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ALANA EDMONDSON

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“An inoffensive people”: Letters of Stephen Grellet on Haiti, 1816

ROBERT SWANSON

Stephen Grellet (1773–1855) was a French aristocrat turned Quaker missionary to the southern Republic of Haiti. In 1816, Grellet wrote two letters about his travels to his friends William Allen and George Stacey that described his visit to Haiti that year and related his thoughts on the Black republic. These letters are currently held at the Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections in Haverford, Pennsylvania.[1] They provide scholars insights not only into Grellet's life but also the culture, politics, and environment of Haiti's first republic. Excerpts of Grellet's now non-extant journal were published on numerous occasions as part of larger biographical works in the late nineteenth century, but Grellet's letters describing his Haitian trip were not included in these biographies, and they provide a unique view that his journal cannot offer. They are printed below for the first time.

Born Etienne De Grellet Du Mabillier on November 2, 1773, in Limoges, France, Grellet was a nobleman's son and a unique product of the Age of Revolutions. His parents, Gabriel Marc Antoine De Grellet and Susanne de Senamaud, had four other children and were well-connected with Louis XVI. Grellet was deeply religious as a child and participated frequently in Catholic ceremonies. His world was rocked by the onslaught of anti-aristocratic sentiment that accompanied the French Revolution. Filled with a sense of honor and duty

Robert Swanson is a Ph.D. student at the University of Missouri. *He thanks the editors, reviewers, and Bridget Swanson, who all helped with the production of this article.*

[1] Stephen Grellet to William Allen, August 17, 1816, Stephen Grellet Papers, Box MC-967, Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections, Haverford, Pennsylvania (HCQ); Stephen Grellet to George Stacey, October 29, 1816, Stephen Grellet Papers, Box MC-967, HCQ. In this box is an unnumbered folder with seven items: four containing text from Grellet's August letter, and three from his October letter. They are unbound and have no stable folder order. The full October letter is in Stephen Grellet's hand (O1). A copy of the August letter is in the hand of Rebecca Grellet (A1) and bears on its verso a note signed by Rebecca claiming the copy is "whole." These are the copy-texts for the transcriptions below. There is no copy of the August letter original to Stephen. Two scribes produced extracts from each letter (A2, O2 & A3, O3); and another unknown hand produced a final extract of the August letter (A4). Stephen refers to the production of extracts in both his letters, and the hand (and pagination style) of A2 and O2 is suggestive of Rebecca's. Some of Rebecca's letters have been preserved in other collections, for example, Grellet-Gurney Correspondence, HCQ, and the Gulielma M. Howland Collection, Folder E-He, HCQ.

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to the king, he enlisted in the Royalist faction which joined with other monarchists and their European allies attempting to reassert control over France.[2]

Briefly captured and sentenced to death, likely by pro-republican French forces, Grellet was able to escape with his brother to Amsterdam in 1793. From Amsterdam, the brothers traveled to the Dutch colony of Demerara (modern Guyana), where Grellet first encountered chattel slavery. The brutality of slavery shocked him, especially as he witnessed whippings and other violence carried out daily against the enslaved. He was further amazed at the utter lack of religiosity among the inhabitants of the city.[3] However, that dismay soon wore off as Grellet became less enamored with his faith. Grellet recalled becoming a "complete disciple of Voltaire" and adopting the belief that "There is no God!" His comfort and prosperity in Demerara were interrupted by a rumor that a French fleet was coming to seize the colony. Fearing reprisals, Grellet and his brother boarded an American vessel that landed in New York in the spring of 1795.[4]

The brothers settled on Long Island in Newtown, New York, still awaiting word from their parents in France. They sought elite company by visiting the Corsas, a family who introduced Grellet to the writings of William Penn. Twenty-two-year-old Stephen Grellet found himself drawn to the Friends' beliefs. While exploring the religion, he came into contact with two British Quakers who were visiting the United States, Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young. These women greatly impacted Grellet and helped initiate him into the Society of Friends. Grellet described his process of conversion as "the axe of God's power…lifted up against the root of the corrupt tree." Grellet abandoned various actions that set him apart as an aristocrat, changing his manner of dress and speech to give a humbler appearance. He traveled to Philadelphia in the spring of 1796 to immerse himself in the Quaker community, becoming a member that fall.[5]

Grellet was completely absorbed in his new faith and began sharing Quaker views as early as 1797. Over the next twenty years, Grellet traveled throughout the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Switzerland, what is now Germany, and France. Although he often met with fellow Quakers and developed new friendships around the European world, he primarily preached to those outside of the faith. Grellet, in line with mainstream Quaker beliefs, was cautious in his approach to preaching, often waiting until he felt confident that God approved of

[2] Benjamin Seebohm, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet* (Philadelphia: Henry Longstreth, 1860), 1: 1-9. This biography draws on Grellet's diaries and other works, including those written during his time in Haiti, though it passes over the letters printed below.

[3] For more on Demerara, see Brad Hoonhout, *Borderless Empire: Dutch Guiana in the Atlantic World, 1750–1800* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2020), esp. 74-110.

[4] Grellet, *Memoirs of the Life,* 4-18.

[5] Grellet, *Memoirs of the Life,* 19-37.

his efforts. While focusing on a religious message of inner conversion, he also targeted specific societal vices he encountered, including slavery. Grellet was appalled at the condition of the enslaved in the United States and preached vehemently on several occasions in the South against the practice.[6]

Figure I. Letter of Stephen Grellet to William Allen, August 17, 1816 ("A1" witness), Box MC-967, HCQ. Copy by Rebecca Grellet; original unknown. Courtesy of Haverford College, Quaker & Special Collections.

On January 18, 1804, prior to the majority of Grellet's proselyting tours, he married Rebecca Collins, the daughter of Isaac and Rachel Collins, at the Friends Meeting of New York.[7] While she occasionally joined her husband in his travels,

[6] Grellet, *Memoirs of the Life,* 69-328.

[7] *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* 33, no. 8463 (Philadelphia: Zachary Poulson, January 24, 1804), accessed via *Early American Newspapers: Series 1, 1690–1876* (Readex/NewsBank); Grellet, *Memoirs of the Life,* 83.

more often than not, she remained behind in New York. Rebecca endured long periods of separation from her husband as he traveled across the Atlantic and European world spreading the Friends' message, though she likely relied on family, friends, and the local Quaker community for support. By 1815, Grellet hoped that he had satisfied his divine injunction to preach. Returning to New York, Grellet worked with his brother-in-law, Robert Pearsall. However, after only a year in New York, he once again felt the urge to travel and evangelize. Initially, he felt drawn to Southern Europe, but his plans quickly changed. He recalled: "For months the exercise on account of several parts of Europe, where I have not been, has been heavily on my mind; but after waiting carefully upon the Lord that he might order my ways in his counsel, I have felt that, for the present, Hayti only is the part to which I must go."[8]

Haitians' victory over French forces in 1804 stunned the Atlantic world. For a decade, the people of Haiti had caused fear and uproar as they first defied their masters and then the various European armies that were sent to reconquer them. The Spanish, French, and British in turn were defeated and evacuated the island.[9]

[8] Grellet, *Memoirs of the Life,* 330.

[9] For the best discussion of the Haitian Revolution see: Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004). For Haiti's impact on the Atlantic world, see: Julius S. Scott, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (London: Verso, 2018); Julia Gaffield, *Haitian Connections in the Atlantic World: Recognition after Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Marlene L. Daut, *Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World, 1789–1865* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015); David P. Geggus, ed., *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2015 [og. pub. 1995]); Geggus, "The Caribbean in the Age of Revolution," in *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c. 1760–1840,* ed. David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 83-88; Nick Nesbitt, "Haiti, the Monstrous Anomaly," in *The Idea of Haiti: Rethinking Crisis and Development,* ed. Millery Polyné (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 3, 8-26; Ronald Angelo Johnson, "A Revolutionary Dinner: U.S. Diplomacy toward Saint Domingue, 1798–1801," *Early American Studies* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 114-141; Philippe R. Girard, "Jean-Jacques Dessalines and the Atlantic System: A Reappraisal," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (July 2012): 549-582; Robin Blackburn, "Haiti, Slavery, and the Age of the Democratic Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (Oct. 2006): 643-674; Jeremy D. Popkin, *Facing Racial Revolution: Eyewitness Accounts of the Haitian Insurrection* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1-42; Kris Manjapra, *Black Ghost of Empire: The Long Death of Slavery and the Failure of Emancipation* (New York: Scribner, 2022), 47-67; Johnson, "Haiti's Connection to Early America: Beyond the Revolution," *History Compass* 16, no. 3 (Feb. 19, 2018); Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoléon: Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian War of Independence, 1801–1804* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2011); Carolyn Fick, "Revolutionary St. Domingue and the Emerging Atlantic: Paradigms of Sovereignty," in *The Haitian Revolution and the Early United States: Histories, Textualities, Geographies*, eds. Elizabeth Maddock Dillon and Michael J. Drexler (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 23-41; Karen Salt, *The Unfinished Revolution: Haiti, Black*

The conflict had a decisive impact on the majority of Americans, with many turning more hostile toward the revolutionaries.[10] However, by 1816, some Northerners had shifted to favor the Haitian state, particularly as a place of potential profits.[11] Grellet would have been aware of these factors, especially as they related to the abolition movement. The abolitionists during the early 1800s had weathered serious and sustained attacks from proslavery forces across the Atlantic world in part because of the fallout of the Haitian Revolution.[12] Grellet's determination to go to Haiti was made in the context of this fierce conflict over the meaning of the Revolution and the position of the Haitians in the Atlantic world.

Grellet left New York on June 25, 1816, with his friend and fellow Quaker John Hancock. They arrived in Les Cayes, Haiti, on July 17. During his three-month stay in Haiti, Grellet spent most of his time traveling throughout the Republic of Haiti, visiting both elite and lower classes throughout the republic. The republic was formed in the chaotic years following the defeat of the French invasion force in 1804 and the declaration of Haitian independence. Jean-Jacques Dessalines, the leader of the Haitian forces after Toussaint Louverture's capture, declared himself emperor that October. His rule lasted two years before he was assassinated in 1806, leading to a fragmentation of the state into a kingdom under Henry Christophe in the north and a republic under Alexandre Pétion in the south. Throughout the next decade, both nations were in a state of civil war, both in physical and ideological terrains, constantly seeking to assert control over each other and smaller insurgent groups scattered in the mountainous regions of both states. Grellet, perhaps unknowingly, entered the Republic of Haiti at the height of Pétion's efforts to represent the republic as being "the purest remaining instantiation of the liberal Enlightenment ideals of 1789," a part of his effort to distinguish the polity from Christophe's realm and advance his government in

Sovereignty and Power in the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019); Matt Clavin, "Race, Rebellion, and the Gothic: Inventing the Haitian Revolution," *Early American Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 1-29; Ashli White, "The Saint-Dominguan Refugees and American Distinctiveness in the Early Years of the Haitian Revolution," in *The World of the Haitian Revolution,* eds. David Patrick Geggus and Norman Fiering (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 248-60.

[10] For two excellent surveys on this see Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2010); James Alexander Dun, *Dangerous Neighbors: Making the Haitian Revolution in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

[11] Matthew Mason, *Slavery and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 118.

[12] David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770–1823* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 81-2, 330

the paper civil war raging in Haiti. Though Grellet did not note much of this contest, he did offer remarks on the military and its influence in Haitian society.[13]

Grellet's journal contains various insights about the culture and people of the southern Republic of Haiti. It describes his meetings with Haitian officials, his preaching tours throughout the island, and even his attempts to remove what he termed "numerous books of the most demoralizing, vicious, and obscene kind; as well as many deistical works of the French philosophers."[14] While his overall impression of Haitians was favorable, Grellet was critical of morals he thought stemmed from slavery and local Catholic priests. These critiques gave further moral agency and justification to his labors in the republic. The long-lasting influence of French enslavers was especially offensive to him. He angrily declared, "The evils that the French have entailed upon them, are not less galling and destructive to their minds, than were the cruelty and oppression of slavery to their bodies." He insisted that it was the French's "immoral lives and their irreligion" that continued to exert an influence on the people of Haiti. Grellet was convinced that given enough material aid and educational instruction, the Haitians would quickly become one of the most virtuous peoples in the Atlantic world.[15]

As Grellet wrote his letters from Haiti and New York, he perhaps hoped that how he characterized the people of Haiti would become part of a larger cosmopolitan abolitionist conception of the island. His focus on education and the need for abolitionist support, while ignoring the continued conflict between the Kingdom of Haiti and the Republic of Haiti, speaks to his desire to portray the positive aspects of the island nation. His letters show a commitment to an older understanding of human nature. While racial modernity, or belief in inherent black inferiority, was becoming stronger in white European and American societies, abolitionists like Grellet clung to beliefs that all mankind were equally children of God, endowed with natural rights, and capable of social uplift.[16] These beliefs undergirded Grellet's perception of the Haitians. His first letter in particular presents a sincere plea for recognition of the goodness and potential

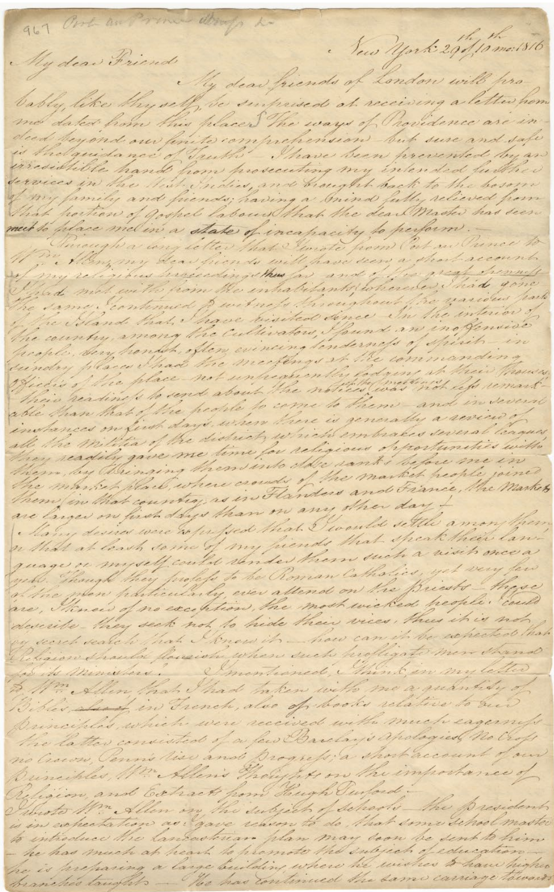
[13] Johnhenry Gonzalez, *Maroon Nation: A History of Revolutionary Haiti* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 129-157; Chelsea Stieber, *Haiti's Paper War: Post-Independence Writing, Civil War, and the Making of the Republic, 1804-1954* (New York: New York University Press, 2021), 60-127.

[14] Grellet, *Memoirs of the Life,* 338

[15] Grellet, *Memoirs of the Life,* 330-350.

[16] James Brewer Stewart, "The Emergence of Racial Modernity and the Rise of the White North, 1790–1840," *Journal of the Early Republic* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 181-217; Paul J. Polgar, *Standard-Bearers of Equality: America's First Abolition Movement* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

of Haiti as a valid state in the Atlantic world. Furthermore, the first letter contains unique insights into Grellet's views on abolitionism in relation to Haiti and the future of Haiti as a nation, as well as observations of the culture, politics, and religion of the people. His second letter echoes this humanitarian plea, though this letter is largely occupied by details of his travels and a near-death illness that led to his departure from Haiti. Included in this letter is a description of a tragic hurricane and earthquake that struck Haiti in the fall of 1816. Other insights into Grellet, the efforts of Haitian officials to aid white abolitionists, and details (though biased) about the Catholic church in Haiti can be gleaned from the two letters, providing scholars with many potential avenues of exploration.



967 Port au Prince [illegible]

New York 29th of 10th mo: 1816

My dear Friend

My dear friends of London will pro-
bably, like thyself, be surprised at receiving a letter from
me dated from this place. The ways of Providence are in-
deed beyond our finite comprehension but sure and safe
is the guidance of Truth — I have been prevented by an
irresistible hand from prosecuting my intended further
services in the West Indies, and brought back to the bosom
of my family and friends; having a mind fully relieved from
that portion of Gospel labour that the dear Master has seen
meet to place me in a state of incapacity to perform. —
Through a long letter that I wrote from Port au Prince to
Wm. Allen, my dear friends will have seen a short account
of my religious proceedings thus far and of the great openness
I had met with from the inhabitants, wherever I had gone
the same continued to witness throughout the various parts
of the Island that I have visited since. In the interior of
the country, among the cultivators, I found an inoffensive
people, very tender, often evincing tenderness of spirit — in
sundry places I had the meetings at the commanding
officers of the place — not unfrequently lodging at their houses.
Their readiness to send about the notices of the meetings was not less remark-
able than that of the people to come to them — and in several
instances on first days, when there is generally a review of
all the Militia of the district, which embraces several leagues,
they readily gave me time for religious opportunities with
them, by bringing them into close ranks before me in
the market place, where crowds of the market people joined
them (in that country, as in Flanders and France, the Markets
are larger on first days than on any other day) —
Many desires were expressed that I would settle among them
or that at least some of my friends that speak their lan-
guage or myself could render them such a visit once a
year. Though they profess to be Roman Catholics, yet very few
of the men particularly, ever attend on the Priests — these
are, I know of no exception, the most wicked people I could
describe — they seek not to hide their vices, thus it is not
by secret search that I know it — how can it be expected that
Religion should flourish when such profligate men stand
for its ministers? I mentioned, I think, in my letter
to Wm. Allen, that I had taken with me a quantity of
Bibles, ~~also~~ in French, also of books relative to our
principles, which were received with much eagerness —
the latter consisted of a few Barclay's Apologies, No Cross
no Crown, Penn's rise and Progress; a short account of our
principles, Wm. Allen's Thoughts on the importance of
Religion, and Extracts from Hugh Turford. —
I wrote Wm. Allen on the subject of schools — the President
is in expectation as I gave reason to do, that some school master
to introduce the Lancastrian plan may soon be sent to him
— he has much at heart to promote the subject of education —
he is preparing a large building, where he wishes to have higher
branches taught — He has continued the same carriage towards

Figure II. Stephen Grellet to George Stacey, October 29, 1816 ("O1" witness), Box MC-967, HCQ. Courtesy of Haverford College, Quaker & Special Collections.

Grellet returned from Haiti in late 1816, never to travel again to the island. His journeys across the globe and his insights into various courts, nations, and peoples make him unique in the Atlantic world. His writings and travels have garnered occasional notice by scholars, but his writings on Haiti have been neglected.[17] With the expansion of the literature on Haiti and its interactions with the Atlantic world, Grellet's letters open new avenues into this exciting and growing area of study.

[17] William Wistar Comfort, *Stephen Grellet: 1773–1855* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), 96-101.This biography contains many insights; however, it is largely outdated. Comfort drew primarily from Grellet's journal and earlier biographies, again neglecting the two letters. Earlier biographies range in detail on Grellet's life. A short sixteen-page pamphlet created by the Burlington Society of Friends entitled *Stephen Grellet* (1856) was written soon after his death and includes only one sentence mentioning Grellet's trip to Haiti. Other biographies are largely reprints or vary slightly from the Seebohm biography. These include "A Modern Quaker Apostle," *The Eclectic Review* 5 (July 1863): 1-24, which entirely ignores his trip to Haiti. William Guest produced an edited volume of Seebohm's work entitled *Stephen Grellet* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880). Frances Anne Budge pushed a series of writings on Grellet in the *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, largely mirroring Seebohm, and printed together as *A Missionary Life*: *Stephen Grellet* (London: James Nisbet, 1888). The most extensive treatment of Grellet's life is Robert Eugene Selleck, "I Shall Not Pass This Way Again: A Study of Stephen Grellet's Life and Thought" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1985). Submitted to Chicago's Divinity School, the thesis provides rich insight into Grellet's theology and his travels; however, as with the other writers, Selleck's treatment of the visit to Haiti is limited.

LETTERS OF STEPHEN GRELLET

Document 1: Stephen Grellet to William Allen, August 17, 1816[1]

Port au Prince 17th of 8th Mo.

My dear Friend

William Allen[2]

Pearsall & Grellet have forwarded me to this place thy letter written after thy hearing of the important religious concern that I read to visit the inhabitants of Hayti. Thy tender brotherly sympathy is very grateful as also that of my dear English friends, of which I have just recd. the feeling expressions through a large packet of their letters sent me here also by P.&G. Among these welcome messages are letters of my dear fds. [friends] Wm Dillwyn, Josiah Forster Robt. Forster, G. Stacey, his dear Sisters, Jno. Kitching & Thos. Christy, which I should be obliged to thee to acknowledge to them for me.[3] They convey much interesting information & greatly tend / to use the manner of speaking of the Indians / to keep the chain of friendship bright. I have also recd. here letters of L. Mertens, Brussels, F. Leo, Paris, Ls. Majolier – my wife writes some others have come from Gossner, Munich. However in my present correspondence I may confine myself chiefly to one subject, that is what relates to my present gospel embassy & the state of the people among whom I am.

[1] This transcription derives from A1. A2 begins with "Extract"; A3 lacks any salutation; A4 resembles A1 but does not contain "Copy" at the top of its first page. The transcription is diplomatic, with all exceptions noted in brackets or the notes.

[2] William Allen was a dedicated humanitarian and antislavery advocate in England, see David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution: 1770–1820* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), 243-246.

[3] Josiah Forster was a prominent English Friend and worked with Grellet at various points. Forster later visited Grellet in the United States in the 1850s during a tour prior to his death, see Benjamin Seebohm, ed., *Memoirs of William Forster, Vol. II* (London: Alfred W. Bennett, 1865), 355, 389. George Stacey was an English Friend and abolitionist.

From the place where this is dated, thou seest that I am in the part of the island governed by the President Alex:^{r} Petion. Accompanied by John Hancock, a member of my mo. Meeting, we left N. York 18th of 6th mo. and after thirty days passage, we landed at Aux Cayes. We met with a very open and cordial reception from the principal commanding officers in that place, also from the inhabitants generally and during our stay in that place I had several public meetings for divine worship which were largely attended. Their generals and commanding officers did so uniformly – two of their Romish priests attended twice, one at each time. We have come from Aux Cayes here by land, a distance of 180 miles, having divers meet^{gs} on our way and uniformly meeting with the greatest hospitality and kindness among all classes: also their genuine demonstration of joy & gratitude in our having come to visit them. Many more than I expected have some knowledge of our Society, at least, so far as this, that we are the friends of men & particularly of the oppressed – that we have taken a very active part in promoting the abolition of slavery, first washing our own hands in innocency. They also know that we are a distinguished people for the strictness of our morals, & I sincerely wish that every individual in our society, did act agreeably to the idea that many of this people have formed that we do; however as these impressions have been made on them from the knowledge they ^{have} had of the principle we profess, or of the virtues of some among us, their hearts are open to receive me, & frequently the doctrine of truth is like showers on the dry ground. They reject it not, reason not against it, but frequently I could, using the words of our primitive friends, say, after many a meeting, that they have been generally convinced – they, Themselves make that acknowledgement. But there is a vast difference between conviction & conversion, yet much is to be hoped from a people whose heart is Tender, fitly compared to wax, could they have good examples set before Them, whereas it is very afflictive that most of those who from their profession of being the ministers of God [end p. 1], and his oracles unto them, give in all their conduct & conversation all kinds of evil

example. I say most, for I do not like to condemn by the lump, not knowing them all, but from what I know or hear, lamentable indeed is the state of the Romish clergy in this isd. [island] & generally throughout all the Spanish Indies. Every spark of virtue and especially of religion shudders at the depravity that prevails among them, & when the conduct of the Priests is such, what can be expected of the people? … The looseness of morals is great; few are married & even from the general prevailing custom, some tender minds that would marry are prevented, lest they shd. appear singular: however of latter time, a number of respectable characters, especially among the chiefs, have married, & their example I hope will be followed. To that state of concubinage may be traced all moral evils & want of domestic happiness and unsubordination in the youth, for how can they be inspired with respect and obedience to their parents? It is a very important part of reformation, that I have much at heart, for I do consider, my dear friend, that it is impossible, that the pure root of religion be planted & grow on a soil that is corrupt. My spirit is in much travail before the Lord & I do hope that through his divine aid, some reformation may be brought about tho' priest craft is a great hinderance. They profess that they must live in celibacy & they throw aside all shame and covering, & their covetous spirit is such, that they publickly testify that it is not for the sheep they care, but for the wool and the fat. My heart is much grieved at their doing but yet as they render so openly manifest what they are, they fall into their own net, many eyes being opened, turn aside from them. Another circumstance which may be productive of good, tho' deeply afflictive to tender spirits is, that some of those priests, so greedy of their gain, become envious at one another, lest they shd. supplant one another out of their riche soil; thus they have come to blows, even in their churches. The President tries to bring some remedy to this, by confining each priest to his own appointed place, & also by making a tariff of what they may require for their works, but at the same time proclaiming liberty of religion so that none is obliged

to employ them – also they have no authority on this part of the isd., the President alone places & removes them.

I meet with great openness in this place, wh. is the largest of Petions dominions. It contains abt 20 or 2500 inhabitants. I have almost every day religious meetings in it, since my coming. The President wished that I shd. have made use of the Romish church to hold them in, as the most convenient building. I imparted to him some of the objections that prevented, not so much on my act. as for what some of the envious priests might say; had he sd the word none would have objected, but I told him, that havg. come to promote general union & harmony, I would not willingly take a single step that cd. hurt a single individual. Thus I have mtgs. in very commodious houses in different parts of the town wch. the inhabitants are very forward to offer for that purpose, & some try to render me all the attention that our own kind frds. would. I have had however one mtg. on a 1st day at the Presbytery which on act. of the room & air, rendered it advisable to accommodate the crowd, also to bring about that union in the bonds of peace, among all classes. I brot. with me from N.Y. a number of bibles which are gratefully recd. & which I try to distribute particularly among the most religiously inclined in reduced circumstances that can read & by thro' whom they may be read to others. I have also brot a considerable number of religious tracts in french, with wch our mtg. for sufferings supplied me among them are the Summary of our Principles, as set forth by A.Z. Benezet, and the extracts from [end p. 2] Hugh Turford wh. I had printed in France [4] Also a variety of other

[4] Anthony Bezenet was a French-born abolitionist and Friend residing in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Benezet was vastly influential in the creation of the American abolition movement. See Maurice Jackson, *Let this Voice be Heard: Anthony Benezet, Father of Atlantic Abolitionism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). Little is known about Hugh Turford, though his religious writings proved to be highly influential. A schoolteacher in Bristol, England, his most famous work, *The Grounds of a Holy Life* (London, 1702) called for deep introspection and change. 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 N473867. See also Hugh Barbour, "Turford, Hugh (d. 1713), religious writer" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (September 23, 2004).

books of our principles; they are recd. with eagerness. The Bible Society of London, has, I find, sent bibles & testaments, by two persons. One Price residing at Jaquemel, who is endeavouring to diffuse them thro' different parts – people even going abt. to sell them at reduced prices; but few persons wd. think of purchasing them, yet since my visit in divers places, & those that I have given, I find there is more desire in others to purchase. The other person entrusted with bibles is –Windsor, who when in London made acquaintance wh. my dear fd. Rd. Phillips, also with that worthy man –Stevens, to whom I shd. desire my Christian love.[5] Windsor is a respectable mercht that feels much interested in the welfare of this people & desires to encourage, as far as his ill health permits, philanthropic associations. A bible Society is now forming. The President patronizes it. He has begun the list of subscribers with 1000 dols. They are not yet organized. The Secretary of State –Insignac, a man of good understanding, has requested me to attend their first mtg., which if I am then in the place, I may probably do as this institution, on many considerations may be very beneficial to the bringing about, or at least an auxiliary towards the many reformations that I long to see in the country, & if I can see enlisted on a right ground in this work, the principal characters among the inhabitants, much good I think will be done, both as to what relates to themselves & to the inhabitants at large. As Windsor is personally acquainted with R. Phillips, I have advised him instead of corresponding direct with the Secretaries, to do it with him, believing that especially in the beginning their case will be more particularly attended to, by havg. shall I say, such a Christian lawyer / he will smile at the expression / to plead their cause. They are a people worthy of it. I felt it sufficiently to induce me to visit them on the ground I am now doing, but my dear friend, no tongue can set forth the interest I now feel for them – the subject presents itself to my mind in such a way, that like a precious stone, which side soever it is turned, it is fraught with the deepest interest, for, as a new nation emerging from a state of

[5] Richard Phillips was a Quaker printer in London.

bondage & darkness, for their sake & posterity they have a great claim on us – they are besides the offspring of that oppressed race of Africa, whose cause is espoused by so many virtuous men – the first place where Europeans first bro^{t}. slaves from Africa & the first place where the cruel yoke has been shaken off. By the conduct of this people on whom the eyes of nations are turned, the hope of the friends of humanity centers, the heart glows & is full of hope; the lot of millions yet detained in slavery, depends.

Africa, itself, may behold this rising nation with interest as, to its own situation. Thus the British & foreign B. [Bible] Society by fostering the small efforts and beginnings of this people, may become of singular use to them, & I doubt not your liberality in assisting them with prudence. But connected with this important subject of the bible is another no less worth attention, seeing that it is somewhat the basis on which the first is to stand; that is, my dear brother, the concern so nigh thy heart, education, on the plan by which every man may be able to read the bible. My reflections have led me far on this subject, since being among this people, & possibly I have never before, so fully entered into thy feelings on the importance of education, on the new system, as I have lately done. First of all we conclude that as an established or general principle ignorance leads to superstition & fanaticism, wh^{h} are moral evils, & the bane of a nation. Few among this people have had the op^{y} [opportunity] of a good education, but I am surprised at the energy & power of mind that many evince, clearness of reasoning & of sentiment wh^{h} not being clouded by vain philosophy, & human wisdom, can at once see & acknowledge to the truth. Many of this people w^{d}. have been shining characters, had they had the privileges we have enjoyed. The President who appears desirous to everything in his power to promote the welfare of his people on right ground, is making preparations for the establishm^{t} of schools where higher branches will be taught, but this does not answer thy nor my views. First, when I consider the people, I do not speak as a [end p. 3] politician, for I have nothing to do with that, only as far as according to my ideas,

truth leads to the best policy or politique. The strength & welfare of this people stand in unity & that unity leads in various respects to some equality, for as brethren there ought not to be any great disproportion among them, it begetting jealousy; thus the attention of Government to schools for high branches only, must to a new & rising nation do more harm than good, unless the plan of general education be ~~cemented~~$^{\text{connected}}$ with it. In this I contemplate much good – 1st – associations being formed by men of riper years for the education of youth, their attention to their own conduct, & the example they give to youth may be hoped for, – thus much good already obtained.

The youth in a country where concubinage has much prevailed, wh^{h}. has in a great degree lessened the authority of parents, will in those well regulated schools, whilst receiv^{g}. useful branches of education, be trained in habits of attention & obedience, which are admirably linked to that system of education. The most virtuous inhabitants under whose care & patronage these schools w^{d}. be, feeling an interest in them would be led, when visiting them to try to inculcate in the mind of the youth, principles of morality & virtue, which their example enforcing, w^{d}. supply at least in some degree, what is lacking in the part of some of their parents. Such of the youth as should evince in those schools the dispositions & qualifications for higher branches, sh^{d}. know that the benefit of these higher branches are not to be for the rich only, but for every class.

But why sh^{d}. I, my dear William thus write on a subject thou hast explored much more fully than I ever expect to do & on the importance of which I have given only a faint idea. The use of it perhaps will be to shew thee in what light I represent the subject to such of the people as appear to feel its importance. The President sees it, & appears desirous that such schools sh^{d}. be established, & nothing w^{d}. be lacking on his part, to promote the establishment of them & at first, I should apprehend in this city under his immediate care & patronage. I wish then that you w^{d}. send here some qualified school masters with all the necessary apparatus for such schools. I understand thro' some of my english

correspondents that the bible society & that for education are preparing to send to the part of the is^{d}. under the dominion of King Henry 1st Bibles & four school masters. Now, my dear friend, my request is, on behalf of this part of the is^{d}. I now visit that you would extend a portion of your attention & bounty unto them. The President will accept it with all gratitude, for his study appears to be the welfare of his people. I sh^{d}. not do justice to him, nor to my feelings, if I did not say that I find him an example of simplicity, denying himself, frugal & temperate, but liberal to the wants of the afflicted: every one has full access to him; a man of great meekness, & in my view, shining in a virtue little known by many christians, that is forgiveness of injuries. In many instances, that man has evinced that he that overcometh himself, is greater than he that taketh a city. One instance I may single out to shew his temper. He was closely besieged by his antagonist & bro^{t} to great sufferings; when all hopes of escaping seemed to vanish, a body of may be three thousand of the enemy passed over to his side which induced the other to retreat. Alex^{r} Petion being urged by his officers to pursue him, said "Nay, the Lord forbid; it is He who has reliev^{d} me: to Him alone, I commit my cause." I asked the President about the Truth of this, which not only confirming, he said, "How could I go and imbrue my hands in the blood of [end p. 4] a people whose welfare I desire?" To say that he is a humane man w^{d}. but express faintly what his many acts proclaim. Those who have plotted against him, he has pardoned, and by good offices, has even attached to himself. I request thee, my dear friend, to be very cautious not to expose any of these sentiments, as coming from me, for the present at least; / for when I visit the other part of the is^{d}. my hav^{g}. with candour told the truth respecting what I have seen in this, might close my way for my religious services, sh^{d}. the spirit of jealousy, which frequently prevails among men, reign there. I may sincerely say that I have no prejudice for or against either side; pure gospel love inflamed my heart towards all these people for whom I feel more than can be expressed. But from my manner of writing, thou mayst conclude I have at heart that thyself &

thy numerous philanthropic friends shd. know this part of the isd., which owing to the disposition of the President, is but little known. He now desired that his praise shd. not be sounded by himself, but by his works, committing to the Lord to make him known & open towards him, the hearts of so many of those worthy characters in England whom he reveres. Among these, Clarkson & Wilberforce are not the least.[6] I will try to encourage them to establish also a society for schools, & give them thy name to correspond with. I hope you will not wait to hear from them to take some steps to come to their assistance. As to books, even for schools, it is an object of great importance to this country that proper books shd. be introduced. I leave the subject for the consideration of some of you or the tract association. As a field is open, suitable translations or compositions in french may come out.

With the lr. [letter] of my valued friend Wm. Dillwyn I have recd. the inclosure for Henry the 1. King of Hayti, for which I apprehend I am indebted to my fd Thos. Clarkson & probably some of you my kind friends have by this time succeeded in conveying information to that great personage, of my proposed religious visit to his dominions; for whh I am much indebted to you.[7] I am not yet ready to quit these parts, there being several portions of the interior of the country, that I wish to visit, yet from present prospects I may be ready to try to pass on to the other side in abt. six weeks. There are many difficulties in the way, many think great danger, but when the love of God constraineth us, we are offered up to all things & the blessed experience that He taught me of his power & all sufficiency center my soul in much quietness & resignation to all His requirings. The consequences I wholly leave to Him, who can be glorified by my death as by my life. However I ought to say that the great cloud that for awhile

[6] Thomas Clarkson was a prominent British abolitionist and leader in the death of Britain's participation in the slave trade and slavery. William Wilberforce was an independent MP (Member of Parliament) and was seen by many at the time as the face of the British abolition movement.

[7] William Dillwyn was an American-born British Quaker and abolitionist. He was taught by Anthony Benezet and played an active role in fighting against the British slave trade.

hung over my mind, when contemplating that remaining portion of my service has gradually removed, & for the present at least all fear is taken away: yet from this, conclude not I am out of danger. O! my friends, pray only, that under all circumstances, I may stand faithful to my dear Master, but was He to permit that my life sh^{d}. be called for as a seal to the sacrifice I offer, & to my testimony to the gospel of his grace, there is no cause for any to stumble or to be discouraged. I write it now as I have livingly felt it many a time – there w^{d}. be no more cause for any of my dear fds to be discouraged or call in question the Lord's dispensation, than there is in the ac^{t} of the sufferings and deaths of his prophets, apostles and various servants. Which way we shall proceed towards Cape François, I cannot yet say, but my present prospect w^{d}. induce me to go the most direct. Some anticipate more difficulty relative to [end p. 5] our admission, seeing that we have been first on this side of the is^{d}. but I leave all kinds of reasoning; in the simplicity of my heart & putting forth of truth, I only desire that all our movements be directed.

Please dear William, to communicate such parts of my l^{r} to those of my fds who thou knowest are tenderly interested in my movements & in that cause I have espoused. I cannot write to them all, thus extracts of this, with thy judicious care will suffice w^{h}. my dear love to them. Among those to whom especially I request thee to communicate this long hasty scrawl are my d^{r} [dear] fds. W^{m}. D^{n} [Dillwyn] G Stacey & the Forsters. It is very probable that if I pursue faithfully my engagements on this is^{d}. I may be released from visiting any others, the difficulty to go to the Windward is so yet. 20th of 8th mo. Last 1st day I had a mt^{g} with ab^{t}. four thousand soldiers: they were drawn into close ranks before the palace of the President, on the Porch of which I stood, & being elevated, enabled my voice with some ease to extend over all. The President & chief officers were about me. It is indeed the Lord's doing – to see what openness I meet among this people, & in the daily m^{tgs}. I have with them; however short be the notice of some, ~~however short be the notice of some,~~ how quick & ready they are to

attend. The women as in our more polished nations, are the foremost in evincing their attachment, or at least, desire & goodwill for that cause dignified with honour & crowned with immortality. If some virtuous & pious family resided among them, I apprehend that a precious little company w^{d}. soon be formed. I have found it hard work to gather them in m^{tgs}. to that state of silence & waiting on that divine power, on whom alone we desire their expectation & confidence to be placed, but thro' divine mercy, that power & presence being at seasons witnessed over us have made some acquainted with Him, to whom the gathering of nations is to be. Yesterday we dined at the President's country seat, three miles from here. I expected when he gave the invitation to be at a simple family dinner, but owing to the preparations they are making for the publication of the constitution, his chief officers from various parts came, so that we were ab^{t}. sixty four at the dinner table. Six generals I think were among the guests. The quiet & order prevailing were admirable, the President evidently studying that nothing should pass that could hurt me. Our society stand very high among them knowing what advocates we have been in their cause. Observing in the dining room the names of divers of the advocates of their liberty among whom are Reynolds & Wilberforce, that this of my dear friend Clarkson is not, I have endeavored to let them know what essential services he has rendered to the oppressed descendants of Africa & what engagements both he, & thee, my dear friend continue with all industry to pursue for the further enlargement of that people – also what are your labours at Sierra Leone. Colonel Sabourin has promised me to make extracts of the works of Thos. Clarkson on the abolition of the slave trade & to introduce them into their newspapers, whereby the interest and knowledge will diffuse to every part of the is^{d}. The President thinks well of it. The Co^{l}. is a man of good natural parts and will probably write to T^{s}. Clarkson; he wrote sometime ago to –Wilberforce, but has rec^{d}. no answer. I much wish my frds, that among the books for the instruction of youth that may be sent, some could be obtained that tend to establish young minds in virtuous

habits, portraying the evils of an immoral life & a state of concubinage and setting forth the happiness that the marriage covenant when rightly entered into, procures; and I request particularly that an [end p. 6] especial care should be had that the persons who may be sent to promote the Lancasterian schools, be of settled exemplary morality, as for want of it, they might do more harm than good.

I find it difficult to impress on the minds of this people, that all the persons, who from virtuous or philanthropic sentiments advocate the cause of humanity are not of our society, for they have an idea that every good man is a Quaker, and that none but good men are Quakers, consequently that such schoolmasters as may come, will be men of virtuous habits. I know thou wilt do thy best in this, without my mentioning it, being also aware of the difficulty of obtaining such as we would. The President will see that a suitable salary be given to such as may come, and I should want thee my beloved friend to write to him, both on this and every other subject. To set thee at ease in doing it, I may say that wast thou ten minutes in his company, thou wouldst be as, with an intimate. I also wish my friend Tho[s]. Clarkson may attend to what feelings he may have respecting this country.

It is astonishing to see the order that reigns, considering their state of warfare for so many years; the cultivation of the land is advancing, and the tranquility in the interior is such, that people travel alone with large sums of money & no instance of the least molestation.

I am pleased that your meeting for sufferings has made such a suitable choice to visit Pyrmont &c. will they not go to Munich &c. and if so far, return though the south of France? My love to them affectionately. This message is cordially sent to thy dear, precious mother, brother Joseph of whose education with P. Bedford, it is a comfort to hear. I request thy dear Mary to have patience when reading thee this long but hasty scrawl, also in being thy scribe or messenger in communicating parts of it as thou mayst instruct her Among others however please render dear S[a]. Horne a share[?]. Tell her and dear Martha that I enter into

tender sympathy with them in the very close separation of a beloved brother. The tidings were very unexpected to me.

My love freely runs towards my dear friends in & about London. They are too deeply engraven on my heart not to be remembered in these burning climes as well as in North America. My love to thy valuable partner in life and the valuable one in thy business, also to thy nephews and their aunt.

Farewell my dear brother, thy sincere friend,

S. Grellet. [end p. 7][8]

[8] On the verso of the final page of A1 is the following note, dated September 24, 1816: "My esteemed friend [William Allen], I received two days since a letter from my husband, enclosing one for thee, which he left unsealed for my perusal, it containing some information I had not obtained and perceiving that he preferred my sending thee a copy of it, or making some extracts from it, I have accordingly compiled, and transmit thee a copy of the whole. I suppose about this time he may be passing to the other side of the island, and consequently encompassed with perils of various kinds. May his kind friends continue to lend the aid of their sympathy! In tender affection to thy dear companion for several reasons, and precious Mary, I am thy affectionate S. [servant] Rebecca Grellet"

Document 2: Stephen Grellet to George Stacey, October 29, 1816[9]

New York 29th of 10th Mo. 1816

My dear Friend,

My dear friends of London will probably, like thyself, be surprised of receiving a letter from me dated from this place. The ways of Providence are indeed beyond our finite comprehension – but sure and safe is the guidance of Truth – I have been prevented by an irresistible hand from prosecuting my intended further services in the West Indies, and brought back to the bosom of my family and friends; having a mind fully relieved from that portion of Gospel labour that the dear Master has seen meet to place me in a state of incapacity to perform.

Through a long letter that I wrote from Port au Prince to Wm Allen my dear friends will have seen a short account of my religious proceedings thus far and of the great openness I had met with from the inhabitants, wherever I had gone. The same I continued to witness throughout the various parts of the Island that I have visited since – In the interior of the country, among the cultivators, I found an inoffensive people, very honest, often evincing tenderness of spirt – in sundry places I had the meetings at the Commanding Officers' of the place – not unfrequently lodging at their houses. Their readiness to send about the notice of the Meetings was not less remarkable than that of the people to come to them – and in several instances on first days, when there is generally a service of all the Militia of the district, which embraces several leagues they readily gave me time for religious opportunities with them, by bringing them out close ranks before me in the Market place, when crowds of the Market people joined them (in that country, as in Flanders & France, the markets are longer on first days than on any other day)

[9] This transcription derives from O1. O2 begins with "Extract"; O3 lacks any salutation. The transcription is diplomatic, with all exceptions noted in brackets or the notes.

Many desires were expressed that I should settle among them; or that at least some of my friends who speak their language or myself could render them such a visit once a year. Though they profess to be Roman Catholics, yet very few of the men particularly, ever attend on the Priests – these are, I know of no exception, the most wicked people I could describe – they seek not to hide their vices, thus it is not by secret search that I know it – how can it be expected that Religion should flourish when such profligate men stand for its ministers?

I mentioned, I think, in my letter to Wm Allen that I had taken with me a quantity of Bibles ~~also of~~ in French, also of books relative to our principles, which they received with much eagerness. The latter consisted of a few Barclay's Apologies, No Cross No Crown, Penn's Rise and Progress; a short account of our Principles, Wm Allen's Thoughts on the importance of Religion, and Extracts from Hugh Turford.[10]

I wrote Wm Allen on the subject of schools – the president is in expectation as I gave him reason to do, that some schoolmaster to introduce the Lancasterian plan may be soon sent to him – he has much at heart to promote the subject of education – he is preparing a large building where he wishes to have higher branches taught – He has continued his same same carriage towards [end p. 1][11] me to the last, so that the more perfect knowledge of him that I have had an opportunity to obtain tends to confirm what I have said of him to Wm. Allen.

The meeting for the further organization of a Bible Society had not yet been held when I left the Island, though the day for the holding of it had been appointed at two different times – but as through bodily illness I could not attend, they adjourned the meeting repeatedly in expectation that I might be able to be present at it – but it has been otherwise ordered as I am now going to state.

After my letter to dear Wm. Allen I continued at Port au Prince a few days longer having meetings daily – I then went through the country to Jaquemel,

[10] These are all standard Quaker books.
[11] O1 lacks any original pagination.

Grand Goave, Petit Goave, Meragonane, &c, as far as Petit Trou,[12] having meeting among the divers classes of people, and came back to Port au Prince by way of Leogane – It was on the whole a fatiguing journey, some of the stages being long, and some of the roads on steep mountains among rocks – yet on some of these the country was like a garden, and covered with fine coffee trees – but in the low grounds we had to cross many deep and winding rivers – one among others we crossed 64 times; so that my feet, and even up to or above my knees being kept wet, whilst a burning sun shone over my head, laid I apprehend the foundation for the sickness that soon after made its appearance. The general practice of the country is early in the morning to take a cup of coffee without milk or any thing to eat, and only to breakfast at 11 oclock, dining from 5 to 6 oclock – but setting off early in the morning to have the cool of it, and timely to get through our stage before breakfast prevented our having the cup of Coffee, as several times we set off at 2 or 4 oclock, and at other times the forepart of the day being the most suitable for meetings I had them before breakfast – some of these being held out of doors, which called for exertion, contributed to lay the foundation for a sickness.

During that journey we had divers times to acknowledge the extension of Divine protection – on coming to the side of deep waters, very unexpectedly [meeting with] people to direct us to the fording places – enabling us to arrive at Leogane just in time probably to escape being swept away by torrents – The rain on our arriving at this place beginning to fall at such a rate that the town itself was threatened with destruction – all the country round about was like a sea – whole plantations were destroyed and many lives lost – After our return to Port au Prince I often felt feverish, but apprehending it was only cold and fatigue, I did not take much thought about it – I had several meetings; the time was fixed on 7th day for the Bible meeting, expecting to set off on first day for Christophe's dominions – having provided ourselves (that is my companion and myself) with

[12] Jacmel, Grand Goâve, Petit-Goâve, Miragoane, Petit-Trou-de-Nippes.

a Boat – The captain of a American vessel was to take us on his way to America to the mouth of the Bay called St. Marc, where from we proposed through Divine assistance to make the best of our way to the town – in this way the lives or liberty of nobody but ourselves was exposed, and we also apprehended that landing at first at a place commanded by one of Christophe's First Generals we should meet with better treatment than might be the case in outposts; but, I had a service of different kind – for on fifth day the 12th of 9th month. I had a high fever, which however did not [end p. 2] prevent my attending a meeting appointed that afternoon in which Divine help enabled me to get through the assigned work, and to obtain great relief of mind, expecting at the time it would be the last so public a meeting.

I should have, as has been the case – I took to my bed directly after the meeting, and for some days the fever so increased that my head was in the most distressful condition, so that even now the touch of it seems like having had hard blows – but I was favoured if not to keep my senses wholly, at least not to express any thing that could indicate the loss of them – On the night of the 18th to the 19th, whilst laboring under this disease, the Lord saw meet to visit the land with a hurricane and an earthquake.

The older inhabitants can only remember one comparable to this – The wind blew with such fury, and the rain fell so as to threaten general destruction – whole houses were blown away, others thrown flat down, and those that suffered least had the roof carried away – few at least escaped this – Most of the vessels were blown on shore, thrown on their sides or sunk – yet on the whole few received much damage considering their great exposure – and though many lives were lost, more escaped under the ruins than could be expected – but in the country the loss of property was great – Jaquemel & Leogane were nearly destroyed – I can hardly describe the awfulness of the scene. – I tried in vain during the night to have a dry place to lie under, with the high fever that was then on me – the roof of the house being carried away except a small corner that was observed in

the morning to remain, and which the very kind and hospitable family who entertained me, let me occupy till a new roof was put on. In a few days after that storm my fever assumed the appearance of fever and ague – but the shivering occasioned by this was so severe, and the perspiration so great (I wetted through two mattrasses) that I was reduced to great weakness – cold, clamming sweats succeeding the other – my extremities were cold, and no feeling left in them, so that very little hope was left of my recovery – Nature thus sinking I could not reasonably entertain any – yet whilst in that state, I thought that if I could be put on board a ship (La Franchise) preparing to sail for this port, I should get better – but for some days such thoughts troubled me, being in my situation considered as idle ones – my stomach being however a little strengthened I was enabled to take some Bark,[13] and on the 4th Inst., to be carried on board the ship – two days afterwards the shivering fits left me, and the fever in about a week – which I can but consider and gratefully acknowledge as a signal Divine interposition – for that kind of fever which is not unfrequent among the inhabitants of the island is very obstinate; I was told of and saw some that had continued two and three years under its affects: I also ~~I~~ hardly know of any step in which X I have seen more clearness than in that of going on board that ship, accompanied with a mind fully clear of further service in those burning climes – how great and condescending is Divine mercy! We had a passage of 18 days, during which I continued to recruit – I am yet feeble so that I write this at various intervals such as my appetite is good [end p. 3] I gain every day in strength.

My dear wife who with our little Rl. [Rachel] was at Burlington, heard of my illness two days only before a messenger brought her the tidings of my safe return, and it is now about two days since we were seated in our quiet habitation, with hearts far from being capable of embracing that fullness of gratitude that we are sensible we owe – for great indeed are the favours multiplied upon us.

[13] A tea made from the bark of the mabi tree (*Colubrina elliptica*).

I have thus been a little particular, knowing what kind interest you with some other of my friends take in a poor brother – also that you may know that since the Lord has closed the way for my prosecuting apprehended prospects of service, He has liberated me, after helping bountifully to do the part of the work He did assign.

Whilst on the Island I wrote via Jamaica to several of my English friends – thou wast of the number.

I have found here the tokens of love of many of my friends, who give me much interesting information.

Perhaps ~~a few and~~ this present scrawl, by a few extracts made by thy dear sisters will supply some of my many deficiencies. – I hope that on the return of dear Luke Howard Thos Christy, and the other company Wm. Allen, I may have long letters from some of them, perhaps from dear Josiah Forster.

Our Burlington friends we hear today are well – George Dillwyn has returned from Baltimore yearly Meeting M Naple was well when GD left Baltimore – She has a valuable young woman for a companion.

Farewell my dear brother

Thine affectionately

Stephen Grellet [end p. 4]

Joseph Smith's Journal of a Journey Inland from York Factory, 1756–57

ALEXANDER PEACOCK & SCOTT BERTHELETTE

In the winter of 1756–57, Joseph Smith and Joseph Waggoner, two servants of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), journeyed inland from York Factory to spend the season on the prairies hunting bison at the invitation of the Sturgeon Upland Cree. Following the precedent established by Anthony Henday, a laborer, net-maker, and former smuggler who undertook a similar journey in 1754–55, Smith and Waggoner's enterprise formed part of the HBC's wider efforts to boost the faltering trade at its posts along Hudson Bay. The mid-eighteenth century was a trying time for the Company. Not only had its charter come under increased scrutiny at home, but its nominal claim to a vast swathe of the North American interior appeared ever more illusory. The French, in pursuing an aggressive policy of expansion in the 1730s and 1740s, had effectively provided an alternative market for the Indigenous peoples of the Lake Winnipeg basin and Saskatchewan River valley, diverting a large quantity of furs away from the Bay and east to Montreal. Smith and Waggoner were therefore part of the HBC's attempt to reverse its fortunes by enticing Indigenous peoples up to York Factory and Churchill to trade. Smith's journal, presented in the pages that follow, is an important document in the history of the HBC, western Canada, and Indigenous North America.[1] Although some might be, and indeed have been, tempted to interpret it as a record of European "discovery," its true value lies in its attestation to the centrality of Indigenous peoples and ways of life in the workings of the fur trade. Smith and Waggoner traveled within, were guests of, and lived by the rules of an existing Indigenous world, the unsuccessful navigation of which would have resulted in the failure of their mission.

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[1] Joseph Smith, York Factory post journal, 1756–1757, B.239/a/43, pp. 1-33, Hudson's Bay Company Archives [HBCA], Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

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The common charge proffered against the HBC in the mid-eighteenth century was that it had remained "asleep by the frozen sea"—a phrase first articulated by surveyor and engineer Joseph Robson—and had failed to meet the obligations conferred on it by its Royal Charter.[2] Indeed, the Company's critics had easily managed to contrast the HBC's seeming inactivity with French zeal, in the process attributing British failings in the continent's interior to its chartered monopoly. With this backdrop, the Company's long-favored policy of restricting its activities to the shores of Hudson Bay and James Bay, which in part reflected the inherent difficulties in maintaining inland posts, appeared increasingly less defensible.

On May 2, 1670, a Royal Charter issued by King Charles II of England incorporated the HBC and granted the new joint-stock merchandising company a presumptive monopoly over the territory whose rivers and streams flowed into Hudson Bay—an area that became known as "Rupert's Land" (named after Prince Rupert of the Rhine, the HBC's first governor, and the king's cousin). From the beginning of its charter, the Company favored the strategy of waiting for Indigenous peoples to travel to the Bay with their furs. Algonquian-speaking Cree, such as the Basquia, Pegogamaw, Cowanitow, and Swampy Cree, as well as the Siouan-speaking Nakoda (Assiniboine), quickly used this system to their advantage. Benefitting from the fact that all of the major canoe routes to York Factory—via the Hayes and Nelson Rivers—ran through their territory, as well as from their procurement of firearms from the HBC (which provided a tactical advantage over their rivals the Dakota Sioux, the Gros Ventre, the Blackfoot, and the Chipewyan), the Cree and Nakoda assumed the role of middlemen in the trade between the Company and other Indigenous peoples.[3] Other factors also prevented plains peoples from trading directly with the HBC. Many, for example, had by this time adopted equestrianism and were not expert in the use of the canoe, or they simply lived too great a distance from the Bay.[4] Moreover, as Anthony Henday discovered, many peoples on the prairies, such as the Niitsítapi (Blackfoot Confederacy), had no desire to dedicate their time to trapping beaver

[2] E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670–1870. Volume I: 1670–1763* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958), 533.

[3] Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660–1870*, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 13-14; W.A. Waiser, *A World We Have Lost: Saskatchewan before 1905* (Markham: Fifth House, 2016), 157; Victor P. Lytwyn, *Muskekowuck Athinuwick: Original People of the Great Swampy Land* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002), 135-171.

[4] Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 59-61.

and traveling to the Bay.[5] These conditions allowed the Cree and Nakoda to quite naturally assume the role of middlemen, upon whom the HBC came to rely heavily, tending not to interact directly with any Indigenous peoples in the interior parts of Rupert's Land themselves.

The HBC's reliance upon middlemen arose in part from necessity and reflected both the Company's longstanding ignorance of the interior and its lack of resources. The Company's first hundred years were marked by secrecy and the suppression of geographic knowledge, which it used as a method of protecting its exclusive interests in Rupert's Land. Even in the 1740s, when it finally began mapping the Bay, the Company remained unwilling to communicate its findings. The result was that Rupert's Land was little known compared to the rest of the British Empire, with the continental interior being largely a mystery even to the Company itself.[6] Yet the HBC also lacked resources, not just knowledge. Any posts established in the interior away from the Bay presented a myriad of logistical problems. Posts needed manning and would necessarily be reliant upon Indigenous peoples for food and supplies. What was more, the HBC lacked the means to navigate the great alluvial arteries that facilitated Cree and Nakoda transportation and communication through the interior (the Company did not adopt canoes until 1749).[7] A combination of these factors all contributed to the HBC's isolation along Hudson Bay and James Bay and its reliance on a system of Indigenous middlemen.

During the middle decades of the eighteenth century, however, it became plainly evident that some change in approach was warranted, especially considering the Company's rivalry with the French. Indeed, the French had quickly turned their attention towards the Hudson Bay hinterland following the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, the terms of which had formally ceded the Hudson Bay shoreline and the Hudson Strait to Britain.[8] Spearheaded initially by Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de La Vérendrye, the French constructed a series of forts, which they called *les postes de la Mer de l'Ouest*, or the posts of the Western Sea, stretching west from Lake Superior to the Forks of the Saskatchewan River.[9] These western posts had a noticeable effect on York Factory's trade, successfully siphoning off a vast quantity of furs east to the Saint-Lawrence Valley and from there onto

[5] Waiser, *A World We Have Lost*, 164-166.

[6] Ted Binnema, "*Enlightened Zeal": The Hudson's Bay Company and Scientific Networks, 1670–1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 47-74, 95-126.

[7] Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 538, 610-612.

[8] Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 51-52.

[9] Scott Berthelette, *Heirs of an Ambivalent Empire: French-Indigenous Relations and the Rise of the Métis in the Hudson Bay Watershed* (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press), 101-132.

metropolitan French markets.[10] Moreover, the Company's critics, notably Arthur Dobbs, a member of the Irish House of Commons, quickly seized upon La Vérendrye's zeal and success as evidence that the HBC had failed in its responsibility to explore its territories and required a more active policy.[11] Under these circumstances, the HBC could not, as it previously had, continue to rely solely on its system of middlemen and isolation along the Bay.[12]

James Isham, Chief Factor at York Factory, was the man responsible for formulating a potential solution to the French threat. Isham had originally favored constructing settlements in the interior to counteract the growing French influence, but in time he came to accept that it would be impossible to compete effectively in this way as long as France held on to Canada.[13] Still wanting to diminish the influence of the French traders and siphon off some of their trade, Isham instead began a policy of sending adventurous Company men inland to encourage Indigenous peoples to come and trade at bayside posts. Isham did have a few precedents to draw upon for such an undertaking. On the English side was Henry Kelsey, who in 1690–92 had traveled to the country of the Nakoda to promote the HBC's trade. French and French-Canadian *coureurs de bois* (illicit fur traders) also had a long history of inland exploration.[14] In 1754, Isham sent Anthony Henday, an HBC laborer, on a journey inland with a Cree leader named Attickasish (Little Deer). According to Isham, Henday had "gone in Land…[to] Encourage the Indians to come to Trade," and he was especially meant to "bring the Earchethe to Trade, who are very Numerous."[15] The HBC only vaguely knew of the "Earchethe" or "Archithinues," who called themselves

[10] Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 524-528; Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd, 1939), 206; Waiser, *A World We Have Lost*, 157.

[11] This in spite of the fact that La Vérendrye was never a very successful fur trade, explorer, or Indigenous diplomat. Berthelette, *Heirs of an Ambivalent Empire,* 101-32.

[12] For more on Dobbs' challenge to the HBC's charter, see Paul W. Mapp, *The Elusive West and the Contest for Empire, 1713–1763* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 261-263, 268-270; Binnema, *Enlightened Zeal*, 67-74.

[13] Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 243-245; Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 630-631; Scott P. Stephen, *Masters and Servants: The Hudson's Bay Company and Its North American Workforce, 1668–1786* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2019), 181.

[14] E.E. Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation among the Indians of North America," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 26, no. 1 (1960): 37; Barbara Belyea, "Uses of Henday's Journal," in *A Year Inland: The Journal of a Hudson's Bay Company Winterer*, ed. Barabara Belyea (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2000), 369. For the best treatment on Henry Kelsey's career and journals, see Arthur J. Ray, *From the Frozen Sea to Buffalo Country: The Life and Times of Henry Kelsey of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1667–1724* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 2022).

[15] James Isham, York Factory post journal, August 16, 1754, HBCA B.239/b/11.

the "Niitsítapi," otherwise known as the Blackfoot Confederacy, which was comprised of three confederated Indigenous nations: the Kainai (Blood), Piikani (Peigan) and Siksika (Blackfoot).[16] Because French markets were pulling away traditional Cree customers located in the Lake Winnipeg, Cedar Lake, and lower Saskatchewan River regions, Isham and other HBC officials wanted to open new untapped markets. Henday was also tasked with keeping a journal detailing his movements and the environments traversed in a scientific manner.[17]

Although he failed to convince the Niitsítapi to return with him to the Bay, Henday's travels were judged a sufficient success and inaugurated a new policy of inland wintering, which was cheap and allowed the HBC to stick to its tried-and-true policy of restricting its main activities to bayside factories. Indeed, although winterers only ever represented a small number of the HBC's workforce—just fourteen company servants went on inland expeditions between 1754 and 1770—a total of fifty-six trips were made between 1754 and 1775, becoming a cornerstone of company policy.[18] One of these important journeys was that made by Smith and Waggoner in 1756–57.

Following the success of Henday's expedition, Isham sent more young men inland to coax various Indigenous bands to come to trade at Hudson Bay. Isham's instructions to Smith and Waggoner did not vastly differ from those given to Henday two years prior. They were to travel inland and distribute presents and goods among Indigenous peoples, encouraging them at the same time to make the journey up to the Bay to trade with the Company. They were to keep an eye out for the French but were not to provoke a confrontation with them. They were to accompany Washiabitt, a leader among the Sturgeon Cree, and his people back to their homeland in the Swan River region of present-day Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Washiabitt's invitation to the HBC was a stroke of good luck, as French activity in the interior had severely impacted the Company's trade with

[16] For more on the Blackfoot in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (the era when HBC, North West Company, and American traders were fully engaged in the buffalo trade on the Northern Great Plains), see Ted Binnema, "Allegiances and Interests: Niitsitapi (Blackfoot) Trade, Diplomacy, and Warfare, 1806–1831," *Western Historical Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (Autumn 2006): 327-419; Ted Binnema and William A. Dobak, "'Like the Greedy Wolf': The Blackfeet, the St. Louis Fur Trade, and War Fever, 1807–1831," *Journal of the Early Republic* 29, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 411-430; Ryan Hall, *Beneath the Backbone of the World: Blackfoot People and the North American Borderlands, 1720–1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

[17] Barbara Belyea, "Indians, Asinepoets and Archithinues," in *A Year Inland,* 343-345; Belyea, "Uses of Henday's Journal," 370; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 243-250.

[18] Waiser, *A World We Have Lost*, 170; Stephen, *Masters and Servants*, 182.

the Sturgeon Cree in particular.[19] Smith and Waggoner were, following on from Henry Kelsey in 1690–92, consequently some of the first HBC servants to ever journey as far as the Assiniboine River region.[20]

Joseph Smith, a laborer who had arrived from England in 1753, was the first of Isham's selection to travel with the Sturgeon Cree. Quickly proving his worth, the winter of 1756–57 turned out to be just the first of a total of five journeys that Smith made inland during his career. It was also Smith whom Isham entrusted with keeping a journal and a detailed account of their activities. Smith eventually died in 1765 en route to York Factory, leaving behind one child whose mother was an Indigenous woman. Because he authored the journal, Smith has generally received far more attention than his partner, Joseph Waggoner, who even lacks an entry in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Yet in many respects, Waggoner had a more complex identity and background, which might have been a factor in the success of his and Smith's mission, even if he remains a largely shadowy figure in its undertaking.

Joseph Waggoner was the son of Rowland Waggoner, an illiterate laborer who had arrived in Rupert's Land in 1714.[21] The elder Waggoner had quickly proven himself indispensable to the Company—indeed a jack of all trades—and spent a long career at Fort Albany, rising to become chief of that post in 1739. He died in 1740, probably in no small measure due to the fact that he consumed an average of over thirteen gallons of brandy per year.[22] It remains uncertain as to whom Joseph's mother was or when precisely he was born, but some historians have suggested she was an Indigenous woman.[23] Although historian Jennifer S. H. Brown has identified Charles Price Isham (b. 1754) as the first child born to an Indigenous mother and European father who beyond a doubt went on to achieve a noteworthy career in the fur trade,[24] this in no way precludes the younger Waggoner from also being of Indigenous blood, even if this claim is harder to substantiate. Evidence for Waggoner's parentage does, however, exist in his father's will, which instructed his executor, James Duffield to take his son back to England. This would suggest that Joseph was born at the Bay where the

[19] George E. Thorman, "Smith, Joseph," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 3 (1974); Waiser, *A World We Have Lost*, 172; Belyea, "Uses of Henday's Journal," 381; Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 642.

[20] Meyer and Russell have attempted to trace Kelsey's route, based upon one of the three surviving copies of his poem and journal, and argue that they travelled along the Etomami River-Lilian River trail to the aspen parklands. Kelsey's party was therefore likely to have been near the mouth of the Lilian River, a tributary of the Assiniboine River. David Meyer and Dale Russell, "'Through the Woods Whare Thare Ware Now Track Ways': Kelsey, Henday, and Trails in East Central Saskatchewan," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 31, no. 3 (2007): 182-186.

[21] Thorman, "Smith, Joseph."

[22] George E. Thorman, "Waggoner, Rowland," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2 (1982).

[23] Thorman, "Smith, Joseph."

[24] Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 155-156.

only women would have been Indigenous.[25] Irrespective of his matrilineal parentage, Joseph followed in his father's footsteps and likewise spent his adult life in the service of the HBC, making a total of three inland journeys. He continued to be responsible for bringing Indigenous peoples up to York Factory to trade into the 1760s, before he met the melancholy fate of drowning in 1766.[26]

If Waggoner did have an Indigenous mother, then this could have proven highly beneficial for the two Josephs' task of wintering on the prairies, as such an undertaking relied upon adopting an Indigenous way of life for its success. This argument, however, must be prefaced with the disclaimer that we cannot be entirely sure how much of an affiliation he may have enjoyed with his mother's culture. HBC historian E.E. Rich argues that the Company understood the importance of forming close-knit alliances with Indigenous peoples, which was why it increasingly employed mixed-heritage servants such as Waggoner in the eighteenth century.[27] Indeed, part of the logic behind inland wintering was that these men were to live not merely *with* but *like* Indigenous people, marking them as quite distinct from the likes of La Vérendrye, who traveled the interior with other Frenchmen and French-Canadians from the Saint-Lawrence Valley.[28] While La Vérendrye and other French colonial officers mostly stayed at their posts, they would also send subordinate *voyageurs* and *engagés* to live and trade *en dérouine* among Indigenous bands. "En dérouine" is a fur trade idiom that roughly translates as traveling with a small complement of goods to Indigenous communities to trade for furs.[29]

The fact that such traders traveled with Indigenous bands highlights that the journeys remained primarily Indigenous undertakings and followed Indigenous seasonal subsistence and land use patterns. As noted by historian Bill Waiser, Anthony Henday's trip was an enterprise wholly arranged by the Pegogamaw Cree, with the Englishman merely accompanying them as their guest.[30] The routes taken by all the inland travelers reflected Indigenous needs and patterns, and even Smith and Waggoner's journey formed part of the traditional seasonal activities of the Sturgeon Cree, which included trapping wolves, hunting and processing bison, smoking and feasting, and building canoes for their return journey

[25] Stephen, *Masters and Servants*, 257, 359n.84

[26] Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 645; Stephen, *Masters and Servants*, 186.

[27] Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 645.

[28] Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 244-250.

[29] For fur trade lexicon and meaning of "en dérouine," see Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 201-203.

[30] Waiser, *A World We Have Lost*, 168.

to the Bay.[31] HBC employees were entering an Indigenous world and participating in it on its own terms. Although we can only speculate as to the extent to which Waggoner might have been familiar with his mother's culture, servants who could move more seamlessly between European and Indigenous worlds were becoming all the more consequential to Company operations in the interior by the time of his and Smith's voyage.

Smith's journal offers an important record of both the two Josephs' journey and the HBC's policy of inland wintering more generally. Few of the early HBC servants who traveled inland possessed the necessary literary skills to produce written accounts of their exploits.[32] Naturally, later inland sojourners, like William Tomison, William Pink, Matthew Cocking, Philip Turnor, and of course Samuel Hearne in the later decades of the eighteenth century produced, unlike Smith, very detailed accounts of their travels inland. Yet what makes Smith's journal remarkable is that it is one of the earliest records of an HBC inlander following the initial Henday expedition. Kelsey left behind a record of his journey in the form of a rhymed verse describing the summer of 1690, as well as a brief travel journal in prose describing the period from June to September 1691, meaning that Smith's journal provides scholars with a far more detailed description of his travels.[33] While Smith's journal is therefore a valuable document, there remain serious issues that one must consider when reading the account concerning its authorship, its claims to an empirical authority, as well as our ability to ascertain precisely where the two Josephs traveled that winter.

Although James Isham tasked Smith with keeping a journal, we might rather consider the final piece as being collaboratively written. For one, the surviving copy of Smith's 1756-57 journal is written in the hand of Andrew Graham, an assistant writer who worked under Isham at York Factory in the 1750s. Literary scholar Barbara Belyea has explored the issue of Graham's editorship in detail in regard to Henday's journals. She has argued that Graham applied a heavy editorial influence on the winterers' writings more generally, not only regularizing spelling but also adding remarks that would render the documents more in line with the Company's instructions and expectations. Henday's journal survives in the form of four copies that all differ from one another, and it is only by

[31] Dale R. Russell, *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series Paper 143, 1991), 110; Barbara Belyea, "Tracing Henday's Route," in *A Year Inland*, 331.

[32] Russell, *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours*, 91; Stephen, *Masters and Servants*, 182.

[33] Meyer and Russell, "'Through the Woods Whare Thare Ware Now Track Ways,'" 182.

comparing them that we can deduce the extent of Graham's editorial hand in winterers' journals.[34] In Smith's case, it is much harder to begin to ascertain the extent of Graham's influence, as no copy remains in Smith's hand. Perhaps this editorial influence would present a significant problem if we were to value Smith's journal as an objective record of Smith's experiences alone, but if we adopt Germaine Warkentin's suggestion that exploration texts are "corporate production[s]," where few authors had a sense of proprietorship, then the questions of authorship are less problematic.[35] We might thus approach Smith's journal as a collaborative account of the HBC's early attempts to explore the interior and of the Company's relationship with Indigenous peoples.

The possibility of Graham's modifications to the original journal nevertheless raises questions regarding the extent to which we can accept its empirical authority. Smith's journal broadly fits into the genre of eighteenth-century travel and exploration texts, meaning that it lays claim to the principles of Lockean empiricism. Central to this concept was the autonomy and veracity of the eyewitness narrator, evidence of which served as nominal proof of the truth of a writer's account and contributed towards a reader's ability to accept it as fact.[36] Throughout the eighteenth century, furthermore, there was a growing connection between geography and exploration on the one part and empirical science on the other. This genre may have received its greatest expression with the writings associated with James Cook's expeditions to the Pacific Northwest, but the principle of scientific objectivity—the notion that a piece of exploration writing represented disinterested and first-hand observations—is present within Smith's earlier journal.[37] We can see this quite clearly in the matter-of-fact style of reporting the events of the day, with a typical entry running something like as follows:

> In the morning sett forward, Course SE^{t}, past on Bay, and on Island, the River, winding So much went in to a Lake not very Large, full of Islands, the Shore Low, with willows and poplar, our Course SW^{t}. till we Came to a River, steered SSW^{t}, passing by Islands, till night, then put up.[38]

[34] Belyea, "Uses of Henday's Journal," 382-385; Glyndwr Williams, "Graham, Andrew," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5 (1983).

[35] Germaine Warkentin, "Introduction to the First Edition," in *Canadian Exploration Texts*, 2nd ed., ed. Germaine Warkentin (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2006), 31.

[36] Gordon M. Sayre, *Les Sauvages Américains: Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 80.

[37] Daniel Wright Clayton, *Islands of Truth: The Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000), 17-27; Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), 75-82; Warkentin, "Introduction to the First Edition," 29.

[38] September 21, 1756.

The entry endeavors to be as objective as possible, expressing little in the way of opinions, instead focussing on geographical facts, noting compass directions and the sights encountered during the course of the day; it is seemingly verifiable and possesses no hint of Graham's editorial hand. It implies it can be trusted because it is apparently first-hand and factual, even a little monotonous.

Smith's journal may indeed have attempted to lay a claim to this empirical standard, yet (as was also the case in Henday's writings) it could not so easily disguise its shortcomings; the journal lacks specificity throughout.[39] It is very rare, for instance, that Smith gives any name to a place or group of people encountered. He frequently notes the expedition's course through statements such as "past severall Islands," but what islands these were and precisely where he might have found them usually remains largely a mystery. In some instances, however, it has been possible to reconstruct portions of Smith and Waggoner's journey. The lack of spontaneity and monotonous quality of many of the entries suggest that the instructions given in many respects dictated what was recorded and "seen."[40] Smith's journal made a genuine attempt to be an empirical and scientific record of what he saw, which, considering his meager education and prior knowledge of the interior, was no small task.

When we consider the vagueness of Smith's journal entries, it is perhaps a little surprising that many historians possess such a degree of confidence as to relate the precise route taken by the two Josephs in copious detail. It is true that some, like E.E. Rich and Dale R. Russell, offer a disclaimer that it is almost impossible that we should know exactly where they traveled, yet each still provides an incredibly detailed route.[41] Historical geographer Richard I. Ruggles believed that Smith's journal was sufficient for Isham to produce an accurate map of the journey after their return to York Factory.[42] Some of these claims, more specifically the older ones, are steeped in the language of colonialism and nationalism, where "explorers" and "pioneers," which the two Josephs are transformed into, become the first white men to visit such regions, marginalizing in the process the central place of Indigenous peoples in these expeditions.[43] Minor disagreements and political motivations aside, the general consensus among historians is that Smith and Waggoner traveled inland from York Factory, traversing the north end of Lake Winnipeg towards Lake Winnipegosis and Lake Manitoba, then west

[39] On Henday see, Barbara Belyea, "From Manuscript to Print," in *A Year Inland*, 16.
[40] Belyea, "Uses of Henday's Journal," 371.
[41] Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 642-643; Russell, *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours*, 110.
[42] Richard I. Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670–1870* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 38.
[43] Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 251.

through the Duck and Riding Mountains and through the Swan River Valley, finally crossing the Assiniboine River and wintering in present-day southwestern Manitoba and southeastern Saskatchewan.[44] The reader may judge for themselves the veracity of wider claims regarding the route. We can certainly make an educated guess as to where they travelled, but we shall likely never be able to precisely ascertain the course of their route.

While Smith and Waggoner's itinerary remains elusive, the journal they produced remains of great value to researchers, offering insights that are far more valuable than knowing their precise route. The journal provides evidence of the centrality of Indigenous peoples to the fur trade, as well as rare documentary evidence of the yearly activities of the Cree in the mid-eighteenth century and the ongoing versatility of Indigenous cultures in the heart of North America. It further offers an account of the HBC's inland operations in the 1750s and its rivalry with French traders. Smith and Waggoner's journey also served as one of the first steps in a new Company policy that would slowly pivot HBC operations towards the interior. By the late-1770s, the HBC workforce had moved inland, reorienting the site of Euro-Indigenous relations away from coastal factories and towards Saskatchewan Valley posts like Cumberland House, Nipawin, Upper Hudson House, and Manchester House. Not since the days of Henry Kelsey in the 1690s had the HBC so earnestly pursued the exploration of the interior of North America.[45] If the HBC had "for eighty years slept at the edge of a frozen sea," as Joseph Robson had once criticized, they had indeed now awoken.[46]

[44] Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 250-251; Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 642-643; Russell, *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours*, 110-112; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 40-41.

[45] For more on the HBC exploration of the interior, particularly the Saskatchewan River route, see Waiser, *A World We Have Lost*, 157-174.

[46] Joseph Robson, *An account of six years residence in Hudson's*-bay (London: Printed for J. Payne and J. Bouquet, 1752), 6. 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 T100417.

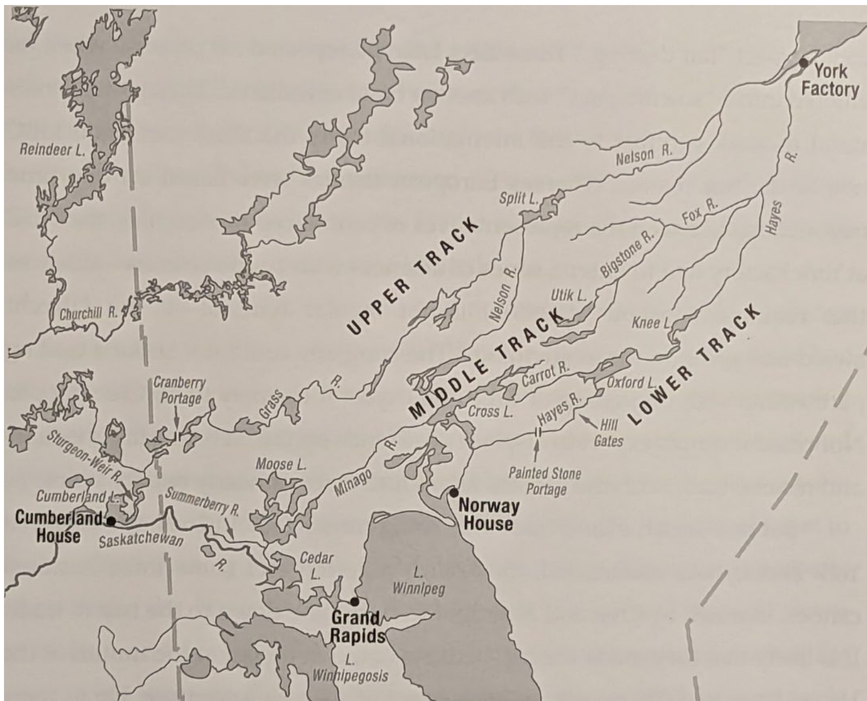

Figure I. Major canoe routes between York Factory and the interior. An attempted reconstruction of Smith and Waggoner's route suggests that they took the "Lower Track" through Knee Lake, Oxford Lake, and the Painted Stone Portage. Bill Waiser, *A World We Have Lost: Saskatchewan Before 1905* (Markham, Ontario: Fifth House Publishing, 2016). Courtesy of Fifth House Publishing.

THE JOURNAL OF JOSEPH SMITH

A Journal of the most remarkable Observations and Occurrances on a Journey in Land performed by Joseph Smith & Joseph Waggoner Who Departed from York Fort August the 23^{d}: 1756 and Returned June the 25th: 1757
by Joseph Smith **[n.p., cover]**[1]

The Following Journal is Remarks and Observations of a Journey in Land, performed by Joseph Smith & Joseph Waggoner Who Departed from York Fort Augst, the 23^{d}, 1756 And Returned June Y^{e}. 25th, 1757. **[end fol. 2^{v}]**

1756 Augst ye 23^{d}

We took our Departure from York: :fort, and in 4 days Reached Steal river,[2] seed two tents of Ind^{s}. Stayed there two days, the wind blowing hard att NW.st.[3]

30 [August 1756]

Sett forward up the river past three points Coarse[4] WNWst. then SWbW. the SW^{t}.

[1] The verso of the cover bears catalog data penciled by an HCA archivist: "B.239/a/43. 1756/57." For full catalog information, see the introduction, fn. 1. The manuscript is blank from fols. 1-2^{r}. The leaves are paginated in Andrew Graham's hand and were foliated by an archivist. This transcription is diplomatic, with all exceptions noted in brackets or the notes.

[2] According to Anthony Henday's account, the Cree called this river "Apet Sepee" or "Fire-steel River." Henday, *A Year Inland*, 44.

[3] Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, various sections of the Hayes were identified as individual rivers—Steel, Hill, Little Jack—with only the river southward from York Factory for a distance of 56 miles to "The Forks" of Shamattawa (Gods) River and Steel River counting as the Hayes River. In 1902, the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names assigned the name "Hayes River" to the entire length of the waterway from York Factory to Painted Stone Portage, a distance of about 300 miles. William Barr and Larry Green, "Lt. Aemilius Simpson's Survey from York Factory to Fort Vancouver, 1826," *Journal of the Hakluyt Society* (August 2014): 12. Eric W. Morse, *Fur Trade Canoe Routes of Canada/Then and Now* (Ottawa: Roger Duhamel, Queen's Printer, 1969), 37; J. B. Tyrrell, *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor between the years 1774 and 1792* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), 99.

[4] Course. Graham varies between these two spellings throughout.

bank high and Small woods, past one Small Creek, and Island, put up for this night.[5]

31st. [August 1756]

In the morning Sett out, Steering SW^{t}., past one small Island, with Willows one it; then Coarse SbW^{t}, past one Shoal point, the River winding very much, then Came to Sockitton River the mouth of it NW^{t}., | the banks on the SW^{t}. Side very high, and on the NE^{t}. side Low only as We Entered the Rivers Mouth;[6] high with Willows and poplars, | past one Bluff, and one point, Coarse SbE^{t}, Seed two Little willow Islands then Coarse SWbW^{t}, **[end p. 1]**[7] untill we past one Shoal point, Coarse WSWst. past two Little Islands, one of them had birch Growing on it past a Shoal point, Coarse SW^{t}, untill we put up att night.

Septr ye 1st. [1756]

In the morning unpitched and steered SbW, past severall Islands some with willows, Some with Grass only, past one Bay, and one Bluff, then Coarse South, the Wood is Small put up Att night

[5] Henday's account names the creek "Mistick-Apethaw Sepee" or "Wood Partridge River." Henday, *A Year Inland*, 44.

[6] Smith seems to be describing what's named "Hill River" depicted on a map titled "Route of the Expedition from York Factory to Cumberland House: and the Summer & Winter Tracks from thence to Isle a la Crosse, in 1819 & 1820" that accompanied John Franklin's *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1819, 20, 21, and 22*. Stanford University's David Rumsey Map Center has recently published a high-resolution reproduction of its copy of the map (G3470 1823 .M8) here: https://purl.stanford.edu/sr231gh4200. According to Franklin's map, the southwestern shore of Hill River was a large hill or escarpment about 600 feet high, whereas the eastern bank was more level with the river. Franklin described the scenery of Hill River passage: "The highest of these hills, which gives a name to the river, has an elevation not exceeding six hundred feet. From its summit, thirty-six lakes are said to be visible." John Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1819, 20, 21, and 22* (London: John Murray, 1823), 33.

[7] The date of this entry—"August ye 31st"—is repeated in p. 2's margin. Smith uses this convention for all multipage entries throughout the manuscript. These repeated dates are omitted from this transcript.

2^{d}. [September 1756]

In the morning sett out, Coarse South Crossing many Small falls, then Coarse SSW. Cross'd a Large fall was forced to Carry our things over it, all day the falls Continued very thick the banks washey and poor Woods, past two Islands with pine trees growing on them then Coarse SWbW, put up for the night upon An Island with pine trees.

3^{d}. [September 1756]

In the morning sett out Coarse SbW^{t}. Crossing falls And passing by Islands Little birch to be Seen Yet, att night **[end p. 2]** put up the Islands so thick I Could not Examine them

4th. [September 1756]

In the morning moved, and Steered SSW^{t}, all the forenoon nothing but Islands, And falls, for we Could not discover Any Main Land, the River Runneth so very wide, in the afternoon Coarse SbW^{t}., till we put up Att night, nothing to be Seen Yet but falls, and Islands:

5th. [September 1756]

In the morning Sett out, and Steered SSW^{t}, but Soon after Altered our Course, to SW, Still Crossing Falls, and passing by Islands, in the Evening Steered away SSW.^{t}, untill we Came to the Lake, our Course SW^{t}, it is very wide, and full of Islands, the SE^{t}. shore flatt and Small Woods, the NW^{t}. side some small pine trees, Att night we put up on the SE^{t}. Shore

6th. [September 1756]

This day Lay by, wind NW.^{t} with a strong gale. **[end p. 3]**

1756 Sept ye 7th.

This day Sett out Course SWst, untill We past four Willow, & birch Islands; then Steer'd SbW^{t}. Came to A River full of Islands, and falls, some bore Birch some willows, others pine trees, in the Evening past one Large fall, and two Islands; Steering SWbS. Entered up Another River which was a nearer way, the Shores were flatt and on the SE^{t}. side some pine, and poplar trees, one the NW^{t}. side were Willows and poplars, then we Steered SW^{t}. untill we Came to the mouth of the Great Lake,[8] there we Lay for that night, the Shores Low and but poor wood on them.

8th. [September 1756]

In the morning we steered away South, mett with Ind^{s}. att the head of a Large Island, there we Laid Att night;

9th. [September 1756]

In the morning Steered away SSW^{t}, past Six Islands, then Steered SW^{t}, past Six Bluffs and three Bays on the NW^{t}. Shore; att night we put up in a good Bay for Jack,[9] the water was so **[end p. 4]** Ruff could not sett the nett, in the night Blowed very hard att NW.^{t}

10th. [September 1756]

This day blowed hard Could not move, See two Islands bearing SE^{t}. here we Caught the Largest Jack ever I seed, the Ind^{s}. Calls it Jack Bay.

[8] Oxford Lake, according to anthropologist Dale R. Russell, which the party would have had to cross since they travelled inland by way of the Hayes River. Twelve days later, on September 22, they reached "Wineapeck Sockahagan" or Lake Winnipeg. In other travel accounts and maps, Oxford Lake is referred to as Bottomless or Holey (i.e., hole) Lake from the Cree "Pe-the-pa-we-ne-pee." Russell, *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree*, 157.

[9] Northern Pike (*Esox lucius*).

11th. [September 1756]

This morning sett out Course South untill We past two Islands, then our Course SSW^{t}, then past four Islands, our Course SbW^{t}, see a great many Islands, to the Eastward of us, att noon Came to the River that Runneth betwixt the Lakes, Course WSW, untill we pass On, great fall then Steered West, Cross'd 3 falls And then put up.

12th. [September 1756]

In the morning moved and Steered West, the rivers betwixt the Lake winded very much, for after Crossing two falls we went WNW^{t}, then Cross'd four falls Steered away NW; past one Island with good Wood on it, then we Came to a River which Runneth to the Westward, Steered West till we Came to the Lake, which Runneth to the Southward, **[end p. 5]** in the Entrance of this Lake, the water is So deep no bottom to be found, the shores is Low, And on the West Side, but poor Wood; but on the East Side there is pretty good Wood, Birch, and pine; our Course SbW^{t}. past four Islands bearing to the Westward of us, Seed Severall[10] more, Came to a River, that Runneth between the Lakes, and there we put up, for that night.

13th [September 1756]

In the morning sett out Course SW^{t}. but did not go that Course Long, for there were a River that Runneth to the Eastward, went up that River Course East till we past one fall, then went SW, Came to a place where were two Rivers, one Run to the Southward, and one to the Westward; but we went up the one that run to the Southward; steering away South, untill we Came to a fall, and four Islands; then steered SE^{t}. the SW^{t}. Land Rockey, and poor Wood, on the NE^{t}. side very fine pine tree, the River winded to the Westward, steered SbW; Untill We Came

[10] Here Graham uses a colon as a line break, the exact text reads “Se::verall.”

Unto **[end p. 6]** the Lake, our Course then South untill we past five Islands, then Course SbW^{t}, untill night; we put up att the head of an Island;

14th. [September 1756]

In the morning Sett forward Steering away SSW^{t}. and SW^{t}, passing by Severall Islands the Shores Still Low and Small wood, in the middle of the Day Came to a Little River the Shores very high, and Rockey Course WSW^{t}. passing severall falls and Islands, Came to the Lake, put up for that night.

15th. [September 1756]

In the morning sett out Coarse SSW^{t}, Came to a Large fall, obliged to Carry our things above a mile, on our backs; from this fall we went SE^{t}, passing by Islands, keeping that Coarse untill noon, then Went South, past one Island then Coarse SW^{t}, Came to a River, went two mile up, Came to two tents of Ind^{s}, they behaved very Civily to us, put up for that night, the shore Low but pretty good woods.**[end p. 7]**

1756 Sepr ye 16.

In the morning moved, our Course SWbS, past one Island, then Came to a River; we being obliged to Cross the Land, for above a mile; Carried our things in to the Above River, the Current going with us, our Course SSW, this River was narrow, and more Like to A Creek but the Shores flatt, and but poor wood, Came to A Beaver Dam, was forced to pull it down before we Could Get water to Go with, after two hours Work Gott past it, steered away SW^{t}, then Came to A very Shoal place, obliged to Lead our Canoes along for above A mile, the River Run to the Northward, Steered NW, past one Bay, put up for this night;

17th. [or 18th September 1756][11]

In the morning Steered Away WNW^{t}, Came to the falls no Water to go with the Canoes, obliged to Carry our things over them and After that to go into the woods to pull down a beaver Dam as We had the day before, from this **[end p. 8]** place our Course NW, and nothing growing ashore but willows, Cross'd A narrow Creek then Steered West, untill we past one Bay, then WSW^{t}, Cross'd another Creek, put up for this night Low Shore And Burnt woods,

19th [September 1756]

In the morning Sett forward Course SW^{t}, And WSW^{t}. past a Little Creek here. The Shore is high And Rockey, nothing to be seen but burnt woods, passing by Islands, till we Came to two Rivers, the one Run to the southward, And the other to the northward; went up the on that run to the Southward, steering away South, past 3 falls, then Course SbW^{t}, the Shores with good Wood; past Six Islands, Went SSW^{t}, into the next Lake; passing by Islands Steering Sometimes SW^{t}, then SWbW^{t}, untill We Came to a River that run to the Eastward, steered away East, putt up for this night, **[end p. 9]**

1756 Septr ye 20th.

This Day Lay by Snowed hard.

21st [September 1756]

In the morning sett forward, Course SE^{t}, past on Bay, and on Island, the River, winding So much went into a Lake not very Large,[12] full of Islands, the Shore

[11] This entry describes the events of a singular day but spans two pages with contradictory margin dates (the 17th and 18th). Its reference to the pulling down of the first beaver dam "the day before" suggests the day described was the 17th, and that the events of the 18th are omitted or mistakenly labeled the 19th.

[12] This lake is possibly Little Playgreen Lake since they entered Lake Winnipeg the following day.

Low, with willows and poplar, our Course SW^{t}. till we Came to a River, steered SSW^{t}, passing by Islands, till night, then put up.

22^{d} [September 1756]

In the morning proceeded on our Voyage, steering SW^{t}, till We Entered Another small Lake, then Coarse South for About 4 hours, then SSE^{t}, passing by a great many Islands, About two O Clock we Entered Wineapeck Sockahagan,[13] Steering[14] away SSE^{t}, till night we put up; the shores flatt and very good Woods on Each Side. **[end p. 10]**

1756 Sepr ye 23^{d}

In the morning proceeded our Course | from point to point of the Lake | South Lost Sight of the Eastern Shore, the Wind blowing hard, obliged us to put up.

[13] Lake Winnipeg. "Sockahagan" is the first Indigenous word to appear in Smith's journal. Linguists and anthropologists have recognized the linguistic subdivisions in the Western Cree based primarily on the spoken dialects of /y/, /n/, and /th/, as well as geographic boundaries. Rocky Cree of the Churchill River drainage basin speak the /th/ dialect and refer to themselves as "Asiniskaw Īthiniwak," which translates to "people of the place where there is an abundance of rock." Western Woods Cree, like the Sturgeon Cree who guided Smith and Waggoner, spoke the /n/ dialect Cree language (Ininímowin) and refer to themselves as "Ininéwak." The Swampy or Lowland Cree also speak the /n/ dialect and refer to themselves as "Omushkegowuk," which means "people of the muskeg." Lastly, the Plains Cree speak the /y/ dialect and refer to themselves as "Nêhiyawak," which translates to "those who speak the same language." Henry Kelsey's dictionary seems to reflect the /n/ dialect that Smith and Waggoner's Sturgeon Cree guides would have spoken. Kelsey's dictionary lists "Saw cau higgen" as the Cree word for "Lake," which is certainly a close approximation of "Sockahagan." For Cree languages, see Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 177; Victor P. Lytwyn, *Muskekowuck Athinuwick: Original People of the Great Swampy Land* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002), xi, 206, Louis Bird, *Telling Our Stories: Omushkego Legends and Histories from Hudson Bay*, eds. Jennifer S.H. Brown, Paul W. DePasquale, and Mark F. Rumi (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2005), 24; James G.E. Smith, "The Western Woods Cree: Anthropological Myth and Historical Reality," *American Ethnologist* 14, no. 3 (1987): 434-448; Russell, *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree*, 3-4. For Kelsey's dictionary, see Arthur J. Ray, *From the Frozen Sea to Buffalo Country: The Life and Times of Henry Kelsey of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1667–1724* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 2022), 221.

[14] "Steer::ing"

24. Octr 6th

Could not proceed on our voyage not gaining above two miles.[15]

7th. [October 1756]

In the morning Sett forward doubling points Coarse SSWt, then WNWt, till we past a very Long point and One Island, then put up for the night.

8th [October 1756]

In the morning Sett forward Course SEt, past an Island, then Went South untill we Came to A River And there put up.[16] [**end p. 11]**

1756 Octr ye 9th

In the morning sett forward up the River Course South,[17] Att noon Came where our Leaders family Lay, only one tent, and two men, the Inds. All gone So Late in the Year, |

10 to ye 18 [October 1756]

We Lay by designing to Leave Our Canoes the Rivers So Shoal, The French Comes past att this place Usually, but had not, so Late in the Season.

[15] Arthur S. Morton notes that Smith and Waggoner "were windbound for a fortnight" on the north shore of Lake Winnipeg. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 250.

[16] According to Morton, this river is the Saskatchewan River which the party took to exit Lake Winnipeg and travel towards Cedar Lake. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 250.

[17] Curiously Smith does not mention the Grand Rapids (which the party would have had to portage) where the Saskatchewan River enters Lake Winnipeg at a significant drop. This is notably the only significant obstacle on the Saskatchewan-North Saskatchewan route between the Rocky Mountains and Lake Winnipeg. John Franklin's narrative describes the obstacle in this way: "At the grand rapid, the Saskatchewan forms a sudden bend, from south to east, and works its way through a narrow channel, deeply worn into the limestone strata. The stream, rushing with impetuous force over a rocky and uneven bottom, presents a sheet of foam, and seems to bear with impatience the straitened confinement of its lofty banks." Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, 45.

19th. [October 1756]

In the morning sett out and travelled till night Course South and SbE.

20th. [October 1756]

In the morning sett forward till night, Course from the SSE to the South. **[end p. 12]**

1756 Octr ye 21st

In the morning sett forward Course SbE^{t}. about four Mile then we Came to A Lake, from that to another where there were Ind^{s},[18] we were treated with the Greatest Kindness, Gave them tobacco, And other things that we had to give, there were plenty of mouse[19] Stay'd to the 28 Instant;

28th. [October 1756]

In the morning We moved altogether our Course South along the Lake Side untill noon then Changed our Course SSE^{t}, untill we put up Att night.

29th. [October 1756]

This day Snowed very Much Lay by.

30th. [October 1756]

In the morning moved still in Company with the Ind^{s}. we mett on the 21st. Instant, the Snow Almost foot deepth, Left the Lake and walked Across **[end p. 13]** an Island our Course South untill noon, then SSW^{t}, att night put up.

[18] The lake where Smith and Waggoner met the Indigenous group was probably Cedar Lake where they would spend the rest of the month.

[19] Moose (*Alces alces*) not to be confused with mouse (*peromyscus sonoriensis*). See also November 11, 1756; February 19, 1757; and February 24, 1757, below.

31st. [October 1756]

In the morning we moved our Course South, Across the Island, and in the Evening Came to the River; where I was Informed there were a french house, but they had Left it; so we Stay'd there 8 days,[20]

Nov^{r} ye 9th.

Moved and Cross'd another Island, our Course South, att night put up.

10th. [November 1756]

Moving forward Course SbW^{t}. untill noon, then SW^{t}, at night put up.

11th. November 1756

This day moved forward Course SSW^{t}, on this Island there were the Largest wood I had ever Seen in the Country, Ash and Birch trees, We Came to a Lake very Large on three days Journey from the french house, SW^{t}. Course **[end p. 14]** see'd plenty of Islands, and a Great many Mouse on them, in the Evening Came to the hills, very Lofty, with plenty of Mouse; there we put up for the night.

12th. [November 1756]

In the Morning we proceeded forward on our Journey Course SW^{t}, Retained one man and his wife that went from us four Days ago, brought with them one french Man And five Indians he was very Civill to us, he had no powder Att his factory, he had been froze in Att a Great Lake he farther told us there were One man more, and was desirous we would Go to his house, in this place we Catcht the Largest Jack ever I seed Yet.

[20] Arthur S. Morton believes that the "french house" where the party rested for eight days was Fort Bourbon on Cedar Lake. Smith and Waggoner would visit Fort Bourbon and be entertained by the French "Master" during their return journey in May 1757. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 250.

13th [November 1756]

This day we moved to a place in the Lake and stay'd five days, till they went and brought two french with them, to stay behaved Extreamly well, to us. **[end p. 15]**

1756 Novr ye 14th.

This Day We all moved Course SWt, att night we Came to Inds, and two french men with them.

15th. [November 1756]

This day we all Lay by the frenchmen Inform'd us there were three more of them Coming to Stay with us all Winter;

16th. [November 1756]

This morning we proceeded forward Course South, one of the french men Went back with some provisions for his Companions they had Left behind.

17th. [November 1756]

This day Lay by and they Came up to us Att night, and Inds, with them one of which was a Captn. of Yours belonging to York Fort, he told me he had not been down these 3 or 4 Years, We Gave them what things We had.[21] [**end p. 16**]

1756 Novr ye 18th.

This day we moved directing our Course SSWt, untill we put up.

[21] The designation "trading captain" refers to leaders who headed trading convoys to HBC posts, and who were generally recognized and supported by HBC personnel with special gifts, such as suits, medals, and gorgets, for their influential role. Trade captains were able to mobilize hunters, organize long journeys, and negotiate with European traders. Toby Elaine Morantz, "James Bay Trading Captains of the Eighteenth Century: New Perspectives on Algonquian Social Organization," *Papers of the Algonquian Conference* 8 (1977): 77-89.

19th. November 1756

This day We Steered our Course SW^{t}, in the Evening we Came to A River with very high hills, and burnt woods; plenty of provisions to be had.

20 to 28th [November 1756]

We moved backward and forward We Could not go farr in a day there being An Ind^{n}. Sick forc'd to haul him upon Sleds, nothing to be Seen but burnt woods.

29th. [November 1756]

This day We moved Course South Came to Another hill and Burnt woods, then our Course SSW^{t}. till night we put up. **[end p. 17]**

1756 30th of Nov^{r}.

This day moved forward Course SbW^{t}, untill we past on hill, and over a River,[22] then we went South;

Decr ye 1 to ye 5th.

Lay by Killing Buffeloo[23] which were plenty, we and four Ind^{s}, went to Look for Ind^{s}, I found one of Your Capt^{ns}, he was very Civill to me, Joseph Waggoner Could not find any they had all moved farther off;

6th. [December 1756]

This Morning sett forward Course South, Came up with them there were Smoaking and feasting for 3 days, And We Gave them tobacco.

[22] The river they crossed must have been the Assiniboine. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 251.

[23] American Buffalo (*Bison Bison*).

10th. [December 1756]

This day moved forward Course SW^{t}, four men went to Look for Ind^{s}, Att night put up. **[end p. 18]**

1756 Decr 11 to ye 12.

Lay by waiting for the four men that went away on the tenth Instant.

13th. [December 1756]

This day Sett forward Course SW^{t}, untill we past one River, nothing but burnt woods, att night Came one of the men and brought word, that the Ind^{s}. were moved, and they Could not find them.

14th. [December 1756]

This day moving forward Course SbW^{t}, att night the other 3 Ind^{s}. Came home. found where there had been fourteen tents pitched, but there were no buffloo about that that place

15 to ye 17 [December 1756]

Smoaking And feasting and then parted and Six of the french Men, only one Stay'd with our Gang. **[end p. 19]**

1756 Decr ye 18th.

This day Came to A herd of Beasts, there we Lay by for 3 Weeks.

19th to ye 9th of Jan^{ry}. 1757

Lay by killing Buffeloo, no Beaver got as Yet no housses to be Seen, as for Wolves they will not take trap;[24]

[24] The scarcity of beaver was indicative of what was to come. When they returned to the Bay, the Sturgeon Cree brought nothing but wolves to trade and reported that "they did not eat one beaver all the winter," June 23, 1757, HBCA, B.239/a/42, quoted in Russell, *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree*, 111.

10th to ye 6th of Feb^{ry}. [1757]

Lay by Still till the beginning of February, when there Came two tents of Ind^{s}. to us again and the french Men Likewise who went off to their house and two Ind^{n}. Men with them, there Came to our tents two Ind^{s}, who brought us the agreable news of the Ind^{s}. we wanted to find, twenty one tents of them and we sent tobacco to them

7th. [February 1757]

This morning we moved and went NbE^{t}. att night Came one Ind^{n}, from the Gang. **[end p. 20]**

1757 Feb^{ry} ye 8

Lay by and in the Evening the Ind^{s}. all Came up to us, there were two of Your Capt^{ns}. and one of the french Captains

9 [February 1757]

This day Came one Ind^{n}, from the french, brought word, the french had no powder, att there house; and the[y] had never heard of us before, the french Men that was in our Company All winter always told us he would Certainly kill us but the Ind^{s}. Said if they did or offer'd to do any harm to us, they would kill them all.

10th & 11th. [February 1757]

Smoakt it, and then Six tents Sett out on purpose to go to Warr, having no Goods to trade that is to Come to ye factory with

12th. [February 1757]

This day went some of the tents away from Us. **[end p. 21]**

1757 Febry ye 12th.[25]

This Morning we all moved Course NE^{t}, att night Came to the Ind^{s}, again

13 [February 1757]

This day Lay by.

14th. [February 1757]

This Day We all moved Course NNE^{t}, seed nothing but burnt woods

15th. [February 1757]

We went Course NbE^{t}, till night.

16 [February 1757]

This day moved on till night Course NbE^{t},

17. & 18 [February 1757]

Lay by And the Ind^{s}, went from us. their Course north

19th. [February 1757]

This day We moved Course NE^{t}, nothing but burnt woods, in the Evening Came in to Green Woods, And Att night we put up att the side of a hill they [call] it Mouse hill there we kill'd five Mouse.

20 February 1757

Lay by the Ind^{s}, Dressing Skins. **[end p. 22]**

1757 Feb^{ry} ye 21st to ye 25th

Moving Course NE^{t}. & NbE^{t},

[25] This entry is dated the same as the last, perhaps erroneously.

24. [February 1757]

This day moving Course NNE^{t}, Killed one Mouse.

25th. [February 1757]

Lay by bad Weather

26 [February 1757]

This Day sett out NE^{t}. Course Att night Came among the burnt woods again

27th. [February 1757]

Went for Some fatt we Left as we went up, Att night Returned with it.

28th. [February 1757]

This Day Moved Course NE^{t}. att night Came an Ind^{n}. and brought the news of the death of two french Men, killed by the Sineypoets,[26] one he Said Was the Arm^{r} [Armorer], the other he did not know who he was.[27]

[26] Nakoda.

[27] Seventeenth and eighteenth HBC century records frequently referred to the Nakoda, a Siouan-speaking people, as "Assinipoets," "Sinnepoets," or "Senipoetts." These terms derive from Algonquian; the Cree called the Nakoda the "usinne-pwat" and the Anishinaabe said "asinii-bwaan," which meant "stone Sioux." Kelsey's dictionary renders "Stone" as "As-sin-ne" and "Stony" as "Ass-sin-ny-wis-cau" in Ininímowin (the Cree language). The Nakoda had originally been members of the Očhéthi Šakówiŋ, or "The Great Sioux Nation," before breaking away from the coalition of Dakota (Mdewakanton, Sisseton, Wahpeton, Whapekute), Yankton, Yanktonai, and Lakota sometime before the arrival of Europeans in the Hudson Bay watershed. While maintaining their Siouan linguistic and cultural heritage, the Nakoda forged a powerful alliance with the Algonquian Ininéwak (Western Woods Cree) and western Anishinaabe. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the Nakoda were increasingly referred to as "Assiniboine," "Stone Indians," "Stony Sioux," or "Stonies." The Assiniboine River in southwestern Manitoba gets its name from the "stone Sioux" appellation. We use the self-designation of "Nakoda," which means "allies," when discussing the Assiniboine people. For a discussion of Nakoda names, see Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 178; Edwin Thompson Denig, *The Assiniboine*, ed. J.N.B. Hewitt (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), xxviii; Russell, *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree*, 6, 172-186; David Meyer and Dale Russell, "The

March ye 1st [1757]

This day We Lay by And in the Evening Came four tents of Ind^{s}, to us **[end p. 23]**

1757 March ye 2^{d}.

This day one tent of Ind^{s}, went with some others to the Lakes to Make Canues.[28] Remained in Company, in all four tents.

3^{d}. [March 1757]

This day We moved to a River to Make our Canues, Att night got there, And was forced to go about twenty Miles to get birch,

4th to ye Fifth of May. [1757]

Remained till the fifth of may before we went in our Canues, but the River broke up in Aprill, and the Snow Entirely gone before Aprill, was Expired. Sett out and padled down the River NE^{t} Course the Shores were flatt, on both Sides, and burnt woods; there Were the Waskesews[29] going in droves, We killed A great

Pegogamaw Crees and Their Ancestors: History and Archaeology in the Saskatchewan Forks Region," *Plains Anthropologist* 51, no. 199 (2006): 317. For the Kelsey dictionary references, see Ray, *From the Frozen Sea to Buffalo Country*, 227.

[28] Canoes.

[29] "Wes::kesews," an abbreviation of the Cree word "wawaskesiw" meaning elk or wapiti (*Cervus canadensis*). David Meyer and Dale Russell, "'So Fine and Pleasant, Beyond Description': The Lands and Lives of the Pegogamaw Crees," *Plains Anthropologist* 49, no. 191 (August 2004): 229. In Smith's later 1757–58 journal, Dale R. Russell notes that Smith writes "waskis" (waskisew) for Red Deer River, southwest of Lake Winnipegosis. Russell, *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree*, 112.

many, very good Living, for before we had nothing but Ruhigan,[30] & fatt; | This River is Called Soon Cipi.[31] |

6th. [May 1757]

We Lay by Smoaking and feasting. **[end p. 24]**

1757 May ye 7th.

In the morning we Sett out Course NBEt, untill noon then nnet, att night we Came to the Lake Called Soon Sockahagan[32] and put up for the night.

8th. [May 1757]

This day Sett out Course NbEt, over the Lake, it is but small, there were four Islands, and the Shores flatt, with small poplar Growing on them, in the Evening Came to the River that Runneth betwixt the Lakes Course NNWt, passing by four Bays & Six Bluffs, then We went NWt, put up for this night, for We did not go far in a day by Reason their familys was with them, And they have so many dogs they Cannot Go farr.

9th. [May 1757]

In the morning Sett out Course NWt, Came to A Lake, obliged to put up, Raining hard.

10 to ye 12 [May 1757]

A Continuance of Rain Could not stirr out. **[end p. 25]**

[30] "Ruhigan" seems to mean "pounded venison" based on a reference found in Andrew Graham's writings. Andrew Graham observed that "The Indians likewise eat the flesh of all [polar bears] they kill, and mix the fat with cranberries, pounded venison [ruhiggan] etc. which constitutes one of their greatest dainties." Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay 1767–91* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1969), 31.

[31] Swan River. In Cree, "Cipi," or more commonly "sīpiy," translates to "river" Russell, *Eighteenth-Century Western Cree*, 110.

[32] Swan Lake.

1757 May ye 13th.

This morning sett out Course NE^{t}, untill noon then NbE^{t}, there we Mett with the Ind^{s}, that parted from us when we went to make our Canues, att night put up All together.

14th to the 17. [1757]

We all Lay by fishing but no Smoaking our tobacco was all gone. Then moved Course NE^{t} past one Island, then went NNE^{t}, We heard Guns, We thought it was Ind^{s}, but it was the french, going down with their Goods, Att night we Came to them, as soon As the Master ^{heard} we Were Come, he Sent for us, We went Immediately, And he Gave Me Some Muskesew[33] meat and it eat very well then some of his tobacco he beheaved very well, | that place that the french Came to us they had 3 Mile Land Carriadge to the house.[34] |

18th [May 1757]

This morning the Ind^{s}. wen' and help'd them to bring their goods to the house. **[end p. 26]**

1757 May ye 19th

This day Employed bringing our things, About noon brought all Safe, the Ind^{s}, traded brandy, Att night the Master Invited us both in to his house, there was meat and fatt, but for bread he had none, then we Smoakt and drank brandy All together.

20th [May 1757]

This day they went away after trading with the Ind^{s}.

[33] Wawaskesiw or *Cervus canadensis*, see fn. 29.

[34] The "3 Mile Land Carriadge" described by Smith is the Mossy or Swampy Portage, a narrow portion of the Pas Moraine (a high, well-drained natural causeway) that separates Lake Winnipegosis from Cedar Lake. Berthelette, *Heirs of an Ambivalent Empire*, 155.

21st. [May 1757]

This day did not move, there Came 3 Canoes and Join'd us.

22^{d}. [May 1757]

This day Sett out on our way for York: :Fort, Course NE^{t}, untill noon then NbE^{t}, into a River, and put up on purpose to kill Sturgeon;

23 to 25 [May 1757]

Rained hard, Could not move out of Our tents. **[end p. 27]**

1757 May ye 26th

This morning Sett out Course North, Att noon Came to A small L'ke, Cross'd it Course WbN, the River that Runs from it So Shoal and So Many falls obliged to Carry the Goods, above A Mile then we went NbE^{t}, Course; to the place Where We Left our Canues, here they Left their familys.

27th. [May 1757]

This day Lay by Ind^{s}, Employed putting their familys to Rights.

28th. [May 1757]

This morning Sett out and from this place into the Lake Our Course North, And NE^{t}. till night we put up.

29 [May 1757]

This morning sett out our Course North, past two Islands then Course NE^{t}, untill night, Could not Go farr in a day, blowed very hard, and the Lake So Ruff that we Could not padle.

30th. [May 1757]

This day went NE^{t}, Course, passing by Severall points, then we Steered North till we Came to the Rivers Mouth,[35] **[end p. 28]**

1757 May ye 31st.

This day the Ind^{s}, Lay by to kill Sturgeon, they being plenty, Att this place the Ind^{s}, told me You would have a house,[36] we went to see if there were any timber; there is timber it Runneth high; but not very Large.

June ye 1st [1757].

This morning Sett out Course NNE^{t}, pass'd by one point, Came to A Lake full of Islands, then to A River, Changed our Course And went ENE^{t}, put up for the night.

2^{d}. [June 1757]

This morning Steered Away Coarse East, but it blowed hard, Could not Go farr, obliged to put up.

[35] This begins Smith and Waggoner's trek north from Lake Winnipeg back to York Factory. Three tracks led from the interior to HBC headquarters at York Factory: The Upper, Middle, and Lower Track Routes. The Upper Track started at Cumberland Lake, up the Sturgeon-Weir River, over the Cranberry Portage, and then down the Grass River to the Nelson River at Split Lake. The Middle Track began on the lower Saskatchewan, to Moose Lake, and then down the Minago River to Cross Lake, before joining the Hayes River. The Lower Track started near the mouth of the Saskatchewan River at Grand Rapids, continued across the top of Lake Winnipeg, and then down the Hayes River. Whichever track route HBC traders followed, the Hayes-Nelson watershed was the gateway to the western interior and connected Hudson Bay to Lake Winnipeg, the Red River Valley, the north and south branches of the Saskatchewan, and the Northern Great Plains. An attempted reconstruction of Smith and Waggoner's route suggests that they took the Lower Track. For a map depicting the three tracks between Montreal and the interior, see Fig. I.

[36] Morton believes that this sturgeon fishery was at Little Playgreen Lake, near where Norway House would later be established by the HBC. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 251.

3^{d}. [June 1757]

Blowed hard all this day Could not padle.

4th. [June 1757]

This day padled NE^{t}, Cross'd a Small Lake, full of Islands, the natives Calls it Kemesew Sockahagan,[37] in the Evening Came to A River padled down it NE^{t}, pass'd by some points & falls, put up for the night. **[end p. 29]**

1757 June ye 5th.

This day padled down the River Course NE^{t}, forced to Carry our things over, a fall past Severall Islands, then our Course NEbN untill we Came to marskeaker Lake, padled over it Course NE^{t}, in the Evening Came to another fall obliged to Carry our things as before about one Mile; this River they Call Wapeacornis Cipi Came to Another River full of falls, put up, for the night.

6th. [June 1757]

This day Sett out Course NE and N: past severall Islands, att noon Changed our Course & padl^{d}, SW^{t}, for a Little way; then NE^{t}, Course Untill We put up Att night.

7th. [June 1757]

This morning sett out Course SW^{t}, untill we Came to as Lake then North, Came to A River padled down it NE^{t}, obliged to Carry our things over a fall **[end p.**

[37] Kemesew may mean jackfish, or northern pike (*Esox lucius*), found throughout northern Canada. Isham's dictionary translates "a Jack fish" as "Ke-no-shue." Therefore, "Kemesew Sockahagan" may refer to the section of Smith and Waggoner's return journey between Knee Lake alternatively called "Jack River," "Little Jack River," or "Jack Tent River." Smith mentions catching jackfish twice in his journal, on September 10 and November 12, 1756. For Isham's dictionary, see James Isham, *James Isham's Observations on Hudson Bay, 1743 and Notes and Observations on a Book entitled A Voyage to Hudsons Bay in the Dobbs Galley, 1749*, ed. E. E. Rich (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1949), 22. For "Jack River," see Barr and Green, *Lt. Aemilius Simpson's Survey*, 14.

30] then went west untill we Came to Another River padled down it NE^{t}, untill we Came to A Lake full of Islands, put up for the night:

8th [June 1757]

Sett out and padled NE^{t}, untill we Came to A Lake our Course South & SW^{t}, att noon Came to A River Run ENE^{t}, att night Came to Another River Course down it EbN put up. for ye night

9th. [June 1757]

Sett out and Came to A Lake then to A River Course NE^{t}, this day padling Continually from Lakes to Rivers Untill we put up att night.

10th [June 1757]

This day padled down Rivers and Over Lakes Course from North to NE^{t};

11th. [June 1757]

This day Course from NNE^{t} to NE^{t}. **[end p. 31]**

June ye 12th [1757]

This day the Ind^{s}, Lay by, Rained hard.

13th [June 1757]

This morning Course NW^{t}, padled over a Large Lake.

14th. [June 1757]

This day Course NW^{t}. past by four Islands, and four falls, then our Course NNW^{t} untill night, we put up.

15th. [June 1757]

This day out Course NE^{t} over a Small Lake, untill we Came to Sockitton River[38] then NNE^{t}, full of falls & Islands

16th. [June 1757]

This day Lay by.

17th. [June 1757]

This day our Courses NbE^{t}, and NNE^{t}, from Reach to Reach then past 4 falls put up for the night. **[end p. 32]**

June ye 18th [1757]

This Morning our Course NbW, Came out of that River into Steal River.[39]

[38] As stated in fn. 6, we believe that "Sockitton River" is Hill River northeast of Oxford Lake and Knee Lake.

[39] This is where Smith's journal ends, on the recto of the nineteenth folio (twenty-seven additional blank folios follow). The party reached York Factory six days later. James Isham, York Factory Post Journal, June 24, 1757, HBCA, B.239/a/42.

The Soup of Allusion: Mao Zedong and George Washington, Vietnam and Valley Forge—Analogy or Analysis?

WAYNE BODLE

In 1944, Theodore H. White, an American journalist who studied Chinese history at Harvard and traveled in China writing about its society, politics, and wars, was invited to the "personal cave," in Yenan Province, of Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party. Their conversation proved useless for publication after editing by Mao's aides, but the rest of the morning and a private lunch with Mao and his wife were more agreeable. Mao played the role of an instructor and White that of a student. The lessons ranged from Chinese history through the current struggle against the country's Japanese occupiers to future relations between the Communist and Nationalist factions. Mao spoke, White remembered in 1978, like "an autodidact, who had read as whim and taste took him." Seeking to persuade his visitor how the ongoing struggle against his enemies would end successfully, Mao offered a vivid comparison between his China as seen from Yenan and the American Revolution as it might have looked to a reporter who learned about it from George Washington at Valley Forge. Washington did not have "machinery" or "electricity," Mao observed. The British army "had all those things," but Washington prevailed because of his "*ideas*," and because "he had *the people* with him."[1] White concluded that Mao had "not placed the era of industry [or of]…electrification in their proper centuries," but he got the big picture right. He "knew his country." He knew that "ideas made people bear guns," and that "power was what came out of the muzzle of the gun." He had, White concluded, "invented the modern doctrine of partisan warfare."[2]

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[1] Theodore H. White, *In Search of History: A Personal Adventure* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 194-197.
[2] Ibid., 196-197.

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Left out of White's book was an analysis of how, or even whether, Mao's amalgam of history, doctrine, and policy related to the *actual* American Revolution. White wrote in the shadow of the American debacle in the Vietnam War, where another Asian nationalist, borrowing from the *Declaration of Independence* and texts by Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin, used popular mobilization and guerrilla tactics to overcome not only machinery and electricity, but chemical warfare, strategic bombing, satellite imaging, and possibly even the dawn of the Internet.[3] The tone of the passage placed a post-Watergate American public in White's seat: awkwardly at the feet of a dogmatic but pragmatic revolutionary leader who made better use of the *Lessons of 1776* than their own countrymen had been doing.[4]

Ironically, as White composed his account, some historians of the Revolution were retreating from what seemed to many of them to have been indulgent presentism in the scholarship of the 1970s. The forums for this reconsideration were proliferating Bicentennial conferences and numerous volumes of published proceedings that they produced. Some scholars clung to analogies between the Revolution and modern wars of national liberation, even as others scrambled away from them. Nascent debates had begun but were not sustained. This circumstance produced an enlightening set of conversations about the American Revolution and later anti-colonial wars, still not comprehensively synthesized, which never quite added up to a coherent historiographical moment.[5]

It was not just the Vietnam War that conditioned this discourse, but rather a long series of anti-colonial struggles between countries in the Global South and their Euro-American adversaries after World War II. As early as 1953, before the Vietnamese victory against France at Dien Bien Phu, Eric Robson saw parallels between the inability of the British to subdue a dispersed and amorphous farmers' revolt in America and the challenges French generals encountered in Indochina.[6] In 1968, Thomas Barrow cast the American Revolution less as an internal event than as a struggle resembling "other colonial wars of liberation, particularly those of the twentieth century." Writing before the Tet Offensive, he

[3] Pierre Brocheux, *Ho Chi Minh: A Biography*, trans. Claire Duiker (New York: Cambridge University Press 2007).

[4] In *Thunder Out of China*, co-authored with Annalee Jacoby (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1946), White described a similar reflection, attributed only to officers in Mao's entourage rather than the Chairman himself.

[5] Don Higginbotham, "The Early American Way of War: Reconnaissance and Reappraisal," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 44, no. 2 (1987): 230-273.

[6] Eric Robson, *The American Revolution in its Political and Military Aspect, 1763–1783* (London: Batchworth Press, 1955), 96-97.

tried to make this analogy serve his effort to cast the Revolution as a conservative ideological episode rather than a class struggle over "who should rule at home."[7]

In the darkening political climate of 1970, Richard Morris acknowledged the at least spiritual paternity of the American Revolution for decolonization movements from the 1810s in Latin America through contemporary struggles in Southeast Asia. He conceded Mao's "polite, even friendly" mid-1940s invocations of the "parallel between America's War for Independence…and China's war for independence in the twentieth century," but noted that his views had changed considerably by 1949.[8] Of Vietnam, he could only lament that "tragically misconceived war" and plead that "the United States needs desperately to…recapture the anticolonial stance of a John Jay or a John Quincy Adams or a Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and once more to resume its honored place in the front ranks of the nations founded on revolutionary principles."[9] Readers familiar with post-Great Society American politics may detect here rhetoric whereby historical analysis blends with liberal nostalgia for beleaguered social ideals.[10]

It cannot be said that revisionist sensibility intervened to impose discipline on this mixture of analysis and analogy, but many scholars admitted the costs that a quest for *relevance* had imposed on historical perspective. In 1974 and 1975, John Shy, addressing Bicentennial-themed gatherings of officers from the U.S. Army and Air Force, showed how many American conflicts from the Civil War onward offered what recent scholars call *lenses* through which to view the Revolution. The Civil War foregrounded eighteenth century constitution making. World War II showed the need for international alliances. The Korean War made salient questions about officers' subordination to civil authority and the dawning outlines of a military-industrial complex. The Vietnam War resonated with black-and-white televised images of farmers scrambling between the furrow and the firefight. All of this was useful, Shy implied, if the terms of intellectual engagement remained rigorous.[11] At a conference on the "Military Character of the American Revolution," Don Higginbotham confessed that "in the 1960s I over-

[7] Thomas C. Barrow, "The American Revolution as a Colonial War for Independence," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 25, no. 3 (1968): 452-464, quotation on 462. For Carl Becker's famous musing on home rule vs. rule at home, see *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760–1776* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960), 22.

[8] Richard B. Morris, *The Emerging Nations and the American Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 204-205.

[9] Ibid., 220.

[10] White, *In Search of History*, 197.

[11] John Shy, "The American Revolution Today," in *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for Independence*, ed. John Shy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 1-19.

stated the case for the uniqueness of early American warfare," an error influenced at least partly "by the Vietnam War." He noted hopefully that "we have now put some distance between us and the first wars of national liberation in the Third World," that "passionate divisions that ravaged this country in the sixties are behind us," and that American historians were finally "taking over from the generals, politicians, and journalists" as analysts.[12]

In 1976 Shy gathered ten articles he had written as "an 'evangelist' for a new military history" into an influential volume. Discovering much of the "personal and responsive" in the circumstances of their production, he chose instead of purging that feature to annotate it with brief headnotes. These pieces, on subjects like the colonial militia, armed Loyalism, "hearts and minds," and radical American strategic proposals that had been considered but never adopted—with references to the Cuban Missile Crisis, Douglas MacArthur's desire to carry the Korean War into China, televised images of Detroit and Newark burning, and "an awful feeling that the hopeless war in Vietnam was wrecking my country"—suggested that it was less a matter of scholars taking over from generals than of recalibrating the balance between passion and perspective.[13] By stripping away inapt or inept impressions of the compatibility of early and late-modern military phenomena, it might be possible to hone our appreciation for a *usable past* and its apparent incubator, the always interminable present.

⁂

It is not my plan to produce retrospectively the historiographical synthesis of this literature that I have just claimed did not emerge *in situ*, but rather to sift these writings for insights that may make it useful to see Washington's Valley Forge (or Morristown in 1777 and 1780, or the Hudson Highlands in 1782–1783) as plausible *American Yenans*. Washington surely had many *ideas* in the thousands of words that flowed from his pen or those of his staff secretaries, especially in times of winter inactivity. And he had *some* of the people "with him," though as Edmund Morgan would soon describe, "The People" Mao invoked had only begun to be *invented* in America in the late eighteenth century.[14]

[12] Don Higginbotham, "Reflections on the War of Independence, Modern Guerrilla Warfare, and the War in Vietnam," in *Arms and Independence: The Military Character of the American Revolution*, eds. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society by the University of Virginia Press, 1984), 2-3.

[13] Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed*, x ("evangelist"), xv ("personal"), 163 ("hearts"), 235 ("awful").

[14] Edmund S. Morgan, *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988).

Washington's political skills were as well-developed as his military talents were uneven. He served a planter's apprenticeship in the House of Burgesses and other civil or ecclesiastical posts of public trust. He was delegated to the Continental Congress, where his stature, bearing, and sartorial instincts helped to get him chosen as the Commander-in-Chief in 1775. Once in office, he showed a politician's ability to both commit and survive gaffes, as when he called Yankees an "exceeding[ly] dirty and nasty people."[15] As a field commander, he dealt with revolving casts of Continental Congressmen in correspondence and through their occasional visits as committeemen to his camps. He hesitated to execute the civil powers that they thrust on him except under circumstances of grave danger to the army. He imposed strenuous discipline on his troops except when he chose to conciliate them. He awed high-level subordinates into silence or retirement while receiving and answering importunate petitions of complaint from privates and non-commissioned officers. He could gratify only a fraction of their appeals, but they showed little hesitation about approaching him more as an ombudsman than as their Commander-in-Chief. He canvassed subordinates for operational advice to the point of sometimes being criticized as indecisive. He marched the army through towns to show civilians that it still existed while displaying obsessive concern about its dress, demeanor, and especially public behavior.[16] He showed a broad inclination to engage politically with civil and military problems and a cultivated *other-directedness* for a man sometimes recalled as having had a wooden personality in life that was readily marbleized in death. The question is whether we can identify structural or operational elements in the Revolutionary context that gave any of these phenomena the military utility that Mao implicitly projected onto Washington. Unless we can, the Yenan interview may reveal little more than the musings of an "autodidact" who is said to have first "heard of America" while reading "a short biography of George Washington."[17]

A good starting point for this exercise may be to admit that most contributions to this literature were only loosely engaged with each other on an analytical

[15] "From George Washington to Lund Washington, 20 August 1775," Founders Online, National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-01-02-0234.
[16] Don Higginbotham, *George Washington and the American Military Tradition* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), esp. 48-54.
[17] White, *In Search of History*, 194-197. See also He Di, "The Most Respected Enemy: Mao Zedong's Perception of the United States," *The China Quarterly*, 137 (1994): 144-158.

plane.[18] One scholar's reference to *partisan operations* may or may not have subsumed or excluded another's invocation of *bushwacking tactics*. The range of phenomena assumed to illuminate the plight of troops from powerful countries battling the armed citizens of smaller or weaker ones could include: their global strategic contexts, resource-mobilizing abilities, political will, demographic circumstances, and conditions of local terrain, before veering into subjects like *concentration* or *dispersal* on the battlefield, *stand-up* fighting versus *hit-and-run* raiding, or guerilla *fishes* blending fluidly into friendly partisan *seas*. In the library or at the seminar table, the *fog of war* may be less disorienting than the *soup of allusion*—the muddled and competing receptions of the past that scholars attempt to render useful through their deployment as analogies. And, as in real wars, some of the most revealing academic exchanges doubtless occurred after hours, in the bars or bistros to which scholars, like soldiers, are reliably wont to repair. They are beyond our reckoning now.

One point of contention salient in the 1960s and 1970s was the rejection by some scholars of the ambient conviction of others that irregular forces were bound to prevail in contests with actual armies. In 1975, Piers Mackesy challenged the "assumption that the circumstances of Revolutionary warfare made the British task of winning the War of Independence a hopeless one." He asserted two points. The first was that even after Britain's supposedly decisive defeat at Yorktown in 1781, its naval superiority over France could have helped it to force America's principal ally out of the war, allowing the Redcoats to concentrate on defeating the rebels through pacification tactics.[19] This second point, that a strategy of pacification could have succeeded, is both commensurate and relevant.

Some scholars have emphasized issues of economic organization, and material, fiscal, or logistical mobilization that are clearly relevant for understanding

[18] Pertinent historiography on this subject includes John Morgan Dederer, *Making Bricks without Straw: Nathanael Greene's Southern Campaign and Mao Tse-Tung's Mobile War* (Manhattan: Sunflower University Press, 1983); James W. Pohl, "The American Revolution and the Vietnamese War: Pertinent Military Analogies," *The History Teacher* 7, no. 2 (February 1974): 255-65; Don Higginbotham, "The Vietnamization of the American Revolution," *American Heritage* 32, no. 6 (October/November 1981): 79-80; Richard W. Ketchum, "England's Vietnam: The American Revolution," *American Heritage* 22, no. 4 (June 1971): 6-11. See also Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) for a more theoretical grounding in civil war violence and control.

[19] Piers Mackesy, *Could the British Have Won the War of Independence? Bland-Lee Lecture, September 1975* (Worcester: Clark University Press, 1976), 3. Shy's critique, in "The American Revolution Today," refers to Mackesy, *The War for America, 1775–1783* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964). See also Mackesy, "The Redcoat Revived" in *The American Revolution: Changing Perspectives*, eds. William M. Fowler, Jr. and Wallace Coyle (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1979), 169-188.

predicaments that both sides faced in America during the Revolution, but that may be incommensurate with circumstances in the late twentieth century. Research in the 1980s and 1990s revealed the creation in Britain between 1690 and 1740 of a fiscal-military state, capable of mobilizing prodigious amounts of material resources for a century-long contest with France.[20] Less of this literature was available to scholars during the 1960s debating whether, why, or how George III (who inherited that apparatus in 1760) could have retained the British colonies. But even if it was available, anyone standing at the American end of a dry supply pipeline from England and Ireland before 1781 might legitimately have asked: what was blocking the flow? R. Arthur Bowler showed that while supply failures on the American side became a clear part of the moral narrative of the Revolution itself, the inability of British officials to maintain reserves of food and equipment at the bridgehead depots where Redcoats needed them had comparably constraining effects on their ability to execute plans for suppressing the rebellion.[21]

Bowler concluded that "in [the] balance…more advantage lay with the rebels than has traditionally been assumed." Mackesy acknowledged these findings and some of their implications, but was more impressed with Richard Buel's judgment that flaws in the Continental system of public finance and revenue management eroded the structural foundations of the rebellion just as Washington and his French allies gained the upper hand on the battlefield. "By the end of 1780 the [British] army's provisioning problem was virtually over," Mackesy wrote, something that no Continental commissary at Morristown could have said about his situation. Meanwhile, Buel suggested, not only did currency depreciation and price inflation erode civilian morale during the early 1780s, but in a widening circle around the British headquarters in New York City, they promoted ruinous civil commerce with that garrison for vital goods that Washington could not stop and that steadily sapped republican will.[22]

[20] John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688–1783* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1797–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), esp. chap. 2; P.M.G. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688–1756* (London: Macmillan, 1967).

[21] R. Arthur Bowler, "Logistics and Operations in the American Revolution," in *Reconsiderations on the Revolutionary War: Selected Essays,* ed. Don Higginbotham (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978), 55-71; Bowler, *Logistics and the Failure of the British Army in America, 1775–1783* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975). Some more recent discussions of this subject include Terry Bouton, *Taming Democracy: 'The People,' The Founders, and the Troubled Ending of the American Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Barbara Clark Smith, *The Freedoms We Lost: Consent and Resistance in Revolutionary America* (New York: New Press, 2010).

[22] Bowler, "Logistics and Operations in the American Revolution," 70; Mackesy, "The Redcoat Revived," 176-179, 185; Richard Buel, Jr., "Time: Friend or Foe of the Revolution?," in *Reconsiderations on the Revolutionary War*, 124-143.

These and other material, fiscal, and econometric perspectives offered valuable insights to historians of the Revolution in the 1970s seeking to explain its volatile dynamics, and to connect the political decisions of legislative bodies with the strategic performance of military institutions. The contemporaneous discoveries made by the Valley Forge Historical Research Project of the mental worlds of middling commissary officers at Valley Forge, and the tactical wiles of previously invisible "market people" on the roads between there and Philadelphia, were among the intellectual high points of this historiographical moment.[23]

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It is unclear, however, how much utility these contributions have for comparing the Revolution with modern instances of national liberation or counterinsurgency warfare. Insurgents in places like Vietnam had international recognition and alliance systems. They did not depend on achieving early victories like those won by the rebels at Trenton, Princeton, or Saratoga to gain legitimacy. Given the nuclear realities of the Cold War, it is doubtful whether the United States would have intentionally gone to war with their sponsors or suppliers over those conflicts.[24] The mechanics of external supply were as complex as any in the eighteenth century, but the interdiction of supply processes was difficult for the same reasons. U.S. forces had trouble enough attempting to disrupt the movement or delivery of war materiel and personnel *within* combat zones. Whether the Vietnamese economy was well enough integrated into global systems to be vulnerable to dysfunction, corruption, or external interference is hard, probably impossible, to ascertain. Mao may have asserted the relevance of these factors for the problems at hand, but if he did White did not take particular notice of the fact.

Most scholarly energy has focused on operational questions before 1971, to invoke the utility of twentieth century perspectives on irregular warfare for thinking about the Revolution, and after that year, to pare such analogical approaches back to sustainable dimensions. The allure of the militarily specific and the material or anecdotal has been palpable in this discourse. Do Washington's raid on an exposed Hessian garrison at Trenton in 1776, or the plight of Burgoyne's troops "drowned at Saratoga in a hostile sea" a year later, or clashes between patriot and Loyalist militias in the South, or the efforts by General John Sullivan's expedition to destroy the sanctuaries of Britain's Iroquoian allies in 1779, sustain

[23] Wayne K. Bodle and Jacqueline Thibaut, *Valley Forge Historical Research Project*, 3 vols. (Valley Forge and Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1980), esp. vol. 1 (by Bodle) and vol. 2 (by Thibaut).

[24] Nina Tannenwald, "Nuclear Weapons and the Vietnam War," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 29, no. 4 (August 2006): 675-722.

such comparisons? Scholars have shown a commendable inclination to step back to broader structural points of analysis in their efforts to gain a reliable interpretive grasp on such questions.[25]

One issue that has intrigued participants in this discussion, and that points to *differences* rather than similarities between the Revolution and modern guerrilla wars, involves the *temporal* sequences between political and military events. Historians of the Revolution have repeatedly insisted that *war* was underway more than a year before a politically defining *Declaration* of its purposes was made, but this is to see things entirely from the Continental perspective. On a state-by-state basis, the collapse of the functional legitimacy of royal authority coincided with, and generally preceded, the eruption of armed conflict. It was the recognition in Boston and London of both the extent and the impending consequences of the transfer of local power to insurgent leaders that led, in April of 1775, to the nocturnal intrusion of Redcoats into the Massachusetts countryside to reverse that situation.

In 1975, Piers Mackesy acknowledged that "long before the shooting war began, the rebels had won the first *guerre révolutionnaire.* They had seized control of the organs of government…and put down the loyalists by systematic violence and intimidation."[26] In 1976, K. G. Davies quoted the views of a South Carolina advisor to the British commander-in-chief, Henry Clinton, on the need to restore civil government in recaptured territories to assure Loyalists and neutralists that it was not the Crown's intention to perpetuate military government indefinitely. That advisor defined the problem as "a very general opinion that the [old] government and constitution of the rebellious provinces have been so utterly subverted that they are absolutely extinct and cannot exist to any purpose."[27] Building on that insight, Mackesy sketched its wider implications:

> "Before the conflict had become an armed rebellion, the dissidents had seized control of the organs of government; and many who would have welcomed the restoration of the royal government were convinced that

[25] Shy, "The Military Conflict Considered as a Revolutionary War," in *A People Numerous and Armed,* 207 ("drowned")*;* Clyde R. Ferguson, "Carolina and Georgia Patriot and Loyalist Militia in Action, 1778–1783" in *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution*, eds. Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 174-199.

[26] Mackesy, "Could the British Have Won the War of Independence?," 5-6.

[27] James Simpson to William Knox, August 20, 1781, CO 5/176, fol. 189r-v, The National Archives, Kew, U.K. Transcription available in K.G. Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770–1783* (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1979), 20: 218-219. Note that this quotation is misattributed to Simpson's letter to Knox of July 28 in Davies, "The Restoration of Civil Government by the British in the War of Independence," in *Red, White and True Blue: The Loyalists in the Revolution,* ed. Esmond Wright (New York: AMS Press, 1976), 127.

the royal institutions had been overturned so totally that they were extinct and past reviving. This belief engendered despair…that had to be overcome before victory was possible."[28]

In what was probably the most important contribution to the 1970s discussion of the nexus between the Revolution and modern independence conflicts, John Shy developed some of these points. He conceded that "we dare not argue that the American Revolutionary War was basically like modern revolutionary wars in Indochina and elsewhere." But after rejecting some especially simplistic parallels concerning the "use of guerrilla tactics," he argued that their broadest "structural similarities" were "far more important than the differences." The "most important points of dissimilarity," he said, were "the relative ease with which local instruments of government fell into the hands of American rebels, the relative dependence of the rebels on conventional forms of military action, and their relative innocence of any explicit doctrine of revolutionary warfare, like that developed in our own time by Mao Tse-tung and his admirers."[29] Can the first of these phenomena have definitively shaped the subsequent ones?

Mackesy, in his 1975 lecture "Could the British Have Won the War of Independence?" developed the most sustained analysis of the implications of the preemptive takeover by American rebels of local instruments of government that Shy posited. Finding themselves possessed of power from one end of the colonies to the other, Mackesy noted, and seeking unity and external support, the rebels chose to defend themselves "by raising a regular army and fighting an orthodox war." The "existence of the Continental Army," he posited, "forced the British army to focus its efforts" and "precluded dispersed landings and small-scale occupations in conjunction with the loyalists" that would have, he believed, been more appropriate to initiate the pacification process. The Continental Army offered a target, it became a "distraction from the long-term question of resettlement," and it thereby "encouraged [the British] to defer proper consideration of the problems of pacification" until it became too late to matter.[30]

Mackesy's point was that British strategists should have organized "parallel" military and pacification operations, not the "successive" ones to which they were drawn by American initiatives. Elsewhere, he described the need for both sides to find a "balanced reciprocity" between regular army and auxiliary forces. He said that the existence of the Continental Army illustrated "concentration"

[28] Mackesy, "The Redcoat Revived," 182-183.

[29] Shy, "The Military Conflict Considered as a Revolutionary War," 196 ("dare"), 198-200 ("guerilla," "most important…admirers"), 201 ("structural…differences").

[30] Mackesy, "Could the British Have Won the War of Independence?," 7.

as a "principle of war," and that its potential as an agent of mischief or its value as a target kept British forces likewise concentrated until at least 1779. This concentration was part of the distraction that hindered the British search for the alternative approaches that he considered essential. Drawing on revisionist thinking about the structure, strengths, and weaknesses of American militia organizations by scholars like Higginbotham and Shy, Mackesy concluded that the rebels had either "by chance or calculation" achieved a division of military and political labor between their regular and militia forces. This allowed Washington to "keep the Continental Army together" and thus to keep the British nearby and massed while he learned how to use dispersed militia forces to "polic[e] the countryside," and for the "defense of those 'civil institutions' of the rebellion." The British "grasped, though they did not express," the need for a "balanced response" to this adjustment, but they only achieved even the outlines of one with Lord Germain's campaign plan for 1778. And then they were unsuccessful in implementing it.[31]

The connections between what Mackesy called "the institutional revolution which had preceded the war" (the assumption by colonists of local political control) and the character of military operations, remained hazy long after 1976, but Mackesy, Davies, Shy, and others assumed that this phenomenon worked to the advantage of the rebels and the detriment of British interests. Mackesy cited this factor in acknowledging the challenges British strategists faced, which were "not insuperable" if Parliament had not panicked, if the British navy had forced France out of the war, or if Horatio Gates's army had not disrupted pacification efforts in the Carolinas during 1780 and 1781. Davies took American political ascendancy for granted as a precondition for the British need to restore civil government. Shy's inclusion of the rebels' assumption of "*incumbency*" in his account of similarities and differences between the Revolution and modern wars, particularly the Vietnam War, was not yet fully developed when he offered his three-part assessment of British definitions of the conflict. But he seemingly believed that the rebels' early possession of government initiative was an asset in a contest of "triangularity" where "two armed forces contend less with each other than for the support and the control of the civilian population."[32] In these

[31] Ibid., 6 ("parallel"), 8 ("successive"); "The Redcoat Revived," 182-183 ("balanced…response"); Shy, "A New Look at the Colonial Militia, in *A People Numerous and Armed*, 21-34; Don Higginbotham, "The American Militia: A Traditional Institution with Revolutionary Responsibilities" in *Reconsiderations on the Revolutionary War*, 83-103.

[32] Mackesy, "The Redcoat Revived, 183 ("institutional"), 185 ("insuperable"); Davies, "Restoration of Civil Government"; Shy, "The Military Conflict Considered as a Revolutionary War," 199 ("triangularity"). Some evidence supports this assumption. In Georgia after 1778, even with a restored royal assembly legislating under the purview of a Crown-appointed governor, partisan forces in the interior functioned like a civilian memory cloth, protecting Whig local

constant allusions from the past to present and back, it seemed unclear how one could distinguish reception from presentism, a useful past from a hyper-relevant present.

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To solve this puzzle, we may look at the place where Mao figuratively urged Theodore White to send an imaginary eighteenth-century journalist (Thomas Paine comes to mind), Pennsylvania, in the months surrounding the bitter winter of hardship at Valley Forge in 1777–1778. There, the existence and the proximity not just of the Continental Congress, but of Pennsylvania's *state* government, bedeviled Mao's revolutionary precursor, Washington. If General Howe had seen and better understood this issue of proximity between political entities and military bodies, and the complexities of competition between them, they would have offered him strategic or at least tactical opportunities that he appears neither to

authority while dissuading neutralists from embracing the King's peace. (Shy, "The Military Conflict Considered as a Revolutionary War," 210-212; Davies "The Restoration of Civil Government," 120-123; Mackesy, "The Redcoat Revived," 184). In South Carolina, the capture in 1780 of the rebel political seat at Charles Town, and the destruction of Gates's southern Continental army, did not result in even the nominal restoration of royal government. Meanwhile, partisan resistance ravaged the interior. The withdrawal of British troops from Georgia to assist in Carolina destabilized the situation that they left behind without helping to suppress that resistance. Then a new rebel army under Nathanael Greene entered the state to disrupt British momentum. That Washington could organize and send Greene's force south exasperated Mackesy, whose case for the British ability to prevail implicitly depended on Greene's non-arrival in the Carolinas. And much of the problem lay in the ambivalence of Henry Clinton toward the prompt restoration of civil government in occupied places like South Carolina. (Davies, "The Restoration of Civil Government," 130-131; Mackesy, "The Redcoat Revived," 184). In his headquarters at New York, Clinton also balked at sharing authority with a restored British civil regime and at the expectation by his superiors at home that he would disruptively carry offensive operations toward Washington's troops in the Lower Hudson Valley. Mackesy sputtered at the spectacle of Clinton "sitting inactive at New York with an immense force of regulars, [doing] nothing to prevent Washington from creating a new southern army" under Greene "to replace that of Gates," which had been destroyed in South Carolina. And he observed with exasperated wonder that the U.S.-French siege at Yorktown "was won overwhelmingly by regular troops" from Rhode Island and the Hudson posts, "which Clinton had allowed to march unimpeded across his front." (Mackesy, "Could the British Have Won?," 22, 24-25). Clinton's strategic caution at headquarters, and the fumbling efforts of his commanders in the Lower South, bore some relation to the existence by mid-1776 of Whig state and local governments. They could be shattered, as in Georgia, or displaced from their usual seats, as in New York, but they continued to operate in exile, or at least left quasi-autonomous militia remnants behind to keep their claims alive in civilians' memories and imaginations. Combined with many civilians' suspicions that imperial predecessor regimes had become "extinct" (in Simpson's phrasing, see above), it seems clearer why many scholars have viewed the precocious transfer of functional legitimacy to the rebel side as a critical asset for the latter (Shy, "The Military Conflict Considered as a Revolutionary War," 199).

have recognized nor taken. John Shy has summarized the dynamics of triangularity in terms worth repeating:

> "Two armed forces contend less with each other than for the support and the control of the civilian population. Invariably, the government and its forces are reluctant to perceive this essential triangularity, while the rebels use whatever strength they can muster to break the links between governor and governed. Revolutionary violence is less an instrument of physical destruction than one kind of persuasion; the aim is to destroy responsiveness to the state, at first within the general population, ultimately among those who man the military and administrative arms of the state. Ideally, government ceases to function because no one any longer obeys…to organize revolution means going beneath the normal level of governmental operation, reaching the smallest social groups and even individuals, indoctrinating everyone so recruited, and of course, using those forms of violence, particularly threats, terrorism and irregular or guerrilla warfare, that are at once most difficult to stop and most likely to change docile, obedient subjects into unhappy, suggestible people."[33]

This model cannot be applied universally to any phase of the Revolution, but parts of it are applicable to the situation in Pennsylvania in 1777–1778. One immediate problem, which becomes clearer with a little imagination, is the question of who governed and who obeyed (or did not obey)? On the face of the question the answer is simple. To use the Pentagon's terminology from the project on which Shy developed his analysis, the "incumbent" was the royal government that the Redcoats and Hessian mercenaries were in the field to restore. The "insurgent" side was the Continental Congress and its makeshift military branches.[34] Because of the collapse of royal government in America between 1774 and 1776—whether by the isolation of General Gage's forces in Boston in 1774–75; the anguished decision of some royal governors to retreat to shipboard platforms in 1776; the reflexive allegiance of elected governments in New England's corporate colonies to the patriot side; and the forcible overthrow of conservative regimes in more radical colonies like Pennsylvania, however—the situ-

[33] Shy, "The Military Conflict as a Revolutionary War," 199.
[34] Ibid, 193 [headnote].

ation on the ground shows substantially opposite dynamics. Avowed revolutionaries became the government, the King's friends were the outlawed, and neutralists were caught between the two.[35]

In places where the Revolution's war came and went quickly, this point may be irrelevant or at most an ironic anecdotal curiosity. For places where the void created by the collapse of royal authority was filled by prudent members of conservative Whig provincial elites, accustomed to governing under imperial constitutions, the reassertion of order was steady, if not always unopposed. After completing the business of Independence in 1776, many prominent revolutionaries retired to state offices, where they wrote constitutions and interacted stably with the second-tier operatives who took their places in the peripatetic and *less* prestigious *national* Congress. There was no shortage of crises. Revolutionary politics were studded with tensions between state and Continent-level interests, interregional rivalries, and cross-border partisan formations. However, as the war veered erratically from place to place, those problems could be ameliorated by processes of compromise or consensus formation. For those reasons (although the details still need to be worked out in local studies explicitly shaped by the question) the first *guerre révolutionnaire* offered more problems to the British side than to its rebel adversaries.[36]

In places where state governments were installed by struggles over who should rule at home, the existence of those regimes might be militarily problematic when Redcoats came out, or liabilities to soldiers trying to drive them away.[37] Pennsylvania was such a place. Its social, ethnic, religious, and cultural pluralism are too well known to require summary. Its vibrant economic growth in the century after 1681 is familiar. Its more organic and less regulated fit into the mercantilized British Atlantic economy than colonies like Massachusetts or Virginia are staples of the colonial literature. The latter circumstance gave its merchant elites what Thomas Doerflinger called a "logic of moderation" during the crises that climaxed in 1776.[38] It was more than the default Quakerism defining the state

[35] Wayne Bodle, "This Tory Labyrinth: Community, Conflict, and Military Strategy during the Valley Forge Winter," in *Friends and Neighbors: Group Life in America's First Plural Society*, ed. Michael Zuckerman (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 220-250; Bodle, *The Valley Forge Winter: Civilians and Soldiers in War* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), passim.

[36] Jack N. Rakove, *The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979); H. James Henderson, *Party Politics in the Continental Congress* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974); Calvin Jillson and Rick K. Wilson, *Congressional Dynamics: Structure, Coordination, and Choice in the First American Congress, 1774–1789* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

[37] Barrow, "The American Revolution as a Colonial War for Independence."

[38] Thomas Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American

in the eyes of both the invading Redcoats and external revolutionary soldiers that made Pennsylvania slow to reach the political boiling point. A bye-election for assemblymen on May 1, 1776, appeared to show Pennsylvania's electors moving *away* from confrontation with King and Parliament rather than toward separation from imperial authority. Few historians of Pennsylvania's experience doubt that its path to Independence was shaped by an internal revolution in the fullest *progressive* sense of that term.[39]

Pennsylvania's experience with the Revolution's *war* cannot be separated from these contexts. Its 1776 state constitution was radical and its government was self-consciously weak, structurally decentralized, and badly divided. When the war veered toward the state in late 1776, the Continental Congress retreated to Baltimore while Philadelphia's militarily inexperienced citizens fled the town. The state government did *not* flee, because it was not functioning well enough to be able to do so. Even after the year-end Revolution-saving victories at Trenton and Princeton, doubts about the future multiplied. Washington's retreat from New York to Pennsylvania and his subsequent trek into the hills of Morris County, New Jersey, were a decidedly *Short* March, but as he got there his army shrank virtually (or in truth, literally) to nothing. If he ever knew an *American Yenan* it was at Morristown in early 1777.

In terms of the *politics* of warmaking, the subsequent year in Pennsylvania was even stranger. Washington returned to the state with a substantially reconstituted but not yet a seriously re*built* army only because William Howe did. And Howe went there because many American Loyalists, notably Pennsylvania's Joseph Galloway, portrayed it as being filled with the King's friends and a good place to crush the rebellion. Southeastern Pennsylvanians, especially Philadelphians, moved more slowly and deliberately out of the way of an army *actually* in their midst than they fled *rumors* of one in 1776. Washington tried to conduct as conventional a campaign as possible, but he lost two battles and control of the Revolutionary capital for his trouble. The damaged American supply systems collapsed in late October of 1777, immobilizing his army northwest of Philadelphia, just as many officers began to imagine that they might at last (after Germantown) actually be in a position to defeat their adversary. The last months of the campaign saw dispersed clashes between patrols and partisan forces that may

History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 180.

[39] David Freeman Hawke, *In the Midst of a Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961); Richard Alan Ryerson, *The Revolution is Now Begun: The Radical Committees of Philadelphia, 1765–1776* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978); Steven Rosswurm, *Arms, Country, and Class: The Philadelphia Militia and the 'Lower Sort' during the American Revolution* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987); Eric Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), chaps. 2-4.

have looked to both contemporaries and historians more like *petite guerre* than they were if analyzed structurally. The inability of American troops and Pennsylvania's politically alienated militia to keep the Delaware River obstructed until it froze ended the campaign on a cruelly demoralizing note.[40]

When Washington—pressed by Continental and State leaders in November of 1777 to conduct a Winter Campaign against the British army occupying Philadelphia—tried to decide what to do next, he got a different picture of the local social and political fabric from his officers than Howe obtained from Galloway. Councils of War with his generals, supplemented by written memoranda, disclosed a military leadership fractured along regional lines. Southern and New England generals dismissed both the opinions and the morale of local civilians and they counseled Washington to withdraw the army to interior Pennsylvania to regroup for the next summer's campaign. Middle Atlantic generals, especially Pennsylvanians, feared the political consequences of such a step. They portrayed a diverse community combed out by the war, with Loyalists having fled into the city for British protection, patriots swelling interior towns where many generals hoped to winter the army, and a middle ground populated by the indifferent, the fearful, the immobilized, and civilians whose loyalties might be drawn to either side. They urged Washington to keep the army near the city, in Wilmington, Delaware, or camped along the Schuylkill River. They divided over Pennsylvania's call for a winter campaign, but many feared that without one the army might forfeit the confidence or allegiance of all but bitterly committed Whigs.[41]

Washington was sympathetic to the view of most of his generals, but he yielded to the political logic of the locally-informed minority and brought the troops to Valley Forge. An inquiring journalist like Paine might have found him there in early 1778 in a quiet period and a mood at once resigned and resilient—not entirely what Mao conjured for Theodore White in 1944. February was a hellish month. A committee from Congress was in camp. Its members experienced at close range the most catastrophic supply failures of the winter, ones that saw Washington warn credibly that the army might soon be forced to dis-

[40] Bodle, *Valley Forge Winter*, chaps. 1-2.

[41] Ibid., chap. 3; Wayne Bodle, "Generals and 'Gentlemen': Pennsylvania Politics and the Decision for Valley Forge," *Pennsylvania History* 62, no. 1 (1995): 59-89; Benjamin H. Newcomb, "Washington's Generals and the Decision to Quarter at Valley Forge," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 117, no. 4 (October 1993): 309-329.

solve or disperse. A solitary working breakfast with Washington, melding seamlessly into tea or lunch with George and Martha, would have been unlikely but not out of the question.[42]

What could Paine have wheedled from the old man as dusk fell on the camp and news spread that Generals Greene and Wayne were still not back from desperate foraging expeditions in nearby Pennsylvania and New Jersey? Not complaints about General Howe's *technology* advantages or his enviable *energy* situation. Howe's troops chopped the Philadelphia peninsula bare of trees that winter just trying to stay warm. Washington's ideas would have been abundant, probably expressed in short sentences punctuated by long silences. Asked whether the people were with him, he might have described Pennsylvanians as being *too much with him.* His officers were perplexed by the inhabitants. New Englanders reduced the state's plural religious communities to so many comedic variants on the word Quaker, and described "this Sanctified Quaking State" or "Tory Labyrinth" as "a heathenish land."[43] The British were similarly baffled. One Redcoat officer paused on the Brandywine battlefield to tell an enraptured Quaker youth that "you have got a hell of a fine country here, which we have found to be the case ever since we landed at the head of Elk."[44] But two months later, having brushed past rebel resistance to occupy Philadelphia, a British general described the same campaign as having been "as hard an exertion as ever was made, by any army, through the strangest country in the world."[45]

Pressed by the articulate and perceptive Paine, Washington might have shifted the talk from Pennsylvanians themselves to their fledgling and precarious state government, which he and the army were literally fronting in geographical terms. It did not resemble anything he had seen in Virginia. Its unicameral Assembly was populated by farmers and tradesmen who did not care to meet very often in a time of military crisis. The state had sent to Congress signers of the Declaration of Independence so obscure that one of them is not even profiled in the definitive *American National Biography*. Executive power was lodged not with

[42] Bodle, *The Valley Forge Winter,* chaps. 5-7. According to Eric Foner, Paine spent the winter of 1777–1778 in York, Pennsylvania, so he could have (but did not) accompanied the committee visiting the army. Foner, *Tom Paine*, 141. The committee reached the camp on January 24, and Martha Washington probably about two weeks later.

[43] John Paterson to Colonel Marshall, February 23, 1778 ("Sanctified"), James Varnum to (Mrs.) William Greene, March 7, 1778, James Varnum to Colonel Nathan Millers, March 7, 1778 ("Tory" and "heathenish"), all quoted in Bodle, *The Valley Forge Winter*, 172, 203.

[44] [Joseph Townsend], *Some account of the British army, under the command of General Howe, and of the battle of Brandywine* (Philadelphia: T. Ward, 1846), 23.

[45] Major General Charles Gray, November 28, 1777, quoted in Bodle, *The Valley Forge Winter*, 76. For soldierly views of Pennsylvania and its "people," see ibid., 76, 80-81, 126-128, 202-203; Ricardo A. Herrera, *Feeding Washington's Army: Surviving the Valley Forge Winter of 1778* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2022), chaps. 2 and 3.

a governor but a committee of three men, the Supreme Executive Council. Its president was a colorless Philadelphia moderate, Thomas Wharton, with whom Washington worked cordially, but its vice president was a blunt radical, George Bryan, who would have pleased Paine more than the commander-in-chief. During frequent periods when this group did not meet, emergency power devolved on a Committee of Safety, and this ungainly contraption was supervised by a Council of Censors charged with recommending revisions to the state constitution. Personnel from these bodies were crowded into Lancaster after Philadelphia fell to the British in September of 1777, forcing on the Continental Congress the not entirely unwelcome prospect of crossing the Susquehanna River to meet in the remoter, quieter, and safer town of York—though some delegates hated that place, too.[46]

This menage must have persuaded Galloway that he had made the right choices in becoming a Loyalist and accompanying Howe's troops back home to Pennsylvania. Some conservative Whigs—like John Dickinson, Joseph Cadwallader, and Joseph Reed—had joined the state's radical government, risking violating their Test Oaths not to oppose the 1776 constitution, which they had every intention of doing to render Pennsylvania's government more like those of other states. Reed and Cadwallader forfeited Continental commissions, but they rode with Washington in 1777, informally advising him on strategy while serving as liaisons between the army and state agents of their own political persuasions. Mao might have seen in these circumstances parallels to China in the early 1940s; Pennsylvanians of divergent political views setting their differences cautiously aside to repel an invader, while working steadily—and not always quietly—to secure their long-term interests against once-and-future rivals.

It was in reluctant accommodation to this intersection of political and strategic imperatives that Washington kept his army in the field in 1777–1778 while most of his officers favored other options. His *second* dividend for this flexibility was Congress's decision to send the investigating committee to Valley Forge that made February a fraught month. The *first* prize was an angry remonstrance from state officials in December of 1777, doubting that the army would remain to protect the state and their political flanks, after Washington had expressly agreed to do just that. His response was to denounce the state's hypocrisy while portraying his army as being on the brink of collapse, and hinting darkly that he might

[46] William Pencak, "The Promise of Revolution, 1750–1800," in *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth,* eds. Randall M. Miller and William Pencak (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 101-152; Joseph S. Foster, *In Pursuit of Equal Liberty: George Bryan and the Revolution in Pennsylvania* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

bring it to Lancaster County after all if more material support was not forthcoming.[47]

An intrepid Paine, sojourning at headquarters to gather material for a sequel to *The American Crisis*, would have left camp with a mass of notes, but probably, like White, little that could be attributed to The Chief. His self-confidence and role in Pennsylvania politics may have left him no readier to challenge Washington than White's China *bonafides* led him to contradict Mao. On one question central to our task of comparing the Revolution with wars of national liberation—the impact of rebel control of government at the local level—Washington's views would have been clear. By staying in the field, in front of and as an agent for the state government as well as Congress; and by protecting Whigs and recruitable neutralists, the army assumed roles and liabilities that revolutionary theory assigns to the *incumbent*, not the *insurgent.* It would not conduct the Winter Campaign that armchair advocates in Lancaster all wanted, but risked being pulled into perilous contact with civilians. The army had embraced a new mission. More than a stolid symbol of resistance to the occupation of Pennsylvania, it had to enforce unpopular laws prohibiting civilians from associating with the enemy.

The main engine for this dynamic was the attraction of British currency in hard money, pitted against depreciating Continental paper. Pennsylvania farmers were likely to sell their produce for the best prices available whatever the consequence. As the agent of a precarious, radical state government, the army became a regional police force. Seeking to define that role narrowly, Washington extracted an agreement for the state to supply one thousand militia troops at all times, and he divided Philadelphia's hinterland into two sectors, east and west of the Schuylkill River. Continental troops were responsible for the west side while state forces patrolled the east. But Pennsylvania never fielded more than a tiny fraction of that number. One consequence of this role, for which the *New* army of 1777–1778 had neither been recruited nor trained, was to accelerate its alienation from the community. Violent clashes between patrolling troops and civilians spread across the region. The winter brought charges, and some evidence, of favoritism, bribery, corruption, and *brigandage* by both the militia and regular troops, for which each side blamed the other. *Third force* parties, including British *and* American deserters, joined the fray, imperiling isolated wayfarers, including small detachments of regular army troops.

By trial and error, and by the application of his cautious temperament, Washington learned to limit these damages at the risk of giving material advantage to the enemy or of clashes with state and Continental authorities. In

[47] Bodle, *Valley Forge Winter*, chap. 3.

February and March, when the centrifugal tug of this civil war peaked, he refused to allow the army to be pulled deeper into it. This gave the British opportunities to exploit the advantages that revolutionary theory assigns to the *insurgent*. Howe declined, for the same reasons that Henry Clinton did in the South, to certify the liberation of Pennsylvania by forming a provisional civilian government. He opened his treasury to make Philadelphia markets attractive to farmers. He sent detachments into townships adjoining the city to drive away rebel patrols while *market people* scrambled into town. But whether he understood the systemic pressures that these tactics put on ties between Pennsylvania inhabitants, their government, and the army, is unclear. He never sent Redcoats back home with the marketeers to protect them from political or legal reprisals for their avarice. Only with the effective collapse of Continental operations in late February and March did he actually try to dismantle the civil and political infrastructure of the rebellion. Washington battened down militarily and rode those liabilities out while Howe probed randomly and ineffectively for weaknesses across the region. If Howe was inarticulate about these events, forfeiting insurgent advantages that Shy sees in triangularity, Washington was similarly mute.[48] He learned as time passed. He declined to help New Jersey officials address the spillover of civil conflict east of the Delaware River that had accompanied Continental foraging there in February. He allowed a brief Tory uprising in Delmarva, on the border between Delaware and Maryland, to burn out rather than trying to stamp it out.[49] *Learning* may be the biggest lesson here. It was not clear if any serious advantages inhered to the Continental side in its relations with state governments or their webs of communities. Nor are there reasons to assume that the British faced insuperable disadvantages from these circumstances.[50] If that *became* the case as the war spilled into the Southern states during 1778, it reflects gradual adaptation by actors on both sides.

When the British withdrew to New York City to execute Germain's plan to integrate military operations with the pacification and protection of the civil population in the South, Washington's army moved to the Lower Hudson estuary, where it manned a looser replica of its crescent-shaped screen around Philadelphia. Dealing more comfortably with the civil governments of New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut than he had with Pennsylvania's, Washington kept Clinton's forces under surveillance, suppressing his recurrent impulses to attack the

[48] Shy, "The Military Conflict Considered as a Revolutionary War," 199.
[49] Bodle, "Valley Forge Winter," 186-188, 216-219; Wayne Bodle, "'The Ghost of Clow': Loyalist Insurgency in the Delmarva Peninsula," in *The Other Loyalists: Ordinary People, Royalism, and the Revolution in the Middle Colonies, 1763-1787*, eds. Joseph S. Tiedemann et al.(Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), 19-44.
[50] Mackesy, "The Redcoat Revived," 184-185.

city. He intervened more gingerly in civil conflicts in Bergen County, New Jersey, or Westchester County, New York, than he had around Philadelphia, and gave coastal Connecticut inhabitants no more protection than he had their counterparts in Delmarva.

Washington attended closely to military morale during a period of incipient mutiny and treason. On this platform he assembled the Continental reinforcement army that Nathanael Greene led south in 1780–1781 to unravel British achievements under Lord Germain's plan. He orchestrated its movement unimpeded on the way to Virginia. His willingness to serve as a managerial overseer rather than taking personal command in Carolina, and his rejection of General Charles Lee's "radical alternative" that Shy calls "a war waged along guerrilla lines," suggests that he had found a middle course that reconciled warmaking with political imperatives. From that point on, symbiotic relationships between Continental forces and local instruments of government began to matter more.[51]

Learning *about* military learning is a difficult task. The works discussed herein did not, in the 1960s and 1970s or thereafter, produce a *historiographical moment*. There were no Special Issues of scholarly journals, or topical Forums in regular issues, or thematic panels at academic gatherings. There were no review essays, and indeed, as these ideas gestated, it became harder to get anthologies or conference proceedings published at all, much less reviewed. Don Higginbotham was unduly sure in 1981 about what aspects of the 1960s and 1970s Americans had put behind them. But circumstances and academic fashions change, and the impulse to *study war no more* was never that far from the scholarly cortex. Reagan-era interventions in places like Grenada were dismissed as risible gestures, and his covert activities in Central American conflicts generated too little notice from the history academy. Few scholars showed much taste for analyzing possible *Sandinista Saratogas*.

Current or future American engagements with regime change, or state-building conflicts on the South Asian mainland, or anywhere in the southern hemisphere, may be no different. Scholars like Mackesy, Higginbotham, Shy, and Russell Weigley or John Keegan, brought keen insights to wars from early modern times to the twentieth century. But except for Shy's "skeptical" willingness early in the Vietnam era to accept the Pentagon's "modest stipend" to study "Isolating the Guerrilla" from his civil supporters, and his co-authorship with Peter Paret of a volume on guerrilla warfare, few studies treated here addressed technical elements of the events with which the Revolution was being compared.[52] In 1979,

[51] Shy, "American Strategy: Charles Lee and the Radical Alternative," in *A People Numerous and Armed*, 133-162, 155 ("war waged").

[52] Shy, "The Military Conflict Considered as a Revolutionary War," 193 [headnote] ("skeptical…Guerilla"); Peter Paret and John W. Shy, *Guerillas in the 1960's: A Background Study of Modern*

Mackesy wondered whether a "surge of British strength" in 1782, from thirty thousand troops to, say, sixty thousand, might have preserved the First British Empire. The prescient relevance of this observation to subsequent U.S. military interventions suggests that the *historiographical moment that never happened* may not be as obsolete as we may think.[53]

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Soon after Kabul fell to the Taliban in the summer of 2021, scholars met at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia to confer about the upcoming celebration of the 250th anniversary of American Independence in 2026. In a panel on "War and Revolution," the moderator noted how different American wars have intersected to stimulate meaning or launch debates in the field of military history. He cited John Shy's efforts during the 1960s and 1970s to forge new understandings of the Revolution "in the shadow[s] of Vietnam." He wondered if backward reflections from 2026 might similarly be shaped by the "Long Wars" from 2001 through the first two decades of the twenty-first century: the collapse of the Afghan government, the triumph of the Taliban, and the disorderly withdrawal of American troops two months before the conference.[54]

Panel members silently but politely declined to run with that prompt, a testament to the obsolescence of the historiographical moment that never happened. But is that imagined moment really irrelevant, and should it be confined to the dustbin of History? None of the technical things that make the current war in Ukraine an unconvincing match for the worlds of Paul Revere, Johnny Tremain, or George Roberts Twelves Hewes—shoulder-fired ship-killer missiles,

Guerilla Tactics (New York: Praeger, Published for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1962).

[53] Mackesy, "The Redcoat Revived," 181. For Weigley's and Keegan's insights, see Russell Weigley, *The Partisan War: The South Carolina Campaign of 1780–1782* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970); John Keegan, *Fields of Battle: The Wars for North America* (New York: A.. Knopf, 1996). For contemporary uses of "surge," see Nick Schifrin, "Campaign Analysis: The 'Surge' in Iraq, 2007–2008," *Orbis* 62, no. 4 (2018): 617-631; Kevin Marsh, "Obama's 'Surge': A Bureaucratic Politics Analysis of the Decision to Order a Troop Surge in the Afghanistan War," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10, no. 3 (2014): 265-288; Rajiv Chandrasekran, "The Afghan Surge is Over: So Did it Work?," *Foreign Policy*, September 25, 2012; Kelly McHugh, "A Tale of Two Surges: Comparing the Politics of the 2007 Iraq Surge and the 2009 Afghanistan Surge," *SAGE Open* 5, no. 4 (October–December 2015): 1-16.

[54] The proceedings of this conference, "The Meanings of Independence," can be seen on the American Philosophical Society's YouTube channel at: https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PLoKwLGnyZL4CHDhOpurL35cqW_aVRlxpj. See especially, Brendan McConville, moderator, preliminary remarks to the "War and Revolution" session; and Robert Parkinson, moderator, preliminary remarks to the previous session on "Experiences of Revolution."

weaponized drones jousting for battlefield airspace, journalists using geolocating tools for satellite photo analysis—lessens the chance that this episode will energize generational scholarship on the American Revolution and its combat modes. The questions raised above about partisan control of local instruments of government, may resonate with Kremlin efforts to establish civil regimes in cities that they have demolished, captured, and rebuilt. The ruble's fate in eastern Ukraine, as a tool of commerce and a cultural asset for warmaking, may inflect narratives about the contest between British specie and Continental paper in American Revolutionary neighborhoods. The differential incidence of modern journalists' education and exposure to required military service, or the appearance of women reporters' framed by siren-filled night skies, may have scholarly resonance.

This begs another question as well: Can secondary Atlantic trade patterns in the Revolution, apart from blockades and embargoes, be understood anew through the lens of modern practices of sanctions? Specialist literature on British and American efforts to enlist the military or diplomatic support of Catherine the Great is already substantial, but will Vladimir Putin's insistence that Ukraine was never a country, or his claim to the imperial mantle of Peter the Great, reinvigorate that obscure branch of comparative historical inquiry? Will military subjects resume their traditional place as a domain of hyperspecialized practitioners, or as the default interest of amateur populist audiences? It would be regrettable not to use the time we have to formulate ideas and questions that keep the practice of war as critical to understanding revolutions as Shy's contemporaries contrived to make them, and to retreat, debate, and remake them.

Urvashi Chakravarty, *Fictions of Consent: Slavery, Servitude, and Free Service in Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022. 312 pages. $65.00

Urvashi Chakravarty's first book, *Fictions of Consent: Slavery, Servitude, and Free Service in Early Modern England*, neatly addresses the messy matter of a long-held tradition in how slavery and enslavement have been disclosed, taught, and rhetorically weaponized by the colonizing classes and by the descendants of enslavers. Many are inclined to think especially of America when considering the worst offenders of enslavement. I am accustomed to seeing English folks arguing in Twitter comments that invoking the Slave Trade Act of 1807, which ended trading of enslaved persons within the English colonies while preserving legal slavery itself, absolves England from receiving a similar—or equal—amount of vitriol regarding their role in the trade of other people. Presently in American education, states like—but not limited to—Florida have been utilizing state power to educate students with…well, fictions of consent about America's relationship with slavery. Of course, this is nothing new. As a Black woman educated and raised in the United States, I am fluent in these fictions. *Fictions of Consent* relays the methods by which these fabrications about early modern servitude became known to many as voluble truths.

Fictions regarding the transatlantic slave trade and its varied systemic legacies have long-lived and multi-generational lives, often serving a narrative that minimizes the very real role of intentionality behind the preservation and maintenance of these scripts of servitude: "It is the roots of these fictions that this book examines, and the ways in which early modern English iterations of service and servitude laid the conceptual and rhetorical groundwork for such pervasive and lasting narrative and ideological strategies around slavery" (2). Chakravarty invites readers to consider not only England's distinct role in creating and perpetuating such stories about enslavement, but also "to argue that slavery *was* English, and moreover that service was fundamental to its conception" (2). By no means is Chakravarty suggesting that slavery was *limited* to England's colonies, culture, or economy, but that "the long ideological history of slavery was rooted in a set of everyday relations and sites of service—the household, the family, the schoolroom—that simultaneously, and paradoxically, seemed to refuse the possibility of servitude yet honed the fictions that underwrote and authorized bondage" (2).

Just as *Fictions of Consent* focuses on but is not limited to England's relationship with slavery, the subjects of its chapters are not subject to the specific liminality of whiteness, blackness, or otherness. Included in the umbrella of "Slavery, Free Service and Servitude" are Milton's Adam and Eve (Ch. 4), *King Lear*'s Kent (Ch. 5), and Hemings' eunuch, Castrato, in *The Fatal Contract* (Ch. 3). Indeed,

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bondage comes in many forms and has aligned with many an English social or economic contract.

Chakravarty's reading of bondage in chapter three considers the intersection of bondage and natality within Milton's Adam and Eve, and how *Paradise Lost*:

> …is both a forecast and a warning, a reminder that bondage and natality are closely imbricated, that the work on which Adam relies can itself become merely an authorizing fiction of agency, and that the bondage that is intertwined with reproductive futurity implicates a 'tainted' nature. In reproducing itself, Man's 'race unblest' inevitably generates a heritable—and sometimes somatic—mark of slavery (169)

This reading brings to mind a passage from Patricia Akhimie's *Shakespeare and the Cultivation of Difference* (New York: Routledge, 2018), where she observes that "Blackness is made to mean through a particular process by which it may come to be associated across all its connotations, with the absence of trust, comfort, and familiarity—a stigmatized mark of difference" (49). Chakravarty's reading calls attention to a "reproductive futurity" that "implicates a 'tainted' nature"; this "stigmatized mark of difference" that Akhimie identifies as blackness is also a "mark of slavery." *Fictions of Consent* considers Milton on postlapsarian Adam and Eve:

> The Law I gave to Nature him forbids:
> Those pure immortal Elements that know
> No gross, no unharmonious mixture foule,
> Eject him *tainted* now, and purge him off
> As a distemper…[11.50-53][1]

Her examination of the "tainted nature" of the fallen Adam and Eve, Chakravarty notes, coincides with

> …and miserable it is
> To be to others cause of misery,
> Our own begotten, and of our Loines to bring
> Into this *cursed* World a *woful Race*,
> That after wretched Life must be at last

[1] John Milton, *Paradise Lost. A Poem in Twelve Books* [2nd ed.] (London: S. Simmons, 1674), 287. 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 R13351. Emphasis my own.

> Food for so foule a Monster, in thy power
> It lies, yet ere Conception to prevent
> The *Race unblest, to being yet unbegot.*
> Childless thou art, Childless remain…[10.981-989][2]

As part of their generational punishment, Adam, Eve, and all their consanguineous progenitors must pay for their cardinal sin, being marked as "a woful race," or "a race unblest," who would not descend directly from Eve's womb. Chakravarty locates a similar parallel in the inheritance of enslavement; the process of natality which left even those "unbegot" in positions of predestined ill-fate. Chakravarty writes,

> "Adam and Eve are both heirs and progenitors, reluctant reproducers whose most famous progeny is not their own. These heirs, this family, is also a family of indentured servants, whose navigations and negotiations of servitude and succession manifest the nexus of service and blood, of the unfilial and the unlineal, in early modern understandings of kinship and family" (170).

Admittedly, when I have broadly considered slavery and servitude in early modern England, Milton's Adam and Eve are not the first figures to come to mind. Inherited servitude certainly predates the circulation of the Bible, but Chakravarty illuminates the direct correlation between early modern attitudes regarding the justification of slavery, free service, and servitude, and how these attitudes both reflected and perpetuated popular notions of servitude in early modern England.

This creates a perfect segue for the chapter that most interests me, and which feels most contemporarily prescient, the second chapter, "Leaue to Liue More at Libertie," a chapter on race, slavery, and pedagogy in the early modern schoolroom. Chakravarty maintains that the schoolroom "emerged as a formative site for the conceptual strategies of racialized bondage and of the place of children and hereditability in the genealogies of slavery" (45). In a moment when many American public schools and their districts argue that the right to exclusively teach fictions of consent is a constitutional right, revisionist histories are suggested as a feel-good substitute for more broadly defined—and much more violent—histories. Chakravarty focuses on the fact that "these fictions, and the languages and logics that sustained them, were seeded in the pedagogical contexts

[2] Ibid., 280.

of the schoolroom" (198). Educators took a unique approach to address England's relationship with free service: "Through the rehearsal and reiteration of these fictions of consent, the accretion and dispersal of discourses and contexts, slavery becomes not just possible, but palatable" (198).

Chakravarty contends that "the schoolroom, rather than the sea or shore or the slave market, was the primary contact zone for slavery," and these conceptions were "performed, ventriloquized, and vivified" in the roles of "classical and contemporary slaves as memories, specters, alternates, and intimates in the slave plays that English schoolboys read and enacted" in fulfillment of the requirements for their grammar school educations (3). These plays, principally the comedies of Terence and Plautus, "were significant for their depictions of wily slaves, faithful freedmen, and errant sons learning to become citizens of Rome. But they also staged the kinds of slaves, and the forms of bondage, that would come to inform not only the characters and plots of early modern plays, but the ways in which concepts of slavery and manumission were conceived, fictionalized, and disseminated" (3). Tales of Roman slavery written in Latin would be translated to create and reinforce early modern ideas of slavery, teaching pupils early on that liberty and bondage go hand in hand, and that the duty of service was tied to English citizenship. Chakravarty suggests that "this move insistently resituates slavery as English, reveals the quotidian conditions and everyday environment of compromised consent, and, in coarticulating service and slavery, works to authorize the ideologies of slavery even as it affixes them to racial difference" (74). In Terence and Plautus, the characters would find themselves in negotiable positions of bondage that were often linked to debt and would lead to eventual redemption. Enslavement was a condition that could be shed. But the mark of slavery for blackamoores, for example, was racially rooted and tied to the color of their skin, therefore making the mark of slavery immovable.

Fictions of Consent locates the many variants of bondage, and the everyday conventions, texts, and characters which informed, created, and reflected early modern attitudes regarding enslavement and free service. Chakravarty demonstrates that in early modern England, "slavery was not an extreme or onerous version of service but rather its obverse, a sign that one was excluded from a civic community molded around the enactment of a service that was explicitly articulated as volitional" (4).

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