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Mission Statement

THE NEW AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN

The mission of *The New American Antiquarian* (NAA) is to foster the empirical reconstruction of the American past. The NAA strives to advance this object principally through the peer-reviewed publication of edited source material. We pursue reconstruction within a hemispheric frame, welcoming submissions of sources that illuminate the history of any part of the Americas before 1825 A.D. We accept all varieties of source submissions, from traditional texts, such as transcriptions of unpublished manuscripts or new English translations, to more novel forms of evidence, such as numerical or linguistic representations of data gathered from material objects.

The NAA also aims to chart a new domain of trans-disciplinary early American scholarship, one dedicated to the dual-pronged study of *reception* and *anti-quation*. By reception, we mean the process by which the knowledge of a practice, idea, or institution is restored or enhanced over time. By anti-quation, we mean the inverse, or the process by which knowledge is diminished over time. The NAA solicits scholarship concerned with reconstructing these processes as well as the terminal states of knowledge they create, which we call *hegemony* and *obsolescence*.

The scholarly mission of the NAA is to study reception and anti-quation as they occurred in the American past, while simultaneously contributing to the ongoing process of reception by offering transparent, discoverable, and accessible historical data to the intellectual community.

Call for Papers

THE NEW AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN

The New American Antiquarian (NAA), a new peer-reviewed journal dedicated to reconstructing the hemispheric American past to 1825 A.D. through the publication of edited source material, invites submissions on a rolling basis. The NAA welcomes submissions of previously unpublished manuscript transcriptions; new English translations; collations of printed material; guides or catalogs that aid in the interpretation of source collections; and scholarship that interrogates the American archive. The NAA is committed to expanding the source base and scholarly horizon of early American history and literature to reflect the hemisphere's plural linguistic traditions. We encourage submissions of scholarship written in Spanish or French, and of textual sources written in any language, though all publications will eventually be printed in English. We also welcome essays and reviews of monographs, exhibitions, and conferences for consideration as non-peer-reviewed publications in our *Forum* section.

The NAA envisions itself as a platform that enriches current intellectual discussions of historical evidence by fostering a new scholarly discourse around the reception and antiquation of ideas, practices, and institutions. We are interested in generating conversation around the intersection of—and slippage between—history, the archive, and knowledge of the past. Our mission entails a wider consideration of early America within a vast intellectual tradition of transatlantic antiquity.

We welcome submissions of up to 10,000 words (excluding footnotes)/14,000 words (including footnotes). Longer submissions will be considered in special circumstances. All submissions should be formatted in Chicago style. The NAA publishes its issues in PDF format on our institutional website, <https://naajournal.org>. Authors are welcome to submit digital supplements, such as XML files or photographs of archival documents, for parallel distribution through our website. The editors will anonymize submissions for the peer-review process.

The NAA is edited by Peter Jakob Olsen-Harbach and Simeon A. Simeonov. All submissions should be sent to newamericanantiquarian@gmail.com. We welcome all interested readers to learn more about our journal by navigating to our website, to contact us via the institutional email above, and to follow us on Twitter: [@new_antiquarian](https://twitter.com/new_antiquarian).

Towards a New American Antiquarianism: Basic Research, Aesthetics, and the Irrelevant Early American Past

PETER JAKOB OLSEN-HARBICH

Welcome to the inaugural issue of *The New American Antiquarian* (NAA). In the following pages, I will attempt to elaborate on our Mission Statement, found in the preceding section, by stating concisely and in conventional terms the reasons for this journal's founding, the scope of its scholarly enterprise, and its proposed contributions to research in early American studies. Following this survey, I will propose an additional set of technical terms, named in this essay's title, for apprehending the NAA. As is true for all aspects of the NAA, the below originates from a series of conversations with my co-editor, Simeon A. Simeonov, though I have the privilege and responsibility of here communicating our mutual thought and consensus.

The NAA was created to encourage and host the empirical reconstruction of early America, principally through the publication of peer-reviewed primary source material. We define "early America" as spatially inclusive of both American continents, and chronologically as the era stretching from the hemisphere's initial human habitation through the collapse of its first European empires, ending at roughly 1825 A.D. Our hemispheric scope derives from an understanding of "America" as a unified field in world history, one defined by the unique encounter and blending of Indigenous, African, and European traditions. Though all aspects of this field are within our purview, we are especially interested in the process by which historical, civilizational traditions were received, confronted, or forgotten during America's post-Columbian epoch. The transmission, intermingling, and abandonment of New and Old World traditions was a hemispheric phenomenon whose earliest phases—from contact through the formation of national American cultures—are the principal subject matter of the NAA.

The NAA's commitment to empirical reconstruction includes the support of both standard secondary scholarship as well as what has often been called "antiquarian" practice in American letters. This practice encompasses the collecting, collating, cataloging, and publishing of all surviving evidentiary fragments

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of a historic field, without regard to any fragment's particular significance in the past or present, to enable the maximal possible understanding of that field. We anticipate the NAA will apply this practice to mostly textual fragments—in the form of manuscript transcriptions, English translations, and critical editions—but fine arts, material culture objects, architecture, oral histories, archaeological artifacts, and whatever other sources bearing data on early America have endured into the present are all the matter of our empirical reconstruction. We seek to bring as many fragments as possible out of obscurity and into the public intellectual domain through publication. We additionally seek to incentivize scholars to participate in this process through the provision of peer review for source publications and our valuation of such works equally with secondary analyses.

The third and final type of publications that will appear in the NAA is that to which this present work belongs: non-peer-reviewed essays, letters, and reviews. These works will appear within a distinct subsection of the NAA entitled *Forum*. We anticipate most Forum publications will be reviews of either monographs, conferences, or exhibitions. The Forum will also provide an outlet for essay-length rumination on early American studies or antiquarian practice that is not strictly empirical and thus not properly subject to expert review. All scholarship submitted to the NAA for consideration to appear *outside* the Forum will be subjected to blinded peer-review by a panel of at least three Ph.D.-holding scholars and published only after approval is secured from two such reviewers. This requirement has been met by the three pieces of scholarship—two textual primary sources (one transcription, one translation), and one secondary analysis—appearing in this inaugural issue.

As The “New” American Antiquarian, we are obliged to explicate what, exactly, is novel about this journal's enterprise. This task can only be essayed properly through the introduction of several technical terms. The most significant of the NAA's novel facets is our commitment to developing a new conception and instantiation of antiquarian practice within the field of American history—i.e., a “new American antiquarianism.” This commitment derives from our supposition that American antiquarian practice presently requires redefinition through the elaboration of a new conceptual vocabulary. We propose this vocabulary is best organized around the concept of *basic research*.

Basic research is research pursued without a commitment to applying results to a predetermined, practical end. “Practical” here describes feasible material action. In the natural and social sciences, basic research is contrasted with “applied research,” or research pursued with the above commitment, typically towards the end of generating improvements in technology or industry. Positively defined, basic research is research pursued to advance “fundamental” knowledge in a field—i.e., knowledge that currently exists outside any practical end—with researchers being driven to this pursuit by subjective motivations known typically

as “curiosity.”¹ While the labels of basic or applied are rarely deployed in characterizations of research outside the sciences, it is our position that antiquarian practice is, in its function and substance, basic research in the humanities.

Antiquarian research is basic research first and foremost because those who conduct it choose their subject without regard to the anticipated applicability of their findings. Application, for the humanities, can be understood as the process in which research findings are utilized for the advancement of an end whose success is both a) highly dependent upon qualitative claims of semantic meaning and ontological reality—the broad category of objectives usually described as cultural, social, or political—and b) considered practical in the present or near future. In early American studies, these ends are often either civic, with the end of research being the formation of ideal citizens, or reformist, in which its end is the alteration of prevailing political or social arrangements. Beyond academia, the early American past is frequently called upon for legal application within constitutional systems premised upon historical assertion. Within nations, communities, and even families, the past is applied as a determinant for the allocation of deference, attention, and material resources. Application has always predominated across scholarly and popular conceptions of the purpose of humanities work—as has contentious competition for primacy between advocates of different ends. Indeed, even when a researcher attempts to sidestep such disputes and pursues a project without committing to application, they can expect to face pressure from editors, reviewers, administrators, funding bodies, and hiring committees to present their project as having made such a commitment. This pressure often takes the form of appeals to the concept of “relevancy.” Without the equipment of a developed vocabulary to describe and defend humanistic basic research, antiquarian researchers must either acquiesce to these appeals or silently ignore them.

Those who engage in antiquarian practice need not contest the premise of the challenge: humanistic basic research can be fairly characterized as *irrelevant*. What is required of such practitioners is a defense of irrelevancy itself. There are several compelling reasons for the embrace of this label, and chief among them is the scope of irrelevance. The vast majority of surviving artifacts from every historic field are irrelevant when considered against the narrow set of applications that exist at any particular present or imagined near future. Intellectuals whose primary commitment is comprehending their chosen historic field maximally will therefore find artifacts of that field irrelevant to current applications at every turn. The conjuncture between the totality of the past and those elements of it that can be applied is not only limited, but also unstable, due to the present’s

¹ This schema derives most directly from the writings of Abraham Flexner and Robert Dijkgraaf, *The Usefulness of Useless Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017).

ceaseless, unpredictable evolution. Irrelevant studies are thus both prudent and inevitable. Antiquarians accept the fraught relationship between past and present by focusing humbly on the empirical study and dissemination of all available evidentiary fragments in a given field—particularly those overlooked by others focused on the partial evidence currently suitable for application.

The empirical reconstruction of irrelevant evidence advances our fundamental knowledge of the past, a progress that can be defended on utilitarian terms. The evolution of the present ensures not only that some currently applicable knowledge becomes irrelevant over time, but also that some currently inapplicable knowledge will become relevant in the unanticipated future. Fundamental knowledge therefore possesses a not-yet-applied² character—a latent potential for application that invests it with a practical utility similar in kind to that actively generated by applied knowledge. Through basic research of presently irrelevant evidence, antiquarianism pushes beyond the limitations on inquiry imposed by a narrow focus on the presently relevant, expanding the empirical knowledge basis which will resource future applied research and ensuring its quality. Our ignorance of the exact fundamental, not-yet-applied knowledge that will be useful in the future engenders a collective interest in conserving and growing the store of all such knowledge. Antiquarians should not shy from claiming the distinction that attending to this interest bestows: no humanistic discipline better prepares us and our descendants to meet the unimagined future that will, we can be sure, arrive.

An aside must be made here to contextualize the above theory of application and relevance within the NAA's commitment to reception and antiquation studies. We do not inhabit the first age in which the past has been deemed variously applicable to the present. In early America, too, the past was used or ignored mostly according to its relevance. For studies of the former cases, a developed set of methods is already extant, most especially in scholarship concerned with the reception of European political philosophy and, increasingly, science. The NAA aspires to expand the topic matter subjected to such analysis dramatically, with a particular eye towards Indigenous and African receptions of useful pasts in the New World. Here, too, we seek to elaborate conceptual vocabulary. Where received elements of the past in early America were considered not simply relevant, but indispensable, we propose the term *hegemonic* to describe the past's domination of the present. Where elements were deemed inapplicable and therefore irrelevant, deserving of attention only as objects of antiquarian study—the inverse of reception, a process we term *antiquation*—we propose the terminal state

² This phrase adopted from Sir George Porter's 1999 Athenæum Lecture, "The Arts and Sciences: The Two Cultures 40 Years On," in *The Life and Scientific Legacy of George Porter*, eds. David Phillips and James Barber (London: Imperial College Press, 2006), 5.

of this process, in which such elements were ignored to the point of being entirely forgotten, be termed *obsolescence*. Our encouragement and hosting of basic research at the NAA will, we hope, mitigate the obsolescence of the early American past in the present and future.

There remains one final dimension of basic research that requires our attention: the aesthetic. Antiquarian research is also basic research because it is pursued to a significant degree in order to satisfy the sensorial desires of its practitioners. We can explain these desires only by developing an *aesthetics* of antiquarianism—an understanding of the passions its practice evokes. “Curiosity,” the most oft-cited subjective motive in discussions of basic research, indeed encapsulates much of what stimulates antiquarianism: the seduction of the mesmerizing unknown; the thrill of conveying new knowledge carved from this unknown into the world. But curiosity is not enough. Antiquarian aesthetics must also articulate the broader set of sensations that are evoked by the mind’s engagement with objects which are themselves products of past subjectivities. Antiquarianism communes us with the wondrous and revolting minds of the deceased, their brilliance and pathos as well as their banality and depravity—even inhumanity—and enlists us as their conduits in service of empirical reconstruction. A complete model of antiquarian aesthetics, one that accounts fully for the range of passions evoked by this ventriloquy, is far beyond the scope of this essay. But it is satisfactory to state here that the aesthetic experiences evoked by all such encounters are defensible ends of humanistic scholarship.

A new American antiquarianism can be located most particularly in this embrace of humanistic basic research’s aesthetic value. We need not justify as “useful” time spent in antiquarian practice—even if we easily can, through recourse to not-yet-applied value—any more than we need contrive such justifications for time spent reading poetry or admiring the weaves of baskets. The engagement of one’s mind with artifacts produced by the minds of others provides nourishment to the human spirit. To witness others captivated by this engagement is affirming to the spirit’s insistence that it exists for ends that transcend utility, and that it lives not alone in this higher reason. *The New American Antiquarian* exists primarily to support basic research on early American artifacts that enhance our fundamental knowledge and evoke the passions that together constitute the art of human being—artifacts that are more luminous, wrenching, splendid, perturbing, and true than they are relevant. We sincerely thank you for joining us in this undertaking, and hope that you deem our efforts worthy of your notice and participation.

Hearing a Faint Voice: Timucua Words in a Catholic Miracle Story

GEORGE AARON BROADWELL & ALEJANDRA DUBCOVSKY

The 1627 *Cathecismo y Examen* is a long, dry, repetitive, Spanish book translated into a Native language for the purpose of helping Franciscans in La Florida communicate key Catholic rites and teachings to a Timucua audience. But the book seems different when we read the Timucua version and not simply the Spanish.¹

Timucua is a Native language once spoken in what is now Florida and Georgia. It is a linguistic isolate, meaning that its connections to other languages and language families remain unclear.² There were well over one hundred thousand speakers of Timucua before the Spanish encroachment in the area in the early sixteenth century. But violence, unrelenting waves of disease, and outmigration

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¹ Francisco Pareja, *Cathecismo, y examen para los que comulgan. En lengua castellana y Timuquana* (Mexico: Imprenta de Iuan Ruyz, 1627). There are two surviving copies of this work. One is held by the British Library, where it is cataloged in the General Reference Collection, shelfmark 3505.df.30. A second exemplar is held by All Souls College (Codrington) Library, Oxford, cataloged in the Great Lib. Gallery, shelfmark r.9.22(1). A digital facsimile of this copy is freely available via the *Early Printed Books* database of All Souls College (<https://library.asc.ox.ac.uk/epbs>). Further bibliographic details for this work can be found in the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (<https://ustc.ac.uk>) and the *Iberian Books* (<https://iberian.ucd.ie>) catalog, where it is known as USTC 5028645 and IB no. 51904, respectively.

² Albert S. Gatschet, "The Timucua Language," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 16, no. 99 (1877): 626-42; sequential lectures published in *Ibid.*, vol. 17, no. 101, pp. 490-504, and vol. 18, no. 105, pp. 465-502; James M. Crawford, "Timucua and Yuchi: Two Language Isolates of the Southeast," in *The Languages of Native America: Historical and Comparative Assessment*, eds. Lyle Campbell and Marianne Mithun (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 327-354; Ives Goddard, "The Description of the Native Languages of North America before Boas," in *The Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 17, *Languages*, ed. Ives Goddard (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 17-42; George Aaron Broadwell, "Timucua -ta: Muskogean parallels," in *New Perspectives on Language Variety in the South: Historical and Contemporary Approaches*, eds. Michael D. Picone and Catherine Evans Davies (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015): 72-81; *Ibid.*, "Honorific usage in Timucua exempla," in *Preaching and New Worlds: Sermons as Mirrors of Realms Near and Far*, eds. Timothy Johnson, Katherine Wisbey Shelby, and John D. Young (New York: Routledge, 2019): 280-294.

had significantly reduced the numbers of Timucua speakers by the time the manuscript pages of the *Catecismo y Examen* traveled to Mexico for publication.³ The 1627 *Catecismo y Examen* tells none of this story. It has nothing to say about why or how Spanish settlers took hold in Florida; it is not concerned with the outbreaks of disease that decimated Native town after Native town; it is not even preoccupied by the rapidly expanding mission enterprise in La Florida or the tensions that accompanied missionization. In this sense, the 1627 *Catecismo y Examen* is like most of the catechetical literature of the time, for it seems almost detached from the social, cultural, political, and even historical reality of La Florida. Following a standard catechetical genre configuration, the 1627 *Catecismo y Examen* focuses on European examples to explain Catholic doctrine, in both the Spanish and Timucua versions of the text.

The 1627 *Catecismo y Examen* was also much like the other half-dozen religious texts produced in La Florida. In terms of content, it contained lengthy discussions on the importance of communion and confession; it included careful guides on how to pray and revere God. At the end of the book, in a section called *Algunos Milagros del SS Sacramento sacados de aprobados autoridades*, there are about thirty brief stories, *ejemplos* or exemplars, that relate miracles associated with the Eucharist. In terms of structure, the book is a bilingual text, containing alternating sections in Spanish and Timucua, with the Timucua writings supposedly serving as direct translations of the Spanish text that precede it. In terms of authorship, Fray Francisco Pareja appears on the cover page as the sole author of this book.⁴ However, extensive work on the Timucua translations has shown that Native authors played critical roles in the translation, interpretation, writing, and rewriting of the Spanish materials. Unnamed and erased by Pareja, Timucua

³ For overviews see: John H. Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians and Mission* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); John E. Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida*, vol. 1, *Assimilation* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998): 57–68; Jerald T. Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 82–104; Paul Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492–1715* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 82–83.

⁴ For more on Franciscans and Francisco Pareja's efforts, see Michael Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513–1870* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965); Albert William Vogt III, "Trust Yourself to God: Friar Francisco Pareja and the Franciscans in Florida, 1595–1702," Master's Thesis (University of South Florida, 2006). For Pareja's earlier involvements in Florida missions, see "Fray Francisco de Pareja's Statement," in *Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida: Don Juan and the Gualte Uprising of 1597*, eds. J. Michael Francis and Kathleen M. Kole (New York: Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 2011), 79–80.

authors unequivocally wrote parts of the 1627 *Cathecismo y Examen*. They are present in every page, in every Timucua word.⁵

Timucua authors left hundreds of pages of text, but their words are mostly read in translation. For almost four hundred years, it is the Spanish doctrinal materials and Catholic questions that have been cited and used, rather than the Timucua writings. Historians often bemoan the lack of sources written by Native people, but Timucua materials *were* written by Timucua people. To center Native writers, actors, and voices we must work with Native language materials.⁶ There is nothing simple or obvious about this statement, though perhaps there should be. It can be a slow and frustrating endeavor to work with the Timucua language documents, whose compilers and archivists were more concerned with changing Native beliefs and practices than with properly recording the language.⁷ Such scholarship requires deep interdisciplinary collaboration across the fields of linguistics, history, and anthropology, and ongoing involvement with language work across Indian Country today. The point, however, is not that engaging with Native language materials is difficult, but that it can be and should be done.

The 1627 *Cathecismo y Examen* is an unusual point of entry into Timucua writings. After all, it is a colonial and Catholic text—a very colonial and Catholic text. But it contains several brief *ejemplos* that break up the religious discourse with interesting, albeit heavy-handed, didactical stories, including one discussed in this article. The *ejemplo* analyzed here tells the tale of a young Jewish boy in Constantinople who eats pieces of the Holy Eucharist and then is miraculously

⁵ Alejandra Dubcovsky and George Aaron Broadwell, "Writing Timucua: Recovering and Interrogating Indigenous Authorship," *Early American Studies* 15, no. 3 (2017): 409-41. For Native authors in other places of Early America, see Drew Lopenzina, *Red Ink: Native Americans Picking Up the Pen in the Colonial Period* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012), 87-136; Hilary E. Wyss, *English Letters and Indian Literacies: Reading, Writing, and New England Missionary Schools, 1750-1830* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

⁶ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed. (London: Zed Books, 2012), 35-45; David A. Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), x-xi.

⁷ For the classic work on analyzing Native voices in missionary texts, see Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahuatl-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989). For more recent examples, see Gregory Haimovich, "Precontact Indigenous Concepts in Christian Translations: The Terminology of Sin and Confession in Early Colonial Quechua Texts," in *Words and Worlds Turned Around: Indigenous Christianities in Colonial Latin America*, ed. David Tavárez (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2017): 82-101; Mark Z. Christensen, *Translated Christianities: Nahuatl and Maya Religious Texts* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014); Otto Zwartjes, "The missionaries' contribution to translation studies in the Spanish colonial period: The *mise en page* of translated texts and its functions in foreign language teaching," in *Missionary Linguistics V: Translation Theories and Practices*, eds. Otto Zwartjes, Klaus Zimmermann and Martina Schrader-Kniffki (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014), 1-50.

unharmful when his father locks him in a burning furnace for three days. It is a peculiar story set in a place far from Timucua homelands, but no more strange than other *ejemplos* in the 1627 *Catecismo y Examen*, which include accounts about a woman captured by pirates; a giant spider that ate a sinner who would not confess; and a hunter visited by the spirit of his condemned friend.⁸ Though we know little about how these religious books were used in Florida, it is clear that Franciscans relied on these stories to communicate Catholic doctrine. But what were they communicating? What do the Timucua translations of these religious stories actually say?

This article works through the Timucua version of an *ejemplo*. It first grounds the *Catecismo y Examen* in 1620s Timucua; since almost nothing is known about where or how these religious materials were written, this context becomes even more important to understand the particularities of the Timucua translation. Then we provide a new and more literal translation of the Timucua text, offering both the original Spanish and Timucua versions. Though the Spanish and Timucua stories cover similar ground, there are noticeable differences between the Timucua and Spanish texts. These moments of divergence are worth exploring, for they provide insight into how Timucua writers approached colonial texts and translation projects. Though a full explanation of Timucua grammar and syntax is beyond the scope of this piece, the *ejemplo* allows us to examine the sophistication, subtlety, and power of the Timucua language, and argue once again for the importance of working with and through Native languages. “Language was always the companion of empire,” or so argued Antonio de Nebrija in his 1492 *Gramática Castellana*, but in these Timucua-Spanish texts, the Timucua subtly fights back. Right next to a Spanish text that sought to convert, suppress, and oppress, the Timucua language remains. It does not accompany empire; it disrupts it one syllable at a time.⁹

⁸ Francisco Pareja, IIII. *parte del catecismo, en lengua Timuquana, y castellano. En que se trata el modo de oyr Missa, y sus ceremonias* (Mexico: Imprenta de Iuan Ruyz, 1628). Only surviving copy held by All Souls College Library, cataloged as Great Lib. Gallery, shelfmark r.9.22(2), see IB no. 51905. This work is bound with the All Souls College Library copy of *Catecismo y Examen* cited in n.1. Gregorio de Movilla, *Explicacion de la doctrina que compuso el cardenal Belarmino, por mandado del señor papa Clemente 8. Traducida en Lengua Floridana: por el Padre Fr. Gregorio de Movilla. .* (Mexico: Imprenta de Iuan Ruyz, 1635). Only surviving copy held by The New-York Historical Society, cataloged as Y1635.Bell Expl, within the Buckingham Smith papers, see IB no. 49841.

⁹ Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática castellana...*, eds. Pascual Galindo Romeo and Luis Ortiz Muñoz, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1946 [og. pub. 1492]). For further discussion on Nebrija’s grammar, see Hans-Josef Niederehe, “Los ejemplos de la ‘Gramática de la Lengua Castellana’ de Elio Antonio de Nebrija,” in *Actas del Congreso Internacional de Historiografía Lingüística: Nebrija V centenario, 1492-1992*, eds. Ricardo Escavy Zamora, José Miguel Hernández Terrés, and

Timucua, 1620s

There is more known about the beginning of Spanish intrusions into Timucua territory than about colonialization and missionization efforts there in the three decades that followed. The Spanish had established a permanent colony in St. Augustine, Florida in 1565. The outpost remained small and troubled by a lack of personnel, food, and supplies. Spanish officials knew they had to form partnerships with the local populations if they wanted the colony to survive—there had been many previous, failed Spanish efforts in the region since the 1510s.¹⁰ Timucuas, especially those who lived along the coast, had tenuous relations with the new arrivals; they had dealt with the French previously and knew well the internal havoc these external powers could cause. Spanish efforts to missionize the area therefore turned north, to Guale. It took close to four decades, an organized Guale attack against Franciscans, rising pressure, and many gifts for Timucua leaders to finally allow Franciscans into their towns.¹¹

As the seventeenth century dawned, Timucua chiefs sought a closer connection to St. Augustine, with all the practical as well as spiritual goods that came with it. The Spanish archive narrates a story of Timucua missionization as one of unparalleled growth. Franciscans established mission after mission, and in a matter of decades all Timucua towns had welcomed friars. The often-cited 1630 Memorial of Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesus describes 60 churches in 200 places and claims: “there are more than 20 thousand souls baptized and more than 50,000 catechized.” The 1630 Memorial even noted the importance of preaching and teaching in the Native language. Jesus explains how the friars have “written children’s primers, catechisms, vocabularies, and other booklets of devotion in them because of the great deal we have learned in them... this method [learning a Native language] being the most efficacious one for the conversion and

Antonio Roldán Pérez (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Científico, 1994) 1: 413-424, and Walter D. Mignolo, “Nebrija in the New World: The Question of the Letter, the Colonization of Amerindian Languages, and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition,” *L’Homme* 32, no. 122/124 (1992): 185-207.

¹⁰ For an overview of St. Augustine, see Kathleen A. Deagan, *America’s Ancient City: Spanish St. Augustine, 1565-1763* (New York: Garland, 1991); Paul E. Hoffman, *Florida’s Frontiers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 47-147.

¹¹ John E. Worth, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An 18th-Century Spanish Retrospective on Guale and Mocama* (New York: Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 1995); Francis and Kole, eds., *Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida*; Rochelle A. Marinnan and Tanya M. Peres, “Introduction,” in *Unearthing the Missions of Spanish Florida*, eds. Tanya M. Peres and Rochelle A. Marinnan (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2021), 1-34.

devotion of the natives.”¹² In short, the 1627 *Cathecismo y Examen* was commissioned in a moment of massive expansion, conversion, and change.

But was it? These stories of seamless evangelization come from the people doing the converting, not from the Native populations. Timucua sources tell, if not a different, then a more contingent narrative. Timucuas remained a sizeable majority in Florida, and they lived in towns that, at most, had two or three people of European descent in them. The location and size of most Timucua *bica* (towns) remained in place, about 100 to 200 people continued to live together and build their houses in a circular fashion. In the 1620s, Timucuas fished, hunted, and farmed as they had before Spanish arrival, though now they were responsible for feeding Spanish bellies and building Spanish defenses as well. Timucuas kept their traditions, such as dances and first-fruits ceremonies.¹³ They spoke and wrote in their own language. Matrilineal clans continued to provide structure for sociocultural as well as political power. There might have been friars in every town, but in the 1620s Timucua was still clearly and firmly a Native world.

And this world was formidable. The descriptions of Timucuas fishing, dancing, and speaking and learning to write in their language should not be seen as passive acts, as Timucuas merely existing. Because in the wake of colonial expansion, there was nothing merely passive about existence. The continuation of Native practices shows an active struggle in Timucua. In 1656, a coordinated attack utterly destabilized a region the Spanish were certain they controlled. There were also other, earlier, and less well-known moments of unrest in Timucua in the 1610s and 1620s. Though Timucua resistance prior to 1656 appears mostly in fragments in the Spanish archive, it is evident that this early mission period was far from the idyllic “Golden Age” so touted by Franciscan friars.¹⁴

The 1627 *Cathecismo y Examen* was thus written in a moment of both growth and struggle. The Timucua authors who helped translate the story of the Jewish

¹² John H. Hann, “1630 Memorial of Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesus on Spanish Florida’s Missions and Natives,” *The Americas* 50, no. 1 (1993): 85-105, quotes from 100, 95.

¹³ Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians and Mission*, 87-93, 115-121.

¹⁴ For the so-called Timucua rebellion, see John E. Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida*, vol. 2, *Resistance and Destruction* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998): 38-65. For the ongoing violence of missionization, see Charles R. Cobb, “Indigenous Negotiations of Missionization and Religious Conversion,” in *The Routledge Handbook of the Archaeology of Indigenous-Colonial Interaction in the Americas*, eds. Lee M. Panich and Sara L. Gonzalez. (New York: Routledge, 2021), 163-79. For smaller acts of resistance before 1656, see “Petition from Juan and Agustín, Timucua Indians,” July 6, 1636, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo 27B, accessed via microfilm facsimile: Jeannette Thurber Connor Collection, Reel 2, P.K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville. For “golden age,” see Charles W. Spellman, “The ‘Golden Age’ of the Florida Missions, 1632-1674,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 51, no. 3 (1965): 354-72.

boy saved by eating the eucharist had likely lived their whole lives in a “mission town,” or rather in a Timucua town that had a small church, shaped like all other Timucua structures but with a palmetto cross outside it. They had surely heard Franciscans give mass every week and knew a great deal about Catholicism and the stories Franciscans liked to tell. But they also understood perfectly well the limits of Spanish colonial authority. They had seen Spanish officials scramble to retain their balance and more than once lose control all together; they knew how precarious the situation remained in St. Augustine. The Timucua parts of the 1627 *Cathecismo y Examen* reveal glimpses of this contested context.

Cathecismo y Examen, 1627, folios 287v-288r

Reversing the order of the *Cathecismo y Examen*, we begin with the Timucua text, followed by a new English translation. We then include the original Spanish text, accompanied by its own literal translation. These passages will make it possible for readers of English to compare the Timucua and Spanish texts.

Constantinopla isotabinincono, Hostia consagrado[n]co,
 napiranincono, aruquiqichi, hebuanquano paha eate[n]co belebota
 ohobobiletequa, pequata yaha mosicono judioqiemiletequa,
 anoqiemamano Sacrame[n]toma abosoqe nahiabota horno alano nijo
 nijo cocoma, habita echesoqe, ano vlemamano, nuta [u]bueta
 naqetahicapacama naqeta, halifotequa, anecota, ela nahapumima,
 hachibono, nayalenopahama, vcuchuama hibuata, vbueniqe chaquita
 cha! vlechumota, vlemimichu, narecabiletequa, hornomano habitaleqe
 hibuata, nanemibeletequa, pequatamichu, mine isomi cunama,
 nahiabota, horno oyoqua hebuapuntaqe, anulemama ocototaqere,
 naquana horno mabeta niocotequa, minoqe baluta yateqe, iquòtima,
 ininimano mahanatoyati, hachaqueneti, quenequa maha balu balumota
 hibuave, tayateta, nia michunu, tachristianoleqe anoqiemamano, qiemima
 iquènisiro maninomabeta, Emperador Iustiniano calubosomaca
 motechunu.

It used to be the practice in Constantinople that when any of the sacred Host was left over, they called small children who were at the school-house and gave it to them. A certain one of those children was the son of a Jew, and his father learned that he [the son] had received the Sacrament, he [the father] made a fire, which was burning hot, and caused him [the son] to go inside. The mother didn't know [what happened], and cried, and looked for him, and continued to look for him in the street, but was unable [to find him]. On the third day, he [the son] was

alive [behind] the door of the storehouse and he cried and she [the mother] moaned and she said “Oh, my poor child!” Her son recognized her from it [her voice], and from the interior of the oven, kept crying out. His mother knew the voice (words coming from the oven) and when the mother heard her son, immediately she ran to the oven and got there. He was alive and she found him and miraculously he had suffered but he was not burned in it, nothing happened [to him], but he was healthy and living [when] she found [him] in there. The aforementioned woman became Christian. As for the father who wanted to kill his son, the Emperor Justinian said, “[You all] must punish him!”

Usavase en Constantinopla, que quando sobran algunas particulas de la sagrada Eucharistia llamava[n] de las escuelas à los niños inocentes y puros, paraque las consumiesen. Aconteció q[ue] entre estos muchachos se mezclò un hijo de un judio inimicissimo de los Christianos, el qual, como supo que su hijo avia recibido este Sacrame[n]to encendio en furor le echò en un ardiente horno de vidrio, la madre lo buscò tres dias llorando y al cabo dellos estandole llorando el hijo la respondiò del horno, corriò la madre al horno, y hallò à su hijo milagrosamente sano enmedio de las llamas. Movida deste milagro, y conocida la causa luego se hizo Christiana. Y el Emperador Iustiniano mandò castigar al padre judio, como homicida de su propio hijo.

It used to be the practice in Constantinople that when they dropped some crumbs of the sacred Eucharist, they would call the innocent and pure children from the school to eat it. It is told that among these children, there was mixed with them the son of a Jew who was a great enemy of the Christians, and when he found out that his son had received this Sacrament, burning with furor, he threw him into a burning glass furnace. His mother searched for him for three days, crying, and after crying all those days, the son responded from the oven, and the mother ran to the oven, and found her son miraculously safe in the middle of the flames. Moved by this miracle and later learning how it came to pass, she became Christian. Emperor Justinian ordered the Jewish father to be punished as the murderer of his own son.

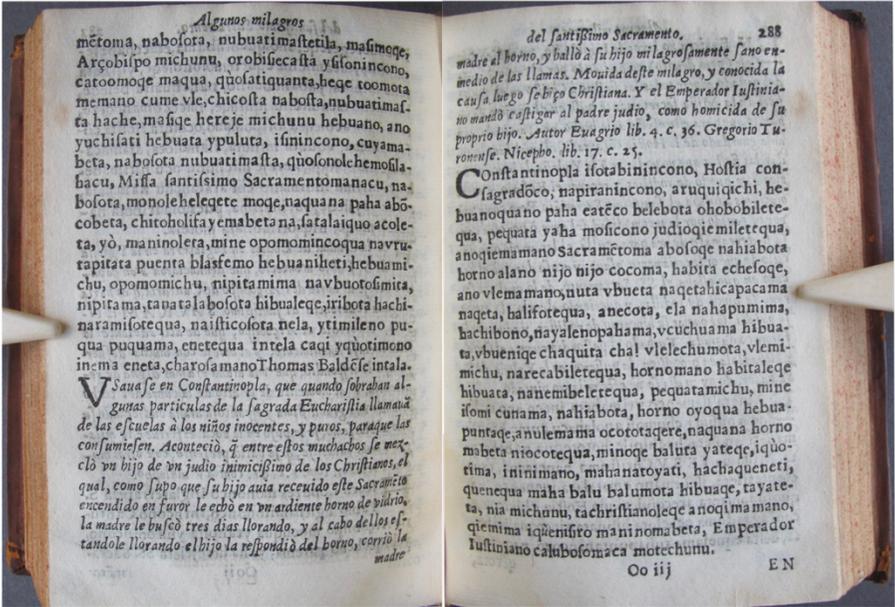


Figure I. The *ejemplo* in *Catecismo y Examen*. Permission given by The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford (Shelfmark r.9.22(1)).

Interlinear Gloss

To read the *ejemplo*, we relied on interlinear analysis. Interlinear analysis is a common linguistic analytical approach that deconstructs a sentence or phrase on multiple levels. Mainly, it breaks up each word into morphemes, or the smallest units of meaning, and then offers a direct translation and identifies the linguistic category of each morpheme. This type of analysis allows for the Timucua language to be read and analyzed anew.

Included here is a full interlinear gloss of the *ejemplo*. The first line includes the original text; the second line breaks down the Timucua into morphemes; the third line provides a translation of the word or linguistic category. This interlinear gloss provides further analysis on the syntax and grammar of the Timucua language, but it also, and perhaps more importantly, shows how we arrived at our translation, interpretation, and arguments. The original text has no line breaks, so we have inserted them.

1.1 Constantinopla isotabinincono,
 constantinopla iso -ta -bi -nincono
 Constantinople do part pst if

Hostia consagrado[n]co,
 Hostia consagrado -nco
 communion:host consecrated indef

napirandincono, aruqi qichi,
 na- pira -ni -nco -no aruqi qichi
 ins be:left:over pass indef nmlz child little

hebuanuquano paha eate[n]co
 hebuanuqua -no paha ea -te -nco
 teach nmlz house live:pl part indef

belebota ohobobiletequa,
 bele -bo -ta oho -bo -bile -tequa §
 call pl:abs part give pl:abs past:2:(remote) and:so

It used to be the practice in Constantinople that when any of the sacred Host was left over, they called small children who were in the schoolhouse and gave it to them.

1.2 pequata yaha mosicono
 pequata yaha mosi -co -no
 child one after:a:numeral alter top

judioqiemiletequa, anoqiemamano
 judio qie -mi le -tequa anoqiemama -mano
 *Jew son:(of:a:man) 3poss cop and:so father top

Sacrame[n]toma abosoqe nahiabota horno
 sacramento -ma aboso -qe nahiabo -ta horno
 *sacrament def receive comp:ds know part *oven

alano nijo nijo cocoma, habita echesoqe, §
 ala -no nijo nijo -coco -ma habita eche -so -qe
 make:fire nmlz burning refl def interior be:inside caus if

A certain one of those children was the son of a Jew, and his father learned that he [the son] had received the Sacrament, and he [the father] made a fire, which was burning hot, and caused him [the son] to go inside.

1.3 ano vlemamano, nuta vbueta
 ano vlema -mano nu -ta vbue -ta
 mother top be:ignorant part be:in:pain part

naqetahicapacama naqeta,
 naqe -ta hicapaca -ma naqe -ta,
 look:for part street def look:for part

halifotequa, anecota, §
 halifo -tequa aneco -ta
 do:habitually and:so prevent part

The mother didn't know [what happened], and cried, and looked for him, and continued to look for him in the street, but was unable [to find him].

1.4 ela nahapumima, hachibono,
 ela na- hapu -mi -ma hachibono
 day ins three ordinal def thing

nayalenopahama,
 na- yale -no paha -ma
 ins keep nmlz house def

vcuchuama hibuata,
 vcuchua -ma hibua -ta
 door def live part

vbue niqe chaquita cha!
 vbue -ni -qe chaqui -ta cha!
 cry pass and:ds moan part Oh!

vlelechumota, §
 vle -lechu mo -ta
 child:(said:by:female) woe! say part

On the third day, he [the son] was alive [behind] the door of the storehouse and he cried and she [the mother] moaned and she said “Oh, my poor child!”

1.5 vlemimichu,

vle	-mi	-michu
child:(said:by:female)	3poss	prev:mention

narecabiletequa,		hornomano
na areca -bile	-tequa	horno -mano
ins recognize past:2:(remote)	and:so	*oven top

habitaleqe	hibuata,	nanemibeletequa,	§
habita -leqe	hibua -ta	nanemi bele	-tequa
interior foc	live part	always cry:out?	and:so

Her son recognized her from it [her voice], and from the interior of the oven, he kept crying out.

1.6 pequatamichu,	mine isomi	cunama,
pequata -michu	mine iso -mi	cuna -ma
child prev:mention	resp mother 3poss	voice def

nahiabota,	horno	oyoqua	hebuapuntaqe
nahiabo -ta	horno	oyo -qua	hebua puen -ta -qe
know part	*oven	in loc	word? come part if

anulemama	ocototaqere,
anulema -ma	octo -ta -qere
mother def	hear part when

naquana	horno	mabeta
naquana	horno	ma -beta
without:delay	*oven	def obl

niocotequa,		minoqe	§
nico	-tequa	mino -qe	
run:(with:determination)	and:so	arrive and:ds	

His mother knew the voice (words coming from the oven) and when the mother heard her son, immediately she ran over to the oven and got there.

1.7 baluta yateqe, iqùotima, ininimano mahanatoyati,
 balu -ta yate -qe iqùotima ini -nima -no maha na- toya -ti
 live part find if marvel be when top but ins be:burned neg

hachaqueneti, quenequa maha balu balumota
 hachaquene -ti quene -qua maha balu balu mo -ta
 do:something(?) neg and with but healthy say:redup part

hibuaqe, tayateta, §
 hibua -qe ta= yate -ta
 live if away find part

He was alive and she found him and miraculously he had suffered but he was not burned in it, and nothing had happened [to him], but he was healthy and living [when] she found [him] in there.

1.8 nia michunu, tachristianoleqe §
 nia -michunu ta= christiano le -qe
 woman RelCl away Christian cop if

The aforementioned woman became Christian.

1.9 anoqimamano, qiemima
 anoqima -mano qie -mi -ma
 father top son:(of:a:man) 3poss def

iqùenisiro maninomabeta, Emperador
 iqùeni -siro mani -no -ma beta emperador
 kill desid:SS want nmlz def to *emperor

Iustiniano calubosomaca motechunu. §
 * calubo -so =maca mote -chunu
 * be:punished caus imper:pl say past:perfect?:

As for the father who wanted to kill his son, the Emperor Justinian said, “[You all] must punish him!”

Language

How is it possible to read the Timucua language? There is no colonial dictionary of Timucua, and the only grammatical treatment comes from a rather messy and incomplete Latinized sketch.¹⁵ In order to get a better understanding of the Timucua grammar, George Aaron Broadwell, one of the authors of this paper, has developed a corpus of the extant Timucua texts, along with their parallel Spanish translations. The corpus now includes all the known Timucua textual material. The current corpus is about 148,000 orthographic words of Timucua and was designed to include a wide range of styles and authors.

The corpus has been analyzed with Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEX). Because Timucua is a language that is currently no longer spoken, with no dictionary, the meanings of most words and morphemes in the texts have to be deduced by examining multiple contexts of use. The powerful concordance functions of FLEX and its abilities to ensure consistency were essential tools in working out the grammar and lexicon of the language. Based on this corpus, Broadwell has created an online dictionary of approximately 3,800 lexical items in Timucua, along with examples, confidence rankings, and textual citations. The combination of a better dictionary and a better understanding of the grammar has dramatically improved our ability to translate Timucua materials and to offer literal translations.¹⁶

This corpus-based approach to the Timucua language makes it possible to read many Timucua texts for the first time and to compare them to the Spanish texts with which they stand in parallel. Previous work on the language has identified two styles in Timucua narrative: reverent talk and plain talk. The text considered here is written in “plain talk,” since it discusses the Jewish boy, his mother, his father, and the emperor Justinian with more simple language and without overt honorifics.¹⁷

¹⁵ Francisco Pareja, *Arte y pronunciacion en Lengua Timuquana, y Castellana...* (Mexico: Empronta de Ioan Ruyz, 1614). Only surviving copy held by the New York Public Library, Rare Book Room, cataloged as *KE 1614, see IB no. 51899; Gatschet, “The Timucua Language”; Lucien Adam and Julien Vinson, *Arte de la lengua Timuquana...Publicado conforme al ejemplar original único* (Paris: Maisonneuve frères et CH. Leclerc, 1886); Julian Granberry, *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Timucua Language*, 3rd ed. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993).

¹⁶ For the Timucua dictionary, see: <https://webonary.org/timucua>.

¹⁷ Broadwell, “Honorific Usage in Timucua exempla,” 280-294.

“Reverent talk” constitutes a significant subset of the Timucua corpus. It is used in religious texts that contain targets of deference, such as God, Jesus, the Virgin Mary, saints, bishops, and angels. Reverent talk is also evident in secular documents. In the 1651 “Jesus Maria Letter,” the oldest epistle written by a Native person in what is now the United States, the Timucua writer repeatedly uses honorific markings, such as including the word *ano* or *mine* before the names of Spanish officials—in English we would use the word Lord, Mr., or Sir in much the same way.¹⁸ In reverent talk, the social hierarchy is linguistically indexed through the use of special verbal and nominal morphology, a pronoun of respect, and a preverbal particle of respect. In short, the Timucua language has many and different ways to let the reader know that the subject discussed is important or valued.

The *ejemplos* in the 1627 *Catecismo y Examen* tend to be in “plain talk.” Plain talk is used for simple narrative description, and uses little honorific language, even when potential targets of deference are present in a text. This lack of special verbal and nominal morphology is not intended to show disrespect to any of the people mentioned, but instead shows that the writers of these brief exempla wished to present the stories simply and with little linguistic elaboration. It also shows that Timucua writers made a choice about how they communicated information, alternating styles even within the same text. This stylistic writing choice and strategy is only evident by reading the Timucua version.

Moreover, the *ejemplo* offers a glimpse of the Timucua language in action. There are three main actors in this text: the boy, his mother, and his father, but it is the verbs that do most of the heavy lifting in the story. In Timucua, verbs not only contain a great deal of information about the what, when, where, and how of the action performed, but they also explain who did the action. Note a sequence attributed to the mother:

ano vlemamano, nuta vbucta naqeta hicapacama naqeta, halifotequa, anecota

The mother didn’t know [what happened], and cried, and looked for him, and continued to look for him in the street, but was unable [to find him].

Here a sequence of verbs is connected by the participial suffix *-ta*, which links actions performed by the same subject. In this case, that person is the mother: she does not know, cries, searches, searches again, and is unable to find her child.

¹⁸ George Aaron Broadwell and Alejandra Dubcovsky, “Chief Manuel’s 1651 Timucua letter: The oldest letter in a Native language of the United States,” *Transactions of the American Philological Society* (Forthcoming).

In contrast, *-qe* joins clauses where there is a change of subject. Consider line 1.2, where the father learns that the son has received the Sacrament. Here the subject of *aboso* “receive” is the boy, which is different than the subject of *nabiabo* “to know,” and the change is shown by the *-qe* suffix.

*pequata yaba mosicono judioqiemiletequa, anoqiemamano Sacrame[n]toma abosoqe
nabiabota horno alano nijo nijo cocoma, habita echesoqe*

A certain one of those children was the son of a Jew, and his father learned that he [the son] had received the Sacrament, and he [the father] made a fire, which was burning hot, and caused him [the son] to go inside...

These grammatical details matter. They show how Timucuas connected and separated ideas, introduced different characters and their actions, and structured narratives.

Differences of Omission

Now let's turn to the translations. There is much to say about the similarities and differences between the Timucua and Spanish versions of the *ejemplo*, but a good place to start is with what is not there. There are details in the Spanish story that are simply not included in the Timucua version. Though these omissions are small, they are interesting. The first concerns the moral character of the children who are fed the remaining pieces of the Eucharist. While the Spanish text describes them as “innocent and pure,” the Timucua text provides no such description. This might have been a simple omission, but the Timucua text does carefully explain that the children were small (*aruqui qichì*) and at a schoolhouse (*bebuanoquano paba*). The only children attending school in Timucuas towns were those being catechized; the failure of the Timucua version to describe them as “pure and innocent” could be read as a subtle critique of Spanish practices. Such differences in wording could also reflect a divergence in focus: the Timucua text cares much more about children and their actions than it does about their moral purity.

Morality is at the core of the Spanish text. After it introduces the Jewish father, the Spanish version briefly notes that Jews are “inimicísimo de los Christianos”: enemies of the Christians. This line is missing completely from the Timucua text, as is the focus on the father. The Spanish text centers on the Jewish father and his anger. It is the father's rage that grows out of control and harms the child. The fire of the furnace and the anger of the father rise in parallel: “encendio en furor le echò en un ardiente hornò de vidrio.”

The Timucua text has no interest in tying the father's violent behavior to the fact that he was an "enemy of Christianity." While the Spanish text drew a direct link between the father's murderous deed and him not being a Christian, the Timucua text did not. In the 1620s, many Timucuas remained *Christianoleti*, not Christian. And rather than describe the father by what he was not, the Timucua details what he was. Once again, the Timucua focuses on actions. It is what the father does against his own child, rather than his lack of Christianity that reveals his cruelty.

The Timucua text then shifts the attention to the fire. It contains a dramatic rendition of the fire and its intensity: *borno alano nijo nijo cocoma*, a furnace greatly blazing. Note the repetition of the word *nijo* as well as the use of the emphasizer *coco*, to place particular attention on the fire, its heat, and its destructive potential. The Spanish text explores what the father was feeling, the Timucua version emphasizes what he did. Finally, missing from the Timucua text also is a small detail regarding the type of furnace employed—one used to make glass.

Differences of Addition

The Timucua text is not lacking in details; it contains information not present in the Spanish version. The crying and suffering mother is the clearest example. The mother plays a role in the Spanish version, but she is a more fully formed character in the Timucua story. We learn in both stories that she searched for her son on the street, but only in the Timucua do we have indication that she would never abandon this search. *Nanemi* means "always," implying that the mother was not going to give up. After three days without any sign from her child, she breaks down and cries: "Oh, my poor child!" (*chaquita*, "*cha! Ulelechu*," *mota*). She fears something terrible has happened. The Timucua points to the anguish of the mother by adding the suffix *-lechu* to *ule*, the word for child. This suffix is used to indicate woe. The mother is not simply crying for her child; she is doing so with anguish.

In the Spanish story, the boy hears the mother, calls to her, and she saves him. In the Timucua version, there is a bit more back and forth. The child first has to understand his mother before he replies. The mother also goes through her own process, having to make sense of both the voice she faintly hears and discern its provenance. These sentences build tension. Unlike the Spanish text, the Timucua account has an interesting narrative pause, making the reader or listener imagine themselves in the storehouse with the mother when suddenly a sound interrupts her crying. What was that noise? Could it be her son? Is she simply imagining the voice of her missing child?

When she realizes that the voice is coming from inside the oven, she acts without delay. In the Spanish version, the mother appears in little more than a

sentence. In the Timucua story, she takes up more narrative space. She cries, runs, searches, and acts without hesitation. She also feels. In the Spanish text, the father can be seen getting angry at his son; in the Timucua text, the mother is the one who is allowed to let emotions guide her response. She is worried and despairs for her missing child. Timucua society was matrilineal, and mothers (and women more generally) were seen as the primary caretakers of the young (*pequata*). The mother is thus doing what Timucuas expected mothers to do: focus on the well-being of their children. And while matrilineality in no way justifies the behavior of the father, it does help explain the focus of the Timucua text. Rather than emphasize the evil actions of the father, the Timucua text centers on the active and caring mother, the one who tried to solve the problems, not cause them.

The son is *natoyati, bachaqueneti*, unburned and unscathed. More than that, he was *balu balu*, healthy. Here, like earlier in the text, the Timucua version repeats a word to add emphasis. Remarking both upon her surprise and the miracle of her son's survival, the mother adds: *balu balu* to the word *hibua*, another term meaning life.

And at that moment, after affirming her son's health, she becomes a woman. Up until this point, the Timucua text has referred to the mother as *ano ulema*, literally meaning: person (with) her child. *Ano ulema* is not the most common way to say mother in Timucua—*iso* is the most used term. Interestingly, the father is identified in a similar way: *ano qiema*, literally meaning person (with) his child.¹⁹ Again, this term is not the most prevalent outside this text; *iti* is more generally used for father. In the Timucua story both the mother and the father seemed to be identified only by their relation to the son. In short, they are understood as parents. The father being a parent who wishes to kill his son; the mother being a parent who rescues him. But the moment the mother turns to Christianity, the text no longer identifies her as *ano ulema* and instead calls her *nia*, woman.

This is a subtle word switch present only in the Timucua. The Spanish version always refers to her as “madre.” She becomes *nia*, but the father who sought to punish his son's Christian deed remains *ano qiema*. What caused a change in the way the mother was identified? Did Christianity supplant her previous identity as a mother? Was it her defiance against the boy's father that made her into something different? The Timucua text represents the father's act as cruel and reprehensible, a transgression of all parental and kinship expectations; but the mother behaved like a *nia* (woman) should.

The Timucua states: *nia... tachristianoleqe*, the woman became Christian. The clitic *ta=* in front of the word Christian is used to show movement and

¹⁹ In Timucua, a female called her children *ule*, while a man called his children *qie*. Thus, Timucua encodes the different parent roles (and their associated social roles) linguistically.

directionality. It usually means “away.” Was she moving away from her Timucua life to become a Christian? Was she moving away from her husband? Perhaps the *ta=* speaks of the woman’s time before conversion, becoming Christian only after taking her son out of the oven against the father’s will, and witnessing her son’s miraculous survival. The transition from *ano ulema* (mother) to *nia* (woman) is evident in the clitic *ta=*. In the Timucua language lies a back-and-forth surrounding conversion that is not evident in the Spanish text.

Borrowing and Adaptation

How did Timucua people choose to translate the foreign concepts contained in this story? In some instances, the concepts seem to be far from the world of Native people in Florida, and thus the text simply uses a borrowed Spanish word. This is the case for several imported Catholic words, such as *Hostia* for eucharist, *Sacramento* for sacrament, and *consegurado* for consecrated. *Judio* (Jew), *Emperador* (emperor), and *horno* (furnace or oven) are also borrowed, strongly suggesting that none of these terms were familiar to the Timucua people of the time. Yet other parts of European culture were expressible through Timucua phrases. Schools, called *hebuanoqua paba*, and storehouses, called *bachibono nayaleno paba*, also appear in this brief *ejemplo*. A school is referred to as “a house of words” and a storehouse as “a house where one keeps things.” Both terms were clearly familiar to Timucuas of the time, and thus they adapted their own words to describe these prevalent Spanish practices and spaces into their language.

Both the borrowing of Spanish terms and the adaptation of existing Timucua words shows the dynamism of the Timucua language. Scattered in the *ejemplo*, these words show a vibrant language in real time; Timucua speakers and writers were using these strategies to document and make sense of a new colonial reality.

Conclusion

At first glance this brief *ejemplo* from the 1627 *Catecismo y Examen* might seem like a quirky, albeit violent story about Catholic teachings, but read and analyzed in Timucua, this text becomes so much more. By no means a comprehensive or exhaustive analysis, this article has sought to show the potential and possibility of these Timucua texts, and more importantly to emphasize the need to work on Native language materials. Catechisms and other such texts are deeply colonial documents, intended to convert Native practices, beliefs, and customs; but Timucua voices can still be found within them, alive and healthy: *balu balu bibuata*.

Letters of Thomas Hatton from Williamsburg, Virginia, 1758-1759

FRANCIS YOUNG

Thomas Hatton (c. 1735–1807 A.D.) was usher of the Grammar School of William and Mary College in Williamsburg, Virginia between 1758 and 1759, during which time he wrote a number of letters to friends in England. These letters provide an illuminating picture of the colony at a crucial period in its history, when Virginia’s burgesses were challenging the power and authority of the Anglican clergy against the background of the Seven Years’ War. Hatton had a strong interest in natural history, and his letters contain detailed meteorological observations, descriptions of Halley’s Comet, and observations on plants and animals.

Thomas Hatton was the son of Alexander Hatton of Shrewsbury, who was either a parish clerk or a clerk in holy orders.¹ Thomas attended Shrewsbury School under Leonard Hotchkiss, Head Master 1735–71.² On January 26, 1753, he matriculated as a sizar at St John’s College, which had a longstanding connection with Shrewsbury School. As a sizar, Hatton was a poor undergraduate who paid his way through Cambridge by performing duties similar to those of a servant. His patron was Dr. John Ross, a future Bishop of Exeter,³ while his tutor and financial “surety” was Dr. Zachary Brooke. Hatton was elected a Scholar in 1756, graduated BA in 1757, and ordained deacon in Ely Cathedral on May 21, 1758.

In October 1758, the Bishop of London appointed Hatton Usher of the Grammar School at William and Mary College to replace James Hubbard.

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¹ Robert Forsyth Scott, ed., *Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge, Part III, July 1715–November 1767* (Cambridge: Printed for the College at the University Press, 1903), 139, has Alexander simply as a “clerk,” whereas J.A. Venn, ed., *Alumni Cantabrigienses. . . , Part II* (Cambridge: University Press, 1947), 3: 287, describes Thomas as the son of “Rev. Alexander” Hatton.

² J. B. Blakeway, A. Owen and A. Rimmer, *A History of Shrewsbury School. . .* (Shrewsbury: Adnitt & Naunton 1889), 123–28.

³ Nigel Aston, “Ross, John (1719–1792),” in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. (2008), <https://oxforddnb.com/view/article/24124>, accessed 22 December 2010.

Hubard's ousting was part of a long-running conflict between the President and Masters of the College and the Virginia laymen who dominated the Board of Visitors. This conflict was, in turn, part of a wider contest between the laity and clergy of Virginia to determine the colony's future. While the clergy were financially supported by the Virginia Company,⁴ many lay Virginians resented the clergy's privileged status and revenue. Hatton, the young Cambridge graduate, was to become an unwitting pawn in a wider political game in the colony, but he was either unaware of the turmoil around him, or else chose not to write about it to his friends in England. Instead, he passed his time making detailed observations of the Virginia weather and stuffing local animals. Thomas Hatton's impressions of North America survive in four documents: a copy of a letter sent to his tutor at St John's, Dr. Brooke, on December 18, 1758; two letters sent on the same date to his friend George Ashby; and a set of meteorological observations made between January 1, 1758, and April 9, 1759.⁵

By joining the staff of the College of William and Mary, Virginia's oldest educational establishment, Hatton was stepping into an institution steeped in controversy. In late 1757, the President and Masters "turned out" James Hubard, the Usher of the Grammar School attached to the College, which prepared students for their higher studies. The lay Visitors and Governors appointed a committee to examine Hubard's removal on November 1, 1757, which called upon Thomas Dawson, then President, and John Camm, the rector of Yorkhampton and a future President of the College, to explain their reasons. Camm refused to give any, as he believed that this signified a surrender of the legitimate right of the President and Masters to make such decisions for the good of the College without consultation. Camm's intransigence led the Visitors to order the dismissal of Camm and two other Masters on December 14.⁶ However, rather than reappointing Hubard, the Visitors instructed the President to seek a replacement Usher recommended by the Bishop of London.⁷ That replacement was Hatton.

⁴ Lorena S. Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607–1763* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 39.

⁵ Suffolk Records Office, Bury St Edmunds, UK, MS E2/22/1 (personal papers of George Ashby), unfoliated, letters and meteorological observations of Thomas Hatton, dated December 18, 1758 (to Zachary Brooke, Document 1 in this edition); December 18, 1758 (to George Ashby, Documents 2 and 3 in this edition); meteorological observations taken January 1–April 9, 1759 (Document 4 in this edition).

⁶ Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1960), 2: 774.

⁷ Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2: 775.

Hatton sailed for America on July 29, 1758, and arrived in Delaware on September 29. He rode to Frederickstown, Maryland, and took a boat across the Chesapeake Bay to York, Virginia, arriving at Williamsburg on October 6. On the eleventh, the President and Masters of William and Mary College formally appointed Hatton Usher of the Grammar School, on the recommendation of the College's Chancellor (the Bishop of London).⁸ On November 13, he began making meteorological observations using a thermometer. In his interest in meteorology, Hatton joined a transatlantic Enlightenment community of scientific amateurs which has been examined by Jan Golinski, who argues that meteorology remained a contested science throughout the eighteenth century owing to the skepticism of some about the value of anecdotal data for predicting future weather.⁹ Whether Hatton was interested in predicting the weather, or simply interested in recording the climate of Virginia, is not altogether clear from his observations.

There are indications that Hatton was treated poorly by the other staff of the College, perhaps because he was appointed at the original instigation of the Visitors. By March 1759, the President and Masters had evidently forbidden Hatton to eat at the Masters' table, since an order of the Visitors of the College of March 26 instructed

... that [Hatton] be allow'd to sit and eat at the Masters' Tables, and further in Regard to his good Character, and for an Encouragement to his continuance here, the President and Masters are desired not to remove him from his Place of Usher, without first informing this Visitation and their Allegations against him.¹⁰

In spite of this hostility towards Hatton from the College's Masters, he seems to have been on good terms with John Camm, who took Hatton's letters with him when he traveled to England to bring his case against the "Two Penny Acts" before the Privy Council. These two acts of the Virginia House of Burgesses occasioned the climax of conflict between the "heavily British and clerical" College staff and the native Virginians of Williamsburg.¹¹ Under the pretext

⁸ "Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., 3, no. 1 (1894), 60–64, at 62.

⁹ Jan Golinski, *British Weather and the Climate of Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1–8.

¹⁰ "Journal of the Meetings...", 63.

¹¹ See "John Camm (bap. 1717–1779)," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, <https://encyclopedia.virginia.org/entries/camm-john-bap-1717-1779>, accessed April 24, 2022; Thad W. Tate, "Camm, John" in *The American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4: 262–63. On the Two Penny Acts, see Robert G. Ingram, *Religion, Reform and*

of the poor tobacco crops of 1755 and 1758, which led to increased prices, the Assembly argued that the sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco formerly paid as a salary to clergymen was too generous and ought to be replaced with a salary equivalent to two pence to each pound of tobacco that would otherwise have been received.¹² The economic uncertainty generated by the Seven Years' War also contributed to unpredictable tobacco prices. In the view of Rhys Isaac, the clergy of Virginia were "reviled by their adversaries and resented by their own laity," and consequently "sought strength in a jealous corporate unity."¹³ Judging from his letters, Hatton seems to have been more interested in meteorology, astronomy, and taxidermy than in colonial and college politics; while Hatton made no reference to the "Two Penny Acts" controversy in his letters, and stated as fact that clergymen still received the tobacco, his observations hint at some of the concerns that motivated the proponents of the acts: "Several of the Clergy deal in the mercantile Way, besides what their Tobacco obliges them, and I myself know one, who has set up a common Brewhouse."¹⁴ The fact that the clergy received a salary in the form of tobacco made it necessary for them to engage in trade in order to sell it.

The idea of the clergy competing with the laity in business was distasteful to both clergy and laity, and there is a note of disapproval in Hatton's comment. In England, it was against canon law for a clergyman to engage in trade, but in the very different Virginian society that Taylor Stoermer describes, it was not possible for the clergy to stand apart from the laity in this way.¹⁵ Hatton's view that a clergyman's salary "will barely support him, according to the exorbitant Price Goods sell at, unless he adds to it by an advantageous Marriage, or has an Estate independent of it" may have reflected the opinions of clergy around him such as John Camm more than his own experience; after all, he had barely been in Virginia for two months when he wrote this.

Hatton's observations should be seen in the context of his recent arrival and his naive view of the colony. He found that the Indian School was ineffective in performing its original function of converting the indigenous inhabitants, and it puzzled him that Native Americans returned to their ancestral customs after

Modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 218–20.

¹² Hunter D. Farish, ed., *The Present State of Virginia, and the College, By Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Inc., 1940), 67

¹³ Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 157.

¹⁴ Thomas Hatton to George Ashby, December 18, 1758 (Document 2).

¹⁵ Taylor Stoermer, "An Entire Affection and Attachment to our Excellent Constitution": The Anglican Political Culture of British Virginia," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 82, no. 3 (2013), 253–288, at 260.

receiving the benefits of education. At the time, the enrollment of Native American boys at the Brafferton Indian School (opposite the home of the College's President) had long since peaked, and the school had begun admitting paying pupils from the settler community of Williamsburg.¹⁶ Hatton witnessed Native Americans in Williamsburg and described them at first hand, but he relied on William Stith's recently published *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia* (Williamsburg: Printed by William Parks, 1747), itself a synopsis of Thomas Hariot's sixteenth-century ethnography, when describing their religious beliefs to his tutor. Hatton evidently made no effort to learn about indigenous beliefs at firsthand. He was at his best not as a theologian or ethnographer but as an amateur astronomer and meteorologist, and his correspondent George Ashby seems to have shared these interests, since Hatton asked him for weather observations from England.

Hatton recorded the dawn, dusk, and night-time temperatures in Williamsburg, together with weather information, from November 13 to December 17, 1758. Later he sent similar observations made between January 1 and April 9, 1759, but either these were sent with no accompanying letter, or none survives. Hatton expected his Williamsburg appointment to be a temporary one, and several times referred to bringing live and dead animals back with him to England.¹⁷ This may have been because he had been appointed to the curacy of Haddon, Huntingdonshire in 1758. Hatton returned to England at some point between April 1759 and September 21, 1760, when he was ordained priest. It may be that Hatton was not suited to ministry in Virginia; as another English clergyman had warned a generation earlier,

Neither would they [Virginians] have meer Scholars and Stoicks, or Zealots too rigid in outward Appearance ... they should be neither too reserved nor too extravagant; so in Principles should they be neither too high nor too low: The Virginians being neither Favourers of Popery nor the Pretender on the one Side, nor of Presbytery nor Anarchy on the other... they must be such as can converse and know more than bare Philosophy and speculative Ethnicks [sic].¹⁸

Both the clergy and laity of Virginia seem to have looked down on Hatton, and he was more interested in natural philosophy than ministry. Hatton recorded the weather only when he was in Williamsburg, and this suggests that the gaps in his record represent times when he was absent from the town. For the most part

¹⁶ Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607–1783*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 74.

¹⁷ Thomas Hatton to George Ashby, December 18, 1758 (Document 2): "Here are several sorts of Squirrels mostly grey, one of which I have stuff'd and intend bringing over with me"; *Ibid.*: "I shall endeavor to bring several of each sort [of birds] over with me."

¹⁸ Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia* (London: Printed for J. Clarke, 1724), 95-96.

of 1758–59, he seems to have remained at home, except for short absences of a few days.¹⁹ Hatton recorded the morning temperature between six and seven o'clock, the afternoon temperature, usually at around two o'clock, and the evening temperature between ten and eleven. He gave the wind direction, presumably based on observation of a weather-cock, as well as a brief description of the daily weather. On April 9, 1759, he observed Halley's Comet at half past four in the morning at York, Virginia: "I saw the Comet at ½ p[as]t 4 a.m. at York being SE & E for it. The Nucleus very distinct & somew[ha]t big[g]er th[a]n a common Star. The Cauda²⁰ of small Diameter confused & in apparent Length a yard long."²¹

Hatton wrote his letters against the backdrop of the Seven Years' War, when the Atlantic crossing was not necessarily safe for travelers. Luckily, Hatton's ship encountered only friendly British privateers, but he might just as easily have run into their French counterparts. Hatton reported on the most positive news of the end of 1758 for the British: the capture of Fort Duquesne after two abortive attempts.²² However, tidewater Virginia was remote from the fighting, and the war seems to have impinged little on Hatton's life in the colony.

The recipient of two of Hatton's letters was George Ashby (1724–1808), a Fellow of St. John's College, a budding antiquary, and a regular contributor to *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Hatton's correspondence with Ashby would seem to suggest that the latter shared his interests in natural history; however, Ashby would later excel as an antiquary rather than as a scientist. In 1774 Ashby became rector of Barrow, a few miles southwest of Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk. When he died in 1808, Ashby's companion and amanuensis, Thomas Lyus, sold his books and papers to a bookseller in Bury St Edmunds, and they were eventually acquired by the Suffolk Record Office.²³ Ashby's antiquarian correspondence is bound together in two unfoliated manuscript volumes with little regard for chronology. He evidently cherished the letters he had received from Hatton, since they pre-date the majority of his correspondence by almost a decade and are among the earliest letters he preserved.

On February 22, 1764, Hatton returned to his native Shropshire for good, where he remained rector of Little Upton until his death in 1807. Hatton's letters are a rare record of an educated young Englishman's impressions of Virginia at a decisive time for the colony, as well as a testament to amateur scientific

¹⁹ January 21–22; January 27–February 5; February 25; February 27–28; March 4–5; March 8–11; March 18–19 (Thomas Hatton, meteorological observations, January 1–April 9, 1759, Document 4).

²⁰ Tail.

²¹ Thomas Hatton, meteorological observations, January 1–April 9, 1759 (Document 4).

²² Thomas Hatton to Zachary Brooke, 18 December 1758 (Document 1).

²³ John D. Pickles, "Ashby, George" in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 2: 620.

enthusiasm in the Age of Enlightenment. Hatton taught at William and Mary College when it was at the center of a battle between burgesses and British clergy that foreshadowed some of the disputes of the American Revolution, as a confrontation between established settlers and a Tory establishment. His voice and his observations illuminate from a previously unseen angle the personalities and issues involved in this period of Virginian history.

LETTERS OF THOMAS HATTON FROM VIRGINIA

Document 1: Thomas Hatton to Dr. Zachary Brooke, December 18, 1758¹

Thos Hatton's A. B.² of S. John's Coll Letter to D^r Brooke
Will. & Mary's Coll. W^msburgh Virginia. Dec^r 18. 1758.

Rev. D^r.

When I rece'd your letter, I was at Spithead, & our Ship was going under weigh, so that I was prevented from answering of it. ——— We touchd at Plymouth after we left S. Helen's, & stay'd a week there, & thence saild for America upon the 29th of July. Nothing remarkable occur'd in our voyage: except one morning, upon seeing some ships a head, & imagining them to be enemies, the drum beat to arms, clear'd the ship & made ready for engaging: but upon coming up with them, they prov'd to be two Bristol privateers, with their broad pendants flying at the main top mast head. They told us they had met with good success, & were desirous of to examin 3 Dutch men under a convoy of a 60 Gun ship, then in sight, but were beat off. Our voyage ~~was~~ was very favorable; except one very boisterous night, wherein we expected all to perish, but thro' the alertness of the Captain, we got over it without doing us much damage. The sea agreed with me very well, being not the least inclin'd to be sick, & I have no other reason to complain of it, than on account of the rough & reprobate manners of the Lieutenants I mess'd with. I left the man of war at sea 400 leagues from the Capes May & Hanlopen, & went on board the Betty Sally Captain Snead bound to Philadelphia, & arriv'd at Reedy Island in Delawere Bay upon Michaelmass day at night.³ from thence I took Horses the next morning about 30 miles to

¹This letter is an MS copy in the hand of George Ashby rather than the original. In this letter, and the three below, pagination specific to each document has been added in brackets.

²"A. B.": Bachelor of Arts.

³September 29, 1758.

Frederic's town in Maryland, whence I had the opportunity of a boat down Chesapeake Bay to York in Virginia, about 12 miles from Williamsburgh, & arriv'd here upon the 6th of October; & was receiv'd into my office the 11th. The salary is worth of this currency 120£ per ann. which with a curacy that I have got makes my income 200£. The college is exactly upon the same plan, as those in Scotland,⁴ being first promoted by the Rev.^d M.^r Blair,⁵ a gentleman of that nation. Our grammar school is exactly upon the same footing, as the public ones in England; & we have a president, who is Commissary,⁶ a Professor of Morality,⁷ Mathematics, & Indian,⁸ & a Grammar master.⁹ [end p. 1] The intent of the Indian school was to qualify the Indian boys to be Missionaries to their own people, not to be Gentlemen's gamekeepers, as most of them generally turn out. But such is the perverseness of the Indians, that after they leave school, & are well instructed in reading & the principles of religion, they immediately throw off the prejudice of their education, & blindly adopt the manners & customs of their savage Ancestors, for I can't look upon them in a better light. The news of Fort du Quesne being in possession of the English, by the French abandoning

⁴This is perhaps a reference to the significant expansion of the University of Edinburgh in the early eighteenth century with the addition of faculties of Law, Arts and Medicine; see Nicholas Phillipson, "The Making of an Enlightened University," in *The University of Edinburgh: An Illustrated History*, eds. Robert D. Anderson, Michael Lynch and Nicholas Phillipson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 51–102.

⁵James Blair (1655/6–1743) was appointed the Bishop of London's first commissary in Virginia in 1689 and became the founder and first President of William and Mary College in 1693 (James B. Bell, "Blair, James," in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. (2004), <https://oxforddnb.com/view/article/2564>, accessed 22 December 2010); Farish, *The Present State of Virginia...*, xxiii–iv.

⁶The President of the College at the time was Thomas Dawson (Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2: 769). As Commissary, Dawson was the official representative of the Bishop of London, who exercised jurisdiction over the colony through the governor and was the Chancellor of the College. However, the fact that Dawson did not receive explicit confirmation as commissary weakened his authority throughout his presidency.

⁷Jacob Rowe.

⁸Emmanuel Jones.

⁹Goronwy Owen.

it, but first demolishing it's works, has no doubt reach'd you.¹⁰ Soon after a large body of Chawnese, that were before our bitter enemies, came over to us, & promis'd us allegiance, but they & the rest of their tribes will always favor the most powerful party. I have seen severall small parties of different nations here, & they appear to me a very despicable people. they are generally a tall upright men, of a lead color, which they disguise by different kinds of paint. they wrap themselves round with blankets, & dress their hair, which is mostly black, with a variety of trinkets. In their ears they have brass & tin earrings, & about their necks necklaces of various sorts of beads. their arms are very slender, being not thicker than a laboring man's wrist, the reason of which I think is their not being ~~not~~ inur'd to hard labor, or to support heavy weights: for they oblige their women or squaws to cultivate their land, while they traverse the woods in quest of game. Give me leave Sir to subjoin the following account of their doctrine & tenets, extracted from Stith's History of Virginia,¹¹ which obtain'd at the first settlement of it, & I believe are now generally receiv'd by them. "They believe that there is one chief God, who hath existed from all eternity: that he created the world; but first made other gods of a principal order, to be his instruments in the creation & government thereof. that next the sun, moon & stars were created, as petty Gods, & as instruments to those other gods of a superior order. that then the waters were created, out of which were form'd all creatures ~~were created~~. That a woman was first made, who by the congress of one of the Gods, conceiv'd & brought forth **[end p. 2]** children; & that thence' mankind had their beginning. They thought the Gods were all of human shape, & therefore represented them

¹⁰ Fort Duquesne, at the joining of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, was captured from the French on November 26, 1758, after two failed attempts earlier in the war.

¹¹ William Stith, *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia: Being An Essay towards a General History of this Colony* (Williamsburg: Printed by William Parks, 1747). Further bibliographic details for this work can be found in the *English Short Title Catalogue* (<https://estc.bl.uk>), where it is known as ESTC W23158. The quotation is taken from p. 17, and is itself a reworking of the account of religious belief among Carolinian Algonquians offered in Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia...* (London, 1588) [ESTC S106429], sig.E2v-E3r.

by Images, which they placed in their temples; & they worship'd, pray'd, sung, & danced & made many offerings to them. They held the immortality of the souls; which after death, according to its worth¹² in the flesh, was either carried up to the tabernacle of the Gods, to eternal happiness; or else to popogusso (a great pit at the furthest parts of the earth, where the sun sets) into perpetual fire & torment. And this doctrine they support by the authority of two persons, who, as they pretended, had risen from the dead”

finis.

[end p. 3]

¹² Stith offers “Works” rather than worth, which is faithful to Hariot’s original “workes.”

Document 2: Thomas Hatton to George Ashby, December 18, 1758

W^m & Mary College
W^{ms}.burgh Virginia,
Dec.^{br} 18. 1758.

Rev^d. Sr.,

It gives me a very sensible Pleasure, by having this opportunity, by the Rev.^d Mr. Camm Rector of Yorkhampton,¹³ in this Dominion of corresponding with you. I shou'd have inform'd you of my Voyage and arrival here but as I have been pretty large upon those Heads in my letter to Doctor Brooke, I refer you to it. I shall therefore abruptly hasten to a general Description of what I have seen, either in the Manner of the People, Nature or Pr[od]uce of the Country: And if, Sr, my trifling Recital of them can afford you any Entertainment, it will then give me the highest satisfaction.

The General Assembly sit as our Parliament does, to enact Laws [fo]r the Good of the Colony, wherein the Governor represents the King[ⁱⁿ] the Council the House of Lords, and the Burgesses the House of Commons. Matters are managed here much in the same manner as in Parliament; and as you are better acquainted with the English Constitution, than I can possibly be, I need not enlarge any further. They have too a Court of Chancery, in which the Governor and Council, as in the Courts of Oyer and Terminer or Gen.^l Gaol Delivery are Judges. And now I have given you an imperfect account of the above Particulars, give me leave to observe to you my Remarks upon the People and Country. Here is very little Distinction paid to any Ranks, and that which constitutes the Difference between any two Men, is their Inequality of Fortune and the Table they keep. At their most splendid Entertainmen^{ts} they have no

¹³ John Camm, an ousted lecturer of the College, was known by the title of rector of Yorkhampton during this period. Camm's journey to England, which gave Hatton an opportunity to have his letters safely delivered, was in order to take the clergy's case against the Two Penny Acts to the Privy Council (Tate, "Camm, John," 262-63).

more than one Course of Dishes; and after the Table is drawn, the principal Liquors they produce, are Madeira, Punch and Bumbo, which even in Winter they seldom drink hot. The Country is prodigious woody, and where their **[end p. 1]** Towns are situated, the Prospect is very shortly terminated, being seldom more than a Mile in Diameter. They resemble our Hamlets, and the Houses are chiefly cased with Wood and cover'd w.th Shingles, tho' they make very good Brick and Tile. The Reason they give for building them in this Manner, is their being cooler in Summer and warmer in Winter. In travelling thro' the Country, you will meet with few Inns, Ordinarys they call them,¹⁴ for the Hospitality of the Peoples renders them unnecessary, as you may w.th the same Freedom call at any of their Houses, where they gladly receive you, in the same Manner we do in England, at public ones. When you are riding thro' Virginia, and indeed most Part of America, it is necessary to carry with you [a] Certificate or License sign'd by a Justice of the Peace, who [is] well known, otherwise they will frequently stop you, and give you Trouble. Their Burgesses are elected by the People, without ever standing Candidates, or using any Corruption: But their Sheriffs of their Counties make Application for their Office, and are little better than Knights of the Post, tho' frequently Men of good Fortune, for they don't scruple to serve their own Writs.¹⁵ The Clergyman's Salary is 16000^{lb} Weight of Tobacco,¹⁶ with a Glebe of 200 Acres,¹⁷ and a House upon it, besides Surplice fees,¹⁸ w.^{ch} in

¹⁴ On social perception of "ordinaries" in colonial Virginia see Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 94–104.

¹⁵ In England, writs were served by magistrates and merely enforced by sheriffs.

¹⁶ The situation was by no means as straightforward as Hatton states it, since the question of whether the clergy should receive 16000 lbs of tobacco or a notional 2d per pound (as the Two Penny Acts stipulated) was the subject of an ongoing pamphlet war and legal battle (Tate, "Camm, John", 262; John P. Greene, *The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies 1689–1776* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia by the University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 349–50).

¹⁷ A glebe in colonial Virginia was a farm or plantation supplied to the minister by the parish, although it was often let out to lay tenants (Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 144).

¹⁸ "Surplice fees" were the fees charged by parish clergy for weddings, funerals, churchyard burials, and other services.

some Parishes run very high. And tho' this may seem a handsome Maintenance, yet it will barely support him, according to the exorbitant Price Goods sell at, unless he adds to it by an advantageous Marriage, or has an Estate independent of it. Several of the Clergy deal in the mercantile Way, besides what their Tobacco obliges them, and I myself know one, who has set up a common Brewhouse.¹⁹ The Generality of them are [end p. 2] half brought up in Presbyterian Principles,²⁰ and by being very indifferent about the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church, bring it and the Order into great Contempt. ——— The Climate is very precarious, and every Spring and Fall is more or less attended with Agues and Fevers, which tho' seldom fatal, yet they impair the Constitution. Here are several sorts of Squirrels mostly grey, one of which I have stuff'd and intend bringing over with me. It is a Fox one, so call'd from his Size & bushy Tail, being much larger than ours at Home. They have too Flying Squirrels and Ground ones; the latter I have seen and make no Doubt you have, as they are sometimes to be met with in a Ladys Closet. It is half the size of a large Rat, shaped li[...] of the others, but has a very short Tail not brushy: Its Color is grey intermixt with very beautiful dark brown Streaks, particularly upon the Head, from the Eyes across the Face. It seems very lively and feeds upon Nuts, is very tender and in Winter burys himself in the Ground, Cold being fatal to him. In their Prills,²¹ they have an amphibious Animal, very much resembling a Tortoise, and I dare say is a diminutive Sort of them. They have great variety of Fish, some of which are extremely good, such as the Silver-Pearch, the Rock, Drumfish, Shadd, Sturgeon and Trout. They are catch'd in their Bays, by Men in small Canoes with long Lines and no Rods, a large Hook & a small Piece of Lead, baiting with

¹⁹ The clergy's engagement in commerce as a consequence of their payment in tobacco rather than money was a subject of concern both to the Virginia burgesses and the clergy themselves and it was a contributory factor to the controversy over the Two Penny Acts.

²⁰ This is probably a reference to the power enjoyed by lay "vestries" over parish churches in Virginia, which in Hatton's view resembled the authority of presbyteries under a Presbyterian form of church government (Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:467-69).

²¹ Prill: a small stream.

Chicken's Guts or any part of the Fish they catch. This Diversion continues only the Summer Season, and while the Weather is warm. They fish in Shore with Drag Nets in the Winter and catch several Kinds of Fish. The Method they take their Sturgeons is very singular and curious; having furnish'd themselves with a long thick Line, at the End of w.^{ch} they put on a large Hook w.th two or 3 Pound of Lead to sink it, they let it down into the Water, and the Sturgeon rubbing himself against the Line, they pull up, and hook him by the Belly. T. Hatton s...next

letter²² [end p. 3]

²² An annotation likely added by Ashby.

Document 3: Thomas Hatton to George Ashby, December 18, 1758; with meteorological observations taken at Williamsburg, Virginia, November 13–December 17, 1758

W^m & Mary College

W^{ms}burgh., Virginia.

Dec^{br} 18. 1758.

Rev.^d S.^r,

In the other Letter I concluded with a Description of their Method of taking Sturgeons: I procede now in this to acquaint you with some of their Animals and Birds. Their Hares resemble very much our English Rabbets in Size, Taste, and Color, but somewhat different in Shape. The Racoon is like our Badger in every Resp^{ct}, except that the former frequently is seen in Trees, and ours never. The Oposoum is formed like a Sucking Pig, of the same Size, with a long Tail; and is eaten by the Negroes. It is a very stupid, slowfooted Animal, and when you come up with it, w.^{ch} is generally in ^a Moonshiny Night, for they very seldom stir abroad in the Day, they wrap their long Tail round a Stick, and you may carry them pendent by it several Miles. Their Pheasants are the Size of our Partridges, and their Partridges that of our Quails. They have Woodcocks, w.^{ch} are less than the European ones, and many wild Turkeys in their upper Counties, which frequently weigh upwards of 20^{lb}, when brought dress'd to Table. Their principal Singing Birds are the Mocking Bird and red Bird or Virginia Nightingale, tho' in my Opinion the former has a greater Claim to that Appellation, as it imitates the Notes of every Bird in the Woods, and is capable of learning anything. I shall endeavor to bring several of each sort over with me, but am afraid of the Mocking Birds miscarrying, being a very tender Bird, and requiring much looking after.

The Sky in this Climate seems to be calculated for Astronomical Observations on Account of its Clearness: but the People are very indifferent ab.^t any Discoverys that Way, regarding much more

their staple Commodities Tobacco and Indico. The last is an infant Plantation, but as it succeeds very well, they purpose to increase it [end p. 1] with great Vigor. Underneath is a Journal of the Weather, by w.^{ch} you may form a faint Idea of the Climate. The most reigning [Winds] here are the South and North Western, which generally succee[d] each other, and entirely govern the Temperature of the Air. The former is always attended with warm and gentle Weath[er,] and the latter with cold and sharp Days. Since I came i[...] the Thermometer has stood at 82: I have taken care to ha[...] agreeable to your Directions, and have been pretty accurate [in] my Observations.

November.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	Winds per tot. diem. ²³
Monday 13 th .	At 6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	38.	2.	42.	10.	37.	N, W.

Clear and fine Weather.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Tuesday 14 th .	at 6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	33.	3.	45.	10 $\frac{11}{2}$.	45.	N, W.

Clear and sharp D[ay].

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Wednesday 15 th .	at 6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	40.	2 $\frac{11}{2}$.	50.	10 $\frac{11}{2}$.	55.	S, W.

²³ “per totam diem”: for the whole day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Tuesday	at 6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	60:	2 $\frac{11}{2}$.	57:	10.	56.	NE
	21 st .						

a very wet and disagreeable Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Wednesday	at 6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	57.	3.	68.	10.	69.	SW.
	22 ^d .						

Morn.^s cool and rainy, Aft. Warm and fair, in the Night much Rain.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Thursday	at 6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	65.	3.	53.	10 $\frac{11}{2}$.	48.	N & E.
	23 ^d .						

Morn.^s wet and gentle, Aft. wet and cool.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Friday	at 6 $\frac{3}{4}$.	45.	2 $\frac{11}{2}$.	49:	11.	48.	N & E.
	24 th .						

A dark, sharp and raw Day. **[end p. 2]**

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	[H]	Wind
Saturday	at 6 $\frac{3}{4}$.	47.	2.	48.	11.	52:	NE:
	25 th .						

A cold raw and wet Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p.t.d.
Sunday	at 7.	51.	3.	59.	10.	53.	SW.
	26 th .						

Very variable as to Heat and Cold.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Monday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	48.	3.	52.	10.	41.	NW.

27th.

A fair and sharp cold Day. In the Even. a very beautiful Sky.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	a.m	p.m
Tuesday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	38.	3.	54.	11.	54.	S.	SE

28th

A sharp M^g and warm Aft. Somewhat overcast.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	a.m	p.m
Wednesday	At 7.	51:	3.	66.	10.	67.	S.	SW.

29th.

A warm M. and sultry After. Dry but wet.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Thursday	at 7.	69.	3.	65.	11.	53.	SW.

30th.

A sultry, wet and disagreeable Day.

December

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Friday	at 7.	33.	2.	53.	12.	40.	SW.

1st.

A warm M. and Aft. till ab^t Sunset, w.ⁿ it grew cool. The Sun set very red.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	a.m	p.m
Saturday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	35.	2.	48.	11.	41.	NW	SW

2^d.

a sharp M. and gentle Aft. w.th a fine clean Sky all Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Sunday	at 7.	41.	3.	47.	12.	36:	N, W.

3^d.

M. a little cold, Aft. warm and gentle. Even.^s sharp and raw.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Monday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	33.	2 $\frac{.11}{2}$.	45.	10.	35.	N, W.

4th.

A very cold Morning, Noon and Night.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Tuesday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	30.	2.	42.	11 $\frac{.11}{2}$.	33.	W.

5th.

A cold raw Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Wednesday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	30.	2 $\frac{.11}{2}$.	42.	10.	35.	N, W.

6th.

A cloudy Day threat.^{ng} Downfall w.th a cold raw Air.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Thursday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	29.	2.	39.	11.	34.	N, W.

7th.

A very cold raw Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Friday	at 7.	29.	2.	41.	11 $\frac{11}{2}$.	32.	N, W.
							8 th .

Similar to the preceding one.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	a.m	p.m
Saturday	at 7.	29.	2.	44.	11.	39.	N.	S ^W .
								9 th .

Somew.^t warmer y.ⁿ the Day before.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Sunday	At 7 $\frac{1}{2}$.	38.	3.	46.	10.	39.	[...]
							10 th .

A moderate Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Monday	at 7.	34.	3.	44.	11.	37.	N.
							11 th .

A sharp M. and Aftern.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	[H]	[p. t. d.]
Tuesday	at 7.	33.	2.	45:	11.	3[...]	[...]
							12 th .

A moderate, gentle Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	a.m	p.m
Wednesday	at 7.	36.	2.	47.	10.	40.	NE.	SE &
	13 th .							E&N

A hoar Frost M. & A. lowring, wth warm gentle Weather.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	a. m	H	[a.m]	[p.m]
Thursday	at 7.	37.	2.	44.	10.	35.	NE	E
	14 th .							

Morning and Aft. gentle Weather, till 6 o'Clock w.ⁿ there came on a cold mizling Rain succeeded by Snow.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	a. m	H	a.m	p.m
Friday	at 7.	36.	2.	46.	11.	40.	NW,	SW
	15 th .							

A fine gentle Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	a.m	p.m
Saturday	at 7.	30.	2.	43.	12.	31.	NW	N.
	16							

A sharp frosty Morning and moderate Aft.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Sunday	at 7.	32:	2.	39:	10.	34.	N, W
	17 th .						

A sharp frosty and clear Day.

W^{tever} further Observ^{ns} I can make, you may depend upon being communicated to you, and w^{tever} Curiositys I can pick up, I shall at my Return bring w.th me, and if all or any of them are worth your Acceptance, you shall be heartily welcome to

them. I desire you wou'd transmit me your Observ^{ns} upon the Thermometer and Weather in England, w.th w^{tever} else you think will entertain me. If not too great a Favor, I shou'd be glad you wou'd send me the Literary Magazines²⁴ from the Beginning to the pres^t Month you send them in; and pray give me an Acc^t of the new Fellows that will be created ab^t the Time you receive my Letter. Your Compliance with these Requests, will very much oblige, Rev.^d S.^r, your affectionate Friend and Humble Servant

T. Hatton.

I beg you'd excuse me being so minute in my Descriptions, and w^{tever} Errors I might have committed thro' Haste. My Comp^{ts} to all enquiring Friends at S.^t John's & particularly to M.^r Dean. Doctor Ross²⁵ shall hear from me in the Spring. [end p. 3]

²⁴ George Ashby was a regular contributor to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, one of the principal literary magazines published in England at the time (Pickles, "Ashby, George," 620).

²⁵ John Ross (1719–1792), fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge and later Bishop of Exeter (Aston, "Ross, John").

**Document 4: Thomas Hatton's meteorological observations taken at
Williamsburg, Virginia, January 1–April 9, 1759²⁶**

Observations. W^{ms}burg Virginia.

Jan.^y 1. 1759 Monday.

	am	H	pm	H	pm	H	Wind	
	7.	34.	2.	44.	10.	40.	N.W.	Clear Frost.
2 ^d .	7.	35.	2.	44.	10.	44.	NE	Frost
3 ^d .	7.	41.	2.	49.	10 ^¼ .	54.	SE	Some Frost from 12 ^{am} to 2 ^{pm} . Rain till 9 ^{pm}
4 th .	7.	50.	2.	54.	10.	51.	W.	Clear Weather
5 th .	7.	45.	2 ^¼ .	49.	10.	50.	NE	Clear Frost
6 th .	7.	47.	3.	50.	10.	54.	NW.	Great Rain at 3 ^{pm} till 10 at Night.

²⁶ This document is unaddressed, but it was probably part of a letter to George Ashby.

7 th .	7.	58.	2.	63.	10.	56.	SW	Still & calm. Rain at 2 ^{pm} . W & N ^{pm} clear Weather
8 th .	7.	46.	2.	50.	10.	49.	N&W	Frost.
9 th .	7.	44:	2.	47.	10 ³ / ₄ .	49.	N.	Windy, cold & cloudy. At 9 ^{pm} Rain till 10.
10 th .	7.	50.	2.	57.	10.	52.	E&N.	Thick & cloudy. At 2. ^{pm} Rain & at 10 [d ^o ?]
11 th .	7.	49.	2.	54.	10.	54.	W&S.	Clear p. t. d.
12 th .	7.	48.	5.	55.	10.	56.	W.	Frost. At 8 ^{am} the Wind S. at 10 [d ^o ?] clear Weather
13 th .	7.	51.	5.	54.	10.	54.	NW.	Clear & fine Weather.

14 th .	7.	48:	2.	53.	10.	52.	N.		Clear Frost. At 10 ^{am} Rain
15 th .	7.	49.	5.	52.	10.	56.	SE		At 9 & 10 am. Rain.
16 th .	7.	53.	2.	55.	11.	44.	NW		Clear & warm.
17 th .	6 ³ / ₄ .	40.	2.	43.	11.	54:	SW.	SE	Dark, cloudy & little Rain.
18 th .	7.	54.	2.	56.	11.	45:	am NW	p.m WNW	Morn. & Aft. Warm & pleas ^t but the Even ^g cool.
19 th .	7.	39.	*	*	11.	34:	am NW.	p. m SW	A sharp raw Air & gloomy Sky.

							am	p. m.	
20 th .	7.	23:	2.	48.	*	*	N.W.	NW&N.	At 6pm NW. A very sharp Air & cloudy Sky.

21st, 22^d. omitted——

23 ^d .	-	-	-	-	11.	23			
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24 th .	7.	28.	*	*	*	*	NE.		Snowy Weather p. t. d.
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25 th .	8.	23.	2.	25.	11.	23	NW.		Snowy & cold raw Weather
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26 th .	7.	23.	*	*	*	*	N		Sharp & cold.
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27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st not observed.

February

	am	H	pm	H	pm	H	[Wind]	
5 th .	7 ¼.	33.	2.	39.	11.	27.	N&W	Fine, clear & gentle Weather p. t. d. but in y ^e

										Evenḡ very cold.
6 th .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	25.	*	*	*	*	W			Cold & raw w. th a sharp clear Air
								a.m.	p.m.	
7 th .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	31.	2.	39.	10.	38.	N&E	SE		A beautiful red sky in ye East before Sunrise (a Prognostic of fallḡ Weather) and a very sharp piercing Air all Day. NW. Claps of Thunder at Sunset.
8 th .	7 $\frac{11}{2}$.	39.	2.	50.	11.	49.	SW.			A cloudy Sky & gentle Weather

				[?]			am	pm	
9 th .	7.	49.	*	*	10.	58.	SW.	SE	Much Rain p. t. d. & a raw damp Air
10 th .	7.	64.	2.	64.	10.	49.	W.		Clear, hot & sultry Weather.
11 th .	8.	46.	2.	52.	10.	49.			The Winds & Weather unnoticed. [Bracketed 11 th -13 th]
12 th .	7.	47.	*	*	*	*			[See above]
13 th .	[?]	*	*	*	*	*			[See above]
14 th .	7.	37.	3.	43.	11.	32.	SW.		Very Heak & windy
15 th .	7.	31.	2.	37.	10 ¼.	33.	W.		Much like the preceding.
16 th .	6 ¾.	30:	2.	45.	*	*	SW.		Moderate & still.

17 th .	7.	38.	*	*	*	*	SW	Gentle Weather
18 th .	*	*	*	*	11.	58.	**	*****
19 th .	7.	58.	2.	62.	*	*	SW	Rain p. t. d.

[end p. 1]

February Continued

DM.	[am]	[H]	[p]	[H]	[pm]	[H]	a.m	p.m	
20 th .	7.	63.	2.	68.	*	*	SW.	NW	Morning dark & lowring, Aft. bright & warm
21 st .	6.	68.	2.	60.	*	*	a.m N.W.	p.m SW	Rain am. Fair but cloudy p.m.
22 ^d .	6 $\frac{1}{2}$.	44:	2.	52.	*	*	am W.	p.m NW	Fair & gentle.

23^d. 6 $\frac{.11}{2}$. 38. 2. 42. * * NW. Fair but
raw.

24th. 6 $\frac{.11}{2}$. 43. 3. 54: * * SW. Fair and
warm.

25th. Omitted

26th. 7. 49. 2. 55: * *

27 & 28. omitted.

March

	[am]	[H]	[pm]	[H]	[pm]	[H]	[Wind]	
1 st .	6 $\frac{.11}{2}$.	49.	*	*	10 $\frac{.11}{2}$.	51:	SW	Fair & warm

2 ^d .	7.	49:	*	*	11.	61.	SW	A Squall of Wind & Rain at 4p.m.
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3 ^d .	7.	60.	*	*	*	*	4 th . & 5 th . omitted.	
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6 th .	7.	34:	*	*	*	*	W.	Very sharp & raw
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7 th .	7.	27.	2.	32.	*	*	W&N		Very sharp & clear.
8 th . 9 th . 10 th . & 11 th . omitted.									
12 th .	7.	60.	2.	68.	10 ½.	63.	SW.		Dark but warm p. t. d.
13 th .	7.	60.	*	*	11.	49.	SW	am p. m NW	A dark & cloudy Day w th small Showers of Rain
14 th .	7.	45.	*	*	11 $\frac{11}{2}$.	45.	NW.		A sharp sharp M. but bright & gentle Afternoon
15 th .	7.	45.	2.	59.	*	*	SW		A dark M. & Aft. but warm

							am	p.m	
16 th .	7.	49.	2.	64.	11.	62.	S.	SE.	Bright & warm in y ^e M ^g but dark & lowring in y ^e Aft.
17 th .	7.	64.	*	*	*	*	**		*****
18 th . & 19 th . omitted.									
20 th .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	51:	*	*	11.	65.	S&W		Hot, cloudy & inclined to Rain.
21 st .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	67.	2.	75.	11.	68.	SW.		At $\frac{1}{4}$ p ^t 12 at Noon small Showers of Rain. Dark & [...]

								am	pm	Lowrs till
22 ^d .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	65.	2.	67.	*	*	N.	N.	SW & W&N	10 ^{am} then bright & hot but moderated by [...]
23 ^d .	7.	51.	2.	63.	11.	48.	NE NNW.		E&N	Morn ^g dark. Aft. bright & mod. Evening cool.
24 th .	7.	45.	*	*	*	*		NE		
25 th .	*	*	*	*	10.	43.		ENE		Cold & raw.
								am	pm	
26 th .	6.	40.	2.	49.	11.	46.		ENE	E	A dark, cloudy & damp Air. In y ^e Night Rain.

							am	pm	
27 th .	6.	48.	3 ^{3/4}	61.	11.	60.	E.	SE	Cold, raw & rainy.
28 th .	6.	60.	*	*	*	*	SE.		Rain p. t. d.
							a.m	p.m	
29 th .	6.	62.	2.	67.	10.	57.	E.SE.	SW.	Morn ^g wet & dark, but the Afternoon fair
							a.m	p. m	
30 th .	6.	56.	2.	60.	11.	52.	SW.	NE	A very fine pleas ^t Morning usher'd in w th y ^e Sing ^g of [...]. The Aft. dark & gloomy.
31 st .	6.	49.	*	*	*	*	SW		Morn ^g fair & warm hot 1/2 p st 10 ^{am} a smart

	[am]	[H]	pm	[H]	[pm]	[H]	[Wind]	
								Shower of R[ain.]
April.								
DM								
2 ^d .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	54.	12.	45.	*	*	ENE	A cold raw Dark, dark & portends. Downfall.
3 rd .	6 $\frac{3}{4}$.	43.	2.	45.	*	*	E.	Cold & raw
4 th .	6 $\frac{3}{4}$.	43.	*	*	11.	51.	am E&N.E&S	p.m SE Warm & fair.
5 th .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	53.	*	*	*	*	SW E&N	As y ^e preceding
6 th .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	51.	2.	61.	11.	54.	am p.m E. E&N	Comet ²⁷ seen at $\frac{1}{4}$ p[ast] 4 a.m. Fair & warm.

²⁷ Halley's Comet.

7th. 6 $\frac{11}{2}$. 54. * * * *

Wind &
Weather
unobserved.
Sunday
omitted.

9th. 10^{am}. 75. * * * * S'SW.

I saw the
Comet at $\frac{1}{2}$ p^t
4 a.m. at York
being SE & E
for it. The
Nucleus very
distinct &
somewt
big[g]er yⁿ a
common Star.
The Cauda²⁸
of small
Diameter
confused & in
apparent
Length a yard
long. [end p.
2]

²⁸ Tail.

Reception and Antiquation in the Haitian Revolution

SIMEON A. SIMEONOV

From theatrical performances and popular celebrations to parliamentary speeches and diplomatic correspondence, references to classical Greco-Roman (hereafter “classical”) antiquity suffused the Haitian Revolution. The leaders of the revolutionary struggle, the elites who supported and opposed them, and the broad public on both sides of the Atlantic; all seemed to invoke classical antiquity or be immersed in it through other people’s private and public utterances. But what exactly did these utterances mean, and what was at stake with the way in which classical reception was practiced—or not—in the most radical revolutionary struggle of the modern world?

This article provides a new conceptual framework to encapsulate a hegemonic discourse about classical antiquity that pervaded the Haitian Revolutionary struggle: planter reception. Mobilized by colonial planters and sustained throughout the Revolution, planter reception legitimized modern slavery through strategic appropriations of classical antiquity. The article embeds planter reception within a broader historical and historiographical conversation about the role of classical antiquity in the Haitian Revolution. It considers examples of resisting, deconstructing, silencing, or suppressing planter reception by black and white antislavery advocates, especially through a type of counter-hegemonic discourse: antiquation. These various engagements with classical reception led to the emergence of a particular concept of *transatlantic antiquity*, which through an inclusive set of conversations and practices inserted Haiti and the Black Atlantic in the universalist legacy of Roman republicanism.¹

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¹ On the Black Atlantic tradition, see Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Beatriz G. Mamigonian and Karen Racine, eds., *The Human Tradition in the Black Atlantic, 1500–2000* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010); Laurent Dubois and Julius S. Scott, eds., *Origins of the Black Atlantic* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Marlene L. Daut, *Baron de Vastey and the Origins of Black Atlantic Humanism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Ian Moyer, Adam Lecznar, and Heidi Morse, eds., *Classicisms in the Black Atlantic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

Scholars of the Haitian Revolution have long recognized classical reception as one of the chief discourses in the unfolding revolutionary struggle. Such prominent researchers as C. L. R. James, David Nicholls, Michel Rolph-Trouillot, Ashli White, Alfred Hunt, Ada Ferrer, Malick Ghachem, Sue Peabody, Charles Forsdick, Laurent Dubois, Bernard Camier, Julia Prest, David Scott, David Geggus, Sibylle Fischer, Deborah Jenson, Chelsea Stieber, Rachel Douglas, Sara Johnson, Sudhir Hazareesingh, and Grégory Pierrot have examined the ways in which reception of the classical past informed the strategies, representational choices, ideological outlooks, cultural parameters, and commemorative practices of the Haitian Revolutionary struggle. By and large, these works have emphasized classical reception as a strategy in an Atlantic struggle for modernity, placing it in the framework of those ideological currents—liberalism, Marxism, nationalism, capitalism—that make the Haitian Revolution an intrinsic part of the birth of the modern world.²

² See C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1938); Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988); David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour, and National Independence in Haiti*, rev. ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995); Sue Peabody, "There Are No Slaves in France": *The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); David Patrick Geggus, *Haitian Revolutionary Studies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Sibylle Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Bernard Camier and Laurent Dubois, "Voltaire et Zaïre, ou le théâtre des Lumières dans l'aire atlantique française," *Revue d'histoire moderne & contemporaine* 54, no. 4 (2007): 39-69; Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); Deborah Jenson, *Beyond the Slave Narrative: Politics, Sex, and Manuscripts in the Haitian Revolution* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011); Malick W. Ghachem, *The Old Regime and the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Rachel Douglas, "Theory versus Practice: On the Postcolonial Marginalization of Haitian Literature," *Small Axe* 16, no. 3 (2012): 188-198; Sara E. Johnson, *The Fear of French Negroes: Transcolonial Collaboration in the Revolutionary Americas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Ada Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Charles Forsdick and Christian Høgsbjerg, *Toussaint Louverture: A Black Jacobin in the Age of Revolutions* (London: Pluto Press, 2017); Grégory Pierrot, *The Black Avenger in Atlantic Culture* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2019); Chelsea Stieber, *Haiti's Paper War: Post-Independence Writing, Civil War, and the Making of the Republic, 1804-1954* (New York: New York University Press, 2020); Sudhir Hazareesingh, *Black Spartacus: The Epic Life of Toussaint Louverture* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2020); Moyer, Lecznar, and Morse, *Classicisms in the Black Atlantic*; Julia Prest, "Neoclassical Theater in the Colonial Context: The Public Theater of Saint-Domingue, 1764-1791," in *Teaching French Neoclassical Tragedy*, eds. Héléne E. Bilis and Ellen McClure (New York: Modern Language Association, 2021), 189-200.

This work has been crucial for countering persistent notions of Haitian exceptionalism and for according Haiti a prominent place in the global history of liberal democracy.³ But a careful examination of classical reception accentuates that the stakes of politicizing classical antiquity were much greater and more complex than those that render the Haitian Revolutionary struggle of lofty importance to the modern world. The imperative of embedding, and centering, Haiti in a global capitalist modernity, this article argues, has obscured the recognition of a truly remarkable aspect of the Haitian Revolution: namely, that it contested the monopolization of classical antiquity by European slaveholding elites, thereby depriving them of a chief element of their ideological foundation.⁴

What made the Haitian Revolution a revolution in more than just the commonly accepted use of the term, and quintessentially more revolutionary than the French Revolution itself, was that Haiti dismantled a ubiquitous proslavery ideology, an ideology that had claimed classical antiquity as a strategic resource in its justification of *racial* slavery as a civilizational landmark of the Enlightenment. Planters had managed to racialize classical antiquity in ways that injected Aristotelian ideas of “natural” slavery directly into the pages of modern media.⁵ Had Aristotle and the printing press remained separate, the latter, especially while monopolized by a planter elite and underpinned by state censorship, would have been unlikely to conjure up a coherent proslavery ideology that mobilized wide

³ On Haitian exceptionalism, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, “The Odd and the Ordinary: Haiti, the Caribbean, and the World,” *Cimarrón: New Perspectives on the Caribbean* 2, no. 3 (1990): 3-12; Alessandra Benedicty-Kokken, Kaiama L. Glover, Mark Schuller, and Jhon Picard Byron, eds., *The Haiti Exception: Anthropology and the Predicament of Narrative* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016); Elizabeth Maddock Dillon and Michael Drexler, eds., *The Haitian Revolution and the Early United States: Histories, Textualities, Geographies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 1-16.

⁴ On the significance of ancient slavery to the construction of a colonial/Creole planter class, see David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 23-32, 111-116; Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 12; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholder's Worldview* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). On the difference between current emancipatory expectations and the past struggles for freedom in slaveholding societies, see Gerard Aching, *Freedom from Liberation: Slavery, Sentiment, and Literature in Cuba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

⁵ Aristotle, *A Treatise on Government*, trans. William Ellis (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1888), 16-24. On the influence of the Aristotelian notion of “natural” slavery, see Thomas Wiedemann, *Greek & Roman Slavery* (London: Routledge, 1981), 1-12; Peter Garnsey, *Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3, 33-34, 41, 54-56, 62, 179.

groups of an educated elite to support or at least indulge in the barbarity of modern plantation slavery.⁶

The printing press enabled even the remote planters of Saint Domingue to participate in the Enlightenment project by identifying themselves as admirers and emulators of the classical Greeks and Romans. A far cry from the classically-trained elites in Western Europe, the plantocrats of Saint Domingue nevertheless saw great utility in receiving and promoting the cultural heritage of Rome as both an assertion of their own belonging to the vaunted—if distant—civilized circles of Europe, and as a means of strengthening their power over the masses of Africans they enslaved. The popular outlet for French colonists to imagine themselves as the heirs of ancient Rome was the colonial newspaper *Les Affiches Américaines*, in publication from 1766 to the outbreak of the Haitian Revolution. From its first to its last year in print, *Les Affiches Américaines* invented a Roman past that made the violence necessary for the sustainment of the brutal colonial regime seem like a tribute to western civilization. “African faith and infidelity were, in the judgment of the Romans, two synonymous words,” the newspaper claimed in 1766. “The proceedings of modern Africans,” it concluded, “give the same idea as that of their ancestors.”⁷

In this piece and others, the newspaper depicted Africans as racially inferior Others whose loyalty to their white owners was always wavering. Living up to its reputation as the organ of the insular slaveocracy, *Les Affiches Américaines* maintained a section on “Fugitive Slaves,” which frequently announced the escapes of an Alexander, Ulysses, Hercules, or Bacchus—not the Greek and Roman figures whom enslavers were seeking to emulate, but African slaves bearing a mark upon their skin in accordance with the black code policing their everyday experiences of enslavement on the island.⁸ The naming of slaves after ancient Greeks and Romans was both an articulation of the collective identity of a patrician master class and a humiliating practice which imposed a new and derogatory name upon African captives as a marker of their subordination. By owning a Cato, Pompey, or Caesar, colonial planters turned the names of Roman consuls into another marker of their control over ancient meaning in the modern world of plantation work and global markets. They applied the same “classicizing” trick

⁶ On the press in the French Revolutionary period, see Jeremy D. Popkin, *Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789-1799* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990); Robert Darnton, “An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris,” *American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (2000): 1–35.

⁷ *Les Affiches Américaines*, July 16, 1766.

⁸ *Les Affiches Américaines*, August 7, 1784. See Jonas Ross Kjærgård, “What Are Robespierre and Télémaque Doing in Saint-Domingue? Humanness, Revolutionary Legitimacy, and Political Order in Charles Pigault-Lebrun’s *Le blanc et le noir* (1795),” *Orbis Litterarum* 73, no. 2 (2018): 186–212.

to erase places of refuge for Creole speakers and replace them with references to Roman antiquity, “thereby,” in the words of the leading planter intellectual of the Enlightenment, “procur[ing] a new conquest for the Romans over the Africans.”⁹

From its inception, *Les Affiches Américaines* acted as the mouthpiece of the colonial planters, but the newspaper became even more invested in Roman reception with the conclusion of the American Revolution and the passing of several new laws in 1784, which opened French colonial ports to foreign trade while also seeking to hem in the worst excesses of colonial slavery.¹⁰ In response to these changing circumstances, *Les Affiches Américaines* launched a new series with a lengthy editorial which reinforced its investment in Roman reception.

In a programmatic statement immediately following the stories of Alexander, Ulysses, Hercules, and Bacchus, the editors explained the utility of appraising their readers of novel developments by drawing on the history of past civilizations. “Each nation,” the editors opined, “has its distinct character: one seems to have been created and endowed by nature rather to be an agriculturalist than a merchant.” The Phoenicians and Carthaginians had let commerce flourish while the Romans had disdained this occupation. Pisa, Genoa, and Venice had been the predominant mercantile nations before England and Holland rose to dominate global commerce. “[N]owadays,” the newspaper concluded, “all the nations share [worldwide commerce] with them; the Powers even, whose position on the globe would seem to dissuade from these views, want to play a role on this brilliant scene.” In particular, the newspaper editors were interested in attracting foreign consuls to Saint Domingue, a novelty in a period when such agents were expressly prohibited from entering foreign colonial jurisdictions.¹¹ And yet, by linking the ancient and the precociously modern—Cato’s Rome with Bourbon

⁹ This is how the proslavery ideologue, Médéric Louis Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry, described the naming of a Saint Domingue bay, first as a place of refuge for runaway slaves who had called it “Couri-don” (“Run, then!”), and which was later, as Moreau de Saint-Méry observed, ingeniously renamed “Corydon” in homage to a classical pastoral character popularized by Virgil. Regardless of whether the story Moreau de Saint-Méry recounted was correct, his simple narrative suggests that his audience would have had no difficulty believing it; and his use of the phrase “new conquest” suggests that such a “classicizing” trick was likely not uncommon. See [Médéric Louis Elie] Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie française de l’isle Saint-Domingue...*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: [M. L. E. Moreau de Saint-Méry], 1797-1798), 2: 84.

¹⁰ See Jeremy D. Popkin, *A New World Begins: The History of the French Revolution* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 73.

¹¹ *Les Affiches Américaines*, August 7, 1784. See Simeon A. Simeonov, “The consular Caribbean: consuls as agents of colonialism and decolonisation in the revolutionary Caribbean (1795-1848),” in *Memory, Migration and (De)Colonisation in the Caribbean and Beyond*, eds. Jack Webb, Roderick Westmaas, Maria del Pilar Kaladeen, and William Tantam (London: University of London Press, 2020), 117-132.

Saint Domingue—planters expressed how important the claim to classical antiquity was to justifying their slaveholding regime and diminishing their spatial and temporal distance from the metropole. Their wish of attracting foreign consuls, strangely enough, would not be realized under the Bourbon monarchy, but instead under the rule of a formerly enslaved republican leader by the name of Toussaint Louverture.¹²

This kind of selective and distorted proslavery “emulation” of the ancient Romans was not the only way in which French elites, the self-professed carriers of the Enlightenment, thought about classical antiquity. To individuals like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Denis Diderot, and Count de Montesquieu, to name but few of the leading Enlightenment philosophes, ancient Rome was the main reference point in arguments about republicanism, the freest of all forms of government.¹³ Slavery was a common concept that these authors used in their formulation of the virtues of Roman republicanism, a political structure of popular resistance against tyrannical government that had originated among parts of the Roman elite, the patricians.¹⁴ And yet, for all their plentiful references to slavery, none of the leading philosophes made an integrated argument about how these insights from the ancient Roman republic applied to the conditions of black enslavement in the French colonies.¹⁵ This was a curious disjuncture, for the leading French philosophers of the time expressed their critical opinions of colonial slavery, even under the threat of censorship and persecution.¹⁶ If Rome was such an exemplar of a free republican constitutional order, then what were the consequences of Roman reception (and emulation) for the French Antilles? And why did the philosophes, interested in both Roman reception and colonial slavery, not devise an intersectional analysis? The answer which most scholars have suggested thus far—racism—only partially accounts for this peculiar omission, for the racist

¹² See Ronald Angelo Johnson, *Diplomacy in Black and White: John Adams, Toussaint Louverture, and Their Atlantic World Alliance* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014).

¹³ Judith Shklar, “Rousseau and the Republican Project,” *French Politics and Society* 7, no. 2 (Spring 1989): 42-49; Richard Myers, “Montesquieu on the Causes of Roman Greatness,” *History of Political Thought* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 37-47; Keith Michael Baker, “Transformations of Classical Republicanism in Eighteenth-Century France,” *Journal of Modern History* 73, no. 1 (March 2001): 32-53; Ana J. Samuel, “The Design of Montesquieu’s *The Spirit of the Laws*: The Triumph of Freedom over Determinism,” *American Political Science Review* 103, no. 2 (May 2009): 305-321, esp. 313.

¹⁴ Claudine Hunting, “The Philosophes and Black Slavery: 1748-1765,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 39, no. 3 (1978): 405-418.

¹⁵ Andreas Eckert, “Aufklärung, Sklaverei und Abolition,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 23 (2010): 243-262.

¹⁶ Hunting, “Philosophes and Black Slavery,” 405-418.

attitudes of leading philosophes did little to contain the anti-slave-trade agenda of the *Encyclopédie* or similar outlets of French Enlightenment thought.¹⁷

It was this dearth of critical engagement with the implications (and applications) of Roman republicanism in the colonies on the part of the philosophes that accorded abundant discursive space for the surge of white planter reception in the late eighteenth century.¹⁸ However, even at the peak of its power, planter reception was far from hegemonic. Metropolitan Frenchmen in particular rarely conceived of the plantation—or the colonies generally—as the most common denominator between the Roman republic and French civilization. In his influential *Considérations sur l'état présent de la colonie française de Saint-Domingue* (1776), for example, Michel René Hilliard d'Auberteuil, a French-born lawyer who spent extensive time in Saint Domingue, implored his readers to “compare the Filibusterers [who founded Saint Domingue] to the small number of brigands who founded the famous Roman Empire; the first were guided by the furies of rapacity, and the latter by the desire to create a homeland.”¹⁹ This difference was further accentuated by the political organization of ancient Rome and colonial Saint Domingue: while the Romans had instituted a chief, the filibusterers had not had one. “One [could] push this parallel further,” Hilliard d'Auberteuil continued, for “the Romans had a single cause, while each of the Filibusterers saw in the universe only his particular interest.” Somewhat optimistically, he claimed that, undoubtedly, “once they had been better informed and convinced, that they [could] not find their personal advantage elsewhere than in the general interest of the society to which they [were] attached, [the filibusterers] would make very great progress in America.”²⁰

Such generally hostile attitudes toward Saint Domingue colonists suffused metropolitan French deployments of classical reception, even if those deployments did not explicitly engage with the type of reception practiced by colonial planters. The topic of slavery was (perhaps surprisingly) absent from some of the most influential eighteenth-century parallels between Saint Domingue and ancient Rome published in Europe, including the prominent account of Alexandre

¹⁷ Pace Eckert, “Aufklärung, Sklaverei und Abolition.” On this point, see Hunting, “Philosophes and Black Slavery.”

¹⁸ Though this article mostly focuses on France and Saint Domingue, the strong influence of the French Enlightenment in Britain and the United States also conditioned the development of planter reception in the Anglophone Atlantic world. See Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *Mind of the Master Class*; White, *Encountering Revolution*.

¹⁹ [Michel René Hilliard d'Auberteuil], *Considérations sur l'état présent de la colonie française de Saint-Domingue...* (Paris: Grangé, 1776), 27. On d'Auberteuil's political views, see Gene E. Ogle, “‘The Eternal Power of Reason’ and ‘The Superiority of Whites’: Hilliard d'Auberteuil's Colonial Enlightenment,” *French Colonial History* 3 (2003): 35-50.

²⁰ Hilliard d'Auberteuil, *Considérations sur l'état présent*, 27.

Stanislas (Baron) de Wimpffen.²¹ Nevertheless, the popularity of these classical receptionist tropes manifests that eighteenth-century authors came to regard such a parallel as not merely peripheral or illustrative, but as integral to their interpretation of Saint Domingue colonization. Over the eighteenth century, it was not only possible but quite common for French authors to imagine Saint Domingue colonists as latter-day Roman founders, and to do so without any explicit reference to slavery. This reveals that Haiti's relationship to ancient Rome was complex and varied even before the Revolution—and that planter proslavery hegemony was deeply contested throughout the colonial period.

If many Frenchmen were therefore either uninterested in or uncomfortable with confronting the racialization of ancient Roman history in service of the plantation economy, others adopted the racialized politics of planter reception to subvert this very economy. The most famous among the pre-revolutionary French antislavery receptionists was Abbé Raynal, the celebrated author of the highly influential *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (1770), who turned to ancient authors as a source of inspiration for his antislavery rhetoric. For this author of immense erudition in the classics, what seemed “unimaginable” to most of his contemporaries—a successful slave uprising—was utterly predictable if one cast a discerning look at Roman history, particularly the first century BC, when imperial conquest, mass enslavement, and aristocratic consolidation of power led to the uprising commanded by the Thracian slave Spartacus.²²

In Raynal's rendition, the excesses of the self-aggrandizing, and self-Romanizing, white colonial elites would end at the hands of a Black Spartacus. “[A]nd the negroes only want a chief, sufficiently courageous, to lead them to vengeance and slaughter. Where is this great man to be found, whom nature, perhaps, owes to the honour of the human species? Where is this new Spartacus, who will not find a Crassus? Then will the *black code* be no more; and the *white code* will be dreadful, if the conqueror only regards the right of reprisals.”²³ While scholars have admired Raynal's premonition for its censure of the colonial planters, they

²¹ See Baron de Wimpffen, *Voyage a Saint-Domingue pendant les années 1788, 1789 et 1790*, 2 vols. (Paris: Cocheris, 1797), 1: 108. Wimpffen's account of Haiti strikingly resembled Hilliard d'Auberteuil's, but its direct source was another eighteenth-century text, Robert Challe, *Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales*, 3 vols. (Rouen: Jean Batiste Machuel le Jeune, 1721), esp. 3: 371.

²² The authorship of the *Histoire philosophique et politique*... is contested. Michèle Duchet, *Diderot et l'Histoire des deux Indes ou L'écriture fragmentaire* (Paris: Nizet, 1978) has suggested that Denis Diderot might have been the author of these passages. See also Pierrot, *Black Avenger*, Ch. 3.

²³ Abbé Raynal, *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, trans. John Justamond, 5 vols., 2nd ed. (London: T. Cadell, 1776), 3: 173. See Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*.

have not fully probed into the wider context of classical reception in the racialized setting of eighteenth-century Saint Domingue.²⁴ How, if not through this reference to the ancient Thracian, could Raynal have more effectively captured the modern western imagination in opposition to slavery? If Spartacus had made the end of slavery imaginable to ancient Romans, how “unimaginable” could a successful slave uprising be to the much weaker French colonial regime?²⁵ Raynal’s imagery captivated both Toussaint Louverture and Napoleon Bonaparte, though what conclusions each of them derived from his *History of the Two Indies* is open to interpretation.

What is less open to interpretation, however, is that the Haitian Revolution catalyzed an antislavery tradition that had been reinvigorated, paradoxically, by the same inquisitive spirit of the Enlightenment that led planters to seek to apply Cato the Elder, Cicero, and Varro to the modern plantation machine. Reading the classical authors with fresh eyes, Enlightened literati could not help but think: where was the naturalness of racial discrimination actually grounded, historically, intellectually, or ideologically? Where were the Biblical justifications for *black* slavery, or the Aristotelian justifications of *black* inferiority that would have helped drafters of black codes legitimize their projects as products of “western civilization?”

An even more pernicious thought might appear from some of those inquisitive explorations of the classical authors: if slavery was as natural as skin color, then wasn’t the most natural consequence of this that white people should be slaves too?²⁶ But if there was nothing more unnatural than racializing Aristotle, then slaveholders—and scholars—misjudged the type of hegemony that their proslavery reception of antiquity had actually set in place. Planter reception, though representing itself as a monolithic entity, was rife with contradictions that

²⁴ See, for example, Pierrot, *Black Avenger*, Ch. 2, 3.

²⁵ For a similar critique, see Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*. In the passage just preceding these oft-quoted remarks, Raynal pointed to two examples of successful maroon uprisings in the Caribbean.

²⁶ As I suggest later, similar questions germinated with some consistency in black thinkers’ work of reception in the wake of the Haitian Revolution. However, due to the imperative of persuading a white audience uncomfortable with cross-racial parallels vis-à-vis slavery, black literati were greatly disincentivized to pursue such themes. Nevertheless, this early nineteenth-century work of reception made it possible for later critics of slavery to openly state that black resistance against slavery would also further white emancipation. For example, an article in the *Gazeta Oficial* 19:1161 (Bogotá, October 13, 1850), entitled “On the African race and its descendants,” emphasized the significance of Africa and its people to the creation of European civilization from the rise of Egypt through the emergence of the Atlantic slave trade, asking: “Who can be sure that the situation of the Africans today will not be that of the Caucasian race tomorrow?”

became all too apparent in an age marked by the primacy of rational inquiry and empirical evidence.

It is important in this regard to stress that the Haitian Revolution brought a certain liberation of western thought in its treatment of antiquity. During the heated discussions surrounding the Saint Domingue uprising (as it was called in the metropole), the deputies in the newly constituted French republican bodies invoked the legacy of Rome consistently as they articulated diverging opinions on republicanism, slavery, and citizenship. One of the most lucid representations came from a delegate from Saint Domingue, Claude Pierre Joseph Leborgne de Boigne, who addressed the other members of the Council of Five Hundred on October 18, 1797, regarding the situation of the colony. As one of the closest allies of the emancipating commissioners Léger-Félicité Sonthonax and Etienne Polverel, Leborgne found himself under attack by Saint Domingue émigré planters for alleged crimes of assassination and embezzlement.²⁷

Despite abolitionists' best efforts, the energetic and resourceful anti-abolitionist rhetoric of French émigrés—"traitors, partisans of the throne, men profoundly hypocritical and fierce"—in Leborgne's words, made it difficult to "dissipate the alarms and concerns" that metropolitan citizens had conceived about the "imperishable" liberty of Saint Domingue.²⁸ Accordingly, Leborgne began his address to a Council recovering from a coup orchestrated by a group of anti-abolitionist, crypto-monarchist Clichyens with strong allusions to classical antiquity. This was an advantageous strategy that struck at one of the core legitimating elements of the leading Clichyens—Louis Thomas Villaret-Joyeuse, Vincent-Marie Viénot de Vaublanc, and François Louis Bourdon—who had conspired to overthrow the Directory. Leborgne described the leading Clichyens as a "colonial triumvirate" whose goal was "to reproduce with certainty the ancient system of slavery" in Saint Domingue.²⁹ Though the Club Clichy encompassed much wider support than Leborgne's polemical foes, his allusion to a "triumvirate" amply demonstrated the extent to which ancient Rome conditioned public debate in the nascent French Republic, where imagined and actual triumvirates succeeded each other in a dizzying progression—until the most powerful member of one such body ultimately became emperor and put an end to the revolutionary process itself.

Unless opposed by the abolitionist remnants of the Jacobins, Leborgne cautioned, the reactionary policy of the "colonial triumvirate" seemed poised to

²⁷ Gabriel Jean-Baptiste Larchevesque-Thibaud et. al., *Les calommateurs: Leborgne, Polverel, Sonthonax [sic] et complices, appelés au Tribunal révolutionnaire* (Paris: Laurens, 1794).

²⁸ Claude Pierre Joseph Leborgne de Boigne, *Compte rendu par Leborgne, sur la situation actuelle de la colonie de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1797), 2.

²⁹ Leborgne, *Compte rendu*, 4.

destroy all that the Revolution stood for. Reminding his audience of a landmark achievement of the Constitution of the Year III, Leborgne stressed that by “dividing the territory of the colonies according to the Constitution,” the Jacobins had “given it the republican form, erasing from that soil all traces of slavery.”³⁰ Praising the election of the first representative of African descent, Jean-Baptiste Belley, to a modern European legislature, Leborgne highlighted the universality of the revolutionary legacy in the language of ancient republicanism:

You have not regarded as a proscription for the title of French citizen, the color which nature has given to one of the two greatest families of mankind. And when a member of African color was admitted to your bosom, this day marked your glory and the triumph of humanity. Did Rome, which you have surpassed in greatness, treat with different respect the citizens of Africa and the citizens of Rome? Has Africa not had her legislators, heroes, and conquerors? Does not Spain owe the dawn of the greatness from which she fell so much, to the Africans who entered her? Was Africa not the cradle of the arts and sciences? Is it not in Africa that the ashes of Cato repose?³¹

³⁰ Leborgne, *Compte rendu*, 5.

³¹ Leborgne, *Compte rendu*, 5. Leborgne referred to Jean-Baptiste Belley, the first representative of African descent in a modern European legislature.



Figure I. Jean-Baptiste Belley, 1746—1805, by Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson (1798).
 Courtesy of the Musée de Château Versailles (N° d'inventaire MV 4616).

Reclaiming the esteemed place of Africa and Africans in Europe's republican heritage was an important component of Leborgne's attempt to reestablish the place of the Jacobins (and their abolitionist organization, the *Society of the Friends of the Blacks*) in the history of the French Revolution.

Far from being singular occurrences, such contestations of ancient Rome filled the discussions of French legislative bodies in the 1790s. Jean-Baptiste Belley, in whose recognition and defense Leborgne referred to the importance of Africa and Africans in the making of Europe's primordial republic, actively contributed to such contestations in his activism as a Saint Domingue deputy at the National Convention and the Council of Five Hundred. In response to Belley's impassioned republican critique of the proslavery Club Massiac, the chief white planter lobby in France, a white planter of the Île-de-France (Mauritius) by the name of Benoît Gouly objected to the frequent invocations of ancient Rome, especially in the case of a common analogy depicting the clash between France

and England as a repetition of the Punic Wars. “The difference of the times, places, and customs rarely permits that the politics of the ancient age enlightens that of the modern centuries,” opined Gouly, an opponent to both antislavery activists and the Club Massiac. To this colonial planter-turned-republican deputy, the representatives’ obsession with ancient Rome blinded them to a very practical modern solution to the colonial crisis.³²

If they wished to avert a complete catastrophe in the colonies, Gouly believed, French representatives needed to think in modern, rational terms, and give free people of color full equality while merely ameliorating the condition of the enslaved population. Gouly’s defensiveness against Belley’s use of classical history demonstrates that already by late 1794, planter reception was no longer the sole rhetorical bulwark of the white planter lobby. The contestations by free men of color in the French capital had by then transformed classical reception, hitherto a major source of legitimacy for colonial slavery, into a militant source of radical republican activism.³³ Gouly’s insistence on the antiquated character of Rome highlighted his message that, at least when it came to the colonies, France should eschew its republican ideals and pursue a modern policy that cynically promoted the rationale of exchanging the recognition of free blacks’ citizenship for the perpetuation of colonial slavery.³⁴

References to the exemplar of ancient Rome as an inspirational, universal republic worthy of emulation were not confined to the metropole alone. The Haitian Revolution provided the space for Haitians of all colors to locate Africans within the European and Atlantic tradition of classical republicanism. Haitian works of Roman reception abounded in all conceivable genres, yet perhaps the most illustrative among them in terms of their broad public appeal and explicit references to classical Rome are examples from the performative and literary arts.³⁵

Like its flourishing French counterpart, Haitian theater provided a platform for articulating a new national culture apart from the pamphlets, novels,

³² See Benoît Gouly, *Vues générales: sur l'importance du commerce des colonies...* (Paris: Rubat, 1795), 81.

³³ For more examples of internal disagreements among planters vis-à-vis Roman reception in this period, see Antoine Dalmas, *Histoire de la révolution de Saint-Domingue, depuis le commencement des troubles...* (Paris: Mame frères, 1814), 134 (alluding to discussions in the early stage of the revolution of whether to adopt the Roman practice of dictatorship and suspend the colonial assembly by concentrating powers in the hands of a single magistrate in a time of crisis).

³⁴ See Gouly, *Vues générales*, 81.

³⁵ See Pierrot, *Black Avenger*, Ch. 3.

newspaper articles, and treatises of the Francophone revolutionary tradition.³⁶ No sooner had Haitians cast off the French yoke than they began expressing what this new republican theater looked like.³⁷ It was, unsurprisingly, a theater full of allusions to classical antiquity, much like the contemporary theater in Paris and other French cities transformed by the doctrines of civic republicanism. In Saint Domingue, performances of plays such as Voltaire's *La mort de César*, a popular drama in the metropole, also attracted Haitian spectators with their emphasis on republican virtue and looming tyrannical power.³⁸ With one important—though somehow, unnoticed and underappreciated—exception: a Black Spartacus was now, and perhaps for the first time in history, rising up to face a Black Caesar.

This was no mean feat, and to read the Black Spartacus and Black Caesar who, in theatrical fulfillment of Raynal's prophecy, literally stepped onto the Haitian stage, as mere emanations of the mulatto elite's desire to be white is to reduce the complexity of Haitian revolutionary dynamics.³⁹ These performances manifested that one did not need to cast away European antiquity altogether to prove one's emancipation from it; nor was there a logical necessity—perceived or implicit—to enact Enlightened expectations in order to deny their veracity. Instead, there *was* a logical link—both perceived and implicit—in the necessity to enact Enlightened expectations in order to subvert or vindicate them; a goal that seemed both more worthy of pursuing and within the grasp of the Haitian revolutionaries.

This much can be gleaned from the Haitian theatrical repertoire at the turn of the nineteenth century. What made plays like Voltaire's *Death of Caesar* popular among both the Haitian elite and the broader populace were their abundant references to the incompatibility between slavery and republicanism.⁴⁰ So plentiful were such allusions in Voltaire's play that one could almost assume it was written

³⁶ See Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti...* (London: Albion Press, 1805), 222-223; David Geggus, ed., *The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2014), 156.

³⁷ Classical reception was also important in the composition of Jean-Jacques Dessalines's short-lived imperial regime, which consolidated in the wake of Toussaint Louverture's capture. See Stieber, *Haiti's Paper War*.

³⁸ See Geggus, *Haitian Revolution*, XV-XVI, 39.

³⁹ For a similar trend, see Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed*, 201-213. For a summary of the argument that the new Haitian state became a hostage to a mulatto elite that distanced itself from the black peasantry, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Haiti, State Against Nation: The Origins and Legacy of Duvalierism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1990). See also Jean Casimir, *The Haitians: A Decolonial History*, trans. Laurent Dubois (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

⁴⁰ On the popularity of Voltaire's *Death of Caesar*, see Jean Fouchard, *Le théâtre a Saint-Domingue* (Port-au-Prince: Henri Deschamps, 1988), 292. See also Pierrot, *Black Avenger*, Ch. 3.

more with nineteenth-century Haitians than with eighteenth-century Parisians in mind, a testament not only to Voltaire's use of classical republicanism but also to the growing significance of slavery in late-eighteenth-century French political life. What made Voltaire unpalatable to Saint Domingue planters was precisely what increased his appeal among those who resisted white plantocrats' power—both in France and Saint Domingue. And what made him dangerous to the Saint Domingue plantocrats was precisely his ability to mobilize the kind of ancient republican imagery—a main staple in the European Enlightenment repertoire—against those who invoked the power of Roman tradition to justify slavery.⁴¹

With its powerful evocations of slavery as the antithesis of liberty, the vaunted ideal of the French Enlightenment, Voltaire's *Death of Caesar* became a favorite of the Haitian audience at a time when it was freeing itself from the chains of subordination to the metropole.⁴² The beginning of the play, featuring Mark Anthony's address to Caesar, introduced the complex tension of a republican public pitted against tyrannical power:

Caesar, you are going to reign; behold the august day
 In which the Roman people, always unjust to you,
 Changed by your virtues, is going to meet in you
 Its conqueror, its support, its avenger, and its king.⁴³

This play resonated strongly with Haitian audiences throughout the early nineteenth century, and its meaning likely shifted dramatically within the five years marking the end of the revolution, from 1800, when Haitians received news of Bonaparte's Consulate, through 1801-1802, when Louverture issued a new Constitution and was captured by the Napoleonic forces, to 1803, when Dessalines rose to claim Louverture's heritage.⁴⁴

Who was Caesar amid these revolutionary tribulations? And equally important, who were Cassius, Brutus, and Anthony? The key to answering these questions lies in Voltaire's depiction of the central figure in the Roman republican drama, the figure of Caesar, the archetype of a leadership style that continued to fascinate Francophone audiences amidst revolutionary transformations. Voltaire depicted Caesar as a divisive and vengeful figure, an embattled republican who wished to vindicate himself by telling his confidante Mark Anthony: "If you

⁴¹ See Dubois and Camier, "Voltaire et Zaïre," 39-69; Pierrot, *Black Avenger*, Ch. 3.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Voltaire, *Death of Caesar*, Act I.

⁴⁴ On the play's continuous popularity in Haiti, see Jean Fouchard, *Théâtre a Saint-Domingue*, 292.

don't know how to conquer, learn to serve."⁴⁵ This Caesarian polarity of conquest and servitude made Voltaire's script especially relevant to Saint Domingue spectators, who witnessed a dizzying array of wars of conquest from 1790 through 1805—against local contenders, British, Spanish, and French invaders, as well as the neighboring colony of Santo Domingo. Given the popularity of Caesar's image in both France and Saint Domingue, it is likely that the parallel that revolutionary Frenchmen often made between Louverture and Bonaparte stemmed not only from the qualities they shared, but also from both leaders' infatuation with Caesar as an embodiment of militant republicanism at the dawn of the Consulate.⁴⁶

Once the Haitian revolutionary wars were at a seeming end in 1804, however, the conquering ethos marshaled in defense of republican liberty seemed not only no longer exigent, but in fact damaging to the republic—a message that Louverture's successors were eager to disseminate among the people. In Voltaire's play, this difficult transition was embodied by Cassius and Brutus, who emerged as the true, if tragic, protectors of republican liberty, evidenced by Brutus's reply to Anthony:

I know all your plans, you are burning to be a slave,
You are a Roman and yet you want a monarch!⁴⁷

Such allusions to Roman liberty increased the play's appeal to a Haitian populace grappling with the capture of Toussaint Louverture and facing the threat of a new dictatorial figure that might take away its hard-earned liberty.⁴⁸ That there was no shortage of such figures in early national Haiti is a testament to both the universality of the republic-turned-monarchy (and vice-versa) script, and to Haitian politicians' ability to make use of Voltaire to reenact different versions of the play—both on and off stage—in the aftermath of independence.

⁴⁵ Voltaire, *Death of Caesar*, Act I.

⁴⁶ See Hazareesingh, *Black Spartacus*, Ch. 3, 12.

⁴⁷ Voltaire, *Death of Caesar*, Act II.

⁴⁸ On the classical reception of Toussaint Louverture, see Lydia Langerwerf, "Universal Slave Revolts: C. L. R. James's use of Classical Literature in *The Black Jacobins*," in *Ancient Slavery and Abolition: From Hobbes to Hollywood*, eds. Richard Alston, Edith Hall, and Justine McConnell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 353-385. On the classical reception of his adversary, see June K. Burton, *Napoleon and Clio: Historical Writing, Teaching and Thinking During the First Empire* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1979); Jean Tulard, "Les empires napoléoniens," in *Les empires occidentaux, de Rome à Berlin*, ed. Jean Tulard (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997), 363-382; Valérie Huet, "Napoleon I: a new Augustus?" in *Roman Presences: Receptions of Rome in European Culture, 1789-1945*, ed. Catharine Edwards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 53-69; Philip G. Dwyer, "Napoleon and the Foundation of the Empire," *Historical Journal* 53, no. 2 (2010): 339-358.

Nonetheless, in the multiple available registers to express this ongoing common struggle for liberty, it is hardly surprising and quite consequential that classical reception provided the common denominator for enacting Haitian liberty on stage. Even though multiple cultural traditions were now available to the Haitian people, it is evident that large parts of the new nation imagined and reconstructed themselves in the universalist image of classical antiquity—or rather reconstituted the image of classical antiquity through the Haitian nation, as the now-closest extant embodiment of the ideals of this tradition.

None of this is to say that all Haitians were willing and enthusiastic actors and/or spectators in the spectacle of Roman reception. Haitians were not “pro-Roman,” and they needn’t be, to recognize that the Roman classical tradition contained vast emancipatory resources that were in no way outweighed by the proslavery resources mobilized by the former colonial planters. A significant part of Haitians’ struggle for freedom and autonomy consisted in dismantling the proslavery repertoire of planter reception. In this endeavor, Haitians found abundant support from white abolitionists who were equally familiar with the work and significance of classical reception.⁴⁹

Though obscured by other revolutionary changes, these struggles over classical reception in fact helped de-racialize Roman history and insert people of

⁴⁹ One of the most remarkable examples of this usage of classical republican imagery by white abolitionists appeared in an article in the prominent *Niles’ Weekly Register* (September 27, 1823): 50-53, which was later reprinted in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, 3:7 (November 1823): 76. Simply entitled “Hayti,” this antislavery article cast a parallel between the Jamaican maroons and Haitians, claiming that the first had fallen victim to white treachery and barbarism (e.g., planters’ use of bloodhounds to chase runaways), while the latter, led by “a full proportion of orators and statesmen,” had exhibited “uncommon displays of wisdom and energy.” The newspaper sarcastically castigated white colonists for their barbarous treatment of the Jamaican maroons, stressing: “It is *might* that gives ‘legitimacy’ to conquest. Alexander, ‘the deliverer,’ has his white slaves, and why might not Cudjoe [the leader of the maroons] have white ones or black ones if he *could*—the Maroons being the *nobility* of Jamaica? ‘Corinthian pillars’ of its society? The ‘prop and stay of the throne?’” The rhetorical use of ancient republican imagery enabled the author of the article to highlight one of his main messages: In contrast to Jamaica, Haitian liberty seemed inviolable. The newspaper praised Haitians’ martial and agricultural ethos in a direct (and highly favorable) comparison with the descendants of the ancient Romans. “A spirit of inquiry was imposed by a sense of preservation, and despised negroes have become men and women, who, unless for the reason of their colour, would not be any where rejected on account of their manners (...) The fact is, that persons and property are more safe in Hayti than in many nations of white people. The classic ground of Italy is infested by bands of ferocious robbers, or over-run with swarms of beggars and petty thieves. Hayti has but few of either of these. There is more of either class in the *city* of Naples than in this republic of blacks—more, perhaps, even in the ‘eternal city,’ Rome (...)” In these anti-slavery outlets, Haitians were directly likened to the ancient Romans, an analogy that germinated in the context of early independent Haiti before it became commonplace among white abolitionists.

African descent into the story of European freedom, a universalist insertion that formed a crucial component of the Enlightenment project. Haitians' active mobilization of the classical tradition stressed that the best, most reliable ancient epitomes of Roman history inevitably represented freedom as the telos of Roman civilization. In this way, too, Haitians were reading Roman history much more carefully and intelligently than those who marginalized or minimized Africans' role in its making. In the course of only a few decades, Haitians helped emancipate ancient history from the exclusive, racialized conceits of enslavers and instead reimagined themselves as participants in an inclusive transatlantic antiquity.

Haitians' engagement with classical reception was neither a purely abstract struggle over concepts nor a mere reaction to the hegemonic power of the plantocrats. The consequences of this realization are twofold. First, as various scholars have noted, the classical reception practiced by Haitian elites exhibited properties of hegemonic discourse, including the racial dynamics of nation-making. Second, like any hegemonic discourse (including racism and liberalism), reception could—and did—accommodate counter-, anti-, and trans-hegemonic influences. The reification of classical reception during the Haitian Revolution opened new possibilities for critical inquiry against or beyond the persistent mode of planter reception. One vivid example of how revolutionary Franco-phone voices shifted the very terms of classical reception was antiquation, which here meant the negation of the significance of all things Roman to the Haitian Revolutionary process. Benoît Gouly, the Mauritian planter in the French republican legislature, offered just one instantiation of this style of antiquation, but many more emerged in the subsequent decades, as Haitians tried to square their revolutionary heritage with that of Roman republicanism.

Regardless of the varied political uses of antiquation, what all of its practitioners shared was a heightened sense of how this practice of “forgetting,” or distancing oneself from Rome, complicated the apparent hegemony of planter reception. If the kind of classical reception practiced by Saint Domingue planters and French philosophes occurred in the conscious and deliberate embrace of classical antiquity as conceptually useful, then antiquation entailed the strategies and arguments of deliberately diminishing the applicability of classical antiquity to the problems of “modernity.” No less than reception, antiquation was a profoundly political, and politicizable, project, and as such, illuminating it can help us shed more light on how Haitians and their contemporaries made the politics of antiquation do ideological work in the nineteenth-century Atlantic world.

Like classical reception, antiquation was a practice deployed by both colonial planters such as Benoît Gouly and by Haitian literati who engaged with the practice not only because it was strategically expedient, but also because it helped them establish their credentials—and those of Haiti itself—as agents of the Enlightenment. If much of the Enlightenment project revolved around the mastery

of classical antiquity, then a forceful exclusion from this project, or the minimization of the project itself, was a sure way to exclude someone from participation in rational public discourse. No wonder that once national deputies, black and white, began to challenge the consistency of planter reception, planters responded by arguing that as “moderns,” Frenchmen needed to cast aside any references to the obsolete Roman republic. It is against this politicized practice of “forgetting” antiquity, or most particularly, of erasing Africans’ role in its making, with all pernicious consequences stemming therefrom, that a number of Haitian literati set themselves to work in the wake of the Haitian Revolution.

Perhaps the most prominent among these Haitian thinkers was Jean Louis Baron de Vastey, a participant in the Haitian Revolution and notable public figure in the post-revolutionary Kingdom of Haiti ruled by Henry Christophe. Challenging the lingering power of planter reception, de Vastey invoked Roman republicanism in his defense of Haitian sovereignty, claiming that Haitians were particularly Roman-like in their predisposition toward an ethos of militaristic agriculturalism. “The people of Hayti are not yet a nation of manufacturers, though industrious and commercial,” he wrote in 1818. “In imitation of the old Romans,” he continued, “we pass from the sword to the plough, and from the plough to the sword. We are merely soldiers and cultivators of the soil.”⁵⁰ Hardly concerned that the state of Haiti did not embark on the seemingly only “imaginable” routes toward “modernity”—liberal democratization or agrarian autarky—de Vastey celebrated an antiquated militaristic agriculturalism as a process bearing a distinctively progressive, civilizing ethos.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Jean Louis Baron de Vastey, *Political Remarks on Some French Works and Newspapers Concerning Hayti* (London, 1818), 51.

⁵¹ On these paths as the “only possible” avenues for post-revolutionary Haiti, see Laurent Dubois, “Frederick Douglass, Anténor Firmin, and the Making of U.S.-Haitian Relations,” in *The Haitian Revolution and the Early United States*, eds. Dillon and Drexler, 98-99.



Figure II. Coin of King Henry Christophe, 1820. HENRICUS DEI GRATIA HAITI REX. Courtesy of the Bode-Museum, Berlin (Acc. No. 1892/768). CC-BY-SA.

But aware of the pitfalls of associating Haiti with Rome—both in terms of relegating the new kingdom to an antiquated, non-coeval status below that of modern European states and of identifying it as a “modern” Rome—de Vastey carefully distinguished Haitians from Romans.⁵² Strikingly, he accentuated the difference between Haiti and Rome precisely on a point that suggested the maximization of the Roman analogy—the doctrine of conquest. As a militaristic and agrarian society, was Haiti not entitled to sovereignty over its soil once it had driven out the colonial planters? Not necessarily, in de Vastey’s opinion. “The law of nations, in modern times, alike equitable and humane,” he reasoned, “respects the person and property of the vanquished.”⁵³ This could hardly be an instrumental invocation of Roman reception to defend the property of the mulatto elite—for this had already been achieved in the past decade. Instead, its purpose was to establish Haiti’s place among “all civilized nations,” a nation that played by the rules, including that of planter indemnity.

⁵² On the “denial of coevalness,” see Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 32; Walter D. Mignolo, “The Enduring Enchantment: (Or the Epistemic Privilege of Modernity and Where to Go from Here),” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (Fall 2002): 933-934.

⁵³ Vastey, *Political Remarks on Some French Works and Newspapers Concerning Hayti*, 31.

De Vastey's writings demonstrated that advocacy of international law—a legal tradition partially founded upon Roman law—did not necessarily imply justification of a racist status quo.⁵⁴ In de Vastey's opinion—widely shared by the Haitian elite—a new state needed to carefully navigate between the imperative of national sovereignty and the exigency of international recognition, a pathway more easily navigable by the early-nineteenth-century Atlantic audience than usually assumed. The seemingly unimaginable path forward led through a reconsideration of Haiti's place in the Atlantic world.⁵⁵ “We undoubtedly assent to the laws adopted by all civilized nations,” de Vastey asserted, “but in regard to the ex-colonists the question is widely different. We are an exception to the rule. There is not a similar example to be found in the annals of nations.” Claiming to possess no authority on the subject and deferring to “a more learned pen than our own,” de Vastey claimed to have no answer to this contradiction (Haitians being sovereign while owing indemnity to planters), when in fact he offered the only possible solution: Haitians were an exception to the rule because the planters had broken the laws of war against them, and lost.⁵⁶ Strikingly, he deployed an explicit element of Haitian difference to legitimize Haiti's *Sonderweg* toward a “neo-Roman” militarized agriculture, a safeguard of sovereignty and progress—but not at all costs and within a framework of international law.

To characterize de Vastey's Roman reception as either a metalanguage of race, or as a strategy to achieve the political goal of international recognition, is to foreground those components of his work that make him an integral part of what Marlene Daut has aptly called the Black Atlantic humanist tradition.⁵⁷ But his Roman reception is not fully reducible to these interpretations, for it engaged with the terms of the civilizing discourse of the planter receptionists. As such,

⁵⁴ Cf. Julia Gaffield, “The Racialization of International Law after the Haitian Revolution: The Holy See and National Sovereignty,” *American Historical Review* 125, no. 3 (2020): 841-868. On Roman law as a source of international law, see Randall Lesaffer, “Roman law and the intellectual history of international law,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Theory of International Law*, eds. Anne Orford, Florian Hoffmann, and Martin Clark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 38-58. Roman law was particularly relevant to the doctrine of “just war” referenced by de Vastey.

⁵⁵ See also Daut, *Baron de Vastey*, 23-24.

⁵⁶ De Vastey, *Political Remarks*, 31-32. See also John Campbell, “The Seminoles, the ‘Bloodhound War,’ and Abolitionism, 1796-1865,” *Journal of Southern History* 72, no. 2 (2006): 259-302; Philippe R. Girard, “French atrocities during the Haitian War of Independence,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 15, no. 2 (2013): 133-149; Sarah E. Johnson, “‘You Should Give Them Blacks to Eat’: Waging Inter-American Wars of Torture and Terror,” *American Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (March 2009): 65-92; Tyson Reeder, “Liberty with the Sword: Jamaican Maroons, Haitian Revolutionaries, and American Liberty,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 81-115.

⁵⁷ See Daut, *Baron de Vastey*.

the roots of the Roman tradition reached even further than the strategic goals he espoused, and informed his conceptualization of Haiti's evolving relationship to Africa.⁵⁸ Despite his sympathetic attitude toward Africa—he described himself as “descended from an African stock” and “sufficiently identified with the Africans”—de Vastey advanced the military conquest of Africa for the purpose of its civilization, a kind of imperialistic approach that he associated with the Roman republic.⁵⁹ “Africa (...) can be civilized only by a conquest, of which the object is civilization,” he opined, “and not in imitation of the Spaniards and Portuguese in the two Indies.”⁶⁰

But given his obligation to “identify the Africans with the Negroes; and eventually, perhaps, even to identify these with the Haytiens,” it is important to stress de Vastey's lukewarm, even hostile, attitude toward African colonization, an attitude that strikingly contrasted with his otherwise notable tendency to promote Roman reception. In de Vastey's opinion, the fact that Haitians shared the same racial identity as Africans did not necessarily translate into a programmatic policy of civilization by means of militaristic colonization.

Rather than reduce Haiti's relationship to Africa to a mere product of racial solidarity, therefore, de Vastey refracted it through Roman reception. Haitians' mastery of warfare and agriculture seemed to bestow upon them the necessary qualities for the African colonization projects that were taking place in the early nineteenth century. In this, too, de Vastey referred to the Roman experience, but not without a reflective strategy that turned the Romans into a vehicle for the ancient cultivation of Europe by African predecessors. “Perhaps the Germans, Gauls, and Britons would have been barbarians, if it had not been for the conquests of the Romans. The Romans themselves owed their civilization to the Greeks alone, and the Greeks to the Egyptians.”⁶¹ De Vastey reminded his readers that “Africa was the cradle of the arts and sciences” and offered a history of how the transfer of Egyptian agriculture had helped spark the classical tradition in Europe, arguing that two barbaric events—the Roman conquest of Carthage and the introduction of the slave trade in the wake of the Muslim conquests of North Africa—had been the decisive factors that prevented African civilizations from developing a less violent alternative to human progress.⁶²

⁵⁸ On race as a metalanguage, see Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, “African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race,” *Signs* 17, no. 2 (Winter 1992): 251-274.

⁵⁹ Jean Louis Baron de Vastey, *Reflexions on the Blacks and Whites: Remarks upon a Letter Addressed by M. Mazeres...*, trans. Anonymous (London: F. B. Wright, 1817), 32.

⁶⁰ De Vastey, *Political Remarks*, 75.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² De Vastey, *Reflexions on the Blacks and Whites*, 32-38. On ancient slavery and nineteenth-century notions of human progress, see Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, 24-32, 111-116.

De Vastey's genealogy effectively served to position African colonization as somewhat of an afterthought—he referred to it in a footnote at the very end of his *Political Remarks*. This distancing of Haiti and its people from the colonization project stemmed from de Vastey's advocacy of non-violent approaches to, and appropriations of, Roman history. For all its Roman civility, Haiti was *not* a conquering nation, and de Vastey's approach to Roman reception was especially strategic in drawing this important distinction. But the prominent place Roman reception had in some of his most influential works was not coincidental or supplementary. Two of them, *Reflexions on the Blacks and Whites* and *Political Remarks*, were polemical in nature, addressing a resurgent racist and colonialist lobby that deployed a full-fledged strategy of Roman reception to “prove” that Africa had “always [been] a land of Slaves, that this [had been] the indigenous scourge of this land of malediction.”⁶³ Refuting this selectively forgetful politics premised upon the eternity of enslavement was unthinkable without an effective discussion of historical contingency and a historical argument against the perpetuation of racial difference. Roman reception was central to these argumentative imperatives, even if reception implied strategy, distancing, and partially accepting the terms of the debate.

De Vastey was a nineteenth-century internationalist, and probably more emphatically so than most (if not all) of his white interlocutors and contemporaries—abolitionists included—who had never defended an emancipatory cause such as the Haitian Revolution.⁶⁴ As such, he was not only attempting to bridge a class and racial divide in the Haitian nation-state, or trying to strategically mobilize a modern discourse on sovereignty, nationhood, or race, with the goal of positioning himself and his nation more favorably on the international stage. Though de Vastey deployed Roman reception consciously and strategically enough, it is also the case that Roman reception performed work *on him*—very much in the way in which it imprinted itself on almost every word and action of the French revolutionaries, not at all as a fancy garment, but as a philosophical model, an ethical exemplar, a repository of rhetorical skills, a source of political morals, or an inspiration for anti-imperial critique.⁶⁵ In the absence of contemporaneous models to absorb—for had Haiti not felt deep disappointment by *all* the most vaunted carriers of the modern Enlightenment—what other place but Rome could provide a better reference point for the work of Haitian

⁶³ De Vastey, *Reflexions on the Blacks and Whites*, 38.

⁶⁴ On de Vastey as the progenitor of an international tradition of Black Atlantic humanism, see Daut, *Baron de Vastey*. Contrast de Vastey's condemnation of conquest with the otherwise remarkably similar, if somewhat later, observations of such leading white antislavery outlets as the *Niles' Weekly Register* and the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, cited above, fn. 50.

⁶⁵ *Pace* Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2019 [orig. pub.: 1955]), 205.

reconstruction so vigorously undertaken by de Vastey and his royal patron, King Henry Christophe?

It is precisely because Rome was such a “natural” (yet not trivial) ally in de Vastey’s project of fostering Haitian recognition in the Atlantic world, that Roman reception likely outstripped the intentions of his prose. If there is a certain reluctance to de Vastey’s work of reception, it stems from the prevalence of a rich proslavery tradition and the novelty of his critical approach, which could be misappropriated for opposite goals in the hostile public sphere of post-Napoleonic France. After all, a too narrow focus on his work risks obscuring the fact that he was explicitly responding not only to imperialists like Leborgne, but also to the works of proslavery advocates such as F. Mazères, a former Saint Domingue colonist who advocated the reconquest and re-enslavement of the former colony.⁶⁶ Mazères proposed enlisting the help of the mulatto elites against the northern Kingdom of Henry Christophe, and his writing legitimized an attempt by King Louis XVIII to reconquer Haiti in 1814. And yet, for his intimate familiarity with Saint Domingue—Mazères had owned a plantation in the colony on the eve of revolution—he never mentioned ancient Rome in his copious historical remarks in the proslavery pamphlet *De l’utilité des colonies* (1814), the text that sparked de Vastey’s *Reflexions on the Blacks and Whites*.

In his attempt to sway French public opinion, de Vastey had to work on an ideological ground—for instance, classical reception—that was of great significance to his Francophone interlocutors.⁶⁷ By juxtaposing his own interpretation of classical reception to Mazères’s historical justification of white supremacy, de Vastey showed that the proslavery reading of ancient history that had served as such a monolithic discursive force in colonial Saint Domingue was no longer singularly accessible to a white planter elite reading Cicero and Cato through the forgetful editorial lens of *Les Affiches Américaines*. But de Vastey was not interested in replacing one pigmentocracy with another, and his reference to ancient Africa emphasized the fallacy of dehistoricizing race as well as the *necessity* of employing Roman history for the dual purpose of anti-imperial critique and non-violent reconstruction. Roman conquest was at the root of much of what modern Atlantic slavery was about, and Haitian thinkers such as de Vastey recognized that a reckoning with race necessitated challenging the totality of the Latin imperial project.

Given de Vastey’s penetrating work on reception and antiquation, it may be exigent to revise a contemporary scholar’s description of this early Haitian author

⁶⁶ F. Mazères, *De l’utilité des colonies, des causes intérieures de la perte de Saint-Domingue, et des moyens d’en recouvrer la possession* (Paris: Renard, 1814).

⁶⁷ Tabitha McIntosh and Grégory Pierrot, “Capturing the likeness of Henry I of Haiti (1805–1822),” *Atlantic Studies* 14, no. 2 (2017): 127–151.

as one of many Haitian “*scribes*, writers whose intellectual and creative production cannot be thought apart from the institutional framework within and by means of which it was conceived.”⁶⁸ Instead of berating these authors for their institutional limitations, scholars such as Marlene Daut have suggested recognizing their significance as the progenitors of a Black Atlantic humanist tradition. If writers such as de Vastey were not quite unmoored from the political legacies and institutional frameworks of a post-revolutionary setting, they nonetheless demonstrated the utility and importance of marrying the universalist legacy of revolution with the subjectivist critique that arose from the foundation of Haiti and the painful integration of the Caribbean state into a white supremacist Atlantic world.

In these writers’ humble beginnings, Roman reception provided a key component of their strategic work of integration, in which they sought to find common ground between their racial subjectivities and the cultural heritage of the world in which their literary culture was emerging. If de Vastey would have been unable to entertain a discussion with Fanon, it was perhaps nonetheless important that he spoke the kind of language that Raynal and Grégoire understood. It is important to acknowledge the extent to which his antislavery writings—literary or not—were conversational with these wider discussions of antiquity to a degree that made many of their passages mutually interchangeable. Acknowledging this context by no means strips de Vastey of his originality.

Indeed, the dialogic inter-textuality of this early Haitian antislavery tradition enabled later international audiences to easily adopt its moderating influence in creating a black public sphere in the 1820s and 1830s.⁶⁹ Such African American authors as Prince Saunders, for example, shared de Vastey’s fascination with the royal regime of Henry Christophe, even if they did not necessarily eschew the prospects of colonization. Saunders, disillusioned with the white supremacist “democracy” that smothered black freedom in the United States, became a staunch advocate of black immigration to Haiti under the aegis of an Enlightened monarch. To him and many others, the Enlightenment was an ongoing project, and Haiti was still at its forefront—hardly a delusion if one considers the ongoing enslavement in nearby British Jamaica, or the slew of Negro Seamen Acts, fugitive slave laws, and bloodhound patrols that defined the “progressive” approach of his native country toward its black population. In the context of such

⁶⁸ See Chris Bongie, “Introduction,” in Baron de Vastey, *The Colonial System Unveiled*, trans. Chris Bongie (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), 4.

⁶⁹ For more on this process, see Patrick Rael, *Black Identity and Black Protest in the Antebellum North* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 220-226; Peter Würzbicki, “‘The Light of Knowledge Follows the Impulse of Revolutions’: Prince Saunders, Baron de Vastey and the Haitian Influence on Antebellum Black Ideas of Elevation and Education,” *Slavery & Abolition* 36, no. 2 (2015): 275-297.

excessively violent measures to uphold white supremacy by the vaunted “pioneers” of hemispheric liberty, Saunders’s and de Vastey’s modest projects nonetheless established a new dialogic orientation that firmly established people of African descent as not merely capable of civilization but as integral to it.⁷⁰

These first instantiations of a modern Haitian literary culture reverberated through the writings of the African American counter-public, including radical thinkers like James McCune Smith, David Walker, and Frederick Douglass. In continuation of the receptionist tradition that had cast Toussaint Louverture as a modern Caesarian figure, Smith compared the leader to King Leonidas defending “the most beautiful and happy of the Hesperides.”⁷¹ Like de Vastey, Smith depicted Haitians as closer to the vaunted ideals of the Enlightenment than the United States and France, whose settlers had unleashed bloodhounds and committed massacres against women and children in the name of white supremacy.⁷² This simultaneous identification of Haitians with the classical republican tradition and castigation of Europeans and North Americans as modern barbarians unsettled the familiar genealogical chain that planter reception had sought to establish between ancient Rome and the “Enlightened” plantation regime.

Another admirer of Haitian achievements, David Walker, the most radical of antebellum African American writers, likewise indulged in classical reception to expose Thomas Jefferson’s pernicious (and ahistorical) racialization of the Roman past as a way of justifying the enslavement of Africans. In his widely circulated *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson justified the institution of slavery as a “natural” consequence of blacks’ inferiority to whites, and posited that this white supremacist idea had been the invention of Roman republicans.⁷³ Shocked by Jefferson’s lack of erudition, Walker asked his audience: “Do you believe that this assertion is swallowed by millions of the whites?” Reminding his audience of basic Roman history, Walker stated that Roman slavery made no racial

⁷⁰ See Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and ‘Race’ in New England, 1780–1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 257; Elizabeth McHenry, *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African-American Literary Societies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Frederick Cooper, “Elevating the Race: The Social Thought of Black Leaders, 1827–50,” *American Quarterly* 24, no. 5 (1972): 606–7; Stephen Kantrowitz, *More than Freedom: Fighting for Black Citizenship in a White Republic, 1829–1889* (New York: Penguin Press, 2012), 122–171. On dialogic orientation as a property of discourse, see Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 275–279.

⁷¹ James McCune Smith, “Toussaint L’Ouverture and the Haytian Revolution,” in *Masterpieces of Negro Eloquence: The Best Speeches Delivered by the Negro from the Days of Slavery to the Present Time*, ed. Alice Moore Dunbar (New York: Bookery Publishing, 1914), 19–32, esp. 26–27.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 30.

⁷³ See Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (London: John Stockdale, 1787), 237. For more on Roman reception in the early United States, see Wilfried Nippel, *Ancient and Modern Democracy: Two Concepts of Liberty?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 118–147.

distinctions—an unsettling revelation to some of his white readers, who had indulged in Jefferson’s retrospective racialization of slavery. Furthermore, Walker admonished his readers that “as soon as a slave among the Romans obtained his freedom, he could rise to the greatest eminence in the State, and there was no law instituted to hinder a slave from buying his freedom.” Such liberties were unavailable to African Americans, who were instead unable to obtain or hold public offices. White supremacy was clearly a modern invention, and as such, had nothing to do with the genealogy of classical republicanism. Haiti proffered the best example that planter reception was perniciously misguided. When inserted into the classical republican tradition, Haiti not only accentuated the universality of the republican form of government, but also the unsettling prospect that, unless promptly dismantled, slavery, a pure tyranny justified only by lies and fallacy, might also become a universal way of governing *all men*.⁷⁴

Though Walker emphatically rejected both Greece and Rome, ancient slaveholding polities, as potential models for Enlightened emulation, he nevertheless unmasked the ways in which planter reception mobilized a forgetful vision of history to make modern slavery look like an improvement over its ancient predecessor. Walker’s critique broke an imagined genealogical bond that linked American planters to Roman republican aristocrats, thereby severing a chain that sustained the paternalistic fiction of slaveholding elites. Even to a radical abolitionist like Walker, classical reception was a fruitful discursive area that enabled him to disabuse his audience of its complacent indulgence in white supremacy. There was nothing “natural” or “eternal” to this white supremacist regime, Walker insisted. Realizing its temporality, its contingency, and its amorality was the first step toward dismantling it and bringing about humanity’s salvation.

Roman antiquity also inspired a twelve-year-old Frederick Douglass to find his voice in opposition to slavery. In his best-selling autobiography *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), he recounted his first exposure to *The Columbian Orator*, a collection of short speeches, including many of ancient Roman provenance, that inspired him to memorize and craft antislavery arguments.⁷⁵ Published by the abolitionist Caleb Bingham, the tome’s most enduring presence was Cicero, the slaveholding patrician, whose rhetorical craft motivated Douglass to master the art of argumentation to dismantle the foundations of planter reception. Douglass’s intimate familiarity with the style and contents of Cicero’s speeches provided him with the ability to confront proslavery advocates and expose planter reception as a flawed misappropriation of ancient Rome, just

⁷⁴ David Walker, *Appeal...to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (Boston, 1829), 17-19.

⁷⁵ Cf., for example, Caleb Bingham, *The Columbian Orator...*, 7th ed. (Troy: William S. Parker, 1821). See also Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845).

as it experienced a final resurgence on the eve of the Civil War. Having proved instrumental to dismantling planter reception, Douglass later assumed the role of U.S. minister to Haiti, the site of the first radical wave of protest that had sought to reclaim the origins of republican liberty from the unenlightened grip of racist slaveholders.

If not for the need to persuade a white proslavery audience and the limitations of the Enlightenment project itself, one wonders whether these black authors would not have developed a cross-racial critique of western civilization as a series of imperial projects fueled not just by the enslavement of Africans but also of Europeans who had happened to be on the “wrong” side of history. While they exposed the blind spots of planter reception vis-à-vis ancient Rome, these early-nineteenth-century black thinkers accepted some of the premises of their white interlocutors, including an idealized image of the “free” Italian city-states, who operated on a discursive field detached from the Roman exemplar as well as from the slaveholding empires of the early Modern period. Yet those civilizations, too, were predicated on the massive enslavement of human beings from the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, and wrenched thousands of Africans as well as the white descendants of Spartacus to Mediterranean and Ottoman slave marts.⁷⁶ The ancient routes of this Eastern Mediterranean slave trade were very much alive as de Vastey, Sanders, Walker, Smith, and Douglass cast their sights—in Douglass’s case, literally—upon this region suffused with ancient history in formulating a strategic defense of Haiti.⁷⁷ And though their strategic arguments served to dismantle the white supremacist regime that legitimized American slavery, the broad geographic and temporal scope of their reception helped transform the enslavement of all human beings in the course of “western civilization” into a foundation of a universal call for immediate, irreversible abolition.

⁷⁶ Cf. Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, 30-32.

⁷⁷ Ironically, Douglass reminisced that during his trip to “Genoa, the birthplace of Christopher Columbus,” he had recollected a particularly memorable speech by Wendell Phillips against the African slave trade. Phillips had condemned the slave trade, but neither he nor the reminiscing Douglass explicitly reflected on Columbus’s connection to the Atlantic slave trade—or to Genoa’s connection to the Mediterranean slave trade. Phillips’s and Douglass’s cryptic intertextual association of Genoa with the slave trade might represent a strategy of suppression meant to appease their multiracial audience. See Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass...*, rev. ed. (Boston: De Wolfe & Fiske Co., 1892), 690-691.

