle inspires "Sylvia" to submit a long Anti-British elegy to this magazine. The influence of Pope is slight but furnishes the final line "Whatever is, is best." The best is defined in

51 It is noteworthy that no blame is heaped upon George III in this piece.

this prayer to crown "our land with Liberty and Peace."⁵²

Aitken advertised a book, which he had for sale, by printing passages on how to carry on small wars and form a corps of partisan soldiers. (I, pp. 270-73). Beginning with this issue the publisher kept his readers informed on new tactical military publications.

July 1775

Original work of political significance was especially heavy during July, 1775. Humor was the theme of three writers, all of whom enjoy making English politicians and British soldiers the butt of their jesting. "Poetical Essays" include a satirical but humorous account of how a dog violated the king's law and was tried for treason charged with pursuing and killing a hare. Since the dog's owner was not to be found "by right of English justice" the dog was duly hung. (I, pp. 331-32).

In a semi-serious yet well concealed mood one correspondent contributed "An Easy Method to prevent the increase of BUGS." Bugs, he declares, "like General Gage's army", can be starved out by cutting them off from fresh provisions. The analogy has reference to the concurrent siege at Boston, where British troops were trapped and especially uncomfortable since their Canadian source of supplies had been cut off with fall of Crown Point, and Ticonderoga in June. The provisions for bugs was human fare which the writer sought to remedy by putting glass legs of beds making the supply route too slippery for ascent. (I, p. 305).

Third of the humorous articles was a parody on "The Politicians" in

52 "An Elegy to the Memory of the American Volunteers, who fell in the Engagement between the Massachusetts-Bay Militia and the British Troops, April 19, 1775." (I, pp. 278-79).

dialogue form. The speakers were Peter, newsmonger and servant to an English fisherman at Poole, and Dick, "a country boy." Both speak in an odd British accented dialect intended to reflect both humor and stupidity. The upshot of their conversation is that England will take all trade away from America by stopping-up the ports, digging a ditch in the sea to keep Americans from running away, setting the air afire, and pulling the clouds down on their heads. Rumor also has it that "Guy Faux" is to be resurrected "to blow up the Continental Congress." This famous rioter is "to dig a way under the sea, till he gets right under them, then up they go." As simple as that.

The parody ends with this sane bit of gossip: that England intends sending ten "horse regiments" to the moon where they are to board a comet. Upon this space ship they will ride by the various planets, fire on them, and bring them to England where Lord North will make them pay taxes. (I, pp. 317-18).

Most famous of all entries during this month was Thomas Paine's freedom song "Liberty Tree." This is a melodious rhyme telling how the gods of liberty planted the Liberty Tree in America; how the fame of its fruit drew men of all nations and rank to America to live as free men; how these men supported "Old England . . . with timber and tar" and fought her battles "without getting a groat."

Editor Paine ends with this call to arms:

But hear, O ye savains ('til a tale most profane)

How all the tyrannical powers,

King, Commons, and Lords, are uniting amain,

To cut down this guardian of ours;

From the east to the west, blow the trumpet to arms,

Let the far and the near, --- all unite with a cheer

In defence of our Liberty Tree.

One of the best narrative essays of the magazine's nineteen numbers is to be found in "On the Military Character of Ants" by "Curioso" in July. This observant gentleman knew his ants and his Lexington-Concord battle. The patriots in the essay are the brown ants; the enemy, fittingly, are "reds." (I, pp. 296-300).

The analogy with contemporary events is lucid. Curioso's observations on ant life outline the course Americans should follow. "We have neglected to consider them [ants] as patriots jealous of their natural rights, and as champions in defence of them." As among men, traitors are "dronifli pensioners, that live on the spoil of the industrious."

An account follows of the battle of the brown ants defending their city against two red forces. The browns, as had the colonials in Boston, fortified their city and "mounted guards day and night" to watch reds who marched on the "high road." The "reds" eventually were driven into their own encampment, and later from the area.

"Thus ended a war as famous perhaps in the history of ants, as more pompous battles of Caesar or Alexander among men. A war which the browns were driven into by the overbearing insolence of the reds, and obliged to undertake for the safety of their settlement. Had they passively submitted, they might have been treated again in the same manner, and have wearied out their lives in building cities for others to take from them. A nation without defence is like a handsome woman without virtue, the easiness of the approach invites the ravager. And for the same reason we ought not to tempt a thief by leaving our doors unlocked, we ought not to tempt an army of them

53 I, p. 330. This poem signed "Atlanticus", was also published in Moore, pp. 18-21.

by leaving a country or a coast unguarded. (I, pp. 299-300)

It should be noted that in most of the poems and essays discussed so far there has been a call to arms either directly made or implied. A Quaker writer, or one posing as such, contributed "Thoughts on Defensive War" in July which is one of two recruiting efforts aimed at Pennsylvania Quakers published during 1775. (I, pp. 313-314). This writer, "A Lover of Peace", argues from a religious basis for Quaker participation in the war. "I . . . am fully convinced that spiritual freedom is the root of political liberty." These supporting reasons are given. (1) Until spiritual freedom became manifest, political freedom did not exist; (2) "In proportion that spiritual freedom has been manifested, political liberty has been increased"; (3) Where the visible church has been oppressed political freedom has suffered. Thus, he concludes, the inseparable political and spiritual freedom must be defended as a duty. The method must be armed defense.

Strong feeling against the ministerial edicts of the British is evident. If this writer is a Quaker, the Inner Light has caused him to voice militant emotions.

The reign of Satan is not ended; neither are we to expect to be defended by miracles . . . I am thus far a Quaker, that I would gladly agree with all the world to lay aside the use of arms, and settle matters by negotiation; but, unless the whole will the matter ends, and I take up my musket and thank heaven he has put it in my power. (I, p. 313).

Nothing but arms --- or a miracle --- will rid America of our "unprincipled enemy" --- and the miracle, he thinks, is a shaky hope.

The July issue includes three other pieces of a patriotic vein.

"On the Late Continental Fast" advocates prayer, fasting, and fighting with

future petitions "to the throne of heaven; where no prime minister shall obstruct or suppress our earnest applications." (I, pp. 309-10).

"An English Whig" suggests reprinting an account of the heroic success of "less than 4000 undisciplined New-Englanders" against French-held Louisbourg in 1745. The request is fulfilled. (I, pp. 310-11).

"An Observer" makes and submits some "Observations on Faces" wherein he notes the "dejected face of the Tory" as compared with happy Whig faces. His recommendation is, in the face of recent British military setbacks and anti-Tory activities, that the former marry the latter in order to "resolve their facial character." (I, pp. 303-05).

The chief entry in "Monthly Intelligence" was full publication of the Continental Congress' declaration of necessity of their taking up arms. (I, pp. 334-37).

August 1775

Two follow-up articles on subjects of the July number are of primary importance in August. "Americanus" of New York has further information on "bug" pestilence and Chief Justice Samuel Chew of Maryland adds to the effort to bring the Quakers under arms in the colonial cause.

"Americanus" criticizes the July pest control theory in that that plan only halts the increase of bugs --- does not eradicate the nuisance. This writer is "such an enemy to them" (bugs or British) that he wishes the whole flock destroyed. Advocacy of the methods of Low Dutch housewifery is made to rid the country of all insects. A "clean house . . . will never be troubled with bugs." (I, p. 361).

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Judge Chew, a Quaker, argued the reasonableness of Quaker participation in a speech from the bench entitled "Lawful Defence against an Armed Enemy."

⁵⁴ See I, p. 367, for conformation of Chew's religious affiliation.

(I, pp. 346-53). Chew argues for defence as a law of nature and adds that a religion not founded on nature's laws is not a true religion. Religion, however, is not to be propagated by the sword --- but its tenets could
 55
 certainly be defended by it.

An article "Pictures for Veteran Soldiers and Sailors" added to the efforts of Paine to disparage the British soldier. This article describes the misfortunes of a military hero who had fought and bled for the present king and Parliament who denied his request for aid as a war-crippled citizen. Parliament is referred to as "these crouching miscreants" who "will have a change of fortune." (I, pp. 364-66).

"Monthly Intelligence" carries an interesting exchange of letters between Gen. Charles Lee and his old comrade-in-arms Burgoyne. Lee appeals to the British general, as a devotee to Lockean principles and English justice, to use his influence to countermand the designs of a "wicked and insidious court and cabinet." Burgoyne's answer accuses Lee of fighting the payment of taxes, not for the rights of the English Constitution. Lee answered again, breaking the friendship and ending their correspondence. (I, pp. 375-79).

Also included are texts of a message "to the Inhabitants of Great Britain" by the Congress pleading the American cause; a similar message is sent to Ireland. The Congressional decision to levy taxes to support the war and a letter to George III reproaching him for continuing under the advice of Lord North are printed in full. (I., pp. 379-90).

55 This particular speech was made in 1741 and reprinted at a time when the effect of its sustained and biblically based argument could have been rewarding to colonial efforts to raise troops in and around Philadelphia.

September 1775

Political writing declined to a low level in this issue. "Monthly Intelligence" carried in full the "Articles for the governing of Colonial Troops" drafted in the Continental Congress on June 30; and General Gage's official account of the June 17 battle in Bunker Hill which differed greatly from the early colonial report in order to show "the superiority of the King's troops, who, under every disadvantage, attacked and defeated three times their own number." (September, I, p. 439).

The "Select Passages" section published "The Law of Liberty" Sermon of Rev. John J. Zubley, Georgia member of the Continental Congress. This sermon was an account of the fight for liberty by the Swiss during the 14th century. (I, p. 423).

The only article for originality that had any propaganda value was aimed at colonial women in "Arabella's Complaint of the Congress." (I., pp. 407-8).

This obviously fictitious letter to Aitken (Or "Mr. Printer") is satirically humorous and could be attributed to Paine's hand. Arabella, it seems, has tired of playing the fashionable patriot. Good English clothes are scarce because of non-importation agreements, tea is practically unavailable, and the whole business of being patriotic has gone too long now to be any fun. Her chief complaint is about the business of going into mourning. The Continental Congress had requested that the custom be put aside during hostilities --- and now, Arabella tearfully pleads, this "joy" has been denied her. What, she wants to know, are liberties and the public cause compared with the comforts of life? Why must gauze, lace, and tea be so scarce?

She doesn't wish to have "Mr. Printer" feel that she is no patriot however.

"I would not have you imagine for anything that I am no patriot --- quite the contrary I do assure you --- you shall judge --- with

my own hands did I make our Billy's sword knot: Aye, and I spent a whole morning in going from shop to shop to choose a feather for his hat and the gold thing-un-bobs for his shoulders . . . I like patriotism very well. (I, p. 408).

Toryism was treated less good-naturedly by Sam Adams' Liberty Boys up Boston way.

October 1775

During this month political writing declined even further than in September. What one learns of political activity in this issue comes from "Monthly Intelligence."

With steady and increasing pressure from within and without, enforcing the non-importation agreements became more difficult and more important. Dr. Benjamin Rush delivered an impassioned speech on the building of American manufactories in order to provide colonial needs. (I, pp. 482-85). Rush was bitter about British troops being in America but pointed out that Britain's strongest hold over the colonies was their need for England's finished products. He advocated America begin at once to break this dependency and outlined a plan he felt would do the job in five years. Woolen, linen, and cotton goods were of primary importance.

Several reports of anti-Tory activities, including arrests in Virginia, were published. Lord Dunsmore had aroused a great deal of hatred in Norfolk where he had wrecked a patriot print shop.

The treatment of prisoners was discussed in heated letters exchanged between Generals Washington and Gage. The British general chided Washington for complaining about rough handling of captured colonials, reminding him that British soldiers could withstand hardship. Washington's final letter

places on Gage's head the blame for any misfortune which might, in the future, befall British prisoners. Any foul play by Gage will call for retaliation by the colonials, who, Washington insists, are determined to pass on English liberty to American posterity --- at any cost. (I., pp. 486-88).

November 1775

Paine's excellent "Reflections on the duty of Princes" is the sum and substance of November political writing. It is not Paine at his best but it is timely and effective. (I, pp. 566-69). News had been received in America that George III had ignored the declaration of rights submitted to him by the Continental Congress in July. (See I, p. 536).

The only reply to the petition given the Americans was "That his Majesty did not receive it on the throne, no answer would be given."⁵⁶

If the "Reflections on Titles" article was not directly aimed at George III, this open editorializing against him certainly threw the critical, condemning spotlight on the king alone. The article on the whole attempts to validate American action against the king's wishes.

Paine reminds all his readers that this king, and all kings, are under oath in the English monarchical system. He also insists that, by long custom and legal precedent, the sovereign power vested in the throne is not above the law. It is further stated, in detail, that George III has violated both the oath to care for his subjects and the power vested in him. Monarchy's beginning dates, historically, to a time when men raised one of themselves to this exalted monarchical position with the idea that a prince "is raised" to power to care for free people."

For the edification of all Paine reels off all the major usurpations of the historic idea of monarchical rule by the king.

⁵⁶ This message was given Robert Penn who delivered the petition.

The editorial is bombast; only the title is mild. These are more accusations than "reflections."

December 1775

When Paine and Aitken inked the presses for their last issue of the magazine's first year, the political temper of its pages had risen to a pitch near the mid-summer level. Philosophical discussion began at this time to center around poems and essays discussing the Puritan revolution and the reign of Charles I. ⁵⁷ "Monthly Intelligence" reports even stronger measures against Tory sympathizers in Virginia. (I, p. 583).

The proclamation of the king "for suppressing Rebellion and Sedition" issued on August 23 had reached America. George III called colonial leaders traitors, "dangerous and ill-designing men" who "forget the allegiance which to the power that has protected and sustained them the colonies ." (I., p. 578).

Congress' answer of December 6 is also published in this issue. (I., pp. 578-80). An accurate refutation of the king's charges against themselves is made. Strong words, some of the strongest in any official correspondence to this time, are in the promise made to treat harshly in America those men "who have favoured, aided, or abetted, or shall favour, aid, or abet, the system of ministerial oppression." Official charges are still leveled at other than the king. (I., p. 578).

Editor Paine assumes the pseudonym "Philo Liberatis" for an editorial

57 See the poem "Tom the Porter", I., p. 577. However the "Pretender" who destroys "Liberties and Properties" could be intended to represent either George III or Lord North, with his monarchical pretence.

58
essay "On Liberty."

This piece is an eloquent essay on the constitutional monarchy of Britain as opposed to the absolute form of Italy, France, and Spain. England is the only nation where kings, legally, have limited power, where men may be tried by their peers, where laws favor the poor as well as the rich. (I, p. 569). Paine likes to recall days before the 1770's, days when

"if any evil-minded minister or tool of ministerial power, attempted to infringe the rights of the people, many were found . . . who . . . hazarded their lives in defending the citizens rights"

.
But Britain now seems on the decline

A few there are who declare themselves the patrons of American liberty, --- in the house of lords, a Chatham is most conspicuous.

In the house of commons, a Burke appears in its defence. (I, p. 570).

Paine lauds Effingham, in the military, for refusing to serve against the colonies. He insists that Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne have not this man's courage and are disgracing themselves.

Despite his anger Paine is still reluctant to advocate independence or to heap the whole blame on the king. His chief target is Lord North. The editor concludes with a plea to the king to desist in his armed suppression of liberty that Britain and America might unite in a combination which could stand off the despotism of the world.

58 Mott attributes this to Paine because of style and language. See Mott, p. 88.

January 1776

The last half year of the Pennsylvania Magazine exhibits much less political writing than had the first issues in 1775. Perhaps Paine was losing interest in this editorship. More probably with increasing hostilities fewer men had opportunity to write and submit work of political significance.

Paine reprinted "The Dying Negro" poem showing the infamy of British treatment of black men. This was the same poem Isaiah Thomas had included in the Royal American Magazine for February, 1774.

Another poem of ten quatrain stanzas "A New Song" had some propaganda usefulness. The patriotic theme is built around the heroine, Phoebe, who refused her love to any but he "who saves himself and me" from the strife which threatened free men. Her lover, Colinet, sets a fine example for every swain by going off to war in order that he may later claim her hand when "the fair reward the brave."⁵⁹

A bitter pill to colonial readers would have been George III's speech to Parliament on October 28, 1775, which Paine printed in full. The king opened verbal warfare with his American subjects by accusing their leaders as authors of "amusing" statements like the Petition of Rights. George said the Continental Congress was all hoax. Nothing of their plan was meant to signify loyalty to the crown. He openly charged disloyalty and helped further the idea of an independent America.

The rebellious war now levied is become more general, and is manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire." (II, pp. 45-6).

59 II, pp. 89-90. Also in Moore, entitled "Collinet and Phebe", pp. 112-14.

He further advocated speedy and strong military action to end the rebellion. He reminded his legislature that the colonies were too valuable to lose.

Paine also included in "Monthly Intelligence" the Commons assent to strong arm tactics. Their statement that the colonies "must be held in due subordination to the supreme legislature" would have only added fuel to the fire of resentment already burning brightly in Boston. (II, p. 92).

That there was opposition to George's policies in London is demonstrated by the petition of abuses submitted by the London Association for Liberty of Press. Their petition made reference to mishandling of colonial liberty and Paine printed the entire petition. (II, pp. 83-4).

The indictment of Dr. Benjamin Church as a Boston traitor was substantiated by a letter printed in this issue. Church, a once trusted member of the Committee of Correspondence and cohort of Sam Adams, was working as a British spy. His letter on Boston resistance plans to the British forces had been intercepted. This is the letter published in this issue. In addition to valuable military information Church makes this important comment: "A view of independence grows more and more general. Should Britain declare war against the colonies they are lost forever." (II, p. 49). Church was a prophet whom George III and Lord North well could have heeded.

February 1776

"Poetical Essays" printed a timely elegy to Capt. Jacob Cheesman who fell at Quebec. As the time neared July and the desire for independence increased, such immediate poetic tribute to a patriot is indicative of

the effort made by men like Paine to propagandize freedom and valor.

The poem's theme is sad yet heroic. Cheesman is pictured as a martyr fallen, like Montgomery, in a noble cause. The poet bade this man from the First Battalion of Yorkers to rest in peace since in America "The Congress too demands thy high applause,/ Those grand supporters of the best of laws/ For these the palm and laurel wreath prepare,/ And peace and freedom shall reward their care./" (II, pp. 143-45).

Loyalist argument was countermanded somewhat by one contributor who furnished for reprinting the "Scheme for Taxing in the Year 1754." In his preface to the piece the contributor made clear that it was submitted for those who still thought "Pride" and "Obstinacy" were the reasons for the conflict.

The British plan for taxing the colonies during the French and Indian War had been unpopular. They intended --- and did --- to build forts, supply arms, and send troops from funds drawn on the London treasury. Britain later planned to levy a tax to regain the expenditure. The colonial leaders anticipated trouble twenty years before the tax began to hurt and submitted their own scheme.

Colonial disapproval was based on the following points:

- 1) The colonies could best levy proper taxes for their own needs.
- 2) Colonial governors, not being over honest, might misuse royal funds for their own gain.
- 3) A Parliament tax once levied might never be repealed.
- 4) Parliament was too far away to legislate and contained no colonial representatives.

60 Cheesman's death was first reported in this issue and the battle had been fought on the last day of 1775.

- 5) Every Englishman was taxed only by his consent.
- 6) The colonies, having no representatives, could give no consent.
- 7) The British plan was, therefore, unconstitutional.
- 8) The colonies were more capable of governing their own affairs than the royal government. (II, pp. 133-34.).

This document did indeed give a sense of historicity to colonial grievances in 1775-76.

The religious question was settled by one essayist who saw justification in fighting for Christian rights. "Paulinurus", the author, insisted that the Christian made the best soldier since he could see danger and bravely face it. The colonial war was God's war. "Who can be against us?" (II, p. 122).

This month Aitken offered for sale a Military Guide for Young Officers by Thomas Simes. Long excerpts on how to march in varying terrain, how to avoid ambush, how to follow a retreating force, and how to make fortified encampments were printed. (II, pp. 137-42).

March 1776

Political essays and poetry were conspicuously absent in the March issue. The political temper of the magazine during 1776 seemed to be on the decline. However it was to make a concerted and final effort at revival beginning in April.

"Monthly Intelligence" recorded three important actions which hastened open and declared war.

On March 23, Congress had issued resolves permitting American privateers to harass Britain's navy and merchant fleet. (II, pp. 150-51). The important point of the resolves is their strong language. George's rule was called a "despotic rule". In this official paper there is no

expression of hope for peace and unity with the king. Sea prizes were to be split three ways: pay for men on board the privateer to be taken with one-third of the remainder for the officers and men of the crew; Congress took the remaining two-thirds.⁶¹

An account of Washington's force driving the British from Boston was printed along with his letter to rebel General Lord Sterling urging speedy fortification of New York in case Howe should go there. The emotional lift to the colonists must have been encouraging now that Howe was Halifax bound out of long besieged Boston. (II, pp. 147-49).

The third important news item was the text of the Parliament bill restricting all trade with the colonies "during the continuance of the present rebellion." The bill also stated that ships going to or from the colonies which were apprehended should "become forfeited to his Majesty as if the same . . . were open enemies." (II, p. 147). This formally opened the naval war between American privateers and the royal navy.

Burke's conciliatory proposals of November 13, 1775, which he supported with a three and one-half hour speech, was reported as rejected. Paine did not publish the bill or the speech. (II, p. 147).

Toryism was routed in North Carolina where British General Donald McDonald was captured and his troops beaten at Moore's Creek. (II, p. 149). Further colonial victories were scored at Annapolis where British "prizes" were retaken and three men-of-war driven out of the bay. (II, p. 150).

⁶¹ Thirty-one ships were taken by April. See II, p. 156.

April 1776

The shortcomings of March were well overcome in the April issue. Some of the best political writing of the magazine's history is to be found in the two fine poems and the long dialogue argument included by Paine as his editorship neared its end.

"A Song of the Times" and Phyllis Wheatley's "Lines in Praise of General Washington" are near the high water-mark of political poetry published in this journal. Miss Wheatley voiced the devotion to the American commander of the colonial rebel population. The freeing of Boston had proved the colonial choice of a military leader a wise one and this poetess wished to relay her countrymen's confidence to the taciturn Virginian. The former poem, unsigned, is political bombast especially leveled at the hated Lord North.

Ten quatrain stanzas in praise of America and in condemnation of British policy compose the whole of "Song of the Times" (II, pp. 192-93). The style and meter are 12 syllable lines rhyming aabb. Each stanza is followed by the chorus: "Oh! Let freedom and friendship for ever remain,/ Nor that rascal draw breath who would forge us a chain."

The first three stanzas laud the theme of freedom, tell how the early settlers fought for the land, and how Britons, like beasts, kill their own kind. Then the American English throw out a warning and a charge:

Yet Britons beware of the curse you maintain,
Your sons and your offspring we all still remain;
Behold the most savage, and there you may see
Their offspring more tenderly treated than we.

Most of the poem's hatred was directed toward North and attempt was made to give the king advice concerning his prime minister.

Though our foes may look on and our friends may admire,
 How a Bute, or a North, should set nations on fire;
 Yet Satan when suffered his madness to vent,
 In meanest of mansions sure pitches his tent.

Shall freedom that blessing sent down from above,
 A manifest mark of God's wonderful love,
 Be left at his will who delights to annoy,
 Whose pleasure is naught but to kill and destroy?

The appeal to the patriot follows in the poem's strongest stanza.

Forbid it, ye gods who preside o'er the land!
 Forbid it, ye genii who rule with the wand!
 Forbid it, ye heroes whoever draws breath!
 Nor dread in the combat to rush upon death.

A last-chance plea is made to George III in this couplet: "May our king be as wise as we mortals expect,/ Each rascal from council then boldly eject." Further warning is made in the ninth stanza befitting American temper when North remained and more British troops arrived: "Then curst be the foes of our birthright, so dear:/ May they never find comfort or happiness here!" The poem ends with a blessing for Congress and the hope that the colonies may soon live in peace.

Phyllis Wheatley wrote forty-two lines of praise to Washington. The first voice speaking in the poem is that of colonial troops who flock to follow this great leader. Then the authoress speaks for them:

Shall I to Washington their praise recite?
 Enough thou knowest them in the field of fight.
 Thee, first in place and honours, --- we demand

The grace and glory of thy martial band.
 Fam'd for thy valour, for thy virtues more,
 Hear every tongue thy guardian aid implore.

America is referred to as "Columbia" by Miss Wheatley and she felt the eyes of the world on her country as America resisted tyranny. There was absolutely no political tie remaining between America and Britain in the words of this writer. The struggle was "Brittania" versus "Columbia" with a strong note of independence ringing in the last lines of encouragement to Washington. Miss Wheatley had fine hopes for her hero:

Proceed, great chief, with virtue on thy side,
 Thy every action let the goddess guide.
 A crown, a mansion, and a throne that shine,
 With gold unfading, WASHINGTON! be thine. (II, p. 193).

The "Dialogue on Civil Liberty" was an argument between three well chosen speakers: D--, F--, and H--. Evidently the discussion had been publicly aired in Nassau Hall to determine whether or not civil liberty was worth risking "our all." (I. pp. 157-167). The discussion was intended as philosophical and had three men who opposed present British rule to argue the main point. D-- represented the hot-blooded, head strong patriot; F-- the slighthy Tory, reluctant man who disliked confusion; H--, the third speaker, was the calm, thinking man who tried to see the issue clearly and weigh facts in the light of justice.

The discussion opened with D-- landing the patriot and condemning the reluctant rebel with the fire of a Patrick Henry:

A real patriot seems to me to be the most illustrious character in human life Can anything be more noble?

.

Men . . . are born free and equal . . . For any man, or body of men, to usurp dominion over others . . . is a perversion against the majesty of human nature.

.

Who that has the spirit of man can submit to such indignity?

D-- draws a sharp line between the patriot and the non-patriot.

There is no half way ground for him.

Do not blame me for the ardor of my zeal . . . The situation of affairs demands it.

.

A neutral man is his country's enemy; a moderate man is a traitor.

When F-- got the floor he took a stand opposite that of his rabid predecessor. He insisted that civil liberty does not necessarily produce happiness. Ancient Greece and Rome he cited as examples of a happy civilization where there were twenty slaves to every freeman. This speaker does not think civil liberty worth the fight; happiness is possible without this virtue. He fears the foe is too strong, with the forces England can muster in Canada, to risk fighting.

The discussion is ended with H-- refuting F-- at every turn and at the same time giving logical, calculated support to the fiery argument of D--. H-- insists that the French Canadians will not aid Britain. Frenchmen, he argues, have long wished for English liberty.

He then issues this maxim of political doctrine:

I take the essential benefit of civil liberty, wheresoever and in whatever degree it is found, to be, its tendency to put in motion and encourage the exertion of all human powers.

Having therefore given you my political creed, I shall conclude with declaring my practical purpose. To a constitution already

settled, although attended with several defects, I would continue in quiet subjection. I should be constrained in some degree by confidence, but in a much greater prudence, from attempting the subversion of a system that has prescription on its side. But if the rulers of any state of which I were a member, should stretch forth their hands against the rights of the people, and betray the truth committed to them for the public good, they should meet, from me, with the most firm and determined opposition. In the present case, As the liberties of America, are attempted to be wrested from her, by persons from their characters unworthy, and from their situations incapable, of governing with justice, I do not hesitate to prefer, not only the confusion of anarchy, and the uncertainty of a new settlement, but even extermination itself, to slavery rivetted on us and our posterity. (II, p. 167).

This published argument represents one of the most sane and effective political articles which Paine used. The opposition is represented and its points are not slighted but reasoning favors the rebel representatives.

Washington received other praise during April than Miss Wheatley's poem. The Massachusetts House of Representatives letter congratulating the colonial military leader on his defense of Boston was printed by Paine in "Monthly Intelligence" along with the general's reply. The legislators were especially bound, as was the new nation, to Washington since he declined pay for his military services. This body of men expressed great hopes for success and confidence in his leadership.

Washington's reply is important when it is noted that he refers to the colonies as the "United Colonies" --- one step away from England new to readers in this year. There is no mention of reunion with the crown, only hope for "peace, liberty, and safety." (I, pp. 194-95).

"Monthly Intelligence" also included a list of stores Gage left behind in Boston, an account of New York riflemen driving the British ship "Savage" out of the harbor by sniping at deck hands, and two accounts of naval victories. (II, pp. 195-97).

May 1776

John Witherspoon's "The Druid, No. 1" headed the essay section for May. This contribution did not carry the political views he was to express in the two following issues. This introductory article ascertained that much was at stake; colonial liberty must be defended and supported. Anticipating future need for tempered decisions of state he announced that principles of society, the rights of nations, and the policy of states would be discussed seriously in future articles. (II, pp. 205-9). This was the only political essay included.

Aitken advertised with excerpts "A New System of Military Discipline" by a "General Officer." Tactics and simulated combat situations were explained and described. (II, pp. 229-32).

Because of its "sound reasoning" Governor Johnston's speech to the House of Commons in October, 1775 was printed by Paine. Johnston favored the Americans and listed these causes as denial of constitutional rights: taxation without representation, the dissolving of charters, trial without a jury of peers, and imprisonment without writ of habeas corpus.

Johnston bitterly rebuked Parliament for basing their actions on Governor Hutchinson's reports alone. He condemned the former Massachusetts governor as a man of doubtful truth and one who advocated an abridgement of constitutional rights. Hutchinson, he declared, was unfit for office. How this must have pleased the ears of Otis and Sam Adams --- and all

of Boston!

The speaker further attacked North for upsetting "the dignity of Parliament," and for forcing English soldiers to kill admirable American subjects. George III is rebuked for keeping North in office. (II, pp. 235-44).

"Monthly Intelligence" reported Congressional adoption of a plan to carry out the governmental functions now that the King, Lords, and Commons withdrew legal protection. Further orders were dispatched that each colony should form a government which would "best conduce to the happiness and safety of the people." The Colonies were on their own much before the Declaration was signed. (II, p. 247).

June 1776

The most impressive political writing during June was the unsigned "Ode to the British Empire." This poem contained twenty-one, ten line stanzas. (II, pp. 285-87). The stanzas rhymed mostly ababccdde with an occasional ababccdde. The ten syllable line was used throughout.) The author is loyal to the history of freedom in Britain and full of praise for past heroes from the days of "Runnimeade." Contemporary English leaders are not described in such endearing terms. The meat of the poem stanza by stanza is:

- 1) Will Liberty allow Tyranny to continue in Britain?
- 2) An appeal is made in the name of "Runnimeade's" hardy barons who would shudder to see the present state of England.
- 3) Commons, the seat of liberty, is ridiculed for acquiescing to the King and his ministers.
- 4) A cry is made for the spirit of the Lords and Commons which expelled the tyrant, James I.

- 5) Comparison shows present British leaders as "puny pears" when placed alongside the old heroes of Runnimeade.
- 6) Roll-call of the past defenders of liberty souls such names as Hampden, Russell, Vane, and Sydney.
- 7) Rough language curses the "badgered peers, ye pensioned Commons", as lily-livered traitors all.
- 8) Reminds British that it is ridiculous to imagine that "America must bow her might neck" to the edicts of small men.
- 9) Declaration that Britain paid nothing to settle and build America; this country was built by men who left chains, racks, and "despotic rage" behind.
- 10) A taunt at shamed British valor is in this suggestion: "Remember Louisbourg?"
- 12) During French and Indian War the colonists saved both Britain and America. The colonies paid more than their share of that war's cost.
- 13) American wealth has been most influential in keeping alive Britain and liberty.
- 14) The charge is made that to America the King, Lords, and Commons are but one tyrant; another Charles to a noble Hampden.
- 15) America will not become corrupted to die like Britain.
- 16) At least not until Britain subdues America will she go down and George, it is declared, will need "a mightier sceptre" to achieve that.
- 17) The freely chosen patriots in Congress are praised.
- 18) Ireland's aid is solicited to down George III.
- 19) Scotland is slandered and her doom forecast.
- 20) The old Roman disease is now in British bones.

21) This appeal to the old blood of Britain

Old generous England! freedom calls --- awake!
 From dreams of pride, of interest, and of rage;
 Arise! Thy Magna Charta is at stake.

Aitken, who was now both editor and publisher since Paine had quit, had only Witherspoon's "The Druid, No. 2" as a political essay. (II, pp. 253-57). Witherspoon ridiculed at great length the British complaints that colonists were not following the laws of war, were acting "barbarously." He would turn the demand and ask the British to explain their own actions.

This ridicule is followed by a long treatise on the laws of war which Witherspoon defines as actions directed toward weakening the resisting force --- not merely destroying for the sake of destruction.

"Monthly Intelligence" included the new Constitution for South Carolina which disregarded all British law. (II, pp. 289-96).

Several oaths necessary for office-holders were printed. Now men must pledge no allegiance to the King or Great Britain --- indeed, they must swear otherwise. Pennsylvania expressed, officially, an early willingness to become "free and independent."

The political writing for June was slight considering the times but Aitken pleaded that paper was scarce. (II, p. 296). The important pieces do express well that the time was ripe for the great move and Aitken offered some views to support his friends in Congress.

July 1776

If the text of the Declaration were hard to come by, the July issue would be valuable. Otherwise this final issue of America's last magazine of political importance for three and one-half years is a slim

offering to eyes hungry for political bombast.

The state of the new nation was somber but full of hope as reported in "Monthly Intelligence." Lord Dunsmore had been routed from Virginia, victories were reported in the Carolinas, and three state constitutions were published. The defeat of colonial forces in Canada by Burgoyne was the darkest news of the time. (II, pp. 330-43).

Heartening to all Americans was the report of Washington's refusal of several letters from General Howe in New York. Washington returned them unopened to Howe's aide because they were not addressed to the Commander-in-Chief of the United States of America. The Continental Congress soberly lauded Washington's actions and issued orders for all military leaders to follow his example. (II, p. 343).

The essay section contained Witherspoon's "The Druid, No. 3." (Pp. 301-5). An essay "Prosperity and Adversity" also was printed as an allegory demonstrating that Liberty and Truth only live in conditions of Adversity. (II., pp. 309-11).

Witherspoon explained the great cause and justice in fighting Britain. He, however, professed a distaste for the beginning of bloodshed in earnest urging that fighting end when the necessity for combat no longer existed.

An allegorical "Ode to Independence" by Thomas Smollett was the only political "Poetical Essay." Here the poet relates the birth of Independence whose mother was the goddess Liberty. Disdain sired the youth when he ravished the goddess-mother. Independence, orphaned at birth, was reared by the Doric Muse, Wisdom, and mountain Dryads into a man large and strong as his father yet possessed by his mother's passions. This young man became the chief foe of tyrants who forever blunted their evil efforts.

So passed out of existence probably America's most read magazine until after 1800. Aitken and Paine included a great deal of essay and poetic material representative of the best American political writers had to offer in the years preceding the signing of the Declaration of Independence. As a source for letters and documents expressing the real causes of dissension, its "Monthly Chronicle" is a treasure-house.

CHAPTER IV

THE UNITED STATES MAGAZINE: A REPOSITORY
OF HISTORY, POLITICS AND LITERATURE.

The British evacuated Philadelphia in June, 1778 after nine months of military occupation. It was a chaotic time to launch the first magazine of any kind since the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Yet, under the editorship of 30 year-old Hugh Henry Brackenridge, The United States Magazine offered its first issue with the new year of 1779. The periodical was not destined for success. It struggled through one full year of publication, the first half dozen issues reflecting the literary tastes and brilliance of its editor. After the mid-year had passed, the magazine's quality lapsed considerably.

However, in comparison with previous general magazines, it displayed a noteworthy excellence of selection and organization. Brackenridge contributed patriotic satire and political commentary of a quality seldom seen in either The Royal American Magazine or The Pennsylvania Magazine. His poetry section, which introduced Phillip Freneau to American readers, tolerated less mediocre material than had the other magazines. There was continuity in the installment printing of both poetry and prose contributions. When the magazine expressed an interest in a particular political question, that question was most often discussed in several issues.

That Brackenridge intended here to state his political views and uphold the American patriot is evident from the first fourteen pages of the initial issue. In his preface the editor analyzes the effect of political writing of the war:

"The British officers who are, some of them, men of understanding, on perusal of our pamphlets in the course of debate

the verbal war , and the essays and dissertations in the newspapers, have been forced to acknowledge, not without chagrin, that the rebels, as they are pleased to call us, had some d---m'd good writers on their side of the question, and that we had fought them no less sucessfully with the pen than with the sword.

We hope to convince them yet more fully, that we are able to cultivate the belles lettres, even disconnected from Great Britain; and that liberty is of so noble and energetic quality, as even from the bosom of a war, to call forth the powers of human genius, in every course of literary fame and improvement. (I, pp. 3-4).

The first six stanzas of the verses explaining the frontispiece design reflect Brackenridge's vision of the future glory of America and his praise of colonial unity. The six expressive stanzas read:

A bold triumphal Arch you see,
Such as by antiquity
Was raised to Rome's great heroes, who
Did the rage of war subdue.

The Arch high bending doth convey,
In a hieroglyphic way,
What in noble stile like this,
Our United Empire is.

The Pillars which support the weight,
Are each of them a might state:
Thirteen and more the vista shews,
As to vaster length it grows:
For new states should added be,

To the great Confederacy.

And the might arch shall rise,

From the cold Canadian skies,

And shall bend through heaven's broad way,

To the noble Mexic Bay.

In the lofty arch are seen,

Stars of a lucid ray --- Thirteen:

And when other states shall rise,

Other stars shall deck these skies;

There in wakeful light to burn,

O'er the hemisphere of morn.

Fame before the vista flies,

Rising to the western skies:

A golden trumpet still she bears;

Sounding through the coming years;

Sounding o'er the west-way plain,

Where but solitude doth reign;

But where new states shall yet have place,

Founded on an equal base;

Founded far beyond the groves,

Where the Yochagany roves;

Or where Cochnewaga fills

Her urn, at the Shanduski hills.

Here in gilded roofs and halls,

At city feats and festivals,

The wise and brave shall reckon o'er

The story of the years before;
 And with delighted fancy tell,
 How the first heroes fought and fell---
 The heroes who, in early day,
 Opposed Britannia's ruthless sway,
 And her mad monarch, o'er whose minds,
 Rolled angry vengeance to mankind.

In the magazine's introduction the editor outlined its intentions as chiefly educational and patriotic. He interpreted education as a necessity in the development of the true patriot. In a country where the paths to high offices lay open to every man, it then became the duty of the patriot to fit himself that he might fulfill the duties of public office. "It becomes him to obtain some knowledge of the history and principles of government, or at least to understand the policy and commerce of his country." (I, pp. 9-11).

Brackenridge intended The United States Magazine to supply the need of extensive "first sources" on government by becoming "the literary coffee-house of public conversation." It would "convey the thoughts, remarks, proposals, theories and reasonings of the politician."

After outlining the policy and aim of his magazine Brackenridge solicited articles from learned writers whose pseudonyms, he had noticed, were missing in late English publications. His "Letter to the Poets, Philosophers, Orators, Statesmen, of Antiquity" (I, pp. 11-14) states: "I presume, having found that nation [Britain] incorrigible, you have discontinued your epistles to their island. It is indeed high time to abandon them, and turn your attention to the free people of America." Requests for articles of expert political advice are tendered especially

to such worthies as "Solon and Lycurgus, Numa, Pompilius, Minos, Rhadamanthus, Eacus and others."

As the other magazines had done, Brackenridge printed sections of essays and poetry, and wrote a monthly chronicle. During the latter part of 1779 a great deal of space was given to the new state constitutions. Those of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, New York, North and South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Connecticut were printed in full. The chronicle contained news of important events, domestic and foreign, and lists of ships captured at sea. Some of the news accounts, usually very brief, which would have aroused either patriotic pleasure or anger were: the burning and ravaging of Connecticut, the burning of Charleston, the fall of Savannah, the rebel victory at Briar's Creek bridge, and the storming of Honey Point by General Wayne. This news section, however, is of not such great importance as was Tom Paine's "Historical Chronicle."

In the essay and poetry sections there are individual contributions which, because of quality, stand above the usual magazine writing in either of the three magazines of this period. The unidentified "Cornwalliad" and the poems of Freneau are excellent political satire.

All identification of article authorship in this study is based upon Richardson's History of Early American Magazines. This writer had access to Brackenridge's own file of the magazine wherein most pieces are identified. (Richardson, pp. 196-210).

62 Mott identifies the poem as "probably" Brackenridge's. Neither Richardson nor Claude M. Newlin in The Life and Writings of Hugh Henry Brackenridge (Princeton: 1932), p. 48, attempt to identify the author. The outstanding political essays, many probably by the editor, were discussions of the currency question and of the advantages of independence.

The Essays

The major essays. Brackenridge was deeply concerned about the economic situation in 1779. The continental currency issued by the Congress had caused prices to soar and money values to decline. The problem was discussed in a series of essays beginning with "The Representation and Remonstrance of Hard Money Addressed to the People of America." (I, pp. 28-31). The allegorical figure, Hard Money, a "sterling fellow" of real value, humorously stated his case against that "rag-born, kite-faced fellow," Continental Currency. Currency is ridiculed because of his changing sense of value and his lack of lasting qualities. Hard Money felt he had been displaced by a rather shoddy figure.

Continental Currency, however, found opportunity to retaliate in two later issues. The "Reply of Continental Currency to Hard Money" (I, pp. 72-81) charged his foe, whom he described as "copper-nosed, yellow-visaged, jaundiced-faced," as a poor provider of the necessities of war. Currency claimed that he had done a good job and any blame for inflation rested on monopolies and debt defaulters. Continental Currency accused Hard Money of consorting with the enemy; at least it was well known that Tories sought coin while they scorned currency. Furthermore, Currency charged he intended only a temporary reign as the sign of wealth. He would retire once liberty was established.

In the March issue Continental Currency was defended by William Livingston (I, pp. 110-21). Currency's best recommendation, at this time, was his parentage. He was "The genuine legitimate offspring of the Congress" and sponsored by every Whig. He was America's own creation while gold had been toasted by such enemies as Lord North.

These three essays are brimming with humorous charges and counter-charges. Intellectual asides and, at times, some rather salty quips should

have amused American readers. Though Brackenridge favored a more stable
⁶³
 monetary exchange currency was ably defended.

Further unrest due to the inflated economy is reflected in "Query to the Public." (I, p. 32). A Delaware correspondent urged the formation of an association whose members would agree to pay not more than five times the pre-war price for all commodities. He further advocated tar and feathers for the "Tories" who violated the agreement. On this same page Brackenridge answered a query on money values with this verse filler:

Take half a dozen half joes,
 Of dollars take ten times as many,
 The remainder make up with your guineas,
 'Twill be one hundred pounds to a penny.
 Or your coin, if you please, you may vary,
 For seventeen half joes will do it,
 With seventy dollars in silver,
 And thirteen good guineas put to it.

"The Adventures of a Continental Dollar" (I, pp. 264-68; 385-87), written by Brackenridge, were published in two chapters. The story is good insofar as it goes, for evidently more was intended than was published. This prose allegory follows Continental Dollar's adventures into and out of British hands. The wanderer's patriotism was established by his parents; Liberty was his sire and America his mother. His father reportedly had been "frequently robbed and plundered by one George, and a profligate gang of Whelps." (I, p. 265). In his youth Tories had scorned his company but an

63 Richardson, p. 203, attributes the first two articles to Brackenridge and the last to William Livingston.

old Whig lady had foretold a shining future. Those stalwarts in Congress were Continental Dollars best friends and god fathers. Madame Virtue had educated him. The youth became of age July 4, 1776, and grew so in importance that Howe and Galloway counterfeited his likeness in an effort to ruin his reputation. Continental Dollar escaped British capture to be born again thereby destroying the value of the British counterfeit. With his new diameter and a changed face, he grew to be the most valuable of coins.

Though the adventures of the coin are interesting, and he is well supplied with jibes for the British and Tories, his value certainly was not above question in 1779---or for several years thereafter. Just how uncertain American monetary values were is shown in a later article, Matthew Wilson's "On the Present Money-Dilemma." (I, pp. 389-93). This piece was in keeping with the campaign of some political leaders for a national, not a state, system of coinage. The writer maintained that the value of the coin was imaginary; its only real worth lay in its bartering power. Federal currency, he thought, would eliminate the confusion and argument over rates of exchange existing in 1779. The argument was sane and, of course, later proved to be a valid conjecture.

The money question received further publicity in John Jay's address "To the Inhabitants of the United States of America" (I, pp. 247-53) and the Congressional Circular Letter signed by Jay. (I, pp. 408-10, 436-38, 448-51, 477-78). Jay's address was a plea for more private loans to the new government and a defense of the much devaluated currency. Jay criticized the growth of trade monopolies and proposed a tax on commodities thus controlled. The address placed the responsibility of inflation upon those people who bought or sold extravagantly. The Circular Letter defended Congressional monetary policies, attacked profiteering, and out-

lined the cost of the war.

In three issues Brackenridge carried the text of Dr. David Ramsay's "An Oration on the Advantages of American Independence." (I, pp. 20-25, 53-57, 101-106). This long address was delivered at Charleston, South Carolina, on July 4, 1778. In his preface to the first instalment Brackenridge praised highly Ramsay's ability as a speaker and logician. Ramsay reviewed all the old grievances against Britain and was especially bitter about the "no representation" dispute. Much of the oration's appeal was based on the promised benefits of freedom and the glorious future in store for an independent America. To Ramsay, like Jefferson, America's wealth lay in agriculture, in her soil.

The speaker recounted the British plan to milk the colonies of their wealth. He argued that this was England's chief interest in America. He pictured the colonies being bantered about among the warring nations of Europe as a victory prize if allegiance with the mother-country was reinstated.

As a conclusion the speaker outlined a plan of growth for the new country once peace returned. America's chief weakness was her thin population. The orator thought the problem would soon be solved by the attractiveness of a free world. "Our excellent form of government" and cheap soil would attract thousands from Europe. Ramsay indeed had the

64 Further publicity was given in the March issue to the immigration plan. Excerpts from Observations on the American Revolution (I, pp. 125-29) by a Congressional Committee promised to open the portals of freedom to the "miserable and oppressed" of Europe.

foresight to envision the period 1830-50 when thousands did stream across the Atlantic to America. Ramsay, at this time, cited as examples Pennsylvania and New England, whose liberal charters had attracted the most immigrants, though their soil not so rich as in the Carolinas. Independence, as Ramsay analyzed the times, was America's only and best way to greatness. "As we are now completely free and independent, we shall populate much faster than we have ever done, or ever would, while we were controlled by the jealous policy of an insignificant island." (I, p. 102). He praised the leaders in Congress and declared that "the cause of America is the cause of Human Nature." Through independence America would see the dawning of another Golden age.

Ramsay glorified independence in 1778. In the text of another fine speech printed in The United States Magazine liberty was the theme by which the speaker sought to unify the efforts of his countrymen. This text was of Brackenridge's own address of July 5, 1779, delivered "before a numerous and respectable Assembly of Citizens and Foreigners, in the German Calvinist Church, Philadelphia." (I, p. 243). The audience was one to awe a lesser man:

The President of the State, the Minister Plenipotentiary and Consul of France, the Honorable the Members of Congress, the Council and Chief Justic of the State, the Clergy, the Magistrates, and Military Officers of the city, the Provosts, Professors and Students of the College, Gentlemen of the Law, Gentlemen of the neighboring States, and a respectable body of citizens, were present. (I, p. 289).

Before this illustrious audience the editor of The United States Magazine delivered his "An Eulogium of the Brave Men who have fallen in

the contest with Great Britain." He praised those who had died for liberty and expounded his ideas on the Revolution:

I conceive it as the first honour of these men, that before they engaged in the war, they saw it to be just and necessary. They were not the vassals of a proud chieftain rousing them, in barbarous times, by the blind impulse of attachment to his family, or engaging them to espouse his quarrel, by the music and entertainment of his hall. They were themselves the chieftains of their own cause, highly instructed in the nature of it, and, from the best principles of patriotism, resolute in its defense. They had heard the declaration of the court and parliament of Great Britain, claiming the authority of binding them in all cases whatsoever. They had examined this claim, and found it to be, as to its foundation, groundless, as to its nature, tyrannical, and in its consequences, ruinous to the peace and happiness of both countries. On this clear apprehension and decided judgment of the cause, ascertained by their own reason, and collected from the best writers, it was the noble purpose of their minds to stand forth and assert it, at the expense of fortune, and the hazard of their lives. (I, p. 343).

Brackenridge would have the American dead to be none the less than heroes who had died in defense of man's most valuable possession:

For what cause did these brave men sacrifice their lives? For, that cause which, in all ages, has engaged the hopes, the wishes, and the endeavors of the best men, the cause of Liberty. LIBERTY! Thou art indeed valuable; the source of all that is great and good upon earth For thee, the patriot of America has drawn his sword, has fought, and has fallen. (I, p. 346).

This heroism had a transfer value. The sons, sisters, wives, and sweethearts of the American dead could share their fame. The fame of the fallen was a virtue in their honor. Brackenridge concluded with the highest praise for General Washington and the exhortation for Americans to stand united in the cause for which so many had died, the cause of Liberty.

Brackenridge had not excluded the role of American womanhood in his eulogium. In the March issue "Clarissa" contributed a literary "Vision of Paradise." (I, pp. 122-24). This, too, praised American women as revolutionary heroines and urged more to assume the likeness. In her vision Clarissa saw "the angel of the paradise of female patriotism" descend the formidable sides of a mountain. This "lovely winged youth" led her over the summit, though the path was rocky and dangerous, and into the valley of this paradise. Here Clarissa met the heroines of Greece and Rome, the maid of Orleans, and noble Portia. On a western hill among oaks and poplars dwelled the women patriots of America, notably Mrs. John Adams and Mrs. Samuel Adams. This hill had long been reserved for such American women. The angel prophesied that some unhappy maids, who were yet "under wrong impressions of their country's cause", would repent and eventually enter the garden. An effort to embrace the approaching Adams women awake the dreamer.

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The New York Tory printer James Rivington was bitterly ridiculed in

66 Rivington was publisher of the New York Gazette. One page of this paper had been regularly given to the Tory views of one "Poplicola". Claud Halstead Van Tyne, The Loyalists in the American Revolution (New York: 1929), pp. 13, 13N, 44, says Rivington was "honestly trying to run an independent newspaper (p. 12) "but Whig sentiment would not allow neutrality. This

one of the best satirical essays published in an American magazine. This essay in the form of a petition to the Continental Congress was entitled "The Humble Representation and Earnest Supplication of James Rivington, Printer and Bookseller in New York." (I, pp. 34-40). Pres. John Witherspoon of the College of New Jersey (Princeton), whom the editor knew while a student there, wrote the satire. Witherspoon injected a great deal of malicious humor into this fictitious petition wherein the printer is caught in a city at the mercy of the "Yankies" who were expelling British troops in 1779. Now that the British were leaving, he is afraid the colonials will "exalt" him, and other Tories, "to a high though dependent station, and which brought America under their feet, in a sense very different from what Lord North meant, when he first used that celebrated expression."

Rivington claims that he, like all Tories, is really harmless:

Now it is certain that the tories in general would do anything sooner than fight. Many of them became tories for no other reason than that they might avoid fighting. The poor chicken-hearted creatures cried out to the potent King of England, to take them under his wings for protection; which he endeavored to do, but they were too short to cover them. (I, p. 36).

The printer promises that all Tories will receive ample punishment

eventually drove him to support British policies (p. 13N). How much he was supporting Toryism by 1774 is demonstrated in an editorial recommending death to colonial leaders who excited uprisings. (p. 44). In 1781 Rivington went so far as to parody the Declaration. (pp. 309-17).

without Whig assistance: "By this I mean the dreadful mortification, after our past puffing and Vanity at being under the dominion of the Congress." (I, p. 37). He pleads with the colonial leaders to remember all the fond names Tories had for them: "rebels, rascals, ragamuffins, tatterdemalions, scoundrels, blackguards." Not least in his plea for mercy was this supplication: "We never once made you to retreat." In this article The United States Magazine made its most potent thrust at Toryism.

Brackenridge, in a more serious tone, published his "Maxims for Republics" (I, pp. 18-20), in an article signed "Sidney", an often used pseudonym. There are echoes here of the editor's introductory statements. Here is the gist of Brackenridge's ideas on government in 1779. In an essay explaining the differences between principles and form in government, Brackenridge neatly separated the responsibilities and privileges of the masses from those of "men of education and reflection." The principles of a democracy were best judged by the "feelings" of the bulk of mankind. The form of government in a democracy should be left to the judgment of the intelligent. Brackenridge favored governmental power derived from the people, not seated in them. His final reminder stated that: "The art of government is not to govern too much."

The minor essays: In the April issue two historical essays were begun but both lapsed incomplete in June. An American account of the "Establishment of these United States" (I, pp. 159-62, 202-4, 260) was proposed because the American revolution was unique in the history of the world. The account carried through an argument justifying the land claims of settlers over those of the Indian before being dropped from the publication.

The "History of the Present War" (pp. 151-55, 199-202, 245-47), a

British publication, was reprinted in part. This history ended with an appeal by the colonies for a Canadian alliance before 1776. The temper of the writing is pro-British but on the whole it is a just account.

Brackenridge's "Political Discourses founded on the Scriptures, No. 7" (I, pp. 25-28) pictures America as another Noah's ark riding out the flood of tyranny caused by the British. The English, according to this writer are the descendants of "unoffending Seth" who married with those of Cain to produce a line of immoral, vain conquerors.

Laxity in carrying out the war was attacked in a German translation, "Thoughts on the Necessity of War." (I, pp. 472-74). War was argued as beneficial to society as was fever to a diseased man. Conflict drove out the Satan in man, his "object conduct", which allowed tyranny to become rampant.

"The Progress of the Tyranny of Britain" (I, pp. 331-32) was a brief review of Parliament's suppression of colonial rights. The writer described British control as so manifest that: "Not a pace should we step, not an action should we do, not a boon of providence should we enjoy, but at the will of Britain!" This probably was intended to strengthen America's insistence on complete independence now that George III had proffered a plan of reconciliation to American envoys in France.

In the last issue was included a Princeton commencement address "An Oration on the Character of a true Hero." (I, pp. 491-95). This was the work of sixteen year-old Richard J. Stockton. Washington, who rose to glory in the presence of danger, yet showed mercy to his enemies, was this young man's idea of the noble patriot.

Either brevity or incompleteness weakened both the individual and total effect of these minor essays. No doubt Brackenridge was many times pressed

for copy and such articles filled his pages. The proposed histories might have been worthwhile had they been continued. However as political propaganda they had not the necessary vigor to arouse much patriotic sentiment.

The Political Poetry.

Political poetry in The United States Magazine exhibited a satirical excellence unrivaled in either of the other magazines. Indeed, the literary value of this periodical could well rest on the poetry Brackenridge published within its pages. The editor published nine poems of Philip Freneau. These men had been classmates at the College of New Jersey and had collaborated on their commencement exercise, "A Poem on the Rising Glory of America." Three of Freneau's contributions to the magazine were entirely political in nature. Among the others published, "Poem on the Beauties of Santa Cruz" (I, pp. 84-88), and "The House of Night" (I, pp. 335-63), are the most noteworthy. Both are published here for the first time; only the original seventy-three verses of the latter were available in August, 1779.

In addition to the Freneau poetry, "The Cornwalliad", a long mock-heroic poem, and two anonymous poems have propaganda value. "The Cornwalliad" was written in four cantoes and remained unfinished after running through
67
seven issues. There exist differences of opinion on the poem's worth. Mott says: "It is rather uninspired, and probably belongs in the category

67 I, pp. 181-82, 232-33, 278-79, 317-18, 394-400, 431-33. The poem was accompanied by a satirical "Apology" (I, pp. 15-18) and further remarks on its history (I, pp. 63-65).

of Brackenridge's verse which General Charles Lee called "damnable". (Mott, p. 45). Lee felt the entire magazine and its editor "damnable" after Brackenridge had printed in January the gay general's letter to Miss Rebecca Franks, a Philadelphia society belle. The letter was one of protest to Miss Franks, who had laughed at Lee's leather patched breeches.⁶⁸ Mott's opinion appears both hasty and erroneous since Lee had made no particular reference to Brackenridge's verse; furthermore there is little supporting evidence that Brackenridge was the author of "The Cornwalliad."

Lyon Norman Richardson calls the poem "a remarkable mock epic". He believes it "is the equal of some of the work of Freneau, or Brackenridge, or Trumbull." (Richardson, pp. 207-8).

In an "Apology for the Cornwalliad, a proposed Heroic poem, in several Cantoes" (I, pp. 15-18) there is some evidence of Brackenridge's authorship. The author recalls both military and literary resistance of the British. He "had burlesqued proclamations, parodied speeches, and cut and slashed about me, doing more execution than seven Brigadiers General."⁶⁹ The poet maintains that he would have continued to support the colonies if this insane idea for independence had not risen. It is at this point in the two preliminary essays that the satire begins. Because of the Declaration the poet feels that he must reinstate himself in the

68 See Newlin, pp. 50-52, for a full account of Lee's anger over this publicity.

69 Brackenridge had served for two years as an unordained chaplain for troops in New Jersey and Maryland. See Newlin, pp. 37-43. The poem's author, however, reveals himself in the apology as one who had borne arms

good graces of George III. The method was "to Chose [sic] this suffering hero," Cornwallis as the hero of his epic. The poet disapproved of the independence scheme because: Britain and America were like a clock and its pendulum, and every clock (Britain) must have its pendulum; Britain and America were like a comet and its tail, and a bob-tailed comet would appear rather silly; and America, being a dry, desolate place, was dependent on England as a source of fresh water. Furthermore America was so far removed from the North Pole that the governmental compass would not function so well as did England's.

The second introductory essay, "That part of History on which the Cornwalliad is founded" (I, pp. 63-5), is a satire on the stupidity displayed by Cornwallis' maneuvers in defending Trenton and Princeton against Washington in December, 1778. Cornwallis was regularly duped by the colonial general; so much so that one night he unknowingly allowed the American force to slip away under cover of darkness thereby losing contact with his enemy. The mock-heroic stature of the man was to be described in an account of Cornwallis' retreat from Trenton. Canto I (I, pp. 133-5, 181-82) begins:

I sing the prowess of that martial chief,
 Who bravely patient bore a weight of grief,
 On that sad eve that closed the march he made,
 From Trenton hills to Brunswic, retrograde. (I, p. 133)

against Lord Dunsmore, the royal governor of Virginia.

The military campaign, to the point of action where Canto I takes up the story, had already progressed beyond Washington's crossing of the Delaware. The rebels had captured Trenton and Princeton, and evaded Cornwallis completely after being in close contact with him at one time. Washington's troops occupied a hill opposite Cornwallis one night. The British general observed their many campfires, which burned until dawn, and assumed his enemy was near. To his surprise the dawn disclosed "but an open field before him." The rebels had vanished. The poet finds his hero puzzled and wary on this morning. Five "Hybernian souls" had deserted to the rebel foe. Cornwallis feared for their safety in that they might be mistaken for "turkey-buzzards" and shot. (I, pp. 133-34).

Cornwallis' intelligence expert is a long-eared Scot whose hearing is triple that of ordinary men. The valor of the British troops was satirically described in the opening canto. After the long-eared one registered distant battle sounds in his super-sensitive ears, the troops heroically respond by eating and lolling about. Further military amusement was found in marking farm boundaries with stones and dreaming of future tillage of captured American soil. (I, pp. 181-82).

The second canto provides action and alarm as a scout from Princeton reports a rebel victory there. Washington reportedly had gone on to Brunswick and another victory. Brunswick was Cornwallis' destination and the site of his supplies. Frightened by the scouts' alarming news and the eminent prospect of battle, the long-eared Scot prophesies their doom: "I see our fate --- we must all go to pot,/ For every Briton will this night be shot;/ The raging rebels will delight to slay,/ And devil a one of us will spare --- not they." (I, p. 233). Cornwallis and his men then "brought up the rear of the war" by fleeing to the heights and woods

near Brunswick. At this time the British commander did not know the whereabouts of Washington. Being a man of intelligence though, he decided Washington was on one of his four sides.

Cornwallis' troops, in the poem, are all Scots endowed with native fears and superstitions. All believed that the rebels were men of Satan who charmed "their rifle-balls, like efl-shot". In previous battles the deadly missiles had come from everywhere. (I, p. 233). The general is as superstitious as his men though he insists that rebel rifles make sound. The puzzling thing to Cornwallis and his men, as they settle down above Brunswick, is that they have heard no rifle fire during the day's march. They could not decide whether or not Washington was in the town below them. After much argument, which discloses that the Scots firmly believe Washington to be Satan and capable of taking the town in silence, the general decides to take one scout and reconnoiter the outskirts of the town. They planned to address the rebel sentries in "broadest Scotch" to determine whether friend or foe controlled Brunswick. Cornwallis especially approved of this measured since it would not spill British blood.

At this point in the poem there is a switch of locale. The reader is taken inside the Brunswick barracks. The regular garrison of Scots, not Washington, still hold the town. They, however, have heard of the rebel successes and fear an attack. They, too, debate the position of colonial troops. Two scouts, Mac Neil and Sawney, are sent to investigate the heights and woods about the town. The two scouting parties meet in a dark woods. Cornwallis cries out: "Wha the de'el cums here?" The townsmen take to their heels at this bold question, Mac Neil in one direction, Sawney in another. While fleeing the enemy, Mac Neil hears the

cry of an owl which he assumes to be those of a captured and stabbed Sawney. At this the brave soldier steps up his pace --- homeward.

In one of the high points of humor in the poem, Mac Neil tells his Brunswick fellows of Sawney's horrible death only to have the victim enter the barracks room. The superstitious Scots think him a ghost and Sawney confounds his mates by refusing to admit he is dead. Meanwhile Cornwallis and his scout have returned to safer ground thoroughly convinced that they have narrowly missed a clash with Washington's men. Canto II ends with the outsiders afraid to approach Brunswick while the town troops were equally afraid to venture outside its limits. (I, pp. 232-33, 278-79, 317-18).

The dawn of a new day opens Canto III. In the daylight both forces are more bold. Cornwallis advances toward Brunswick as his fellows inside march toward his position. Thus the poet sets the stage for the high point of comedy and the bitterest satire on the valor of his hero.

Both forces distantly eye each other. The Brunswick troops note the red-coated enemy on the hill and assume "sly Washington" is sporting the uniforms of their vanquished friends. The Brunswick troops immediately decide to surrender by rushing out "with fire-locks clubed." Cornwallis observed their advance through "grass-green spectacles." To him the advancing troops were seen as green-coated rebels, the cause of mounting fear. A fear so great that:

The noble chief hard struggling with his care,
 Call'd from his face as much blood as't could spare,
 To reinforce the skirmish of his heart;
 Nothing in war avails so much as art.
 Brave lads, said he, attend to what I say,
 This hour is big with an important day;

You see the foe has occupied the heights,
 And if we gain the town, we first must fight.
 Perhaps some one may urge a swift retreat,
 As if 'twere better than a sore defeat.
 I own it, Sirs; but in that town below,
 Are all our stores and magazines you know
 Which if we loose, we are as surely kill'd
 By famine here, as on the embattled field.
 No other hope can our sad station give,
 Famine or war is the alternative. (I, pp. 395-6).

Cheered by this brave speech, Cornwallis' men advance though, because of a "cough", their general can hardly make his order heard. This advance is soon stopped when Cornwallis' weak eyes spot men in the woods on his flank. Replacing his "grass-green spectacles" he mistakes the bowed heads of praying Brunswick troops for the mouths of many cannon. No cagey general would walk into the face of such fire power. He would make the enemy come to previously chosen ground, make him attack. Cornwallis, clever tactician that he is, ordered his men into a "hollow square" which circled constantly to ward off flanking attacks.

The town troops observed this formation and saw in it a savage war dance which the Americans must have learned from the Indians. This barbaric ritual drove the town troops into a frienzy. They desired to surrender at once. The decision was made to throw their caps into the air and shout "Washington" as a token of friendliness. After Orn Mac Orn, a sharp-eyed Scot, had reported the faces of Washington and Putnam in the center of the revolving square, the shouting, cap tossing townsmen began to charge up the hill.

Cornwallis had observed his enemy's preparations finally noticing that their coats, too, were red. The flying caps he thought were bombs and grenades. Amid all this turmoil one stupid townsman wandered into Cornwallis' lines. The confession of this captive prevented a mutual capitulation by both forces. (I, pp. 394-400).

This mock-heroic might well have ended with Canto III. Cornwallis and his entire force had been excellently belittled in the battle scene. Yet the British general was forced to further humiliation in Canto IV as he and his warriors retired to their barracks for a rousing, tippling celebration of their salvation. During the evening the general was urged to tell of his noble retreat. Mounting a bench, cup in hand, noble Cornwallis faced an eager audience: "All were attentive to the warlike man,/ When from his lofty bench he thus began." (I, p. 431). His tale was so full of woe that even "hot Mifflin could scarce/ Refrain from tears while I the tale rehearse." Cornwallis described his foes as greater than those Xerxes led across the Hellespont. Of the British casualties he recalled: "Many of Hessian that day lost his speech,/ And many a Scot was wounded in the breach." Many, while asleep the first night of retreat, had visions of being bayoneted: "I once myself in dreary vision saw/ The raging Mifflin his bayonet draw,/ And as he push'd at my posterior thigh,/ I felt my heart and fainting spirits die;/ But what the flush and pleasure of the soul/ When I awoke and felt my backside whole." (I, p. 433). The tale and the Canto end with an account of how Washington slipped away while his night-fires mysteriously burned on. On this eerie note the noble commander's halts his story --- "The rest is wanting." (I, pp. 431-33).

"The Cornwalliad" is excellent, laugh-provoking reading. The satire and the method are sharp. In the several scene switches in Cantoes I and

III, the transition is smooth and easy. All of America's hatred for this man, who had over-run four southern colonies and bedeviled Philadelphia, is evident in the vicious humor of this mock-heroic.

The Freneau political poetry. Two of the three political poems contributed by Philip Freneau to The United States Magazine were part of the vast smear campaign against George III. During 1779 the king was greatly concerned about his declining power and shrinking colonial holdings. Freneau's longest poem, "A Dialogue between his Britannic Majesty and Mr. Fox" (I, pp. 495-501), shows the disturbed spirit of the king as many colonials no doubt saw him. George III opened this conversation in a reflective mood: "Still George the Third, but potent George no more." Now that Lord North had led him "to the brink of fate" the bewildered monarch appealed to Mr. Fox for advice on how to regain America's friendship. Mr. Fox was quite willing to let his King stew in his own juice. He called George a miser, a monarch who had more land than Rome but craved still more. Fox had no sympathy for a ruler who sent troops against loyal subjects. Fox advised the King to appeal to North in this hour of destruction --- or go fight.

The insinuation of the dialogue, with Mr. Fox voicing the sentiments of America, was that George III and England were doomed. Since France and Spain controlled the seas and English leaders quarreled among themselves, Mr. Fox insisted that "Columbia" was lost. The boast of every colonial propagandist is in Fox's last words to George III: "Yes --- while I speak, your empire, great before,/ Contracts its limits, and is great no more."

This same American optimism is voiced in "King George the Third's Soliloquy." (I. pp. 230-31). Here a brooding King speaks his woe:

O Damn this Congress, damn each upstart state.

On whose commands ten thousand warriors wait:
 From various climes that dire assembly came,
 True to their trust yet hostile to my fame;
 'Tis these, ah these, have ruin'd half my sway,
 Disgraced my arms, and led my realm astray. (I, p. 230).

French aid, the threat of Spain, a dissatisfied people, ruined commerce and a shattered navy had further added to George's troubles and ruined his name. As troops "Yet rogues and savage tribes I must employ,/ And what I cannot conquer will destroy." Freneau pictured the English king as a madman who pronounced it "no sin to ravage, burn, and slay" in America. George III contemplates burning every American town. Only his fear that retaliation would cause the firing of London restrains the desire. The American war causes him to curse his very existence and consider the life of a hermit as a refuge:

Curs'd be the day when first I saw the sun,
 Curs'd be the hour when I this war begun;
 The fiends of darkness then inspir'd my mind,
 And powers unfriendly to the human kind;
 My future years I consecrate to woe,
 For this great loss my soul in tears shall flow.
 To wasting grief and sullen rage a prey,
 To Scotland's utmost verge I take my way;
 With nature's storms eternal concert keep,
 And while her billows rage, as fiercely weep:
 O let the earth my rugged fate bemoan,
 And give at least one sympathizing groan.
 (I, p. 231).

Freneau described the hell Britain had made in America, where the poet could no longer sing of sweetness, in "Psalm CXXXVII. Imitated." (I, pp. 402-3). Hatred for the British overflows the final stanza:

Thou Babel's offspring, hated race,
 May some avenging master seize,
 And dash thy venom in thy face,
 For crimes and cruelties like these,
 And proof to pity's melting tear,
 With infant blood your walls besmear. (I, p. 403).

Anonymous poems. Two political poems of unknown authorship attack in turn Lord North and the King, and the American Tories.

"King George the Third's Speech to Lord North" (I, p. 273) describes an ambitious king and a knavish prime minister, both devoted to tyranny. North, in the poem, defines American character in unflattering terms. The idea which Americans had long held, that North was more responsible than the King for the causes of the war, is well expressed in this short poem. (See Appendix VII).

"The Loyalists" (I, pp. 315-16) is both a violent criticism of Toryism and an apology to the muse for the strong language of revolutionary political poetry. The poet declares that he, too, once wrote of peaceful scenes but now amidst blood and waste he has, of necessity, turned his powers and: "Expos'd the tyrant and denied his reign;/ raised a bolder strain."

This writer would expell every Tory from the colonies; he would send them to Hell, their rightful place, --- or the Bahamas. A contemporary description of the Loyalist by the fiery patriot is in the opening lines:

"That Britains rage should dye our plains with gore,

And desolation spread thro every shore,
 None ere could doubt that Britain's malice knew,
 This was to rage and disappointment due;
 But that those monsters, whom our soil maintain'd,
 Who first drew breath in this devoted land,
 Like famish'd wolves should on their country prey,
 Assist our foes, and wrest our lives away:
 This shocks belief: they are from Satan's den;
 They must be devils in the form of men. (I, pp. 315-16).

III The Chronicle.

The news section of The United States Magazine contains so little opinion that its propaganda value is negligible. Unlike the Pennsylvania Magazine there were no lengthy texts of speeches or letters of importance nor were there any vitriolic prefaces like those of Isaiah Thomas in The Royal American Magazine.

Some abuse of New York Tories crept into the February news. They were chastized for foolishly following the British rule and reminded that the long, hungry winter of 1778-79 was well deserved on their part. (I, p. 90). This issue also gleefully reported that George 'III's recent Parliament address disclosed the weight of worry on the monarch's shoulders. At this time George III expressed a desire for peace and the need for more money. (I, p. 93).

At this same time Governor Johnston's peace plan was reported. This proposal was intended to right many of the present wrongs by Britain's allowing "a clear, explicit, unconditional, and full acknowledgement of the

independence of the United States." By granting independence Johnston believed England could restore her lost and sorely needed American commerce. (I, pp. 93-95). Lord North vigorously opposed this plan thus prolonging the war. (I, p. 95).

Other than these few comments one must turn to other sections than the Chronicle for political opinion. Brackenridge kept opinion out of his news reports in the admirable manner of a more modern journalist.

The first volume was the extent of this publication. Its editor disbanded publication in anger. The year 1779 was too unsettled for such a venture yet Brackenridge blamed the ignorant and the unpatriotic for the magazine's failure. (I, pp. 483-85).

CHAPTER VCONCLUSION

As has been previously stated this study was done with the idea of examining and reporting, as exhaustively as possible, the political propaganda published in the three early American magazines devoted to the American cause. The study does not elevate the magazine as a propaganda media to a level equal to that of either the pamphlet, broadside, or newspaper. It is doubtful that modern American magazines could exert an influence comparable to the newspaper or radio. Yet one would be hesitant to disregard their total effect. Such is the case with the magazines of Paine and Aitken, Thomas and Greenleaf, and Bailey and Brackenridge.

The literary history of Moses Coit Tyler and the more recent Literary History of the United States (1948) hardly mention American magazines. The excellent magazine histories of Frank Luther Mott and Lyon Norman Richardson have too much ground to cover to give the detailed attention to magazine political writing that has been done here. Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer's The Literary History of Philadelphia (1906) and Claude M. Newlin's biography of Brackenridge can afford no more than a few pages consideration of Brackenridge and his magazine. It is hoped that this study has in some measure extended what these men could have said in a less comprehensive work.

It is also hoped that the wealth of political writing published in magazines in the decade 1770-1780 has been satisfactorily discussed and summarized.

These three important magazines, now more easily available to the student since microfilm has become a common library addition, are worthy

of study as storehouses of late eighteenth century American essays and poetry. That such men as Isaiah Thomas, Tom Paine, and Hugh Henry Brackenridge were interested in our best early magazines magnifies the value of these journals as repositories of American literature. Here in poems on the rising glory of America and on patriotism, in essays against political bigotry, in essays advocating a national development is more than revolutionary political propaganda. Here are the first whisperings, sometimes more audible than the whisper, of the golden age both Emerson and Whitman saw dawning half a century later.

There is something highly noteworthy about the political propaganda published in these magazines. As revolutionists and propagandists the magazine editors and writers evidence a devotion, though at time tainted with satire and humor, to the truth as they saw it. The causes of revolution and independence on which they wrote were to them real and justifiable. There is little of the counterfeit in the grievances which were time and again repeated in magazine essays. One can see a certain righteousness even in the seditious preface of Isaiah Thomas as he spouted vituperation at the injustice of the Boston Port Bill.

It is also noteworthy that all three magazines, though destined to failure because of the war, attempted to continue publication in spite of it. The blockade at Boston eventually ended The Royal American Magazine; the signing of the Declaration of Independence ended The Pennsylvania Magazine; The United States Magazine, launched during the heart of the war, failed because of it.

Each of them professed a devotion to liberty and justice. Each advertised the injustices of the British. All agreed with such late historians as Becker and Davidson that Lord North's policies forced the breach between England and the colonies. All attacked the men most responsible for suppres-

sion of rights. None were guilty of false charges.

The political propaganda of these magazines, which urged men to arms and independence, demonstrate the truth in John Adams' statement: "The revolution was effected before the war commenced. The revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people." Magazine propaganda advocated and encouraged that same revolution.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

AMERICAN MAGAZINE CHRONOLOGY: 1752-1780

The Independent Reflector: or, Weekly Essays on Sundry Important Subjects (New York: Nov. 30, 1752-Nov. 22, 1753), James Parker, printer, William Livingston, editor.

The Occasional Reverberator (New York: Sept. 7-Oct..5, 1753), James Parker, printer.

The Instructor (New York: Mar. 6-May 8, 1755), James Parker and William Weyman, editors and publishers.

John Englishman (New York: Apr. 9-July 5, 1755), James Parker and William Weyman, editors and publishers.

The American Magazine, or Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies (Philadelphia: Oct. 1757-Oct. 1758), William Bradford, publisher, Rev. William Smith, editor.

The New American Magazine (Woodbridge, New Jersey: Jan. 1758-Mar. 1760), James Parker, editor, Samuel Nevill, editor.

The New England Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure (Boston: Aug.- Oct. 1758), Benjamin Macom, editor and publisher.

The Penny Post (Philadelphia: Jan. 9-27, 1769), Benjamin Macom, editor and publisher.

The American Magazine, or General Repository (Philadelphia: Jan.-Sept. 1769), William and Thomas Bradford, publishers, Lewis Nicola, editor.

The Censor (Boston: Nov. 23, 1771-May 2, 1772), Ezekiel Russell, publisher.

The Royal American Magazine, or Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement (Boston: Jan. 1774-Mar. 1775), Isaiah Thomas, editor and publisher through June, 1774; Joseph Greenleaf, editor and publisher thereafter.

The Pennsylvania Magazine; or, American Monthly Museum (Philadelphia: Jan. 1775-July 1776), Robert Aitken, publisher, Thomas Paine, editor.

The United States Magazine: a Repository of History, Politics, and Literature (Philadelphia: Jan.-Dec. 1779), Francis Bailey, publisher, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, editor.

APPENDIX II

Below is the September Rebus followed by its answer which was published in the November issue.

A Rebus

Take the name of a place which traitors do dread,
 And a doctrine that's preach'd up by seekers for bread:
 Add a word which is now in this time of dissention,
 The cause of dispute and the bone of contention;
 The initials of these with the last but one letter
 From the alphabet taken will show you the better.
 If in order you place then the name you will find
 Of a creature despis'd as the worst of mankind.

Answer to The Rebus

Tyburn's the place that traitors do dread,
Obedience is preached up by seekers of bread;
Right, is the word that causeth dispute,
 Which men in high office oft strive to confute;
Y, in the alphabet, is the last but one letter,
 Which, now it is found, will show much the better,
 That Tory's the creature (when the initials are
 join'd,
 Despised by all as the worst of mankind.

APPENDIX II (continued)

The answer to a September issue Rebus which was published in October.

Britain's the name our foes us'd to fear,

Orb is the word that denoteth a sphere:

Self-love moves our actions the bad and the good,

Tory's the term that's not understood;

Order best suits the Creator's designs,

Non-resistance agreeth with ignoble minds.

APPENDIX III

"A Prophecy on the Future Glory of America."

To years far distant and scenes more bright
Along the vale of time extend thy sight,
Where hours and years and days, from yon bright pole,
Wave following wave, in long succession roll;
There see in pomp for ages without end,
The glories of the Western World ascend!

See, this blest land in her bright morn appears,
Waked from dead slumbers of six thousand years:
While clouds of darkness vail'd each chearing ray;
To savage beats and savage men a prey.
Fair freedom now her ensign bright displays,
And peace and plenty bless the golden days.
In mighty pomp America shall rise,
Her glories spreading to the glorious skies:
Of every fair, she boasts the assembled charms,
The queen of empires and the nurse of arms.

See where her Heroes, mark their glorious way,
Armed for the fight and blazing on the day:
Blood stains their steps; and o'er the conquering plain,
Mid fighting thousands, and 'mid thousands slain;
Their eager swords promiscuous carnage blend,
And ghastly deaths their raging course attend,
For laurel'd conquest waits her high decree.

See, her bold vessels rushing to the main,
Catch the swift gales, and sweep the wat'ry plain;
Or led by commerce, at the merchant's door,
Unlade the treasures of each distant shore;
Or arm'd with thunder, on the guilty foe
Rush big with death and aim the appending blow;
Bid every realm, that hears the trump of fame,
Quake at the distant terror of her name.

APPENDIX IV

"A Liberty Song, or a small shoot from a
New Hampshire Liberty Tree."

Hark! Hark! my countrymen, What is the dismal groaning;
Sure 'tis some ravished lady sits desparately moaning;
Hear the sigh --- fly --- fly
'Tis the voice --- 'tis the voice of fair liberty.
Let horror seize the guilty wretch who thirsts for lawless power
Detested be his mem'ry, welcome his dying hour.
Yea in chains --- pains --- flames
Who annoys --- who destroys America's claims,
Let Human's gallows high expose the wretch forever,
While liberty sits regent dispensing royal favour,
We'll oppose --- those foes;
They shall see --- we'll be free --- in the land we have chose.
Laws equal just and right, shall evermore delight us;
But cruel treats and edicts shall never once affright us;
We'll be free --- year--- we,
Are the sons --- are the sons of fair liberty!
Let patriotic zeal with Heaven's smiles attend us,
While heroes post their armies securely to defend us:
To the field --- steel'd --- steel'd,
And the Lord --- from the sword Americans shield.

APPENDIX V

A Cleverly Constructed Verse

I love with all my heart,	Constitutional Line	The Tory here,
The Hannoverian part,		Most hateful does appear,
And for that settlement,		I ever have deny'd,
My conscience gives consent		To be on James' side,
Most righteous is the cause		To fight for such a King
To fight for George's laws;		Will England's ruin bring.
This is my mind and heart,		In this opinion I ---
Tho' none will take my part.		Resolve to live and die.

N.B. You may read it --- right through, or from top to bottom,
as best suits these perilous times. A plan of union, between
Whigs and Tories, only learn to read right. Janus.

APPENDIX VI

"The IRISHMAN'S Epistle to the Officers and Troops at Boston."

By my faith but I think ye're all makers of bulls
With your brains in your britches, your guts in your skulls.
Get homewith your muskets, and put up your swords,
And look in your books for the meaning of words.
Ye see now my honies, how much you're mistaken
For CONCORD by Discord can never be beaten.

How brave you went out with muskets all bright,
And thought to befrighten the folks with the fight;
And all the way home how they peppered your bums,
And is it not, honies, a comical farce,
To be proud in the face, and be shot in the a-se.

How come ye to think now, they did not know how,
To be after their firelocks as smartly as you.
Why ye see now, my honies, 'til nothing at all,
But to pull at the trigger, and pop goes the ball.
And what have you got now with all your designing,
But a town* without victuals to sit down and dine in;
And to look on the ground, like a parcel of Noodles,
And sing, How the Yankies have beaten the Doodles.
I'm sure if you're wise you'll make peace for a dinner,
For fighting and fasting will soon make ye thinner.

Paddy.

*Boston.

APPENDIX VII

"George the Third's Speech to Lord North."

O! North, when first I mounted to the throne,
I swore to let all foreign foes alone,
Through love of peace to terms did I advance,
And made, they say, a shameful peace with France,
But mightier objects lay within my view,
Old conquests I resign'd, and sought for new.
A mighty region owned my sovereign sway,
From Hudson's gulph to Mexicana's bay;
Unnumber'd people, swarmed along the coast ---
This people were, 'tis true, a might host,
But told I was, by yonder noble Scot,
They all were cowards, wild men, and what not;
And labour for the *grandeur* of my crown.
These brutes, unwarlike, had amassed, he said,
Vast heaps of gold, and went like lords arrayed.
If these were conquered and reduc'd by times,
And fleec'd and pillag'd for pretended crimes,
And rendered equal to the slavish race,
Then would Britannia wear a different face.
While these were toiling to support her crown,
How would she pull the Gallic glory down,
O'er various climes extend her ample reign,
And seize the conquests and the gold of Spain.

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