

WELLS  
RELIABLE



J. M. Mancini

# American Art's Dark Matter: *A History of Uncirculation from Revolution to Empire*

Shortly after the American Revolution, the engraver to the Comte d'Artois, Nicolas Ponce (1746–1831), and the royal engraver François Godefroy (1743–1819) published the *Recueil d'estampes représentant les différents événemens [sic] de la guerre, qui a procuré l'indépendance aux États Unis de l'Amérique* (Paris, ca. 1783–1784; hereafter *Collection of Engravings*). This was the first circulating visual history of the war and the peace produced in France—and possibly anywhere—and one that aimed at a comprehensive presentation of its subject. This is attested to by its inclusion of sixteen plates depicting important episodes and actors in the conflict, maps of significant sites, and summaries of the war and the peace, as well as by the approach taken within the individual plates. The plates combined images with dense text panels, and in some cases, they employed a crammed, composite treatment that juxtaposed multiple vignettes of the war's disparate events within a single busy page (fig. 1).

Despite its synthetic approach and its historical proximity to the American Revolution, however, the *Collection of Engravings* would likely strike present-day viewers as puzzling, even illegible. For example, viewers might reasonably expect the volume's geography of war and peace to center on the thirteen colonies that waged war for their independence. Yet this was not its geographical focus. Rather, fully half the plates in the *Collection of Engravings* represented scenes from events in places that most present-day American viewers would not

Nicolas Ponce and  
François Godefroy,  
“Précis de cette guerre”  
(detail, see fig 4).





T DE M. DE ORLMOUARD.

PR

*Principaux OFFICIERS tués ou blessés dans cette Guerre.*

(Français tués) M.<sup>rs</sup> De la Voûte, Ligondez, Champorcin, Du Quengo, Du Couéde, Kergariou, Du Romain, Tremigon, Carilliac, Boades, Descars, Du Pavillon, Lachocherie, S.<sup>rs</sup> Cesaire, Montiquot, Ribiers, De Vialis, Sequin, Marigny, \*  
 — M.<sup>rs</sup> De Rullecourt, Montaut, Royer \* Dupas de la Manchedière  
 (blessés) M.<sup>rs</sup> De S.<sup>t</sup> Simon, Vaudreuil, Dillon, Steding, Bethusey, Forbach, Guerchy, Montlezun, Daymar, Raimondis, Castelet, Dampierre, De Retz, Cohars, Grompy, Bruyeres, Dumas, Latouche, Grimouard, Suville, Le Begue, Champmartin, Delhy, Medine, Buor, Duchulleau, De Galles, S.<sup>t</sup> Felée.  
 (Américains tués) M.<sup>rs</sup> De Kalb, Pulauski, Anderson, Mercer, Wooster, Nash.  
 (Hollandais tués) M.<sup>rs</sup> Curl, Beanthem.  
 (Espagnols tués) M.<sup>rs</sup> Mendizabel, Domonte, Rebol, Longaria.  
 (blessés) M.<sup>rs</sup> Langara, Moreno.

avec un Vais.<sup>seau</sup> de 74 Ca.<sup>nons</sup> contre un de 98  
 deux preced.<sup>ents</sup> en Avril 1779 et Jan.<sup>vier</sup> 1781.

Le Comte  
 au

**PRÉCIS DU TRAITÉ DE PAIX,**

Signé à Versailles le 3 Septembre 1783.

Massachusset Connecticut, Hampshire, Plantations de Providence, Rhode-Island, New-York, Pensilvanie, Maryland, Virginie, Caroline Sept.<sup>entrionale</sup> Caroline Merid.<sup>ionale</sup> et de la Géorgie sont  
 et independants. S. M. Britanique renonce pour elle et ses successeurs à toute espee  
 Pays. et sur les Iles qui bordent leurs Côtes jusqu'à la distance de 20 Lieues.  
 celle Republique sont fixées, au Nord, par la Riviere S.<sup>t</sup> Croix et par une ligne tirée  
 à celui des Bois, à l'Ouest, par le Fleuve Mississipi; au Sud par les Florides aux-  
 limites la Riviere Marys, et le 31.<sup>me</sup> degré de latitude, et à l'Est par la mer.  
 L'Espagne l'Île Minorque, la Floride Orient.<sup>ale</sup> et la Floride Occid.<sup>entale</sup>. Elle conserve la

liberte de la Coupe du bois de Campêche, mais cette liberte e  
 L'Angleterre cede à la France l'Île de Tabago, le Sénégal, le S.<sup>t</sup> Pierre et Miquelon, et Portendic; une étendue plus considerable à l'Inde  
 d'Arquin, et Portendic; une étendue plus considerable à l'Inde  
 Districts de Bahour et Velanour aux environs de Pondicher.  
 Elle annule les clauses des derniers Traités relatives aux  
 et aux Garnisons des Iles S.<sup>t</sup> Pierre et Miquelon.  
 La Hollande cede à l'Angleterre la Ville de Négapatan.  
 Restitution mutuelle entre les Puissances belligerantes, et

**TABLE DES ESTAMPES QUI COMPOSENT CETTE SUITE**

Frontispice et Précis de la Guerre. \*  
 Origine de la Revolution. \*  
 Journée de Lexington. \*

{ N.<sup>os</sup> 5. Prise de la Dominique. \*  
 6. Prise du Sénégal.  
 7. Prise de la Grenade. \*

{ N.<sup>os</sup> 9. Prise de Tabago. \*  
 10. Reddition de l'Armée de Cornwallis. \*  
 11. Surprise de S.<sup>t</sup> Eustache.



even associate with the Revolution: for example, St. Kitts, Pensacola, Senegal, and Minorca. In contrast, the volume presented only four plates that depicted episodes taking place within the thirteen colonies (namely, at Boston, Lexington, Saratoga, and Yorktown, the setting for the surrender of Cornwallis); it also contained a “carte des États Unis.” Moreover, the single Boston plate, Godefroy’s “John Malcom” (see fig. 9)—whose subject was the punishment of customs official John Malcom (sometimes Malcolm or Malcomb) by a Revolutionary mob—was unrepresentative of most American images. Although two mezzotints of this event (see figs. 10 and 11) did precede Godefroy’s treatment of it, neither had been made in America but originated in England instead, where they were published by the well-known London printers Carington Bowles (1724–1793) and Robert Sayer (1725–1794).

1  
Nicolas Ponce and  
François Godefroy,  
“Précis de cette guerre,”  
from *Recueil d’estampes  
représentant les différents  
événemens [sic] de la  
guerre, qui a procuré  
l’indépendance aux  
États Unis de l’Amérique*  
(Paris, ca. 1783–1784).  
Etching and engraving,  
7 3/8 × 8 1/4 in. (18.8 × 21 cm).  
Rare Book Division,  
Department of Rare Books  
and Special Collections,  
Princeton University  
Library, New Jersey, (Ex)  
1081.752.

The introduction to this volume ends with a complex, multipart question about circulation:

*For every object that circulates, how many don’t?  
For every picture that appears, how many disappear?  
For every archive that is digitized, how many are destroyed?  
Ultimately, if, as we suggest, circulation has been a  
shaping factor of American art, to what extent have  
noncirculations, absences, invisibilities, negations, and  
destructions also been determining factors in its history?  
To what extent, then, is it true that what has not been  
circulated has not been represented, or made into art for  
that matter?*

These are difficult questions to answer. How might we account, in a general sense, for the essential *unevenness* of circulation, copying, and related processes of forward articulation—the relentless repetition of certain objects and subjects but the apparent vanishing of others? What methodology might be pursued to trace the history of an “object,” “picture,” or “archive” that has been negated? And what name might be used to describe this process of negation—a term which, perhaps too strongly, implies conscious suppression—or noncirculation, which implies, again perhaps too strongly, that the process by which images are not circulated is a random one?

These are difficult questions, but important ones nonetheless. Thus, in this essay, I propose, as a counterpart but also as a companion to the many works that study the lives of images that have been



circulated, a tentative case study of Ponce and Godefroy's *Collection of Engravings* as an object—as an archive of images—that may be seen to be subject to *uncirculation*, a term I have chosen to reflect the not-quite-suppressive but not-quite-random quality of the process by which images cease to have purchase on later viewers and makers (or by which they may cease to exist). I have selected this example for two reasons. The first is the immediate contrast between the unrecognizability of Ponce and Godefroy's imagery—a sure sign of its lack of purchase within subsequent visual culture—and the extreme familiarity of other images and objects with a Revolutionary provenance. That is to say, the American Revolution is, at once, an event that generated visual images that virtually define circulation—it would be impossible

to catalogue, for instance, the number of reproductions of Paul Revere's *Bloody Massacre in King-Street*—and an event that itself is known through its imagery. Thus, the circulation of Revere's print is a cardinal source of our knowledge that Boston was at the center of the conflict, and it also informs us of what kind of conflict the Revolution was: an anticolonial struggle against a monarchical master whose soldiers fired into the Boston crowd.

The second reason for choosing Ponce and Godefroy—and the Revolution—is precisely because the Revolution's importance and its distance from the present allow for reflection on the longevity and contingency of both circulation and uncirculation as historical processes. The forward articulation of the Revolution as a visual or material-cultural phenomenon is something that continues even today, and whose past contours—whose ebbs and flows, whose negations and promulgations—cannot be separated from the stream of history within which each of the actors who circulated or “uncirculated” (as I express it) a particular vision of the Revolution made his or her choices. Hence, this essay has more to say about certain moments in the past when Americans were especially inclined to use circulation and uncirculation as methodologies for articulating their own self-conscious identity with the Revolution (e.g., during periods of conflict, including the Civil War and the period of imperial conquest in the 1890s). And although I pay some attention to particular methodologies or techniques of circulation or uncirculation, I am more interested in exploring the intersections between the processes of circulation and the processes of history than in providing a history of circulation per se.

Such a distinction is important, because one risk of elevating circulation (or rather the history of circulation) as a subject of study is technological determinism. Consider the example, invoked in the introduction, of Clement Greenberg's account of the sinister spread of kitsch, which casts the emergence of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century print technologies as “wiping out folk culture” with “magazine covers, rotogravure sections and calendar girls.”<sup>1</sup> As François Brunet notes, “Greenberg's conception is critical rather than historical,” but it still has purchase among those who would view each new visual technology as the harbinger of a wholly new era of circulation—and the death knell of some prelapsarian age. In contrast, I take my cues from recent scholarship in early American art, whose investigations make it abundantly clear that a world unconditioned by circulation never existed in the United States or its precursor colonies—and that in order to understand circulation, it is as important to untangle

2

Nicolas Ponce after  
Lausan, “Prise de  
Pensacola,” from  
*Recueil d'estampes . . .*  
(Paris, ca. 1783–  
1784). Etching and  
engraving, 7 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 7 $\frac{1}{16}$  in.  
(18.1 × 20.2 cm).  
Rare Book Division,  
Department of Rare  
Books and Special  
Collections, Princeton  
University Library, New  
Jersey, (Ex) 1081.752.



the mechanisms of historical processes, such as the workings of empire, as it is to explain the impact of a specific technology.<sup>2</sup>

### The War of Independence according to Ponce and Godefroy

Let us turn now to Ponce and Godefroy's *Collection of Engravings* to see the view of the American Revolution it attempted to circulate. Unlike many if not most representations of the American Revolution, past and present, which conceptualize the war as solely an anticolonial struggle for sovereignty between an incipient, revolutionary, protostate and its monarchical master, the *Collection of Engravings* emphasized another side of the War of Independence: that is, its dual status as, on the one hand, a revolutionary insurgency fought between the thirteen colonies and Britain, and, on the other, an interimperial war for global



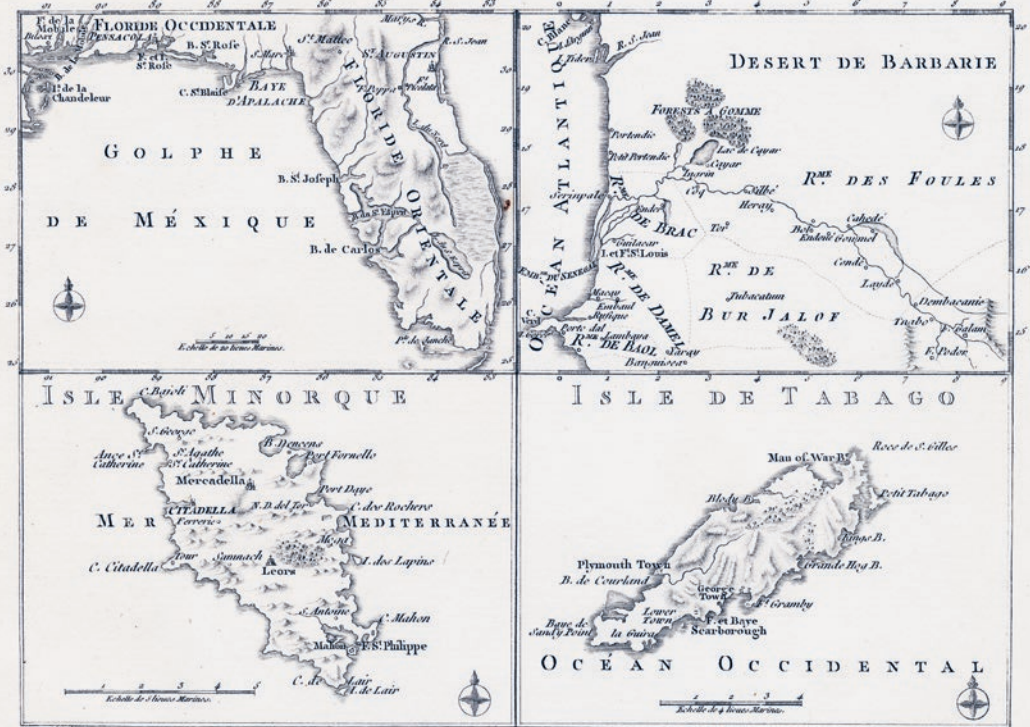


supremacy among Britain, France, and Spain (and, to a lesser extent, the Dutch), which may have been occasioned by the insurgency in the thirteen colonies and certainly affected the outcome of that insurgency, but whose origins also lay in the prior history of global geopolitics and global conflict.

The *Collection of Engravings*' emphasis on the Revolution as interimperial war may be seen from its geographical orientation. As has been suggested, the volume's geographical focus cannot be said to lie within the thirteen colonies, as fully half the sixteen plates represented actions undertaken by France (which recognized the colonies' independence in 1778) and/or Spain (which joined the war as a cobelligerent to France in 1779, and which, like France, provided the insurgency with significant logistical and material assistance even before declaring war) in places within the British empire but outside the thirteen colonies. Examples include Godefroy's "Prise de la Dominique," depicting the French forces mounting the walls of the British fort on Dominica; Ponce's "Prise du Sénégal," depicting the French recapture of the Fort of Saint-Louis, which had been taken by British forces during the Seven Years' War (1754–1763); and the "Prise de Pensacola," showing the recapture, on May 9, 1781, of the capital of West Florida (a Spanish colony ceded to Britain by treaty as a result of the Seven Years' War) by the forces of Don Bernardo de Gálvez (fig. 2). Yet another image anthologized, in the form of a composite map, concessions made by England to France and Spain in the 1783 treaty (fig. 3). Moreover, the first and last plates, summarizing the war and the peace, presented smaller vignettes of subjects, such as action off the Coromandel Coast (see fig. 1), that again prioritized the war's global aspect.

The *Collection of Engravings* also emphasized the interimperial side of the War of Independence in its treatment of historical issues. In particular, the accompanying texts interpreted the Bourbon interventions against the British as an episode within a long-running rivalry between the European empires, and emphasized how the War of Independence was a corrective to the cataclysmic Seven Years' War. For example, the text to the "Prise de Pensacola" (Taking of Pensacola) noted, "This Place and the 2 Provinces of Florida were ceded to Spain in the Peace of 1783. These were very precious possessions to the English for the illicit Trade that they made with New Spain, and might through their likely yields, have replaced in part the void that the loss of Colonies of North America has made this Power feel."<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the composite map depicting the treaty concessions (see

3  
Dupuis after Nicolas  
Ponce, "Cartes  
particulieres des  
concessions faites par  
l'Angleterre à la France  
et à l'Espagne par le  
Traité de 1783," from  
*Recueil d'estampes* . . .  
(Paris, ca. 1783–1784).  
Etching and engraving,  
7¼ × 7⅞ in. (18.4 ×  
20 cm). Rare Book  
Division, Department  
of Rare Books and  
Special Collections,  
Princeton University  
Library, New Jersey,  
(Ex) 1081.752.



CARTES PARTICULIERES

Des Concessions faites par l'Angleterre à la France et à l'Espagne par le Traité de 1763.

Le Sénégal qui avoit été conquis par l'Angleterre dans la guerre de 1758, étoit resté à cette Puissance par la Paix de 1763. Les objets de commerce qu'on tire de cette vaste contrée, l'ivoire, la gomme, la Poudre d'or &c. rendent sa possession très utile à la France qui voit encore augmenter sa richesse par l'exportation des Nègres qui fertillent ses Isles à sucre, et dont une partie est tirée de ce Pays.

Tabago placée comme la Barbade au Vent des autres Antilles, disputée longtems, ensuite neutre, et puis cédée à l'Angleterre par la Paix de 1763, étoit à la France, par sa position, un lieu de relâche très commode pour ses vaisseaux et une communication entre la Guyane et ses Isles de l'Amérique; son terroir très fertile produit beaucoup de coton et est encore susceptible de nouveaux défrichemens; la sûreté de ses ports où les plus gros Vaisseaux sont à l'abri des ouragans, seroient que devenus les Antilles, sous de l'année, rendent sa possession très importante.

Depuis la conclusion de la paix, on a reçu des nouvelles de l'Inde: M. de Suffren a battu une Flotte ennemie le 20 Juin 1783, à la hauteur de Pondichéry, dans lequel il a eu l'avantage, quoiqu'il eût que six Vaisseaux contre 8, 24 l'Esprit, parti Capitaine de Vaisseau, en 1784, a été fait Prisonnier, et détenu à bord de son Vaisseau, commandé par le Capitaine de terre, est assés fort de l'attaque dans un combat donné sous Pondichéry le 13 Juin, contre une Armée de 12000 hommes, qui fut plus forte que la sienne.

Les deux Florides furent cédées à l'Angleterre, à la Paix de 1763, en échange de l'île de Cuba dont cette Puissance venoit de faire la conquête; cette perte étoit d'autant plus sensible pour l'Espagne qu'elle mettoit à découvert ses plus riches Colonies de l'Amérique, en donnant à sa rivale des ports dans le fond du Golfe de Mexique qui facilitent une contrebande très préjudiciable à ses intérêts.

l'île Minorque, dont l'Angleterre avoit fait la conquête en 1708, avoit été cédée à cette Puissance par le Traité d'Utrecht: En tems de guerre, elle y entretenoit une flotte considérable qui hivernoit à Port Mahon; Cette position donnoit à cette Nation la plus grande influence sur les affaires d'Italie, comme on la vit dans la Guerre de 1740. Par cette perte, la prépondérance que les Anglois avoient dans le Levant est détruite; Gibraltar devient un fardeau inutile pour eux, et le commerce qu'ils peuvent encore faire dans la Méditerranée devient fort précaire.

A Paris chez M. Ponce, Graveur de M. le Comte d'Artois, rue de la Harpe n° 19. A. P. D. R. et chez M. Godéfray, rue des Deux Frères n° 10.

fig. 3) reiterated the Pensacola image's claims about the significance of the Floridas as hubs for a contraband trade that caused a systematic disturbance to Spain's interest, and reminded viewers that this disturbance had originated in the 1763 settlement to the Seven Years' War. The loss of the Floridas, according to the text, "was particularly sensitive to Spain because it exposed her richest American colonies by giving her rival ports in the bottom of the Gulf of Mexico that facilitated a Contraband that was very prejudicial to her interests."

Within this framework, the *Collection of Engravings* also presented a vision of the relationships between France and Spain and between the two intervening powers and the revolutionaries. Here,



the volume treated this relationship as one of amity, and more specifically as amity that has been sealed in the sacrifice of death. For example, the final plate, the “Précis du traité de paix” (Summary of the peace treaty), features a central winged figure bearing an olive branch and trumpet (fig. 4). Beneath the trumpet, this figure unfurls a banner headed by the names of Louis XVI of France and Charles III of Spain. Below are inscribed the names of significant American, French, and Spanish figures, including two revolutionaries killed in the conflict, the Irish-born Richard Montgomery and the Roxbury-born Joseph Warren, as well as Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, and, just above Lafayette, Don Gálvez. This is most likely the aforementioned Bernardo de Gálvez: the Spanish governor of Louisiana and architect





of a series of political and military actions (including the taking of Pensacola) that prevented Britain from using the Gulf of Mexico or the Mississippi River as a back route to victory against the insurgency. But given the inclusion of the diplomat Franklin, the name might refer to Bernardo's uncle, José de Gálvez, a key adviser to Charles III.

In keeping with these emphases, Ponce and Godefroy also presented a particular interpretation of Spanish combatants in the War of Independence: one that cast them in heroic roles comparable to those of the sons of France and the sons of Liberty. Of particular note is the treatment of Gálvez, whose name, as noted, is inscribed on the banner of amity. His name and figure appear repeatedly in the volume. In the "Précis de cette guerre," he is the subject of a vignette depicting how "on the 14th of March 1780 the Spanish General Don Galvez, after having chased the English from Louisiana, takes the Fort of Mobile." And in the "Prise de Pensacola," Gálvez is the central figure in a chain of events that Ponce and Godefroy represent as a key loss to Britain in the conflict because it disrupted Britain's contraband trade.

4  
Nicolas Ponce, "Précis du traité de paix," from *Recueil d'estampes . . .* (Paris, ca. 1783–1784). Etching and engraving, 7¼ × 8½ in. (18.4 × 20.6 cm). Rare Book Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, New Jersey, (Ex) 1081.752.

### The Story of the Revolution

The *Collection of Engravings* tells a number of stories about the Revolution that are largely illegible today: about the geography of the conflict, which places mattered in the eighteenth century, and even which events mattered within those places; about the key figures in the war and the peace; about the relationship of the War of Independence to prior conflicts; and even about the stakes and character of the war. All these stories have a basis in what we might call "historical fact." So how, then, might we account for the forgetting, or unmaking, or uncirculation, of the view of the Revolution embodied in the *Collection of Engravings*?

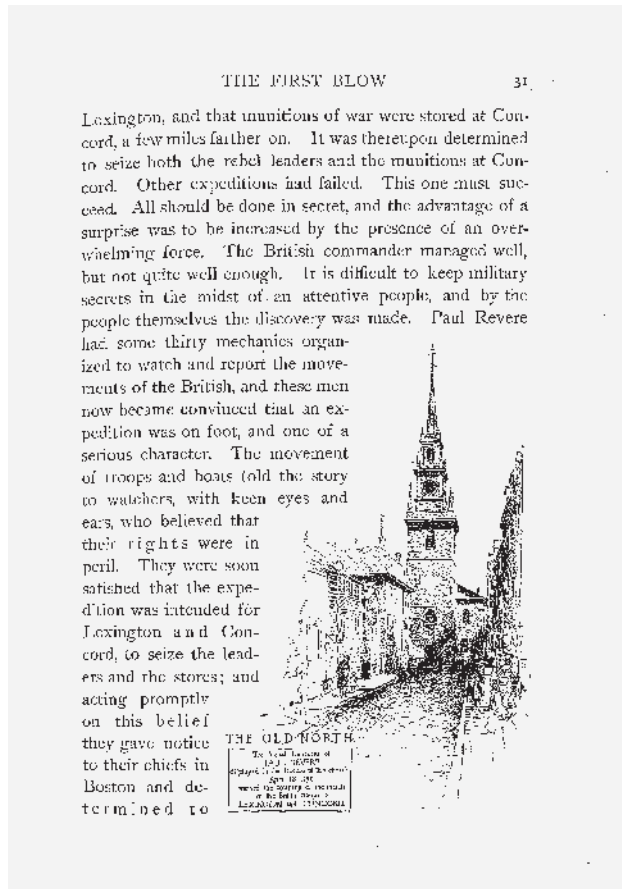
In any attempt at providing an account of "uncirculation," it is obviously difficult if not impossible to follow a conventional A-to-B narrative that shows how one particular view ceased to circulate. Rather, perhaps artificially, I have chosen to begin at the end of my story: with a work that, despite being similar to the *Collection of Engravings* in terms of its subject matter (the history of the Revolution) and form (an illustrated history or image archive), clearly rejected Ponce and Godefroy's view of the Revolution — *The Story of the Revolution* written in 1898 by Henry Cabot Lodge (1850–1924). Here my aim is to explore the contrasts between the two, but also to consider what was at stake in the circulation of a view of the Revolution that eclipsed Ponce and Godefroy's.<sup>4</sup>

I did not choose *The Story of the Revolution* at random, but rather because it encapsulates an “official” or “canonical” view of the Revolution circulated at the end of the nineteenth century. Lodge was, arguably, the most influential American author ever to assemble an illustrated history of the American Revolution. He was the first person granted a PhD from Harvard, and as such he represented the new wave of professional historians coming to influence in the United States in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Lodge was not only a charter-generation “professional” historian but also one of the most powerful political figures of his day. By the time he published *The Story of the Revolution*, he had been elected senator from Massachusetts: he was identified as such in the serialized version of the book published by *Scribner’s Magazine*.<sup>5</sup>

Thus another reason for focusing on *The Story of the Revolution* is that it clearly was intended to circulate, not only among the readers

5

“The Old North,” from Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Story of the Revolution* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1898), 1:31.



of the book itself, but also among other bodies of readers and live audiences. Thus, in addition to being published as a two-volume book (reprinted in 1903) and as a series of illustrated articles in *Scribner's Magazine*, it was circulated as a short picture book, as an exhibition held at the Art Institute of Chicago in April 1898 displaying work by Howard Pyle (1853–1911), Ernest Peixotto (1869–1940), F. C. Yohn (1875–1933), Harry Fenn (1837–1911), Carleton T. Chapman (1860–1925), and others, and as an exhibition catalogue published by Scribner's.<sup>6</sup>

To begin to compare Lodge's account of the Revolution to Ponce and Godefroy's, let us turn to the geography of the conflict as *The Story of the Revolution* visualized it. Not surprisingly, Lodge's version of the Revolution prominently featured Massachusetts. It had more than ten images of Lexington and Concord (including, in the latter case, Ernest Peixotto's engraving of the memorial sculpture *The Minute Man at Concord Bridge* by Daniel C. French [1850–1931], itself dedicated in 1875 on the centennial of the “shot heard round the world”), as well as a view of Boston's Old North Church and Cambridge's Washington Elm. These were further contextualized with textual elements: in the Old North image, a cartouche employing an authenticity-lending but well-obsolete long “s” (fig. 5); and in Peixotto's print of the Cambridge elm—a site that was, perhaps, less familiar to readers without Cambridge connections—a caption explaining, “In the background, enclosed by a fence and with a tablet marking it in front, is the historic tree under which Washington took command of the army.”<sup>7</sup>

Massachusetts was the most commonly featured location in *The Story of the Revolution*, but the volume gave ample representation to the thirteen colonies as a whole. Indeed, in a post-Civil War context, Lodge seems to have been at pains to afford sufficient visual representation to the South. Hence the inclusion of some rather obscure sites: for example “The Home of Chancellor Wythe at Williamsburg, where Washington Stopped on His Way to the Siege of Yorktown.” This postsectional emphasis is also reflected in the work's portraits, and more specifically in their titles: for example, “Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, the First President of the Continental Congress” and “Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia” (both after paintings by Charles Willson Peale [1741–1827]) in which Randolph and Lee are identified specifically as Virginians, while various figures from northern colonies are not.<sup>8</sup>

Lodge's geography also included some sites adjacent to the thirteen colonies, notably Quebec (in F. C. Yohn's “The Attack on



Quebec” and two drawings by Peixotto, “Cape Diamond” and the “Citadel and Tablet on the Rocks of Cape Diamond Bearing the Inscription ‘Montgomery Fell, Dec’r 31, 1775’”) and Falmouth, Nova Scotia (in Carleton T. Chapman’s “The Destruction of Falmouth, Now the City of Portland, ME”). However, such representations were limited to continental locations adjacent to and north of the thirteen colonies. In striking contrast to the *Collection of Engravings, The Story of the Revolution*’s visual geography did not extend to the Caribbean, the Mediterranean, India, or Africa. Nor did Lodge include images from the Gulf Coast—despite the tumultuous presence of the conflict in the Floridas and Louisiana, and despite the fact that these contested places, like Falmouth, would eventually become part of the United States.<sup>9</sup>

A second set of comparisons may be drawn between the treatments Ponce and Godefroy’s and Lodge’s albums respectively gave of the war’s personnel and the relationships among them. First, Lodge’s cast of characters was larger than Ponce and Godefroy’s. Indeed, it is bewildering in its scope, with portraits of more than two dozen military, political, and diplomatic personages, including George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Paul Revere, John Jay, John Adams, Samuel Adams, “Joseph Warren, Killed at Bunker Hill,”<sup>10</sup> Thomas Paine, General Israel Putnam, General Nathaniel Greene, General Philip Schuyler, General Horatio Gates, Benjamin Franklin, Lafayette, Baron Steuben, Roger Sherman, Robert Morris, General John Stark, Colonel Daniel Boone, General George Rogers Clark, General Benjamin Lincoln, General Andrew Pickens, and General Daniel Morgan.

If Lodge’s pantheon was larger than Ponce and Godefroy’s, however, it was also more one-dimensional, with French figures limited to Lafayette, Rochambeau, and Vergennes, and with Gálvez and other Spaniards omitted entirely. Lodge’s pantheon also visualized a different hierarchy from that depicted by Ponce and Godefroy. Although Ponce and Godefroy did present multiple visual references to some figures (Gálvez has already been given as an example), their volume’s images are not organized in a way that clearly presents a single overall image (or its subject) as being more important than another. Moreover, the banner of amity in the “Précis du traité de paix,” while placing Louis XVI and Charles III at the top, included Montgomery, Warren, Gates, Franklin, and Washington prominently among their French and Spanish peers. In contrast, Lodge’s compendium chose an image of Washington as the frontispiece for each volume: for volume 1, an engraving after Gilbert Stuart’s 1795 portrait; and for volume 2, Yohn’s *Washington’s Farewell to His Officers* (officers who, it should be

noted, are not identified by name in the caption). Further, Washington's image is duplicated to a degree that far exceeds any other figure, with the additional inclusion of, for example, an engraving after Charles Willson Peale's 1772 portrait, captioned "George Washington at the Age of Forty"; "Washington Taking Command of the Army"; and "Washington Showing the Camp at Cambridge to the Committee, Consisting of Franklin, Lynch, and Harrison, Appointed by Congress."<sup>11</sup>

Lodge's preference for American subjects is, perhaps, unsurprising, but it speaks to a deeper issue: the way that his compendium cast the relationships between Britain's three antagonists. Here, *The Story of the Revolution* diverged radically from the *Collection of Engravings*, for Lodge not only refused to see this relationship in terms of amity and shared death, but in the case of Spain, also cast it in terms of enmity. In order to analyze this, it is necessary to begin with Lodge's text rather than the images for a (seemingly) simple reason: Lodge did not include any images that referred specifically to the Anglo-Spanish seat of conflict or that depicted Spanish participants. In the text, Lodge did present some bare facts about Spain's role in the War of Independence: that Spain had, through the French foreign minister, the Comte de Vergennes, sent \$200,000 in aid in 1776, and that it "was finally drawn into war against England" in 1779.<sup>12</sup> However, in general, he cast Spain in the role of an exceptional enemy to the United States. For example, Lodge generally emphasized, as important to victory, the success of American diplomacy in obtaining "if not actual support, at least a benevolent neutrality" on the part of the powers of Europe.<sup>13</sup> Yet, he refused to apply this general logic—that any power that refused to assist Britain assisted the revolutionaries—in Spain's case. Thus, he interpreted Spain's participation in the conflict as a cobelligerent against Britain—a stance that surpassed neutrality—in negative, rather than in positive, terms. He wrote, "One European power, however, showed itself distinctly hostile, and that was the very one upon which the Vergennes [*sic*] relied for support, and which was finally drawn into war against England. This was Spain, which showed an instinctive hatred of a people in arms fighting for their rights and independence. To Spain, decrepit and corrupt, the land of the Inquisition, and the owner of a vast and grossly misgoverned colonial empire, nothing but enmity was really possible toward revolted colonists fighting for independence, free alike in thought and religion and determined to govern themselves." And just in case any of his readers had missed this point, he reintroduced reminders of the Black Legend at various points in the text: for example, asserting that "Spain was corrupt, broken, rotten to

the core, merely hiding her decrepitude under the mask of an empire which had once been great. Dragged into the war by France, she had no love whatever for the Americans—desired only to prey upon them and gather in what she could from the wreck of the British Empire.”<sup>14</sup> Missing from this was, to be sure, any actual analysis of the Spanish intervention: how it drained British resources away from the colonial front; the psychological effects of the loss of Pensacola, Mobile, and other Gulf posts; and, via Gálvez’s securing of New Orleans, the blocking of British entry via the Mississippi into the backcountry.<sup>15</sup>

In this context, Lodge’s noncirculation of images of Gálvez and the Gulf—his divergence from Ponce and Godefroy’s approach—begins to look less simple, particularly if one considers *The Story of the Revolution* as not only an assortment of individual images with meanings and individual histories of circulation, but also a compendium whose collective form could be marshaled to impart its own lessons.

Some of these lessons surrounded the authority of the work. Consider the volume’s tendency toward visual overkill in, for instance, the sheer number of images it presented (over one hundred), its extension of visual representation to fairly obscure (but American) sites and combatants, and its inclusion of numerous multiviews—images of the same site from different perspectives, or portraits of the same figure. All these visual tactics contributed to an overall argument about the work: that the visual account presented therein was comprehensive and thorough, and not selective or tendentious. Or consider the textual framing of the images—for example, the caption to the portrait of General John Sullivan: “From the original pencil-sketch made by John Trumbull, at Exeter, N. H., in 1790. Now published, for the first time, by the permission of his grandson, in whose possession the original now is.”<sup>16</sup> In this brief but ingenious caption, Lodge conveyed the provenance and authenticity of his sources and the superiority and depth of his own research—not to mention his personal links to descendants of Revolutionary figures. What this implied, again, was that nothing important could be missing from his account.

Beyond bolstering his authority, Lodge’s use of images taught more-subtle lessons about the nature of history, lessons that also arguably discouraged readers from thinking too deeply about what was missing from the album. Here, for instance, one might return to Lodge’s liberal inclusion of *memorials* to the Revolution—that is, public sculptures and other works created after the fact—among images depicting the Revolution’s contemporary people, places, and things: for example, maps and views of sites where important events took place, and facsimiles of



nk only of the firing at sun-  
 Lexington Green, and of  
 ight skirmish at the old  
 Bridge in Concord. We  
 one to forget that apart  
 these two dramatic points  
 was a good deal of severe  
 g during that memorable  
 A column of regular Eng-  
 ops, at first 800, then 1,800  
 , had marched out to Con-  
 nd Lexington, and back to  
 n, and had met some hun-  
 of irregular soldiers, at best  
 . They retreated before  
 Minute Men for miles, and  
 d Boston in a state not far  
 ed from rout and panic.  
 inning fight had not been  
 play by any means. The  
 cans lost 88 men killed  
 ounded; the British 247,  
 s 26 missing or prisoners.  
 were serious figures. Evi-  
 the British officers, who in the morning of that  
 ought the Americans had neither courage nor res-



THE MINUTE MAN AT CON-  
 CORD BRIDGE.  
 (Daniel C. French, Sculptor.)

6  
 Ernest Peixotto, "The  
 Minute Man at Concord  
 Bridge. (Daniel C.  
 French, Sculptor.)"  
 from Lodge, *Story of  
 the Revolution*, 1:51.

documents such as Burgoyne's Articles of Capitulation "reproduced, by permission, from the original document in the collection of the New York Historical Society." Some examples have been mentioned already: the fenced-and-tableted Cambridge elm, the marker commemorating where "Montgomery Fell," and Peixotto's engraving after French's *Minute Man*—an image that, with its discontinuous frame and blanked inscription, visually blurred the distinction between archival records and new images of monuments (fig. 6). These are only a few examples, however, as *The Story of the Revolution* contained many other renderings of memorials—for instance, the unsigned "A Glimpse of Bunker Hill Monument from Copps Hill Cemetery," "Monument Avenue, Bennington, at the Present Time," and another monument to Montgomery: Peixotto's "The Monument to Montgomery, St. Paul's Church, New York City." This conflation of memorialization and history—facilitated, in the decades leading up

to Lodge's book, by the proliferation of historical commemoration—inculcated a tautological view of history in which what is important is that which has been memorialized (and in which, as a corollary, things that have not been memorialized are unimportant or irrelevant). And, to be sure, in creating this conflated American commemoration history, Lodge did not stop with the publication of the book but went on to participate directly in the further proliferation and circulation of new monuments to the Revolution.<sup>17</sup>

### **Toward Empire**

If nothing else, a comparison between Lodge's *Story of the Revolution* and Ponce and Godefroy's *Collection of Engravings* shows the profound divergence between two visualizations of the Revolution that, although interpreting the same conflict, were separated by time and space. However, there was much more at stake than interpretation alone in Lodge's account. After all, Lodge was not just an influential historian of the Revolution: he was also one of the architects of the Spanish-American War, as well as a leading advocate of the US "retention" of the Philippines, which was ultimately effected through conquest in the Philippine-American War. Indeed, Lodge himself explicitly invited readers to link the American Revolution to the Spanish-American War. He dedicated *The Story of the Revolution* "to the Army and Navy of the United States, Victors of Manila, Santiago and Porto Rico, Worthy Successors of the Soldiers and Sailors Who under the Lead of George Washington Won American Independence." And, in his summary section on the legacies of the War of Independence—the "coming of a new force into the western world of Europe and America"—he wrote,

*Italy broke away from Austria and gained her national unity; representative systems with more or less power came into being in every European country, except Russia and Turkey; the wretched little tyrants of the petty states of Germany and Italy, the oppressive temporal government of the Pope, have all been swept out of existence, and given place to a larger national life and to a recognition more or less complete of the power and rights of the people. Even to-day, in obedience to the same law, the colonial despotism of Spain has perished from the face of the earth because it was a hideous anachronism.*<sup>18</sup>

Thus, in Lodge's formulation, these two events were not only linked but linked in a particular way.

Lodge would have had good reason to want to control the interpretation of the American Revolution, the US interventions that began in 1898, and the relationships between them—and, in particular, to “uncirculate” both the interpretation of the War of Independence as one among many interimperial wars and the view of Spain as a power whose intervention had contributed to the successful achievement of US independence. After all, if the two moments were parallel instances of interimperial war, and if in the latter instance the United States (alongside Spain's rebellious colonial subjects) was fighting the empire of Spain, then that might make the United States an empire (rather than the keeper of a mysterious power of teleology). And if Lodge did not appoint the “Army and Navy of the United States” as Washington's successors, then it was possible that, for example, the Filipinos who waged revolution against Spain to obtain independence might be able to claim that position of descent—and, like the American revolutionaries before them, to obtain recognition as an independent state. Indeed, if we disregard Lodge's guidance, it is possible to map unfolding events in the Philippines onto the War of Independence in a very different way than he did: that is, to imagine an American Revolution in which Spain (or perhaps both the Bourbon powers) intervened in the War of Independence and helped defeat their shared enemy Britain, but then followed that intervention by occupying the thirteen colonies, negotiating a treaty with Britain to grant legal standing to the occupation, and fighting a second war against the revolutionaries in order to keep their new imperial territories.

### **A History of Forgetting**

Lodge's *Story of the Revolution* thus provides a stark example of the rejection—the uncirculation—of Ponce and Godefroy's global, interimperial version of the War of Independence. And because of Lodge's joint role as a maker of illustrated history and a maker of US empire, it also provides a sharp reminder of the relationship between the uncirculation of histories that are no longer useful and the substitution of different historical “stories” more suited to contemporary political needs—most pressingly in this case, the need for unambiguous enmity toward Spain. Yet, to be sure, Lodge's *Story of the Revolution* was published more than a century after Ponce and Godefroy's album—and might, as such, be interpreted as uniquely the product of the jingoistic 1890s. Thus, it is necessary to turn back to that intervening



century, in order to gauge whether that is the case, or whether Lodge's *Story of the Revolution* is embedded within a larger process of forgetting or uncirculation.

To consider this question, it is necessary to return to the relationship between how Ponce and Godefroy represented the American Revolution and how Americans presented it in images, objects, exhibitions, and the like. There were, to be sure, some points of intersection. For example, from the war's end onward, Americans produced countless images and objects of Franklin and Washington. Furthermore, Lafayette clearly enchanted American painters and sculptors nearly as much: in the Smithsonian American Art Museum's Art Inventories Catalog, there are 86 entries for "Portrait male—Lafayette, Marquis de"; 55 for "Portrait male—Lafayette, Marquis de—Bust"; 50 for "Portrait male—Lafayette, Marquis de—Full length"; and 5 each for head, profile, and waist-length portraits. Moreover, both in the case of the American founders and in the case of Lafayette, the proliferation of paintings and sculptures was accompanied by the production and circulation of prints, medallions and/or coins, and other circulating forms that multiplied their presence within American visual culture. Further, the striking of such multiples intersected with memorialization: for example, the Lafayette medal made to commemorate the unveiling of a centennial statue of him in New York in 1876.

As clearly, however, American image and object makers departed from Ponce and Godefroy on the subject of Spain and Gálvez. The Smithsonian art inventory (which, like all inventories, is subject to omissions, but which is probably the most comprehensive inventory available) only lists a handful of images of Gálvez, all of which were made in the late twentieth century, and all but one of which were made in 1976 or thereafter, in the context of another period of centennial commemoration with different political imperatives. Moreover, the process of multiplication via numismatics that attended images and objects of Lafayette and various American revolutionaries did not take place in Gálvez's case. Indeed, even the name of Gálvez is absent as a visual and material presence in places where we might reasonably expect it—for example, Benjamin Franklin French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (1869). In a typical appeal to historical veracity through the use of images of "original" sources, this volume began with a "facsimile of original autographs of the French and Spanish governors of Louisiana" from de la Salle to the Baron de Carondelet. However, this list of signatures proceeded directly from Alejandro

O'Reilly to Carondelet—excising Gálvez as well as his successor, Estevan Miró, who was also involved in Gálvez's campaigns in the Gulf. Across a range of media, then, it would appear that Gálvez, and, perhaps, Spain as a cobelligerent whose intervention helped secure American independence, was not only uncirculated but, in a sense, “disappeared” from the historical record.<sup>19</sup>

This excision of Spain as a Revolutionary cobelligerent carried forward into the 1890s, as may be seen in a work that is generally not thought of in visual or material-cultural terms: *The Influence of Sea Power on History*, published in 1890 by Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840–1914), one of Theodore Roosevelt's most important mentors. At first glance, Mahan appears to present a radically different vision of history than Lodge. Unlike Lodge, Mahan dwelled extensively on the Seven Years' War and emphasized its global aspects. Moreover, and quite strikingly, Mahan also cast the Revolution, as Ponce and Godefroy did, as a global war. As such, he analyzed actions off the coasts of India and the Cape Verde islands and in the Caribbean, as well as in the thirteen colonies, sustaining such analysis through the extensive employment of diagrams of fleet actions. Nonetheless, Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power* does foreshadow Lodge's *Story of the Revolution* in one important respect. In the section dealing with the Revolution, Mahan included something like a dozen images—an inclusion that not only lent credence to his analysis of the outcome of particular battles, but also bolstered his overall interpretative scheme in much the same way that Lodge's visual overkill enhanced his historical authority. Not one of these images depicted actions involving Spain, even though Mahan could have visualized events such as the action of August 9, 1780 (in which Spanish Admiral Luis de Córdova y Córdova and his French allies captured a British convoy in the Atlantic, leaving the British with £1.5 million in losses); those depicted by Ponce and Godefroy, such as the taking of Pensacola or the Spanish-French recapture of Minorca; or, for that matter, the failed Spanish invasion of Gibraltar, which drained Britain of ships, personnel, and resources (and which, in the guise of British victory, was the subject of John Singleton Copley's monumental *Defeat of the Floating Batteries at Gibraltar, September 1782* [1791]).<sup>20</sup> Instead, Mahan chose to display only instances of Anglo-French combat such as “Keppel off Ushant July 27, 1778” and “D'Estaing and Byron July 1, 1779.” Moreover, the index to *The Influence of Sea Power*, like French's frontispiece and index, excised Gálvez as well as the geographic keywords to Spanish cobelligerency such as “Pensacola” and “Mobile.”<sup>21</sup>



# EXHIBITION OF ARMS AND TROPHIES,

IN BEHALF OF THE

## Metropolitan Fair.

IN AID OF THE UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION.

To Open March 28th, 1864.

The people of the United States know well the object for which a Metropolitan Fair is to be held in this city.

The Sanitary Commission, in aid of which the Fair is undertaken, is the representative of the organized devotion of the American people, of every age, and sex and class, to the comfort and care of the brave men who stand between the nation and its enemies. Gathering up and blending into harmonious being the countless scattered elements of kindred love and common charity, with "bounty boundless as the sea, and love as deep," the Commission stands one of the noblest evidences of the civilization of the country—a consolation in the midst of war. Through the smoke of battle, and by the pale watch-fire of the camp, its form may be seen stooping to give its healing care to the sick and the wounded, or to whisper in the ear of the dying soldier the last earthly comfort.

To add to the interest of the Fair, the Managers have resolved to combine exhibition with sale, and to attract visitors by the display of a variety of objects.

This Committee propose to carry out this double purpose.

1st. By obtaining arms and trophies of war from States, corporations, and individuals; and relics of American wars, from the early struggles of the Colonies to the present time; whatever may recall the memory of the war with the Indians, or the old French war, when England and France fought out on American soil their ancient struggle; whatever precious relics of the Revolution, in which our Fathers won for us our liberties, and ushered into being the nation whose life we now defend; whatever remain of the trophies well-earned by land and sea in the contest of 1812; whatever won in that later war with Mexico, under the hero whose form is a living trophy, will be welcomed.

Banners which have floated proudly over citadel and fort, carried by victorious hands, or stripped from the hand of the enemy; flags stained with heroic blood, whose fading lustre is lighted up by the bright light of fame; ensigns which have waved victory from the mast-head of gallant ships-of-war—all will be welcomed, and amid the more practical contributions, will draw the mind to a contemplation of the guerdon for which the true soldier fights—the glory and defence of his country. Medals voted by Congress, or by States; early and celebrated commissions; swords won in action; presentation swords, and arms of every kind, from the crowned and garlanded cannon of Louis XIV, to the plain Dahlgren and Parrott, which frown on modern battlements; and from the tomahawk of the Indian to the broken musket from the last battle-field, will have their appropriate place.

All such articles will be cared for, guarded with watchful eye, and promptly returned to their owners.

2d. It is proposed to gather from the friends of those gallant and devoted men who have laid down their lives in this holy war, such personal relics as they may be willing to unveil to the sympathizing interest of the world. Exposed together, and as a tribute of respect to the dead, these touching evidences of individual patriotism will make an interesting feature in the Exhibition.

3d. The patriotic public are requested to send in to this Committee such articles of the above named nature as they may be able to control, for sale, as well as for exhibition.

Dealers in arms are especially invited to contribute largely of their stock for sale, for the benefit of the Fair, and to none does the Committee apply with more hope, than to those whose fortune it has been to profit by the sale of implements of war.

Every object of interest, no matter how trifling, which the soldiers in the field may send, will be received and cared for.

Donations in money may be sent to any of the Committee, and receipts will be returned by the Treasurer of the General Committee in the name of the Committee on Arms, Trophies, &c.

All packages sent to WILLIAM T. BLODGETT, Chairman of the Committee, No. 2 Great Jones Street, by any of the Express Companies in the United States, will be free of charge.

A special committee on SPORTING MATERIAL is connected with this Department, of which Mr. DWIGHT TOWNSEND is Chairman.

### COMMITTEE.

MES. GEORGE B. McCLELLAN,	MES. C. M. KIRKLAND,	
" JOHN C. FREMONT.	" A. BAIRD.	
MES. JOHN PAINE, CHAIRMEN.	MISS CARRIE P. DUNN, SECRETARY.	
GEN'L CHARLES C. DODGE.	Col. J. FRED PIERSON.	WILLIAM KEMBLE.
" ROBERT S. VIELE.	" D. T. VAN BUREN.	BURE W. GRISWOLD.
COL. ELLIOTT F. SHEPARD.	CAPT. JOHN ERICSSON.	SMITH ELY, JR.
" GEORGE BLISS, JR.	" JAS. K. GOULD.	DWIGHT TOWNSEND.
" STEWART L. WOODFORD,	JOHN A. C. GRAY.	J. BUTLER WRIGHT.
WILLIAM T. BLODGETT, CHAIRMAN.	JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, JR. SECRETARY.	

### Participatory Circulation

Another way of making this absence present, and hopefully for getting from the Revolution to Lodge's era of imperial conquest, is to turn to another process: American uses of circulation to articulate conflicts across time. It is well known that some American painters joined the Revolution to subsequent conflicts—an example is Richard Caton Woodville's *Old '76 and Young '48* (1849), linking the Revolution to the Mexican-American War—and that such works circulated as prints (in this case, in Joseph Ives Pease's print after Woodville [1851]).<sup>22</sup> But, just as important, during periods of conflict, Americans also explored other methodologies for circulating imagined linkages between those conflicts and the Revolution. One important example from the Civil War is the exhibitions of conflict objects and/or art undertaken under the auspices of the national and regional Sanitary Commissions—for instance, the US Sanitary Commission's New York Metropolitan Fair and the North-Western Sanitary Commission and Soldiers' Home Fair in Chicago. These exhibitions are noteworthy for their multivalent and participatory approach to circulation: for instance, one of the ways in which they obtained objects to display was to circulate broadsheets among the public soliciting donations of privately held objects. The 1864 broadsheet circulated in advance of the "Exhibition of Arms and Trophies, in Behalf of the Metropolitan Fair" (fig. 7), for example, implored citizens to lend "whatever precious relics of the Revolution, in which our Fathers won for us our liberties, and ushered into being the nation whose life we now defend" as well as "whatever remain of the trophies well-earned by land and sea in the contest of 1812; whatever won in that later war with Mexico, under the hero whose form is a living trophy." These objects of the Revolution and empire would then be joined to objects from the ongoing conflict, as the organizers "proposed to gather from the friends of those gallant and devoted men who have laid down their lives in this holy war, such personal relics as they may be willing to unveil to the sympathizing interest of the world"—to be put on display at exhibition, but also to be recirculated in exhibition catalogues and the like.

As the broadsheet suggests, while this process was participatory, it was also exclusive: for example, the Revolutionary objects it solicited did not include "relics" of the broader interimperial war—only those pertaining to "the nation whose life we now defend." Moreover, in the displays that were created—and the circulating catalogues made after them—Spain and Gálvez were featured only by their absence. For instance, the New York Metropolitan Fair's *Catalogue of the Museum*

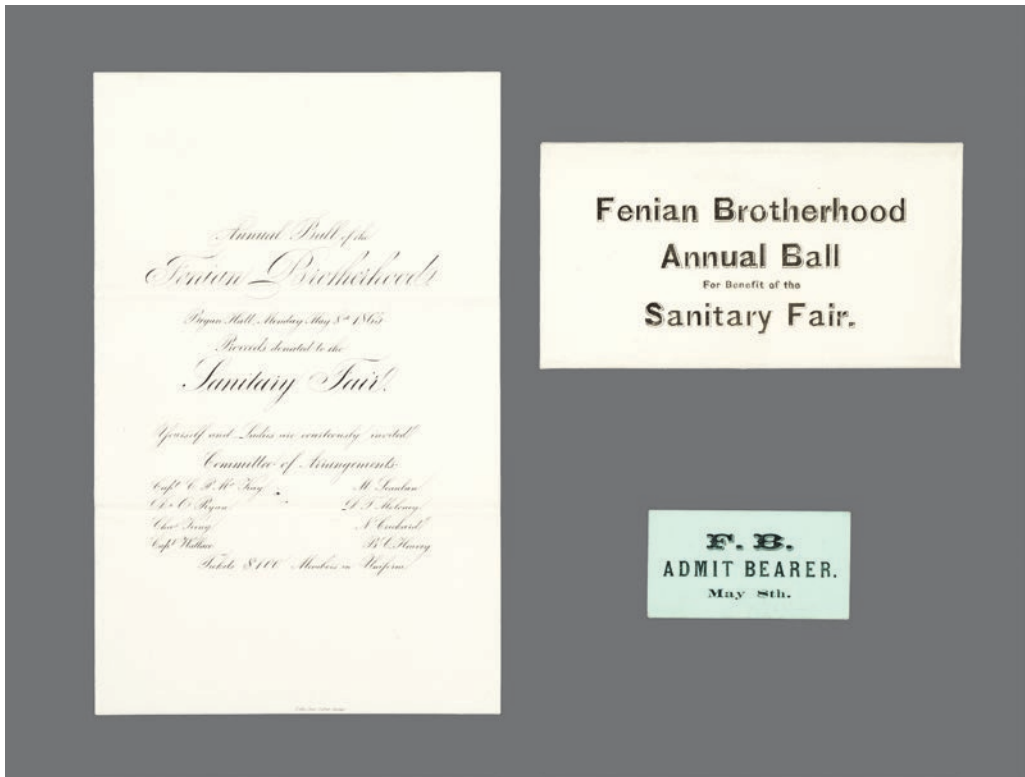
7  
Broadsheet advertising for the "Exhibition of Arms and Trophies, in Behalf of the Metropolitan Fair," 1864. John Shaw Pierson Civil War Collection, Box 1, Folder 6, Rare Book Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, New Jersey, (W) 2015-0082F.



of *Flags, Trophies and Relics* (1864) contained both “relics” belonging to friends (e.g., the “Camp Kettle used by Lafayette”) and “trophies” pertaining to enemies (such as the “bowie knife from a rebel mail carrier” and “Santa Anna’s Sash”), but it had absolutely nothing attending to the more ambivalent Gálvez or Spain.<sup>23</sup>

The act of not soliciting and not circulating Spanish “relics” in Civil War exhibitions severed the potential links between Spain’s intervention in the American Revolution and subsequent US history, and arguably facilitated the US march to war with Spain in 1898. But the proposal of a mystical connection, through conflict objects, between the Revolution and future US wars—and the proposal of that connection through a participatory form of circulation that encouraged potential viewers to contribute their own objects—also contributed to broader changes in US political culture. An example is the forging of a pro-war consensus that included not only the native-born but also heterogeneous immigrant and religious communities who had an uneasy relation to the US state, perhaps exemplified by the endorsement, in the controversial 1900 election, of William McKinley

8  
 Invitation, card, and  
 ticket for the 1865  
 Fenian Brotherhood  
 Annual Ball, with  
 proceeds to be donated  
 to the Sanitary Fair.  
 John Shaw Pierson Civil  
 War Collection, Box 1,  
 Folder 8, Rare Book  
 Division, Department of  
 Rare Books and Special  
 Collections, Princeton  
 University Library, New  
 Jersey, (W) 2015-0082F.



and the conquest of the Philippines by the prominent Irish-American and Catholic bishop of St. Paul, John Ireland (himself a former Union chaplain). Although better known for other reasons, one of the sanitary fairs' clear objectives was to enlist support for the Union cause among these politically unwieldy parts of the US population. The organizers of Chicago's North-Western Sanitary Commission and Soldiers' Home Fair, for instance, explicitly approached Catholics, sending a targeted broadsheet appeal for needlework, books, and relics that featured twinned images of the Virgin Mary and the shield and fasces of the Sanitary Commission. They also appealed to Irish immigrants, whose ambivalence about the Civil War was, infamously, expressed in the New York City draft riots of 1863. Such efforts appear to have worked: in 1865, even the nationalist Fenian Brotherhood donated the proceeds of its annual ball to the Sanitary Fair (fig. 8).

If the circulation of an articulated history of war joined heterogeneous US constituencies, however, it also fueled the making of negative political distinctions. As is suggested by the foregoing discussion, the makers of the sanitary fairs mapped the objects they displayed onto the polities that had participated in US conflicts, marking out allies from enemies—and, just as important, categorizing different *kinds* of polities and combatants. Most obviously, conflict objects circulated in this way reinforced the sense that the United States was a legitimate polity whose wars were “holy.” But they also reinforced the tendency to see enemies of the United States as unlawful and illegitimate—rebels, guerrillas, pirates. Such distinctions would be crucial to American empire during the conquest of the Philippines, allowing the United States to define resistance to US rule not as a legitimate “revolution” (or, for that matter, as the action of a functioning, if unrecognized, state) but as an illegitimate “insurgency”—and, in 1902, to redefine those who continued to resist as criminal “bandits.”<sup>24</sup>

### **Moderate in Their Vengeance**

Up to now, this essay has explored one way in which American makers of Revolutionary images “uncirculated” Ponce and Godefroy's depiction of the Revolution: their excision of Spanish cobelligerency from the visual and material record. This visual “uncirculation,” I have argued, and the substitution of a “story of the Revolution” that emphasized Spanish perfidy intersected substantively with the growth of American empire in the 1890s. Yet, as has been noted, other aspects of Ponce and Godefroy's version of the American Revolution are also at odds with the canon of highly circulated US images. An important

example, mentioned at the start of the essay, is Godefroy's scene from Boston, "John Malcom"—whose subject, like Gálvez and Pensacola, appears neither as image nor as index entry in Lodge's *Story of the Revolution*, despite the superfluity of images and of Massachusetts scenes in the book.

Thus, to continue the analysis of uncirculation—and the relationship of uncirculation as a visual and material practice to the creation of history—in this section I turn to "John Malcom," looking first at how Godefroy treated this subject, and then exploring how that treatment related to the views from London and the United States. The aim of such comparisons is to examine not only the way that makers of Revolutionary images circulated (or "uncirculated") the particular subject of the image—the punishment of a customs official—but also its more general theme: revolutionary violence.

Regarding "John Malcom," it may be said that one of the most striking aspects of the print is its ambivalence, even unease (fig. 9). On the one hand, it aims to explain and to exculpate the event: its long accompanying text not only accounts for the "Origin of the American Revolution" but also praises the Bostonians for being "moderate even in their vengeance" by not killing Malcom. Yet, on the other hand, it is also, unmistakably, an image of bodily suffering. Malcom, to whom the viewer's eye is immediately drawn both because of his white, voluminous frilled shirt and because he is at the apex of a writhing triangle of assailants, has been tied up: his hands are bound behind him, and a rope has been looped across his chest. Objects in the scene indicate the narrative that is unfolding: the figure to his left, whose reaching arm forms the left side of the triangle, is about to dip his ladle into a bucket of tar that has been set on the boil. This figure and the other assailants stand on a hay cart, harnessed to a horse, which may be pulled out from under Malcom at any moment, leaving him to dangle from the window above.

Godefroy's treatment of the scene also conveys a disturbing sense of the physical strain of upward and downward force on Malcom's body: the rope cuts upward into the volume of his shirt, even as the hands of the man to his right pull Malcom's body and his hosiery downward with a firm hand on Malcom's buttocks and ankle. This up-down, push-pull motion is further echoed in the smaller triangle of by-standing Boston gentry to the right, as one of the ladies grips a parasol ballooned by an otherwise unnoticeable breeze. Here, the ladies watch and the gentleman points, but only the child makes a gesture that could be interpreted as one of resistance or supplication.

9  
François Godefroy,  
"John Malcom," from  
*Recueil d'estampes* . . .  
(Paris, ca. 1783–1784).  
Etching and engraving,  
7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (19.2 ×  
22.1 cm). Rare Book  
Division, Department  
of Rare Books and  
Special Collections,  
Princeton University  
Library, New Jersey,  
(Ex) 1081.752.



**JOHN MALCOM.**

Le 25 Janvier 1774 la populace irritée pénétra sans armes dans sa maison. Il blessa plusieurs personnes à coups d'épée; mais les Bostoniens, modérés jusques dans leur vengeance, le retirèrent, le descendirent par la fenêtre dans une charrette; ensuite il fut dépoilé, goulonné, enflamé, mené sur la place publique, battu de verges, et obligé de remercier de ce qu'on ne le punissait point de mort; puis on le ramena chez lui sans autre mal.

**ORIGINE DE LA REVOLUTION AMERICAINE.**

Les Provinces de la Nouvelle Angleterre jouissaient du droit de s'imposer elles-mêmes dans leurs assemblés; les officiers du gouvernement et les juges étaient nommés par le roi, mais aux pannes du peuple. L'Angleterre éprouvant des besoins de finances, et voulant les faire partager aux Américains, fit paraître un bill le 4 avril 1764, à l'effet de les taxer, au mépris des chartres sur la foi desquelles les émigrants de l'ancien monde s'étaient établis dans le nouveau. Cette démarche était d'autant plus inconsidérée, que pendant la guerre précédente, le ministère envoyant chaque année un mémoire des besoins publics à ses colonies, et la réalité de ces besoins étant discutée dans leurs assemblés, les secours d'hommes et d'argent surpasseient toujours ce qu'on attendait de leurs facultés. C'est ce dont les actes de la Chambre des communes sont foi; ils rendent aussi témoignage que les succès de cette guerre dont l'Angleterre se glorifie, sont dus presque tous au zèle et à la force de ses colonies.

Après de longs débats, l'Angleterre, y échauffé des douanes le 29 juin 1767 pour faire exécuter des prohibitions de commerce sur l'inspection de commissaires nommés et gagés par le roi. Partout on s'opposait à l'exercice de leurs fonctions, et le 18 mai 1770 la populace de Boston arrêta un commis pour avoir saisi un petit bâtiment sous prétexte de contrebande; elle le dépouilla, et l'ayant barbouillé de goulron et couvert de plumes, le promena par la ville. John Malcom, officier des douanes, fut traité de même en 1773 pour le même motif; mais on eut le ménagement de ne le point dépouiller. Ce fut médiocrement avant que le roi et le parlement le renvoyèrent banni de cette canaille, la multitude attendit qu'il lui feroit l'occasion de le punir avec plus de sévérité; ce qui arriva le 25 janvier 1774.

A Paris chez M. Coligny rue des Prêtres-Saint-Jacques, Paris, M. Michel.  
Et chez M. Ponce, rue d'Harvillan, N° 101, A. P. D. R.





As such, Godefroy's image differed from the London images in significant respects. These images lacked Godefroy's exculpatory textual gloss—and indeed reminded viewers of the Bostonians' other outrages with, in “The Bostonian’s [sic] Paying the Excise-Man, or Tarring & Feathering” (1774), the inclusion of a background scene of the Boston Tea Party and a sheet marked “Stamp Act” tacked upside down to a tree helpfully marked “Liberty Tree” (fig. 10). Moreover, the London images also treated the perpetrators of Malcom’s punishment differently than Godefroy. Although both Godefroy and the London image makers’ figures are undertaking mob action, in Godefroy’s case they are differentiated by gender, age, face, and dress (the crowd includes both well-coiffed ladies and gentlemen with ruffled cuffs, as well as the banded-cuffed craftsmen who actually do the job). In contrast, Sayer’s Bostonians lack such individuality or complexity. Rather, they are sneering, flattened ghouls with lank, unkempt hair and strange peasant dress—demons, rather than men and women. And, in a further important contrast, the London prints focus on later moments in the narrative than Godefroy. In Bowles’s “A New Method of Macarony Making, as practised at Boston in North America” (1774), the moment depicted is the point at which Malcom already has been tarred and feathered

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"The Bostonian's [*sic*]  
Paying the Excise-  
Man, or Tarring &  
Feathering" (London,  
printed for Robert  
Sayer & J. Bennett, 1774).  
Mezzotint, 13  $\frac{3}{4}$  ×  
9  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (35 × 25 cm).  
British Museum,  
London, 2010.7081.851.

11

"A New Method of  
Macaroni Making,  
as practiced at Boston  
in North America"  
(London, printed for  
Carington Bowles, 1774).  
Mezzotint, 6 × 4  $\frac{7}{16}$  in.  
(15.2 × 11.3 cm). British  
Museum, London, J.5.67.

and partially hanged, and is about to be force-fed from a giant teapot; and in the Sayer image, it is the moment in which the Bostonians torture the rigid, praying Malcom by drowning him with tea beneath a "Liberty Tree" draped with a hangman's noose (fig. 11). As such, the London images lack the ambivalence of Godefroy's.

Nonetheless, there are points of intersection between Godefroy's image and the London prints. For example, the Sayer and Godefroy prints are interconnected iconographically by the tar pot and ladle to the lower left of both images; and compositionally, they are both marked by the push-pull dynamic discussed above. Indeed, in the Sayer print, Malcom is leaning backward, balanced on one knee, with only the leg of one of the Bostonians to hold his upper body, but he still appears to be springing upward: two colonists' hands visibly restrain his shoulder and head, and another grasps the rope still attached to his neck.

How, then, does Godefroy's "John Malcom" relate to American visual articulations of the Revolution, and particularly of revolutionary violence? Here, it is difficult to make a direct comparison, insofar as American image makers—and not just Lodge—appear to have studiously avoided both the punishment of Malcom and the more general theme addressed by the Malcom imagery: unregulated, nonbattlefield revolutionary violence perpetrated on living British bodies. Again in contrast to Lafayette, the Art Inventories Catalog has no entries for John Malcom or for works of art locatable by keywords such as "tarring and feathering," "excise-man," or similar. In fact, it appears that American artists did not take up this theme until the 1830s, when the humorist, actor, and controversialist David Claypoole Johnston (1798–1865) made lithographs after both the Sayers and the Bowles mezzotints in Boston in 1830; and Johnston's efforts do not seem to have been further emulated by later US artists. Indeed, the only early nineteenth-century American "image" of this particular form of revolutionary violence that might be seen to have had a long-term purchase on the American imagination was the literary image created by Nathaniel Hawthorne, in the same decade as Johnston's prints, in his harrowing and deeply ambivalent short story "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" (1831).

If American artists avoided the iconography of the noose, the tar bucket, and the suffering British body, what, then, to make of this absence? Or, to put it another way, how might we interpret prints and paintings that were never made and never circulated? One possibility is to contextualize the nonmaking, and noncirculation, of images of this particular *kind* of revolutionary violence—again, unregulated,

nonbattlefield American violence perpetrated on a living British body—within the broader depiction of revolutionary violence. That is to say, was American reticence toward the depiction of John Malcom’s punishment indicative of a broader reluctance to portray and circulate images of violence? And if US makers of Revolutionary images did depict, and broadly circulate, images representing *other* kinds of revolutionary violence—may it be inferred that the selective representation of violence is significant?

A first step here is to identify other kinds of revolutionary violence. Perhaps most obviously, these include the violence used by British troops against Americans—for example, in the Boston Massacre. But revolutionary violence also included American violence that was directed not against living Britons but rather toward images of Britons, and particularly against the image of the most important body in the British Empire, that of the king. As Brendan McConville argues—and as the recent work of Wendy Bellion explores—American revolutionary iconoclasm took many forms, including the pulling down, inverting, beheading, and defacing of images of George III. Moreover, as with the Boston Massacre and the punishment of John Malcom, representations of revolutionary iconoclasm generally centered on a single event: the destruction of the gilded lead equestrian sculpture of George III on New York’s Bowling Green in 1776.<sup>25</sup>

What, then, about the visual afterlives of these three events? In the first case, it is obvious that the circulation of images of British violence eclipsed those of American violence. Beyond even the reiteration of Revere’s print, the Boston Massacre is painted into the very fabric of the Capitol Building, has been cast in bronze, and has produced its own spin-off series in the form of images of victim/hero Crispus Attucks.<sup>26</sup>

Revolutionary political iconoclasm also experienced a robust, circulating afterlife. As in the case of the punishment of Malcom, the first visual reiterations of the destruction of the statue of George III, as Arthur S. Marks argues, came from European critics of American mob violence—in this case, Franz Xavier Habermann’s image published in Augsburg in 1776. However, the subsequent history of iconoclasm images was to take a different turn. While the attack on the living Malcom was only partially rehabilitated by Godefroy as an example of American moderation “even in their vengeance,” the attack on the sculptural king was transformed by American image makers and circulators into an act of revolutionary

glory and national celebration. And while the punishment of Malcom attracted few Americans willing to magnify the event by reiterating it, the destruction of the royal statue spawned so many reiterations that the act of reiteration outstripped the event itself. Thus, in a sense, the visual history of American revolutionary iconoclasm paralleled at least one prior moment of political iconoclasm: the English Civil War, when, as Julie Spraggon argues, iconoclasts not only destroyed images and objects pertaining to the old regime but also created circulating visual memorials to that spoliation. “In suppressing a traditional ideology,” she writes, “whether religious or political, papal or monarchical—it was not enough merely to remove from sight the objects which defined that ideology, but they must also be *seen* to be *destroyed*.”<sup>27</sup>

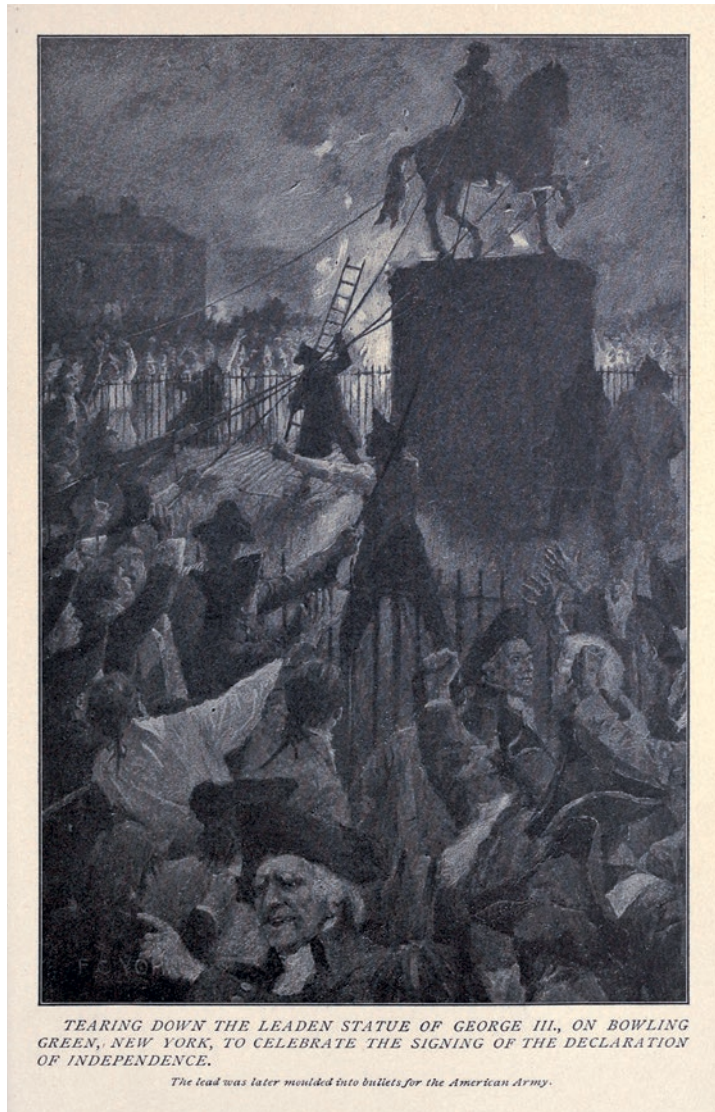
The history of the recirculation of the destruction of the statue of George III cannot be fully recounted here, but consider the following: in the early part of the nineteenth century, American prints of the event were circulated sufficiently widely that, in the 1830s, the travel writer John Lloyd Stephens wrote of seeing one in a tavern in Russia. This was followed by the making of paintings including William Walcutt’s *Destruction of the Statue of George III by New York Patriots* (1854) and *Pulling Down the Statue of George III* (n.d.), and Johannes Adam Simon Oertel’s *Pulling Down the Statue of King George III, New York City* (1859).<sup>28</sup> Such visual efforts were also accompanied by the creation of texts recounting and memorializing the iconoclasm—for example, Benson J. Lossing’s best-selling *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (1855). In turn, nineteenth-century paintings of the event themselves generated further circulating images. For example, the New York printmaker John C. McRae based his engraving “Pulling Down the Statue of George III by the ‘Sons of Freedom,’ at the Bowling Green, City of New York, July 1776” (ca. 1875) on Oertel’s painting. Moreover, by this time—the 1870s—the circulation of revolutionary iconoclasm became enmeshed within the memorializing practices that attended the centennial, in that it was one of three “’76” prints McRae produced, the others being “‘Raising the Liberty Pole,’ 1776” (1876) and “‘The Day We Celebrate’” (1875)—the latter made after a painting by F. A. Chapman and presented at the 1876 Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, these three prints may be viewed as a narrative triptych of US history from the Revolution to the centennial, beginning with the ritualistic destruction of George III and ending with contemporary Americans, in contemporary dress, performing the rituals of the Fourth of July.<sup>30</sup>



By the end of the century, this association between iconoclasm and celebration had become normal, even casual, as may be seen by returning, finally, to Lodge's *Story of the Revolution* — which included its own iteration of the iconoclasm in Frederick Yohn's "Tearing Down the Leaden Statue of George III, on Bowling Green, New York, to Celebrate the Signing of the Declaration of Independence" (fig. 12). Yet despite the great deal of movement in the scene — fists pump, fingers waggle, heads turn — this is a curiously chaotic image whose movement does little to push events forward. The ropes attached to

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Frederick Coffay Yohn,  
"Tearing Down the  
Leaden Statue of  
George III., on Bowling  
Green, New York, to  
Celebrate the Signing of  
the Declaration of  
Independence," from  
Lodge, *Story of the  
Revolution*, 10:173.



the sculpture of the king are curiously slack, the figure in the foreground is not even watching, and while the grins and jeers of the crowd indicate that something naughty is being done to the British, there is little sense of danger or of real harm being inflicted.

As such, Yohn's treatment of "tearing down the leaden statue of George III" may be interpreted as a kind of neutralization of the violence of iconoclasm. Yet Lodge's representation of this type of violence—violence against *representations* of the British monarch—may also be related back to the kind of revolutionary violence Lodge declined to use in *The Story of the Revolution*: the punishment of Malcom and other *living* British bodies off the field of battle. Specifically, I contend that the prolific circulation of iconoclasm images enhanced or intensified the uncirculation of punishment images—and helped unmake a history of the Revolution in which such violence, and the iconography of the tar bucket, the scaffold, and the waterspout, could be easily visualized and remembered. Moreover, I argue that such uncirculation had consequences not only for how Revolutionary history was constructed but also for how US imperial war would be visualized: hence, when the visual traces of Malcom's Revolutionary drowning by tea reappeared in US photographs and prints of the "Water Cure" during the Philippine-American War, it is telling that these images staged this torture as a practice administered by Filipinos and learned in the era of Spanish rule—and not as an American practice with roots in the Revolution.<sup>31</sup>

### Conclusion

In the end, Brunet's provocative questions regarding the "noncirculations, absences, invisibilities, negations, and destructions" of images cannot be definitively answered: it will always be more difficult to establish a negative history than a positive one. With this in mind, this essay does not offer a definitive account of "uncirculation." Rather, I have pursued a more limited aim. This has been to provide a concrete example of his claim that, for every image, object, or archive that circulates, there are others that do not—and, further, to endorse the possibility that such uncirculated images, which might be thought of as the dark matter of American art, can tell us as much about the past as the images we can see.

- 1 Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," in *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 12.
- 2 I am thinking specifically of Kevin R. Muller's wide-ranging discussion of Jan Verelst's portraits of the four "Indian Kings." Muller amply demonstrates the centrality, even in the first decade of the eighteenth century, of transatlantic negotiation and circulation (including the circulation of the Iroquois "Kings" themselves) to painting *and* politics; also, and just as important, he demonstrates the ultimate inseparability between Verelst's paintings and the mezzotints after them that circulated "from Palace to Longhouse," performing the delicate work of diplomacy between the British Crown and the Iroquois Confederacy. Muller, "From Palace to Longhouse: Portraits of the Four Indian Kings in a Trans-Atlantic Context," *American Art* 22, 3 (Fall 2008): 26–49.
- 3 Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.
- 4 Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Story of the Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898).
- 5 Hence it is not surprising that the copy of *The Story of the Revolution* in the library of the University of California bears the bookplate of the historian H. Morse Stephens (one of the authors of the American Historical Association's 1899 *The Study of History in Schools* and, eventually, its president); and that the edition of the book in the Library of Congress belonged to Lodge's fellow friend of Theodore Roosevelt, the jurist Oliver Wendell Holmes. For the serialized version, see, for example, Henry Cabot Lodge, "The Story of the Revolution.—The Burgoyne Campaign and Its Results," *Scribner's Magazine* 23, 5 (May 1898): 551–71.
- 6 For the picture book, see *The Revolutionary Pictures Illustrating "The Story of the Revolution" by Henry Cabot Lodge* ([New York]: Scribner's Magazine, 1898); and for the exhibition, see *Catalogue of the Revolutionary Pictures . . . Illustrating the Story of the Revolution by Henry Cabot Lodge: And the American Navy in the Revolution by Captain A. T. Mahan* ([Chicago?]: Scribner's Magazine, 1898).
- 7 Lodge, *The Story of the Revolution*, 1:51, 31, 101.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 2:189, 1:8 (both Lee and Randolph).
- 9 *Ibid.*, 1:111, 107, 108, 119.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 1:89.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 1:9, 99, 147.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 1:267, 2:6.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 1:270–71. Lodge noted, "Russia refused troops to England and manifested a kindly interest in the new States. Holland, who had herself fought her way to freedom, and could not forget her kindred in the New World, not only refused to give troops to George III., but openly sympathized with the rebels, and later lent them money, for all which she was to suffer severely at the hands of England. The northern powers stood aloof and neutral. Austria sympathized slightly, but did nothing. . . . The Americans had at least succeeded in alienating Europe from England, which at that time seemed to enjoy her 'splendid isolation' less than she has professed to do in more recent days" (*ibid.*).
- 14 *Ibid.*, 2:6 ("distinctly hostile"), 125 ("corrupt, broken").
- 15 For discussion, see Carmen Reparaz, *Yo Solo: Bernardo de Gálvez y la toma de Panzacola en 1781* (Barcelona: Ediciones de Serbal; Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1986); and Jonathan R. Dull, "Mahan, Sea Power, and the War for American Independence," *International History Review* 10, 1 (Feb. 1988): 59–67.
- 16 Lodge, *The Story of the Revolution*, 1:17.
- 17 *A Record of the Dedication of the Monument on Dorchester Heights, South Boston Built by the Commonwealth as a Memorial of the Evacuation of Boston, March 17, 1776 by the British Troops* (Boston: Printed by the Order of the Governor and Council, Wright & Potter Printing Company, 1903).
- 18 Lodge, *The Story of the Revolution*, 2:226, 227–28.
- 19 B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (New York: J. Sabin & Sons, 1869), frontispiece (quotation).
- 20 *Copley's Defeat of the Floating Batteries at Gibraltar, September 1782* is in the collection of the Guildhall Art Gallery, London.

- 21 A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660–1783* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1890); C. Ernest Fayle, “Shipowning and Marine Insurance,” in *The Trade Winds: A Study of British Overseas Trade during the French Wars, 1793–1815*, ed. C. Northcote Parkinson (1948; repr., New York: Routledge, 2006), 25–48; Dull, “Mahan, Sea Power, and the War.”
- 22 Woodville’s *Old ‘76 and Young ‘48* is in the collection of The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and the Pease print is in the collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia.
- 23 Department of Arms and Trophies, Metropolitan Fair, *Catalogue of the Museum of Flags, Trophies and Relics Relating to the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Present Rebellion* (New York: Charles O. Jones, Stationer and Printer, 1864).
- 24 Certain US military historians still refuse to use the term “Philippine-American War” on the grounds that Philippine combatants did not have a legitimate state: see, for example, Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899–1902* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000). The passage of the “Brigandage Act,” or “Bandolerismo Statute,” is discussed in J. Zwick, “Mark Twain’s Anti-imperialist Writings in the ‘American Century,’” in *Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream, 1899–1999*, ed. Angel Velasco Shaw and Luis Francia (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 38–56.
- 25 Brendan McConville, *The King’s Three Faces: The Rise and Fall of Royal America, 1688–1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 295–99, 306–11. Wendy Bellion, “Rituals of Iconoclasm in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World” (lecture, Maynooth University, Feb. 26, 2015).
- 26 See, for example, Mitch Kachun, “From Forgotten Founder to Indispensable Icon: Crispus Attucks, Black Citizenship, and Collective Memory, 1770–1865,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 29, 2 (Summer 2009): 249–86.
- 27 Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm in the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2003), 81.
- 28 William Walcutt’s *Destruction of the Statue of George III by New York Patriots* is in the collection of Gilbert Darlington, Walcutt’s *Pulling Down the Statue of George III* is at Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, and Johannes Adam Simon Oertel’s *Pulling Down the Statue of King George III, New York City* is at the New-York Historical Society.
- 29 The McRae “‘76” prints are available at the Library of Congress.
- 30 Arthur S. Marks, “The Statue of King George III in New York and the Iconology of Regicide,” *American Art Journal* 13 (Summer 1981): 61–82; John Lloyd Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Greece, Turkey, Russia, and Poland*, 2 vols., 7th ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1839), 2:29, 33–34.
- 31 See, for example, “Macabebe Scouts ‘Water Curing’ a Tagalo Official,” *Deseret Evening News*, May 10, 1902.