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**ALLEGORY AND THE AMERICAN MIND:  
A SURVEY OF THE USE OF WOMEN AS ALLEGORICAL  
REPRESENTATIONS OF AMERICA, 1765-1815**

by

**Jennifer Elizabeth Schaaf**

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture**

**Spring, 2000**

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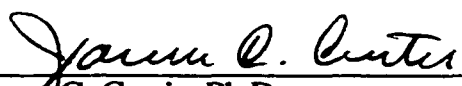
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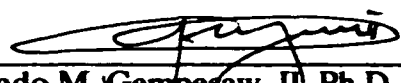
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Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to the memory of E. McClung Fleming, whose pioneering research on the use of women as allegorical representations of America inspired me to undertake this study.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Images of women have been used as allegorical representations of America since the sixteenth century. Initially, a savage Indian Queen symbolized the alien and mythic New World. But as European colonization became entrenched, the allegory of America was transformed into an Anglicized woman with which the colonizers could more easily identify. The process of Anglicization that transformed the Indian Queen into a Europeanized woman inspired printmakers to unconsciously project their notions of proper womanhood onto what they intended to be political symbols. Allegorical representations of America, whether produced by European or American limners, pictorially represented a tension between societal expectations for submissive feminine behavior and the reality that women, in fact, exercised considerable power in both the public and private spheres.

## **Chapter 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

To walk through the period rooms of the Winterthur Museum is to walk through a condensed history of our nation. Henry Francis DuPont's vast collections of early American furniture, textiles, ceramics, glass, and metalwares allow the visitor to appreciate more fully the material culture that shaped the contours of the early Americans' world. Hung throughout the Museum, among these unparalleled collections of early American craftsmanship, are print sources that not only accessorize the collections, but illuminate our nation's past. Portrait engravings, maps, city views, satirical and allegorical prints, instructional, and purely decorative images all reveal specific information useful to researchers in a broad range of fields. Scholars of the decorative arts rely on images to tell them how Americans arranged furnishings within their homes. Historians rely on print sources to chart the progress of early American politics and the emergence of a distinct national culture. And prints curators study these images as objects of both aesthetic and historical value and as exemplars of technical expertise. All would agree that early American prints are invaluable tools for understanding the American mind.

The power of an image lies not only in the surface value to be gleaned from a cursory examination of a print, but in the hidden and unconscious meanings that limners unwittingly incorporated into their designs. In the pages that follow, I intend to apply this assumption to an examination of emblems that employ images of women as allegorical representations of America. I am particularly interested in the use of these images from 1765 through 1815, the most decisive period in the development of an American nationalist sentiment. These female allegories appeared on the cartouches of maps, in satirical and

humorous political propaganda, and in overtly patriotic images. They were part of an instantly recognizable vocabulary of symbols that early Americans would have understood and naturalized. These images shaped their world view and helped them to understand themselves.<sup>1</sup>

Prints were hung in American homes and collected by American settlers from the earliest days of European colonization. But it was not until the 1730s that American consumers enjoyed a vast array of choices when selecting prints. E. McSherry Fowble, in her comprehensive catalogue of the Winterthur prints collection, explains that three factors were critical to the entrenchment of a print industry in colonial America. First, printsellers' shops in major American cities and itinerant printsellers' activities in small towns and rural areas only began to flourish in the third decade of the eighteenth century. Second, an influx of European printmakers arrived in this period and awakened local interest. And finally, more Americans could afford to travel abroad, where they encountered a popular prints market that they hoped to transfer to and emulate in America.<sup>2</sup>

Until the early nineteenth century, Americans relied almost entirely on prints produced abroad and shipped to America in bulk for retail sale. Fowble explains that the scarcity of papermills and rolling presses necessary for the reproduction of non-text images retarded the development of an independent printmaking industry in America. Ambitious projects conceived in the colonies were often sent to the mother country for engraving and printing. Many printsellers, therefore, advertised images by subscription, and only executed projects that garnered popular support in advance of their engraving.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the special-order prints initiated by Americans, colonists had access to images created by London-based printers who often undertook projects that they believed would appeal to their trans-Atlantic cousins. According to Sinclair Hitchings, London printmakers relied on accounts supplied by so-called "men-on-the-spot" who offered insights into the political

and social climate in the colonies. When accurate reports were lacking, publishers sometimes, "...employed their wits and imaginations..."<sup>4</sup>

These circumstances should not be construed to mean that America completely lacked a domestic printmaking industry. As early as 1686, a rolling press was assembled and operational in Massachusetts Bay for the purpose of printing currency. And Fowble reports that as early as 1701, an engraver based in the colonies is known to have produced the first portrait to be copperplated in America.<sup>5</sup> Though progress was slow, printmakers established themselves in major colonial cities throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, in part, to satisfy colonists' demands for the timely production of maps, newspapers, magazines, and other printed materials that met practical, rather than ornamental desires.<sup>6</sup> Americans actively participated in the production of printed images at home and shaped the kinds of representations of America that were produced abroad. Indeed, any perceived separation between the European and American printing industries is, in a sense, artificial. Limners on both sides of the Atlantic pirated one another's work, and it is not unusual to find several strikingly similar versions of an image produced by printmakers based in distant pockets of Europe and the Americas.

By the time stirrings for independence were exhibited by Americans, they had already been exposed to female allegorical representations of America for more than a century. In fact, they, in cooperation with European printmakers and consumers, had helped to recast the image to more closely conform with their understanding of themselves. Over the course of the first several decades of their independence, they would participate in recasting the image once more. The story of the use of women as allegories of America is not static. It is the story of an evolving symbol that was reshaped to adapt to the changing perceptions of a rapidly transforming region. The female allegory of America began as a savage, then developed into a lady.

Several scholars have examined the use of women as allegorical representations of America. Most notable among them is E. McClung Fleming, who published a pair of articles in the 1965 and 1967 editions of The Winterthur Portfolio.<sup>7</sup> Fleming traced the evolution of these images from their earliest appearances in the late sixteenth century through 1815, by which time the figures had been displaced by male images such as Brother Jonathan and Uncle Sam. Fleming identified five stages in the development of female images of America. In her earliest incarnation, the America of sixteenth and seventeenth century prints appeared as an Indian Queen who personified the entire continent and stood among a series of female figures representing Asia, Europe, and Africa. As the earliest visitors to the New World returned to Europe with fantastic tales of the peculiar landscape and peoples they had seen, a set of stock representations were created by European limners and engravers that reflected the exoticism that informed their understanding of America. Engravers generally depicted the Indian Queen with dark skin and a muscular, semi-nude body. She often wore a feathered headdress and bore weapons of war.<sup>8</sup>

The entrenchment of English colonization in North America inspired the creation of an updated female allegory to represent the British settlements in the New World. An Indian Princess, based on earlier images of the Indian Queen, emerged in the 1760s to satisfy that desire. Fleming emphasized the power of this image and observed that the adoption of a native American woman as a representation of an English colony, "...is further evidence of the force this strange, distinctive, new race exerted on the imagination of the Englishmen who confronted it in the forests of their colonial empire. Almost immediately, the Indian appeared on colonial seals and soon on colonial weathervanes as well as the mastheads of colonial newspapers."<sup>9</sup> Important differences surfaced between the Indian Princess and the Indian Queen who preceded her. These differences, which Fleming perhaps failed to explicate fully, speak to the Europeans' desire to recast the

native's image in their likeness. The Princess appeared with less threatening accouterments of war and she surrounded herself less frequently with references to exotic flora and unusual creatures that had often been placed around images of the Queen. And, as Fleming explained, "[t]he most significant variation between the new symbol and the old is that the Indian Princess is not the creature of an alien race but is the daughter of Britannia; her major concern is not the domination of savage enemies but the attainment of liberty."<sup>10</sup>

In her capacity as representation of the English colonial empire, the Indian Princess generally appeared within one of three contexts: "her mother-daughter relation to Britannia, her pursuit of liberty, [or] her command of the strategic factor of overseas trade."<sup>11</sup> Whereas the Indian Queen had represented an unknowable and alien land, the Indian Princess came to represent the political interests of the colonizers. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Princess had come to be identified with an Anglicized culture.

Fleming described the use of the Indian Princess allegory on both official documents and in political propaganda as ubiquitous throughout the colonial era. But her image was transformed by the tumult of the Revolution that inspired Americans to recast the symbol once again. In her post-War incarnation, the Princess began a slow evolution into the figure of Liberty. Engravers on both sides of the Atlantic created a number of transitional figures in the process of developing an allegory specific to the United States. Fleming suggested that the production of a diversity of images was inevitable. He wrote, "[m]ore persons, on more occasions, were prompted to personify the nation, and more currents of taste were present to influence the artists' eye."<sup>12</sup> Though many engravers continued to use unaltered versions of the Indian Princess, many limners' illustrations of America featured a female figure that was dramatically Anglicized, even as the fashion for neo-classicism informed her image. Among the transitional figures were a Plumed Greek Goddess, who retained several attributes of the Indian Princess but included elements such as Grecian robes, sandals, and shields and spears (as opposed to the Princess's clubs and

arrows); Minerva and Liberty, who maintained their status as classical deities thought to embody the exalted ideals of an infant nation determined to develop into an honored and virtuous state; and Liberty, or the more specifically American Columbia, who were variations on the established goddess images that spoke to a distinctly American nationalist sentiment by bearing or wrapping themselves in American flags or appearing more closely connected to additional representations of America such as the eagle or the thirteen stars that signify each of the original states.<sup>13</sup> By the nineteenth century, the Indian Princess and the Plumed Goddess had all but disappeared. According to Fleming, "[a]s conviction grew in the young Republic that its single most passionately held ideal was liberty, it was inevitable that increasing use should be made of the American Liberty, and that the American Liberty and Columbia should become interchangeable."<sup>14</sup>

So comprehensive and so persuasive were Fleming's arguments concerning the evolution of female allegorical images of America, that only one scholar has dared to contradict him in the three and a half decades since Fleming's articles were published. John Higham has suggested that Fleming should have distinguished between American and European printmaking. Had he done so, Higham believes that Fleming would have recognized that while European printmakers of the post-Revolutionary era continued to use the Indian Princess and the Plumed Goddess, American printmakers abandoned native images-- and their implied association with primitivism-- far more quickly.<sup>15</sup>

Higham and several other scholars have also revisited Fleming's ideas and sought to build upon his basic framework. Higham, for example, has used female allegorical images to distinguish among several strains of American nationalist sentiment.<sup>16</sup> Michael Kammen has detected the displacement of Liberty in favor of a female allegory representing "Peace and Plenty" in the 1820s that, he believes, speaks to Americans' increasing sense of stability and expectations for national prosperity.<sup>17</sup> And, predictably, a spate of museum exhibitions and publications commemorating the American bicentennial employed female

allegorical images to trace Americans' journey toward independence.<sup>18</sup> Despite the amount of scholarship regarding the use of female allegorical images, no one has read these symbols in order to more fully understand their implications for women's civic responsibilities to the early Republic.

It is my conviction that the process of Anglicization that transformed the Indian Queen into a Europeanized woman inspired printmakers to unconsciously project their notions of proper womanhood onto what they intended to be political symbols. Allegorical representations of America, whether produced by European or American limners, pictorially represented a tension between societal expectations for submissive feminine behavior and the reality that women, in fact, exercised considerable power in both the public and private spheres. Moreover, American printmakers' expeditious abandonment of the Indian Princess and Plumed Goddess images signaled a heightened tension over the proper role of women in post-War America that developed out of women's increased politicization in response to the upheavals of revolution. In the process of developing female allegorical symbols, printmakers and the consumers who naturalized their images symbolically and unwittingly merged women's domestic sphere with the public arena into which women often stepped.



**Chapter 2**  
**ANGLICIZED AMERICA:**  
**THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE FEMALE ALLEGORY**

In his description of the evolution of the Indian Queen into the Indian Princess, Fleming emphasized that the latter appeared, "less barbarous and less Caribbean," than the Queen who preceded her.<sup>19</sup> A comparison of two prints-- one typical of representations of the Indian Queen, the other typical of representations of the Indian Princess-- illuminates the reasons behind the shift from a symbol exuding primitivism to a more civilized allegorical emblem. Crispin van de Passe's stipple engraving of a savage Queen (Figure 1), produced in Antwerp between 1594 and 1610, speaks to the sixteenth and seventeenth century Europeans' fascination with the exoticism and mystery of the New World. Antoine Borel's 1778 stipple engraving, titled *L'Amerique Independante* (Figure 2), which features an Indian Princess, speaks to eighteenth century European and American interest in the political and social climate of England's rebellious colony.

Van de Passe produced his *America* (Figure 1) as one of four engravings in a series representing allegorical images of each of the four known continents. In the center of the image, an Indian Queen sits among a number of strange, fierce animals and abundant foliage and vegetation that would have been unrecognizable to the European observer. She is almost entirely naked except for an accumulation of leaves that form a sort of loin cloth about her hips. She holds a bow in one hand, and the severed head of a vanquished enemy in the other. She is attended by a savage, barely-clothed man who holds additional severed heads out for her inspection. There can be no doubt that this image encapsulates the

savagery and primitivism that Europeans associated with the untamed New World about which they were insatiably curious.

According to Fowble, the image is representative of contemporaneous prints of America because of its emphasis on the brutal and the alien. She explains:

[i]n contrast to the civility and finesse incorporated into allegorical representations of the three oldest [known] continents, Europe, Africa, and Asia, pictures of America tended to focus on the gruesome and the awesome, relieved only by references to an abundance of natural wealth. Europeans were fascinated by this contrast between the known and the unknown, and in response to this interest, numerous allegorical depictions of the continents began to appear in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

It is clear that Europeans viewed the Indian Queen, not as an extension of themselves, but as a specimen at the center of their colonial experiment. She was a curiosity, a rare and unusual object over which they could marvel but with which they could not identify.

Borel's Indian Princess was, in contrast, an image with which both Europeans and Americans were meant to identify. Borel employed her as one of a number of allegorical representations to surround an exalted vision of the beloved Benjamin Franklin. In his *L'Amerique Independante* (Figure 2), Borel situates a semi-nude, plumed Indian Princess at the feet of the Goddess of Liberty. Franklin, featured in the center of the scene, drapes his right arm on the Princess's shoulder and gestures toward her with the cane in his left hand.<sup>21</sup> Situated about the periphery of the image are allegorized representations of Commerce, Agriculture, and (though barely visible) the Arts. To Franklin's left are Prudence and Courage, who battle enemies, here represented as Britain and Neptune, who would infringe on American liberty.

Borel offered advance subscriptions of the print and, though he intended to dedicate it to Franklin, he offered it, instead, as a gift to the Continental Congress at his subject's insistence. The image speaks to widespread public support in France for the American

cause and to the public's fascination with Franklin. The image was, in fact, one of several allegorized depictions of Franklin that appeared around the same time. There is no question that Borel produced the print in the thick of political machinations that were highly relevant to his intended audience. The spate of pro-American and Franklin images that appeared in 1778 corresponded with the French government's official declaration of support for the American cause, before which such images could not have been printed. Borel's use of an American emblem at the bottom center of the print (which he copied from Continental currency) demonstrates that he intended for the engraving to, "have an official cast."<sup>22</sup>

Rather than present an objectified view of a distant land as van de Passe did, Borel presented America as a friend and an admired participant on the same world stage that France and the European powers occupied. This important difference in intent explains the dramatic differences between the appearance of the Indian Queen and the appearance of the Indian Princess. The Indian Queen represented an unknown and savage people. The Indian Princess represented a people who had been founded by a fully developed European power. She, therefore, had to be Anglicized and civilized in a manner befitting her Western parentage.

Limners in both Europe and America employed a number of visual devices to distinguish the Indian Princess from her former incarnation. The Princess, in many cases, took on the fair complexion of the white Europeans she came to represent. A comparison of the prints at hand makes the point. A series of cross-hatched lines etched in the flesh of van de Passe's Indian Queen suggests a dark skin tone, whereas Borel's Indian Princess shares the same white complexion as her allegorized companions who represent the white Franklin and the white gods and goddesses of western European art. Fleming pointed out that this was not always the case. Some Indian Princesses were depicted with what he described as a "swarthy complexion."<sup>23</sup> Often, when complexion failed to serve as an appropriately expressive signifier of civility, other characteristics, such as facial features

and physiognomy, linked the Indian Princess to the white culture that she symbolized. Many Princesses are sketched with the slim, delicate features associated with European peoples that unmistakably identify them as white. Their bodies are patterned after the voluptuous forms of classical art, rather than the markedly muscular forms ascribed to the Indian Queens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Printmakers clothed the Indian Princess more modestly than her predecessor. Indian Queens invariably wore scanty loin cloths and bulky jewelry such as cuffs and anklets that Anglicized culture associated with primitivism. The Indian Princess, though she generally appeared partially nude, wore more elaborate clothing that associated her more closely with European culture. Loin cloths of leaves worn by the Indian Queens were transformed into skirts of tobacco or oak leaves that obscured more of the Princess's flesh from view. Indian Princesses were more likely to be covered by woven cloth garments than the Queens who preceded them. These draped garments often invoked the spirit of the togas and other attire featured in classical sculpture, thereby disassociating the Princess from the less civilized Queen. This transformation is reflected in the van de Passe and Borel prints considered here. Van de Passe's Queen, as mentioned above, wears nothing more than a loin cloth of leaves and some jewelry. Borel's Indian Princess is draped in a Grecian-style robe, and though she is bare-breasted, she exposes less flesh than van de Passe's Indian Queen. The only article of clothing common to both images is the feathered headdress that indicates a common iconographic antecedent.

Despite the Indian Princess's Anglicization, it is impossible to completely divorce the image from the primitivism of the Indian Queen from which she evolved. Most prints of Indian Princesses betray a tension between two competing visions of native peoples. The limners who created these images, all of whom were men of European extraction, struggled to reconcile popular notions of the native barbarian with the noble savage. John Higham has suggested that limners and their audiences embraced one of these two

dichotomous postulations according to their proximity to native peoples. Higham claimed, "...white Americans were too close to real Indians in the eighteenth century to feel comfortable about identifying with [the noble savage] personification, no matter how idealized," while European printmakers invariably adopted the Indian Princess as their emblem of choice for the American colonies and the early republic because they internalized no such association.<sup>24</sup>

Though there is some truth to Higham's assertion, his argument is too simplistic. It is true that American printmakers quickly abandoned the Indian Princess and replaced her with the Liberty allegory in the aftermath of the Revolution (a matter to be considered at length below). But whites' discomfort with the Indian Princess allegory as a representation of an Anglicized culture was not new in the Revolutionary era and was not unique to Americans. Indeed, Henri Baudet, the Dutch scholar who reflected on what he described as "European images of non-European man," combed the annals of history and discovered that white Europeans' ideas about non-white peoples had always been expressive of their own insecurities.

According to Baudet, man's understanding of the world outside of his own territory exists on two levels. First, there is a level of understanding based on knowledge of the outlying region's political and social organization that elucidates the alien culture with a fair amount of accuracy. Second, there is a level of understanding that the observer creates based on myth and imagination. Throughout human history, Baudet asserts, "[t]he two fundamental realities, one in the realm of 'concrete' politics and the other in the realm of myth, remained-- and remain now-- an unresolved paradox."<sup>25</sup> The noble savage construct was not invented in the eighteenth century to explain Native American cultures. It had been used by many European peoples for many centuries to support golden age theses that expressed fears of cultural decline in what the critics of European culture viewed as eras of excess and decadence.<sup>26</sup> Baudet's logic can be used to explicate the flip side of the

same argument. The native barbarian with which both white Americans and Europeans were uncomfortable could have been used to aggrandize a white culture feared to be in decline and eased the psychic tension of white peoples who feared the worst for the fate of their societies. In either case, a close association with an image of savagery was unacceptable to an Anglicized culture.

The changes in the allegorical representations of America explicated above grew out of the white Americans' and Europeans' changing perception of the New World over time. As European colonization of North America became entrenched, and as Europeans on both sides of the Atlantic came to identify more closely with the Anglicized culture that had taken root in America, the female allegory had to be updated to reflect the entrenchment of "civilization" in the New World and to reflect white Americans' and Europeans' hopes for the colonial society to fulfill its potential for economic prosperity and political glory. The America allegory became more white and more European even as it retained many of its native characteristics because printmakers on both sides of the Atlantic clung to the noble savage ideal even as they feared that the native barbarian could prove to be the reality.

It is striking that the whites' dichotomous view of native peoples mirrored men's dichotomous view of women. Just as native peoples were thought to simultaneously embody the noble savage and native barbarian characterizations, women were thought to embody extremes of Christian purity and self-sacrifice on the one hand and guile and self-absorption on the other. As Joan Hoff explains, men have traditionally conceptualized women in terms of marked polarities that betray their sense of dis-ease with female agency. She writes, "[m]en of all classes throughout history have often simply viewed women of their class and those of other classes as good or evil, in terms of contrasting images between the Virgin Mary or Mary Magdalene, wife or whore, helpmate or hindrance, supportive or seductive, virtuous or villainous, caring or castrating."<sup>27</sup> White men's

ambivalent view of the true nature of woman and their similarly ambivalent view of the true nature of native peoples are conflated in female allegorical representations of America.

Borel's *L'Amerique Independante* (Figure 2) illustrates this conflation. America drapes her body against a pedestal on which Liberty stands, observing the scene. She gazes at the ground with downcast eyes and an expression of demureness. Franklin's arm rests on America's shoulder and he holds his cane against her side, indicating that he is her steward rather than her attendant. America's posture is one of recumbent passivity. She is not an actor, but is acted upon by the allegorized images that surround her. Her carriage contrasts sharply with the stance of van de Passe's America. She, too, sits. But her bearing is regal and indicative of her power. Whereas Borel's America serves the cause of liberty and the great men through whom liberty is realized, van de Passe's America is served by a male attendant who presents her with the spoils of conquest. Van de Passe's America stares unflinchingly at the severed head that she holds up for viewing. Unlike Borel's America, she is fierce, resolute, and unyielding.

The contrast between the Indian Queen and the Indian Princess goes beyond the dissimilar poses chosen for these images. The engravers made very different choices in the symbolic accouterments that they strategically placed around the America allegories. Borel situated his America at the boundary between classical art and popular renderings of the New World. As mentioned above, though America is clothed in Grecian-inspired robes, she wears a feathered headdress similar to those worn by the Indian Queens. She kneels next to a tortoise, a variation on the more typical armadillo that was frequently used to represent the alien species that thrived in the New World. She is unmistakably reminiscent of the Queens who preceded her, but she has been civilized according to European expectations for feminine passivity and meekness. She holds no weapon and makes no reference to force. The allegory of Courage, here represented as a muscular, club-wielding male, assaults the enemies of Liberty on America's behalf. Van de Passe's America, in

contrast, demonstrates no reluctance to participate in violence. She cradles a bow with one hand and holds a severed head aloft with the other. Her attendant's attitude of servility suggests that the severed heads and limbs and the heads displayed on spikes in the right background of the print represent the discharge of the Indian Queen's orders.

Not all Indian Princesses gave up their weaponry as Borel's did. A number of Princesses carried objects such as swords, spears, or bows. But even those who bore weapons were depicted as less aggressive than the Indian Queens who preceded them. As Fleming points out, "...the club never substitutes for the bow and arrow as [the Princess's] weapon; the severed head, pierced by an arrow, never appears at her feet..."<sup>28</sup> It is clear that printmakers on both sides of the Atlantic took pains to civilize the Indian Princess and to disassociate her from the more barbarous connotations attached to many of the Queen's adornments.

The very different attitudes and accouterments of the two America allegories speak to the question of woman's agency. It was perfectly acceptable for van de Passe to present his viewers with a powerful, vigorous woman because she was anomalous. She represented a distant and unknowable land replete with alien peoples who practiced strange customs. She satisfied the European consumer's desire to peer into the exotic and the savage. But Borel's America, an unmistakably white woman who represented France's admired ally, had to conform to the dictates of proper feminine behavior. She could not embody the brutality of the Indian Queen. Though her placement at the feet of Liberty and her association with a number of overtly political images implicated her in the masculine, public sphere, she maintained her association with female passivity and subservience through her posture and the symbolism that surrounded her.

The Indian Princess allegory is, thus, expressive of the tension between colonial society's expectation for women to remain within their private, domestic sphere, and the reality that women often stepped into the masculine domain of political and economic



action. Officially, society understood women's role according to the dictates of coverture. A woman's identity was subsumed under that of her husband or father, depending on her marital status. Not only were women barred from voting for or holding political office, they were technically excluded from access to the institutions that governed and ordered their lives. Without specific legal maneuverings to which both husband and wife agreed, for example, a woman's property holdings were transferred to her spouse upon her marriage. As Linda Kerber explains, "[a] married couple became a legal fiction: like a corporation, the pair was a single person with a single will. The fictive volition of the pair was always taken to be the same as the real will of the husband."<sup>29</sup>

But this tidy organization of social roles was theoretical at best. Some women did persuade their husbands to allow them to retain control over their property after marriage. Court records frequently contain manuscripts exhibiting women's shrewd and knowledgeable use of the legal system. And women often participated in the economic activities of their community, not only through domestic industries such as spinning and sewing, but by representing their spouses in the public sphere as deputy husbands. I do not mean to suggest that women were equal partners with their husbands in the government of either family or community. But, as Laurel Thatcher Ulrich observed, the contours of a woman's world were flexible. She explained, "[t]his approach [to gender roles] was both fluid and fixed. It allowed for varied behavior without really challenging the patriarchal order of society. There was no proscription against female farming, for example, but there were strong prescriptions toward dutiful wifehood and motherhood. Context was everything."<sup>30</sup>

Because women had room to maneuver within the confines of coverture, society constantly grappled with their understanding of how women should and should not behave. Colonial communities policed themselves through neighborhood networks of information exchange and social pressure to maintain certain standards of conduct. The

gap between the ideal legal construct and the reality of women's agency necessitated informal webs of community control that prevented individuals from transgressing the boundaries of proper gendered conduct. But in the decades preceding the Revolution, a reorganization of colonial society, through which, "expanding trade disrupted rooted communities, undermining social networks, separating men's and women's activities, and shaping a new family life," eroded this time-honored system of social control.<sup>31</sup> The approaching Revolution further disrupted colonists' understanding of gender roles. As women agitated— and sometimes rioted— for fair prices of scarce commodities, and as they enforced embargoes through their refusal to use boycotted items, women became politicized as never before.

The most dramatic changes in the development of the Indian Princess allegories coincided with these changes in colonial society. The America allegories of the pre-Revolutionary period can, therefore, be read as expressions of men's anxieties over the implications for women's increased politicization and decreased opportunities for social control within rapidly transforming colonial communities. Americans experienced these anxieties over women's changing role more acutely than the Europeans who were removed from the theater of war-time upheaval. As we will see below, the dislocations of war necessitated a new series of revisions in the America allegory that spoke to Americans' peculiar concerns over women's changing social status.

### **Chapter 3**

## **REPUBLICAN MOTHERHOOD AND THE REINVENTION OF THE AMERICAN ALLEGORY**

The Indian Princesses and Plumed Goddesses that represented the rebellious colonies in both sentimental and impolitical prints appealed to printmakers on both sides of the Atlantic even after the conclusion of revolutionary hostilities. But, as John Higham observed, Americans sought to allegorize themselves as a distinct and independent nation, and for many American limners, that meant that the old female allegories had to be revised. The search for a proper national emblem was no trifling matter. Delegates to the Continental Congress spent considerable time debating the merits of a number of proposed images for the seal of the United States. On July 4, 1776, the Congress appointed Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams to oversee its creation. With the assistance of transplanted Frenchman Eugene Pierre du Simitiere, a designer of medallion art and a resident of Philadelphia in this period, they developed a number of alternative sketches. When their favored design failed to attract support among Congressional delegates, the committee's proposal was shelved. Three committees, six years, and countless proposals later, a design was finally adopted in June of 1782.<sup>32</sup>

Printmakers may or may not have been as deliberative as the Congress in their ruminations over the national symbols that they produced for popular consumption. But many printmakers, based as they were in large cities where political pamphlets and partisan newspapers abounded, where matters of politics and political ideology were often discussed in taverns and coffee houses, and where they played key roles in the production

and dissemination of political information, undoubtedly felt compelled to create allegorical images that brought the nation's ideals into sharp focus. Surely this sense of purpose and responsibility is what Higham read into the American printmakers' choice to recast the Indian Princesses and the Plumed Goddesses into the figures of American Liberty that became popular in the early republic.

According to Higham, the printmakers' discomfort with the Indian Princess and Plumed Goddess images stemmed from their close resemblance to native peoples. Higham suggested that, "[t]he stereotypical Indian's nakedness implicitly conceded the cultural inferiority of the New World," at a time when Americans intended to announce themselves as full and independent actors on the world stage.<sup>33</sup> His observation is certainly accurate. As discussed above, the Anglicization of the Indian Queen spoke to Anglo-Americans' desire to represent themselves as more civilized than and superior to the native peoples they encountered in North America. But there is much more to the meaning of the Liberty figure than her deliberate separation from notions of primitivism. After all, a number of Plumed Goddesses bore almost no resemblance to the Indian Queens and Princesses who preceded them. Higham observed this phenomenon at work when he examined an American print that had been adapted from an Indian Princess of English manufacture. He found that, "...the American artist wrapped the Indian princess in a toga; all that remained to suggest a native identity were two decorative plumes in her hair."<sup>34</sup>

As established above, the Anglicization of female allegories of America inspired printmakers to project their notions of proper womanhood onto images produced ostensibly for political purposes. The Liberty figures produced by American printmakers can be read as expressions of their confusion over the post-War role of women who, through the dislocations of the Revolution, had been politicized as never before. A number of historians have examined the tangible and psychological changes that the Revolution wrought in American women's lives. Many women who remained at the homefront

managed household responsibilities traditionally handled by husbands. Women close to the lines of battle endured the presence of enemy troops in their midst and, sometimes, in their homes. Some women, alone and vulnerable, fell victim to rape and other forms of physical abuse at the hands of invading troops. Those women who followed their male relatives into battle and served as nurses, cooks, laundresses, and in a few notable cases, as spies and soldiers, observed and endured unimaginable suffering.<sup>35</sup>

Mary Beth Norton has explicated a clear shift in women's perceptions of themselves from timid and submissive housewives of the pre-War years to confident and assertive protectors of their domestic sphere in the post-War era as a direct result of their experiences during the Revolution. She asserts that, "...during the revolutionary decades the boundaries of the feminine sphere itself began to change. White women, who in the mid-1760s offered profuse apologies whenever they dared to discuss politics, were by the 1780s reading widely in political literature, publishing their own sentiments, engaging in heated debates over public policy, and avidly supporting the war effort in various ways."<sup>36</sup> Women were, of course, unwilling to resume their pre-War status as secondary to the operation of their households and made their expectations for greater autonomy known. As Norton makes clear, the changes were dramatic:

Women who had competently managed the family estates during the Revolution despite severe hardships no longer accepted unquestioningly the standard belief in feminine weakness, delicacy, and incapacity. Their daughters, who had watched their mothers cope independently with a variety of difficulties, felt no pressing compulsion to marry quickly; some decided not to marry at all and others chose to limit the sizes of their families. And republican theorists, concerned about the future of the nation, invested new meaning in the traditional cliché that women were the source of virtue in society.<sup>37</sup>

This renewed focus on women's inherent virtue developed into the ideology of republican motherhood. Because of their inherent goodness and their power of moral suasion, women were charged with the task of raising wise and virtuous sons who would

lead the nation to greatness. This responsibility allowed women to participate in the development of the infant nation, while placing them more firmly than ever within their private sphere. What Norton views as a cooperative process between men and women to come to a new understanding of women's role in society, Linda Kerber sees as an attempt by women to include themselves in a republican ideology that excluded them. Women, according to Kerber, "... were left to invent their own political character. They devised their own interpretation of what the Revolution had meant to them as women, and they began to invent an ideology of citizenship that merged the domestic domain of the preindustrial woman with the new public ideology of individual responsibility and civic virtue."<sup>38</sup>

It is likely that neither Norton nor Kerber is entirely accurate in her assessment of the origin of republican motherhood. A careful examination of prints in which American engravers depicted allegorical figures of Liberty, indicates that tension existed between nostalgia for women's traditional domestic role and appreciation for women's wartime contributions within the public sphere. Liberty figures often appear pure, modest, and feminine. Though these allegories often feature symbols denoting aggressiveness, such as shields, swords, and spears, such objects often appear in the backgrounds of these prints. Though the Indian Princess could hold her spear and shield proudly aloft, Liberty was left to demonstrate her nationalistic ardor more subtly through her association with flags or other, less aggressive national emblems. Liberty symbols, generally created by male printmakers, reflect the comfortable notions of politically passive womanhood that men understood from the pre-War era and simultaneously express men's discomfort with a new assertiveness that they hoped to channel into the socially acceptable construct of republican motherhood. These prints suggest that men had more to do with the establishment of republican motherhood than either Norton or Kerber allow.

Edward Savage's awkwardly titled but eloquently expressive painting, *Liberty, In the Form of the Goddess of Youth, Giving Support to the Bald Eagle* (Figure 3), speaks most poignantly to the mindset that helped shape the final stage in the evolution of female allegorical representations of America. This image is a particularly appropriate and representative example because, upon its engraving and mass-production, *Liberty* (Figure 3) became extremely popular. Indeed, the print was such a favorite with the consuming public that Chinese artists reproduced the image as reverse paintings on glass to be sold on the American market. The image, first painted in 1796 and engraved shortly thereafter, features a demure young woman draped in Grecian-inspired robes holding the cup of plenty to the beak of the American eagle.

Despite his commercial success, the much-maligned Savage endured abuse during his own time and critics have yet to excuse his lack of painterly virtuosity. An article surveying the surviving copies of *Liberty* (Figure 3) made by competing artists suggests that the facsimiles were produced by superior and more "illustrious" hands. According to a contributor to *Antiques*, a contemporary of Savage's, "...characterized his paintings as 'wretched,' and implied that whatever was good in his engravings was due to his assistants."<sup>39</sup> The author of this article agreed with this assessment and applied his critical eye to an analysis of the *Liberty* (Figure 3) print. He asserted that:

...the composition may be briefly dismissed as a piece of patriotic bombast, dependent for its effectiveness upon the limited sex appeal of *Liberty* and a miscellaneous group of popular symbols. The conception of *Liberty* is clearly a composite of memories retained from Savage's three years of foreign travel [during which he studied in England], at a time when fashionable ladies were wont to be portrayed in the guise of Hebe offering alcoholic sustenance to a Jovian bird. The pose of the figure with its lean, wire-strung garland seems reminiscent of one of the blithesome creatures in Sir Joshua Reynold's *Altar of Hymen*. So Savage has turned license into *Liberty*, trusting not to be caught in the act.<sup>40</sup>

The author's assessment is not entirely unfair. It is true that, in an era when painters, authors, and artists of all media unashamedly appropriated elements of one another's work to their own purposes, Savage engaged in similar underhandedness and patterned the composition after popular images. But the author's hasty dismissal of Savage's use of a beautiful maiden within the context of easily recognizable patriotic symbols is a mistake. True, its stock images were commonly employed by artists to convey their patriotic sentiments. But it is in their very ubiquity that these symbols and allegories are powerful tools to understanding the American mind. From a purely art historical perspective, Savage may not have produced a masterpiece, but his image of *Liberty* (Figure 3) allowed eighteenth-century Americans to express their emerging nationalistic sentiment through the purchase and display of this print. Just as important, the survival of this print allows historians to more fully understand the development of American nationhood and to surmise the importance of women to this process of nation building.

Liberty, as depicted by Savage, concretizes the traits to which proper republican mothers aspired. Like the ideal eighteenth-century woman, Liberty is presented as innocent and demure. Unlike the semi-nude Indian Princesses and Plumed Goddesses who preceded her, Liberty's body is obscured under long, flowing robes. Her décolletage is appropriately covered and her ankles are hidden by the hem of her skirt. Only the nip of her waist is defined. Like all proper ladies, Liberty's gown is unadorned and her only embellishment is a blush that communicates her artlessness and purity. These outward manifestations of modesty were understood by early Americans to express authentic demureness.

Copious amounts of ink from printing presses on both sides of the Atlantic were consumed in the production of courtesy books and conduct manuals that explicated the finer points of proper behavior to American women who aspired to the feminine ideal. Women were instructed to dress with tasteful simplicity and to demonstrate through their



attire an unwillingness to capitulate to the dictates of fashion. A woman described as "an unfortunate mother," who sought to save her daughter and, presumably, all daughters of the early republic, from her own obliquely-described but unfortunate fate, offered advice that was typical of the admonitions dispensed in conduct manuals. She informed her readers that, "[a] compliance with fashion, so far as to avoid the affectation of singularity, is necessary: but to run into the extreme of fashions, more especially those which are inconvenient, is the certain proof of a weak mind. Have a better opinion of yourself than to suppose you can receive any additional merit from the adventitious ornaments of dress."<sup>41</sup> Dr. John Gregory echoed these sentiments in his deathbed treatise to his daughters. He warned them, "[y]ou will not easily believe how much we consider your dress as expressive of your characters. Vanity, levity, loveliness, folly, appear through it. An elegant simplicity is an equal proof of taste and delicacy."<sup>42</sup> It was, therefore, necessary, for Savage to attire Liberty, a white woman onto whom he and his viewing public would project their expectations for proper feminine adornment, in a clean, unelaborated gown. Her character could be surmised through her appearance, and her appearance, therefore, had to be expressive of feminine perfection.

Rather than follow the whims of fashion, women were expected to devote their time to cultivating Christian meekness and to pursuing refinement and an appropriate level of education suited to female employments within the domestic sphere. Time and again, the authors of prescriptive literature informed women of the necessity for channeling their natural tendencies to superficiality and dissipation into educational pursuits that would reinforce their more sterling qualities and help them to surmount their shortcomings. According to Miss More, a contributor to The Lady's Pocket Library, "...in this land of civil and religious liberty, where there is as little despotism exercised over the minds, as over the persons of women, they have every liberty of choice, and every opportunity of improvement; and how greatly does this increase the obligation to be exemplary in their

general conduct, attentive to the government of their families, and instrumental to the good order of society!"<sup>43</sup>

The admonitions to women to overcome their inherent deficiencies often stood alongside assertions curiously at variance with assumptions that women were vain and uncomprehending. Women were often said to be more virtuous and honorable than men. They were, therefore, expected to practice moral suasion, through which they could soften the rough edges of manhood and serve as the guiding spirits who would inspire their families to behave morally. Mathew Carey, the Philadelphia-based publisher whose presses turned out a considerable quantity of prescriptive literature, echoed the sentiments of many of his contemporaries when he informed his female readers:

[y]ou will see, in a little treatise of mine recently published, in what an honorable point of view I have considered your sex,— not as domestic drudges, or as the slaves of our pleasures, but as our companions and equals— as designed to soften our hearts and polish our manners— and, as Thomson says, 'To raise the virtues, animate the bliss/ and sweeten all the toils of human life.' I shall not repeat what I have there said on this subject, and shall only observe that from the view I have given of your natural character and place in society, there arises a certain propriety of conduct peculiar to your sex.<sup>44</sup>

The force of moral suasion to which Carey alluded allowed women to wield considerable power from the domestic sphere as republican mothers. It is no coincidence that Savage's *Liberty* nourishes her metaphorical child, the forceful and masculine American eagle, from the cup of plenty. Liberty, like a good republican mother, is emblemized as a nurturing parent whose purpose is to raise up a vital and ardent patriot son to lead the nation to greatness. She is represented within the confines of her domestic role even as she exerts considerable influence over the development of American nationhood. In this sense, then, Savage's print is didactic. His image of Liberty personifies the qualities that all American women were meant to imbibe. She is elegant, pure, refined, and accepting of her responsibilities as a republican mother.

Yet there are references included within Savage's print that interrupt the serenity of the scene with intrusions from the public sphere in which women often participated but from which, theoretically, they were meant to remain aloof. Fleming suggested that the ships in the lower right background of the image represent the British evacuation of Boston, though there is no conclusive evidence to support this claim.<sup>45</sup> Whether Fleming was right to surmise that the ships represent an army or whether they are meant to symbolize trading vessels that refer to the young nation's participation in the world economy, they clearly suggest political activity thought to be part of the masculine domain. Savage could not have been ignorant of women's importance to the war effort, as both vital members of the military operation on the front lines and as participants in the effort to maintain farms and businesses while men served in the army. These ships, therefore, speak to women's wartime experiences as well as to men's.

The presence of these ships is clearly of secondary importance to the central theme of the allegory. Their placement, quite literally, in the corner of the print suggests Savage's unwillingness or inability to address women's politicized wartime role. But it was impossible for Savage to represent the centrality of women to the development of American nationhood without alluding to their contributions to the success of the Revolution. The small size of the images and their placement in an easily overlooked corner of the image suggest that Savage may have been uncomfortable with his reference. But he felt compelled to include it despite his reservations.

Even more compelling than the mystery of the ships in the harbor are the symbols that Fleming has identified as, "the key of the Bastille joined to the different orders of nobility which are crushed under [Liberty's] bare feet."<sup>46</sup> Through the use of these shattered remnants of monarchical rule, Savage makes Liberty an active participant in the dismantling of despotism and the institution of republicanism. The suggestion of a woman launching an assault on an empire and recasting it in the American image is, to say the least,

a departure from the feminine ideal of submissiveness and restraint. But its incorporation into the context of an excessively feminized allegory in which Liberty so clearly references her role as a republican mother, allows Savage to create an acceptable synthesis of woman as both guardian of the private sphere and actor in the public arena. Savage has created an image through which the tension between women's traditional role and her newfound political status can be symbolically merged into a seamless narrative of female patriotism.

It must be conceded that not all post-War images of Liberty so dynamically convey the attitudes toward republican motherhood that prevailed in the early years of nationhood. Savage's use of a female figure providing sustenance to a bird may not have been original, but it certainly was not omnipresent. Still, themes used in Savage's *Liberty* (Figure 3) frequently recur in contemporary allegories. Many of the mourning pictures designed to commemorate George Washington's death in 1799, for example, feature Liberty grieving the loss of the nation's most beloved founder. Take, for example, the many copies made of Samuel Folwell's painting, titled *Sacred to the Memory of the Illustrious Washington*. According to Anita Schorsch, the image was so widely admired and so evocative of national sentiment that it was extensively reproduced in painted and needlework facsimiles. Schorsch reports that an unprecedented thirteen needlework copies are known to be in existence.<sup>47</sup> The images feature an obelisk on which a plaque reading, "Sacred to the Memory of the Illustrious Washington," is affixed. A Grecian-inspired urn draped in garland is perched on the top of the obelisk and the branches of a weeping willow sweep across the background of the monument. An angel bearing a scroll enumerating "The Deeds of Washington," and an American eagle hover overhead to guard the hero's tomb. Liberty, dressed in a modest but comely empire-waisted gown and black mourning cloak and bearing her traditional liberty pole and cap, buries her face in the crook of her arm and weeps for the nation's loss. In this capacity, she fulfills the expectation for female sentimentality, compassion, and purity of heart.

Many female allegories of the period depict Liberty serving as steward to apotheosized national heroes. An aquatint line etching made by a Parisian engraver in 1778 is typical. The honorific image dedicated to Benjamin Franklin is titled *Le Docteur Franklin Couronne par la Liberte*. It features a marble bust of Franklin resting on a globe positioned to display America. An angel is draped against the globe and rests his cheek on the bust of Franklin. Liberty, dressed in a flowing Grecian robe and situated within a glowing sunburst, reaches out to Franklin to place laurel wreathes on his likeness.

Occasionally, Liberty is featured instructing captivated attendants in the arts, sciences, or industries. Samuel Jennings produced his painting, *Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences*, in 1792. Though his plan was never realized, Jennings intended to have the image engraved and offered for retail sale. The original is housed in the Library Company of Philadelphia and a smaller copy, made that same year, is on display in the Winterthur period rooms. Jennings' iconographically rich image, which incorporates the abolitionist sentiments of the Quakers to whom he hoped to appeal, features Liberty instructing African Americans in, "...Geography-- Music-- Poetry-- Painting-- Heraldry-- Sculpture-- Geometry-- Mechanics-- & Astronomy."<sup>48</sup> Here, Jennings puts a new interpretive spin on the notion of republican motherhood by depicting Liberty instructing the most dramatically disenfranchised members of society in how to be wise and virtuous citizens.

The official seal that Congress eventually adopted and periodically revised often included a Liberty image not dissimilar to Savage's vision. An 1804 seal, for example, shows Liberty in repose and inactive (Figure 4). Though the contours of her body are somewhat defined, her flesh is almost entirely covered, and she is unmistakably white. The image, adapted from an earlier print of Britannia, features paints, a lyre, and books that communicate civility and gentility. Rather than brandish weapons of war, the placid and feminized Liberty bears an American flag. Her attitude and accouterments work together

to convey her purity and feminine sensibility. She, like Savage's Liberty, is a representation of the ideal vision of early American womanhood. Images such as these gave official sanction to the notions of female patriotism that prevailed in this era and reinforced Americans' popular understanding of themselves.

## **Chapter 4**

### **DEVIANT WOMANHOOD:**

#### **THE ALLEGORY AND COMPROMISED FEMININITY**

Political cartoons have accumulated a long and fascinating history on both sides of the Atlantic, and by the era of colonial crisis had already developed into a sophisticated and widely recognizable form of social dissent. These images, often described as "impolitical prints," allowed limners to let their most wicked, most bawdy-- and most truthful sentiments seep into their work. E.P. Richardson observed that, "[p]olitical caricatures are of particular interest to the historian because they preserve in sharp focus the men and events of the past as they felt and appeared at the moment, not as they appear in retrospect to the scholar in his study, or in the dim confused memories of mankind."<sup>49</sup> Richardson's observation is almost entirely correct. He neglected to mention, or perhaps failed to recognize, that cartoons present a revealing avenue for inquiry into early Americans' attitudes toward proper womanhood as well. Many impolitical prints feature caricatured representations of the America allegories that expose printmakers' and their consumers' fears of power placed in female hands.

Printmakers most commonly expressed their discomfort with female power by blatantly sexualizing the America allegories incorporated into the designs of impolitical prints. In *The able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draft* (Figure 5), disturbing images of sexual abuse permeate an image ostensibly dedicated to decrying the injustice of punitive measures taken by England in the wake of the Boston Tea Party. The print was initially printed in the April, 1774 edition of the British publication *London Magazine* and

was then copied with minor alterations by the Dublin-based *Hibernian Magazine* in May, 1774 and by Bostonian Paul Revere for his June, 1774 issue of the *Royal American Magazine*.<sup>50</sup>

The print, engraved in support of the rebellious colonies, refers to the passage of the Boston Port Bill, which ordered that the Port be closed until the colony repaid the East India Company for tea destroyed during the Tea Party. The image features an Indian Princess, thrown to the ground and forced to swallow tea by an irate Lord North, the Member of Parliament responsible for the passage of the measure. She has been stripped to the waist and exposed for view by male onlookers representing Spain and France. Lord Bute, the Prime Minister, restrains America by holding her wrists. The Earl of Mansfield, an outspoken critic of colonial dissent, grips her ankle with one hand and uses his other hand to lift her skirt as he peers underneath. A stern man bearing a sword labeled "Martial Law" observes the scene, compassionless.

American society certainly did not condone the sexual abuse of women. Such horrifying behavior clashed with men's patriarchal obligation to protect the women of their households and their gentlemanly obligation to preserve female honor. Yet, as Linda Kerber established in her discussion of early American divorce procedures, some women were subject to "hostility and abuse" by the very men society enjoined to guarantee their safety.<sup>51</sup> She reports that a marriage could only be dissolved in cases of "adultery, fraudulent contract, and desertion," and that the misery of one or both parties in a marriage was not sufficient grounds for divorce.<sup>52</sup> There was no explicit provision that allowed an abused woman to appeal to the courts for redress. Though early American society stopped short of sanctioning the abuse of women by their male stewards, little effort was made to empower women to remove themselves from abusive or demeaning circumstances. This travesty by omission set the tone for a society in which images of female degradation, such



as the representation of America in *The Able Doctor* (Figure 5), could be presented as an object of amusement.

Like all printed images, *The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draft* (Figure 5) functioned didactically. It, of course, instructed its viewers to oppose the closure of the Port of Boston and fostered a sense of hostility and bemused contempt for the British officials who imposed punitive measures on the defiant colony of Massachusetts. But its message of female impotence in the face of male aggression functioned more subtly and more insidiously to promote a belief in women's inherent weakness and subjection. As Joan Hoff observed, "[u]ntil very recently [in the late twentieth century] U.S. women internalized these relatively powerless images of themselves.... [T]he collective images of mainstream women and their collective identities were largely defined by men-- for men."<sup>53</sup> Americans who viewed *The Able Doctor* (Figure 5) were, of course, meant to see themselves in the victimized representation of America. But they also saw the fate of a dynamic, argumentative woman and learned that she should be subdued and humiliated.

It is interesting to note that the Indian Princess of *The Able Doctor* (Figure 5) is a hard-featured, masculinized image. She spits tea into the face of her assailant, Lord North, in a gesture of defiance and contempt. Her figure is not simply degraded by ravishment at the hands of her British oppressors. She is presented as a grotesque and unfeminine perversion of womanhood. Britannia, whose dress and demeanor conform to the dictates for proper feminine behavior, stands in the background and weeps at the spectacle. Rather than act to save her tormented sister, she averts her eyes and shrinks from the horror before her. Both female figures suggest the necessity for female powerlessness to ensure harmonious gender relations. In the case of America, a strong, vigorous female must be punished by male stewards for acting outside of her sphere and subverting expectations for

proper feminine behavior. In the case of Britannia, a properly submissive woman must resign herself to her status as an observer, rather than an actor in the public arena.

*The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught* (Figure 5) is hardly unique in its disturbing portrayal of the sexual exploitation of a female allegorical image. The second of six separate images that comprise the 1763 print *Six Medallions* depicts the then-Prime Minister Lord Grenville forcing a terrified America to the ground. He holds a stamp to her forehead and wields a mallet with which he intends to transfer the image onto her face. A balloon coming from his mouth reads, "The bitch rebels," and an accomplice who grips America's shoulders says, "Force her." This obvious rape imagery is incorporated into several other medallions included in the design. An image of Britannia, stripped and forced to her knees, is accompanied by an exclamation from a caricature of former Prime Minister Lord Bute for her to, "Stoop, you bitch." Another medallion depicts Britannia being ridden like a horse. Her skirts are pulled above her waist and a caricature of Lord Bute whips her posterior. The medallions refer to the peace treaty settling the French and Indian War, which many Englishmen believed to be too favorable to their vanquished enemies, France and Spain. But while the rape of the British people by the French was metaphorical, the rape of the America and Britannia figures of the print are chillingly literal.

Benjamin Franklin's 1766 engraving, *Magna Britannia: her Colonies Reduc'd* is among the most disturbing examples of violent, sexualized imagery used in a depiction of a female allegory. The print, designed by Franklin to promote the repeal of the Stamp Act, features an allegory of Britannia propped against a globe. Her limbs, labeled with the regions of the British North American colonies, have been cut off and strewn on the ground around her. Her expression communicates acute pain as she looks beseechingly to the heavens. Her hair is stringy and matted to her head. She wears the tattered remnant of a garment that reveals the outline of her breasts. Franklin placed Britannia's traditional

shield and spear on the ground beside her severed body, in sharp contrast to images in which these accouterments are held proudly aloft, and Franklin placed her spear so that it is pointed at Britannia's chest. A strip of cloth draped across Britannia's lap reads, "Date Obolum Bellisario," or, "Give poor Bellisarius a penny." The message, according to E.P. Richardson, "...conveyed plainly enough to the classically-educated eighteenth century that even the richest and greatest may be reduced to beggary."<sup>54</sup> In the background, broom handles representing the masts of British ships protrude from a dormant port, which is obscured behind a jagged, unwelcoming landscape.

According to Lester C. Olson, who has written the most thorough explication of the meaning and motives behind the print, Franklin's purpose was twofold. First, he used the image to garner support for the repeal of the Stamp Act. The forceful imagery suggests that Britain and her colonies are part of a single whole, and without the cooperation of her colonial subjects, her economy will be crippled. Franklin is known to have distributed cards featuring the image among members of Parliament whose opinion he hoped to sway. Second, Franklin hoped to correct misperceptions among his Pennsylvania constituency that he was not as fervently opposed to the Stamp Act as those he represented. He hoped to counter some critics who went so far as to blame Franklin for the passage of the measure. Moreover, his 1754 engraving, *Join or Die*, which featured a segmented serpent representing the fractious colonies during the French and Indian War, had been appropriated for use during the Stamp Act crisis. Its new implications were far more extreme within the context of pre-Revolutionary crisis than they had been in their original context. Thus, Olson writes, "'Magna Britannia' was an apologia in the sense that it was used both to circumvent potential criticism of Franklin for the incipient radicalism of 'JOIN, or DIE' and also to counter actual contentions about Franklin's complicity in the passage of the Stamp Act."<sup>55</sup> Franklin shipped several copies of the print to key persons

in Pennsylvania and wrote of the image's significance in a number of letters to ensure that his constituents understood his viewpoint.<sup>56</sup>

Historians who have examined the print within the context of colonial crisis have emphasized the effectiveness of the imagery to awaken a visceral response in its viewers. E.P. Richardson, for example, wrote that, "[w]ith his remarkable skill in persuasion, Franklin compressed the argument against the Stamp Act into an image almost as compact as one done today."<sup>57</sup> Historians have also been impressed by Franklin's ability to convey a complex and multivalent point of view within a single image. Lester Olson, for example, stressed the sophistication of the imagery. He interpreted Britannia's cleaved body parts to be symbols that, "obfuscated any colonial responsibility for various legislative acts and for social unrest."<sup>58</sup> Olson premised his interpretation on the association of Britannia's torso and head with functions of the mind. Because the limbs are subject to action taken first by the brain, still under the control of the beleaguered Britannia, the disconnected limbs are not responsible for the degraded condition of the metaphorical body politic.

While it is true that the image is an expressive and intricate representation of the American perspective on the state of the Stamp Act controversy, its implications for the meaning of womanhood in British colonial society is truly appalling. Jean Kilbourne has explicated the ways in which modern-day advertisers undermine society's respect for its female inhabitants by displaying segmented portions of the female body. An advertiser who features just a portion of the female body divorces that image from the context of a whole, functioning, feeling being and, thus, renders the woman something less than human. The continual use of segmented imagery creates a process of desensitization that trains the viewer to react with less alarm and less compassion when a woman is the object of violence or degradation in the real world outside of the image.<sup>59</sup> A similar process undoubtedly took place with the production of engravings such as Franklin's *Magna Britannia*.

It is interesting to note that Franklin's image inspired a number of similar engravings. Printmakers throughout Europe and the colonies copied the image with varying degrees of alteration that ranged from faithful facsimiles to images that maintained only the germinal idea contained within Franklin's print. Yet all images, regardless of their degree of faithfulness to the original, retain the essential elements of segmentation and humiliation of Britannia. For example, a printmaker from Rotterdam produced a 1783 engraving titled *Great Britain Mutilated* based on Franklin's 1765 original. The Dutchman retained the essential elements of Franklin's design. The limbs of the Britannia allegory have been cut off and strewn on the ground around her. In the background, ships representing Britain's crippled economy are depicted as broom handles. But, in this version, Britannia is not only dismembered, she bleeds profusely from the sites of her multiple amputations. She not only sits helplessly propped up against a globe. She is chained to a massive rock, rendering her even more dishonored than her original incarnation. It is notable that the Dutch limner inserted the image of a British merchant chained to a barrel of goods he is unable to export. The merchant is not only unable to assist the beleaguered Britannia, he is apparently unwilling to offer aid to the vanquished national emblem. He turns his back to her in a gesture of resentment.

Printmakers too squeamish to sexualize female allegorical images so pointedly could resort to another method of undercutting American womanhood. Impolitical allegories were sometimes presented as outside of upper class, respectable society. Take, for instance, the engraving featured on the November, 1776 frontispiece of the *London Magazine*. The image, titled *News from America, or the Patriots in the Dumps* (Figure 6) is, in fact, an illustration that accompanies an article favorable to the American cause. It depicts the Prime Minister, Lord North, holding up a report of the British victory of General Howe over rebel forces on Long Island in the late summer of 1776. Gathered around the celebrating North are a number of influential political figures who join him in

rejoicing. At North's feet is the allegory of American Liberty, though she has been dramatically transformed. Her clothes, which are disarrayed, more closely resemble the course, homespun garments worn by poor Americans than the Grecian-inspired finery artfully draped over the Liberty figures of more respectful images. The bodice of her dress has been torn open, revealing her breasts. As she weeps dejectedly for the fate of the troubled colonial effort, she is the object of sport for a number of men who point and laugh at her recumbent, forlorn figure. There can be no doubt that this Liberty is not the exalted figure of Savage's *Liberty* (Figure 3) allegory. She is part of a low class, unrefined culture. She is clearly inferior to the noblemen and aristocrats of British politics who literally surround and look down upon her.<sup>60</sup>

It is striking that this allegory is presented without weapons of any kind. The symbols typically employed to communicate American strength are notably absent from this representation of a helpless Liberty. She bears a horn, limply supported in her left hand, rather than a liberty pole, a stylistic choice that disassociates her from her proud classical heritage. Curiously, she is allowed to retain the Phrygian cap, which is hung from the mouthpiece of her horn. The significance of the cap to the ignoble Liberty represented here may lie in ancient tradition. According to Yvonne Korshak, "[i]n ancient Rome, the manumission of a slave... was symbolized by the adoption of the *pileus* cap, the headgear of the working citizen, by the freed slave."<sup>61</sup> Whereas most Liberty figures either wear or carry the Phrygian cap as a symbol of freedom, its significance in this representation may be linked to the low status of a working-class Miss Liberty, and not to her power as a symbol of political sovereignty.

There is no question that class served as an index of moral as well as monetary worth in both England and America. As Christine Stansell explains in her study of women in New York City in the era of the early republic:

[w]ithin the propertied classes, women constituted themselves the moral guardians of their families and their nation, offsetting some of the inherited liabilities of their sex. Laboring women were less fortunate: The domestic ideals from which their prosperous sisters profited did little to lighten the oppressions of sex and class they suffered. They were also more troublesome, since their actions-- indeed, their very existence as impoverished female workers-- violated some of the dearest held genteel precepts of 'woman's nature' and 'woman's place.'<sup>62</sup>

By associating the Liberty allegory with the undesirable status and precarious economic condition of the lower classes, the printmaker alluded to well-known associations of the poor with a vast array of moral failings, including a presumption of sexual promiscuity, a reference reinforced by Liberty's torn bodice and uncrossed legs. The limner thus discounted the strength and integrity of American womanhood more subtly, but no less effectively, than his counterparts who engraved blatantly sexualized female allegories.

## **Chapter 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

The argument posed on the preceding pages is based on the assumption that hidden and encoded meanings are ingrained within images that go beyond the explicitly conveyed purpose of an illustration. E. McClung Fleming's pioneering and monumental analyses of the evolution of female allegorical images laid the foundation over which we must build a more nuanced understanding of early Americans' and Europeans' perceptions of proper feminine behavior. Fleming traced the America allegory from her original incarnation as savage Indian Queen into the more modest Indian Princess, at which point she assumed characteristics of Anglicized womanhood. Over time, she lost her few remaining primitive associations, adopted additional features of white femininity, appropriated traits that referenced classical motifs, and became the Liberty allegory with which we continue to identify.

These transformations clearly reflect the changing political circumstances of the American territory. In the late colonial era, what had been understood to be an alien and unknowable land came to be inhabited by whites of European extraction and the allegory that represented these transplanted peoples came to more accurately represent their understanding of themselves. Americans of the post-Revolutionary era sought to represent themselves as participants worthy of esteem and respect within the arena of international politics. The symbols with which they chose to allegorize themselves had to be adapted once more to accommodate this changing vision of American nationhood.



But what of the encoded meanings that limners unwittingly incorporated into their prints and that their audiences naturalized as they gazed upon these iconographic representations? The tradition of representing continents and, later, nations, as allegorized female figures created a puzzling paradox: women lacked institutional access to power, yet the female form stood for the body politic in the engravings that informed western culture of the transformative political events of their time. This paradox mirrored a similarly confounding problem that played out in every community and household in early America: how could Americans reconcile the reality that women did, in fact, exercise authority within the domestic, and to a lesser extent, the public, spheres when law and social convention prescribed their inferiority to the male stewards expected to oversee the welfare of their society?

These parallel tensions played themselves out in the contradictory choices that limners incorporated into their designs for female allegorical images. Printmakers unwittingly served a didactic purpose in presenting their viewing public with images that spoke to notions of proper feminine behavior and expressed their anxieties over female autonomy and power. Whatever their intended and explicit purposes, eighteenth and nineteenth century engravers encapsulated their most honest and uncensored opinions of how women should negotiate the public and private spheres in their images. From the Indian Princess we learn that women were supposed to be fair-skinned and modestly clothed. They were to be passive and accepting of the will of their male stewards. From Liberty we learn that women were supposed to embrace their responsibilities within the domestic sphere. They were to be praised for the natural tendencies to compassion and tenderness that dwelled within the female heart.

But even as these images expressed the ideal for female comportment, they demonstrated the impossibility of its realization. Society accused women of being weak-minded and prone to vanity even as it praised the manifold virtues assumed to be native to

the fair sex. Moreover, male printmakers and the audiences who consumed their images clearly feared the consequences of allowing power to rest in the hands of American women. The contradictory use of symbols and imagery in many eighteenth and nineteenth century engravings suggests that the boundaries of properly gendered behavior were constantly contested, a circumstance that resulted in tension between the sexes. This is most clearly visible in the impolitical prints that frequently represented female allegorical images as sexually compromised and-- more alarming still-- raped and abused. The ultimate lesson to be learned from female allegorical images is that American society could not reconcile the inconsistencies inherent in their understanding of properly gendered behavior. As long as convention dictated that one half of American society should bend to the will of the other half of its membership, women's contributions to the development of American nationalism could not be acknowledged to be the politically-charged efforts of full and functioning members of the American citizenry.

## **APPENDIX**

## REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup>The notion of artifacts containing embedded and unconscious meanings has been explicated by a number of theorists of material culture, architecture, and archaeology, the most prominent among them being Ian Hodder in Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Bernard Herman has explicated the same ideas in a far more readable form in the introduction to his book, The Stolen House (Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia, 1992). Herman explains that scholars must search artifactual evidence for an "internally coherent pattern (p. 5)" that reveals more than the obvious practical purpose for which an object was created. He writes that, "[a]rtifacts, like the totality of expressive culture, are multifunctional in their expressive content with a single object often imbued with an array of potential meanings (p. 5)." The notion of naturalization has also been employed by scholars in a number of disciplines. David Morgan presents this theoretical construct most coherently in the introduction to his book, Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). Morgan claims that material culture, and images particularly, become part of a process through which an observer scans an image, analyses its visual content, and then processes that information. Repeatedly viewing the same object, or viewing a number of similarly constituted objects, eventually leads the observer to bypass the preliminary stages of interpretation and move directly to a recognition of an object's meaning. He labels the phases of this process, "externalization to objectivation to internalization (p. 8)."

<sup>2</sup>E. McSherry Fowble, Two Centuries of Prints in America, 1680-1880: A Selective Catalogue of the Winterthur Museum Collection (Charlottesville: Published for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum by the University Press of Virginia, 1987), p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 4-6.

<sup>4</sup>Sinclair Hitchings, "London's Images of Colonial America," in Eighteenth-Century Prints in Colonial America: To Educate and Decorate, ed. by Joan Dolmetsch (Charlottesville: Published for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation by the University Press of Virginia), pp. 13, 25.

<sup>5</sup>Fowble, p. 276.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 277-279.

<sup>7</sup>See E. McClung Fleming, "The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765-1783," Winterthur Portfolio, Vol. II (1965) and "From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess: The

American Image, 1783-1815," Winterthur Portfolio, Vol. III (1967). Fleming's articles are universally acknowledged to be the most comprehensive analyses ever undertaken of female allegorical symbols of America. Fleming, in fact, planned to produce a book explicating the origins and significance of all major American political symbolism, but died before he could complete his project. His voluminous research notes are maintained in the Downs Collection of the Winterthur Museum in Winterthur, Delaware.

<sup>8</sup>"The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765-1783," p. 67.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>12</sup>"From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess: The American Image, 1783-1815," p. 38.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 39-65.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>15</sup>John Higham, "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess: The First Female Symbols of America," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. 100, No. 1 (1990), p. 57. See also John Higham, "America in Person: The Evolution of National Symbols," Amerikastudien, Vol. 39, No. 4 (1991). Much of what Higham has to say about the evolution of female allegorical symbols of America is a recapitulation of Fleming's findings. But in many instances, Higham tries to move beyond an understanding of the symbol's transformation and more aggressively investigate Americans' understanding of the meaning of these images.

<sup>16</sup>"America in Person: The Evolution of National Symbols."

<sup>17</sup>Michael Kammen, "From Liberty to Prosperity: Reflections Upon the Role of Revolutionary Iconography in the National Tradition," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society Vol. LXXXVI, No. 2 (1976).

<sup>18</sup>The many exhibitions and publications commemorating the bicentennial were executed with varying degrees of depth and effectiveness. Among the most useful catalogues that record these events are Joshua C. Taylor, America as Art (Washington, D.C.: Published by the Smithsonian Institution Press for the National Collection of Fine Arts, 1976); The American War of Independence, 1775-83: A Commemorative Exhibition Organized by the Map Library and the Department of Manuscripts of the British Library Reference Division (London: Published by British Museum Publications Limited for the

British Library, 1975); Walter Muir Whitehill and others, Paul Revere's Boston: 1735-1818 (Meriden, Connecticut: Published by the Meriden-Gravure Co. for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1975); Charles F. Montgomery and Patricia E. Kane, eds., American Art: 1750-1800. Towards Independence (Boston: Published by the New York Graphic Society of Boston for the Yale University Art Gallery and the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1976); and A Rising People: The Founding of the United States, 1765-1789 (Philadelphia: Published by the American Philosophical Society on behalf of the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1976). See also Jonathan Greenberg, ed. America As Emblem (New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc., 1992).

<sup>19</sup>"The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765-1783," p. 70.

<sup>20</sup>Fowble, p. 211.

<sup>21</sup>Franklin commonly carried a cane, rather than a sword, at a time when most statesmen sought to emphasize their martial bearing. The cane is undoubtedly included in the print as a reference to Franklin's individuality and his Quaker simplicity, which fascinated the French who allegorized and wrote about him.

<sup>22</sup>Charles Coleman Sellers, Benjamin Franklin in Portraiture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 197, 120-121, 195-197, and plate 32.

<sup>23</sup>"The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765-1783," p. 73.

<sup>24</sup>"Indian Princess and Roman Goddess: The First Female Symbols of America," p. 55.

<sup>25</sup>Henri Baudet, Paradise on Earth: Some Thoughts on European Images of Non-European Man, translated by Elizabeth Wentholt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 23.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-36.

<sup>27</sup>Joan Hoff, "From Patriarchal to Poststructural Images and Identities of American Women," Amerikastudien (Volume 39, Number 4), 1991, p. 495.

<sup>28</sup>"The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765-1783," p. 70.

<sup>29</sup>Linda K. Kerber, Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), p. 120.

<sup>30</sup>Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750 (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), p. 38.

<sup>31</sup>Sara M. Evans, Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America (New York: The Free Press, 1989), p. 43.

<sup>32</sup>The development of the official seal of the United States is traced in Cornelius Vermeul, Numismatic Art in America: Aesthetics of the United States Coinage (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1971); M.B. Schnapper, American Symbols: The Seals and Flags of the Fifty States (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1974); and A History of the Seal of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Printed by the Government Printing Office for the Department of State, 1909).

<sup>33</sup>"Indian Princess and Roman Goddess: The First Female Symbols of America," p. 57.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>35</sup>Evans, pp. 45-59.

<sup>36</sup>Mary Beth Norton, Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980), p. 156.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 228.

<sup>38</sup>Kerber, p. 269.

<sup>39</sup>"Liberty in the Chinese Taste," Antiques (November, 1931), p. 299.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 299.

<sup>41</sup>Mathew Carey, ed. The Lady's Pocket Library (Philadelphia: From the Press of Mathew Carey of No. 118 Market Street, March 20, 1792), p. 140.

<sup>42</sup>Dr. John Gregory, A Father's Legacy to His Daughters (Chambersburg: Printed by Dover & Harper for Mathew Carey of No. 118 Market Street, Philadelphia, 1796), p. 22.

<sup>43</sup>The Lady's Pocket Library, p. 12.

<sup>44</sup>Mathew Carey, "Introduction," in A Father's Legacy to His Daughters, p. 8.

<sup>45</sup>E. McClung Fleming made this suggestion in "Liberty-Columbia: Our Most Meaningful National Symbol," an article included in the exhibition catalogue for the 1983 Delaware Antiques Show.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>47</sup>Anita Schorsch, "A Key to the Kingdom: The Iconography of Mourning Pictures," Winterthur Portfolio (Volume 14, Number 1), Spring, 1979, p. 52.

<sup>48</sup>Samuel Jennings quoted in Robert C. Smith, "Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences: A Philadelphia Allegory," Winterthur Portfolio II (1965), p. 96.

<sup>49</sup>E.P. Richardson, "Stamp Act Cartoons in the Colonies," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (July, 1972), p. 275.

<sup>50</sup>The several versions of this print are discussed in Fowble, pp. 144-145; Clarence S. Brigham, Paul Revere's Engravings (Meriden, Connecticut: Published by the Meriden Gravure Company for the American Antiquarian Society, 1969), pp. 117-119; and appears in a number of exhibition catalogues relating to bicentennial celebrations.

<sup>51</sup>Kerber, p. 172.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>53</sup>Hoff, p. 496.

<sup>54</sup>Richardson, p. 291.

<sup>55</sup>Lester C. Olson, "Benjamin Franklin's Pictorial Representations of the British Colonies in America: A Study in Rhetorical Iconology," Quarterly Journal of Speech (Volume 3, 1987), pp. 25-26.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-31.

<sup>57</sup>Richardson, p. 289.

<sup>58</sup>Olson, p. 33.

<sup>59</sup>Jean Kilbourne, and others. Killing Us Softly: Advertising's Image of Women (Cambridge: Cambridge Documentary Films, 1979). A follow-up to the original film, called Still Killing Us Softly, was made in 1987.



<sup>60</sup>Fowble discusses this print in her catalogue of the Winterthur prints collection, p. 147.

<sup>61</sup>Yvonne Korshak, "The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in America and France," Smithsonian Studies in American Art (Fall, 1987), p. 53.

<sup>62</sup>Christine Stansell, City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), p. xi.

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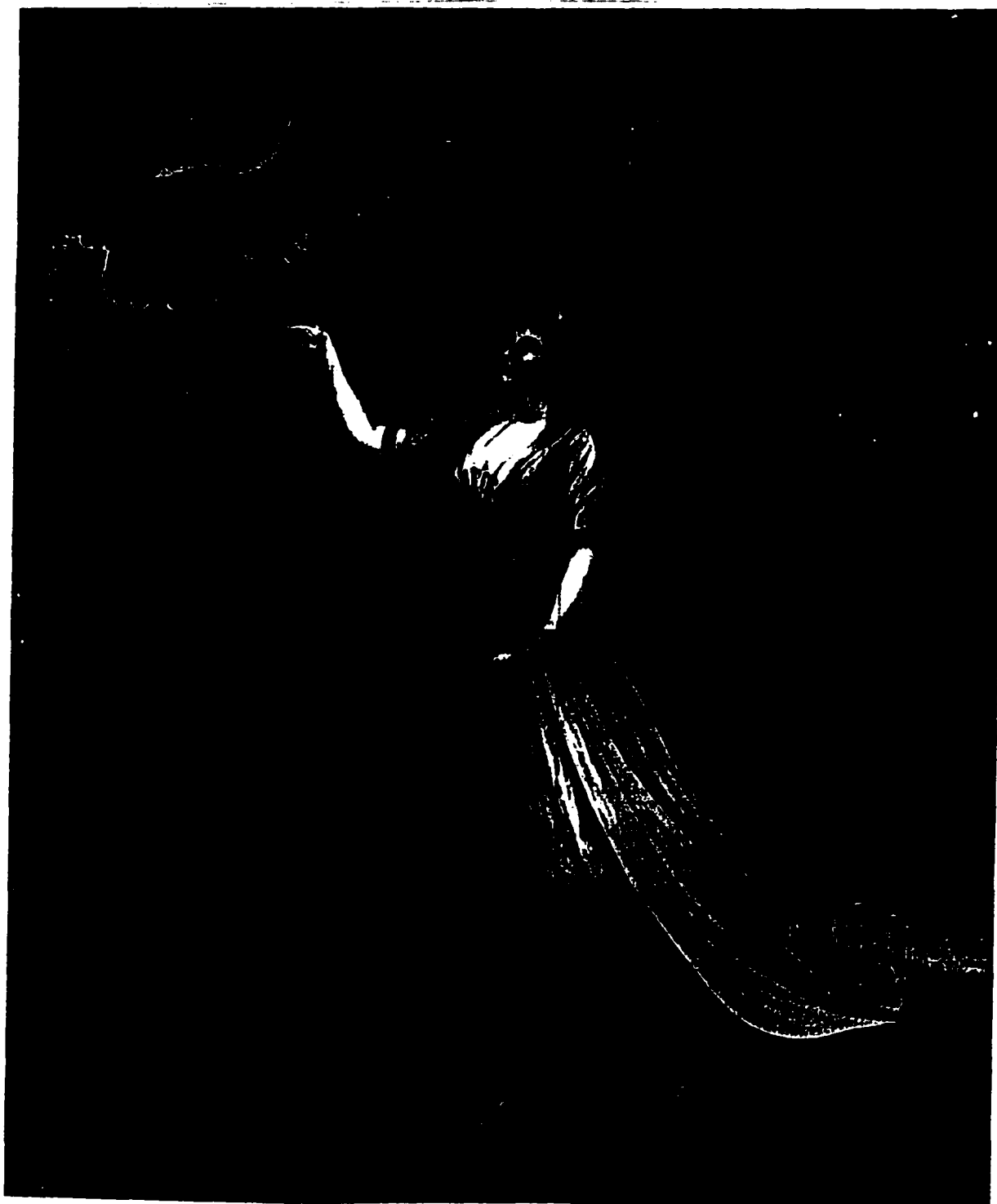
## **APPENDIX**



Figure 1. *America*, line engraving on laid paper, 1600-1650.  
 Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.



Figure 2. *L'Amerique Independante*, engraving with stipple and etching, 1778.  
Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.



**Figure 3. *Liberty, in the Form of the Goddess of Youth, Giving Support to the Bald Eagle*, reverse painting on glass, 1796-1800.  
Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.**



Figure 4. *Emblem of the United States of America*, etching on laid paper, 1804.  
Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.



*The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught.*

Figure 5. *The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught*,  
etching on laid paper, 1774.  
Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.



*News from America, or the Patriots  
in the Dumps.*

Figure 6. *News from America, or the Patriots in the Dumps*, etching on laid paper, 1776.  
Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.