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Exemplary Romans in the Early Republic

In September 1777, the British army captured Philadelphia, defeating George Washington's Continental Army. Through the long and difficult winter that followed, the demoralized troops camped out at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. The situation was dire and the physical discomforts the men endured during the winter were exhausting, as this excerpt from the diary of Albigence Waldo, a surgeon stationed at Valley Forge, makes vividly clear:

> December 14: I am Sick – discontented – and out of humour. Poor food – hard lodging – Cold Weather – fatigue – Nasty Cloaths – nasty Cookery – Vomit half my time – smoak'd out my senses – the Devil's in't – I can't Endure it – Why are we sent here to starve and Freeze – What sweet Felicities have I left at home; A charming Wife – pretty Children – Good Beds – good food – good Cookery – all aggreable – all harmonious. Here all Confusion – smoke and Cold – hunger and filthyness – A pox on my bad luck. There comes a bowl of beef soup – full of burnt leaves and dirt, sickish enough to make a Hector spue.[1]

By early May of 1778, the weather finally improved. After long months of training under the Prussian Baron von Steuben and as new recruits and supplies arrived the ragged insurgent force was transformed into a disciplined fighting unit. Seeking to rally his troops for the new season of campaigns, General George Washington requested a performance of Joseph Addison's 1713 play, *Cato*, confident in the tonic effect that Cato's clarion call to fight to the death for liberty would have on the army as it prepared to regroup and engage the British:

> So shall we gain still one day's liberty;
> And let me perish, but in Cato's judgment,
> A day, an hour, of virtuous liberty,
> Is worth a whole eternity in bondage.[2]

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Washington was not relying on novelty to invigorate his troops, nor was he an isolated commander out of touch with the tastes of his men. He was well aware that his fellow Americans defined themselves in relation not only to the British of the day, but also to the Romans of the past.

Cato was first performed in the American colonies in 1735 in Charleston, South Carolina, some twenty years after its opening performance in London.[3] Within a few decades, *Cato* had become the most popular play in pre-Revolutionary America.[4] Its theme of liberty opposing tyranny clearly struck a chord in the nascent republic. Addison had based his play on Plutarch's lives of Cato the Younger and Julius Caesar, texts well known in the American colonies.[5] According to Plutarch, Cato committed suicide in 46 BCE, unwilling to live in a world led by Caesar and refusing to grant Caesar the power to pardon him.[6] Addison's play focuses on the last days of Cato's life and his suicide in Utica. Part of the popular appeal of the plot lies in the intertwining of the fall of the Roman Republic with the two imaginary love stories of Cato's daughter, Marcia, with the Numidian prince Juba, and of Cato's son, Portius, with Lucia, daughter of the Roman senator Lucius. But the parallels between the desperate situation of Cato's men in the North African desert and the American army's trials during the winter of 1777 must have had special meaning for Washington and his men, who were living, not acting, the Republicans' fierce embrace of liberty (voiced below by the fervent Sempronius, unsuccessful suitor of Marcia):

> When liberty is gone,
> Life grows insipid, and has lost its relish.
> O could my dying hand but lodge a sword
> In Caesar's bosom, and revenge my country,
> By heavens I could enjoy the pangs of death,
> And smile in agony.[7]

Analogy with the virtuous Cato lifted the Revolutionary soldiers' struggle to a grand or mythic level, and out of the misery described by our surgeon.[8]

The exemplary qualities of the Roman tragedy were clear to Washington. Its hero, Cato, the charismatic Stoic who, almost from his death, was the very model of a patriotic hero, embodied the qualities most admired in eighteenth-century America: civic virtue, unselfish patriotism, and courage. Its antagonist, Julius Caesar, stood for their opposites: unchecked ambition and tyrannical oppression. "Dost thou love watchings, abstinence, and toil, / Laborious virtues all? Learn them from Cato; / Success and fortune must thou learn from Caesar."[9] Caesar was emblematic of tyranny, and resistance against tyranny even when hope of victory was gone, the central theme of Addison's play, resonated with Washington's army. His soldiers packed the playhouse to the doors.

At the time of the American Revolution, Caesar was popularly represented as a tyrant whose ruthless ambition brought down the Roman Republic. Colonists

invoked Caesar's political opponents Brutus, Cassius, Cato, and Cicero as heroes in their own struggle against the British monarchy. The colonists made these Roman liberators' struggle against Caesar analogous to their own struggle against the British crown, disparagingly referring to English government officials as "Caesars." In 1771, for example, John Adams drew this comparison of Massachusetts' new royal governor, Thomas Hutchinson: "Caesar, by destroying the Roman Republic, made himself a perpetual Dictator; Hutchinson, by countenancing and supporting a System of Corruption and Tyranny, has made himself Governor."[10] But, while Cato and his men were doomed to ultimate defeat, in the American context there was still the possibility of victory.[11] The new liberators could correct the course of history, overthrow the "tyranny" of the British, and establish an American republic that would be stronger and better than the Roman Republic.

The Founders embraced Enlightenment views of the inevitable historical cycle of the rise and fall of empires. John Adams believed that if America established a republic, America, like Rome, could rise to glory, grandeur, and empire: "Immortal Rome was at first but an insignificant Village, inhabited only by a few abandoned Ruffians, but by beginnings it rose to a stupendous Height, and excell'd in Arts and Arms all nations that preceded it," Adams wrote in 1755.[12] The unvarying cycle of imperial rise and decline suggested that America was on the rise; Adams pointed out that

> If we look into History we shall find some nations rising from contemptible beginnings, and spreading their influence, 'till the whole Globe is subjected to their sway. When they reach'd the summit of Grandeur, some minute and unsuspected Cause commonly effects their Ruin, and the Empire of the world is transferred to some other place.[13]

In European thought this had evolved into a commonplace presumption that the seat of empires had emerged first in the ancient Near East, before moving to Greece, Rome, and then Great Britain. Now, some Founding Fathers believed, it was America's turn to rule an empire. According to this view, the British Empire was in decline, undermined by wealth and decadence, but in America, as Adams put it, "it is the time of Ennius with us."[14] Furthermore, Enlightenment views that humanity had embarked on an unprecedented march of progress freed from the superstitions and traditions of past ages suggested that a new American republic could match and even surpass the glories of Rome while avoiding, or at least delaying for an indefinite period of time, any subsequent decline and fall. This, however, would require the cultivation of virtue on the part of citizens. Civic virtue would be the "moral cement" of republican society, reflecting the widely held belief that Greek and Roman polities had fallen when their citizens lost their sense of virtue.[15]

Livy, the great chronicler of the Roman Republic, advised his readers that in his history "you can find for yourself and your country both examples and warnings;

fine things to take as models, base things, rotten through and through, to avoid."[16] John Adams gave his 14-year-old son, John Quincy Adams, the same advice in a letter he wrote on May 18, 1781: "In company with Sallust, Cicero, Tacitus and Livy, you will learn Wisdom and Virtue. You will see them represented, with all the Charms which Language and Imagination can exhibit, and Vice and Folly painted in all their Deformity and Horror."[17] The perceived affinity between Republican Rome and Revolutionary America led the Founders to look for instructive exemplars of virtue and corruption in Roman authors.[18] Roman accounts of the expulsion of the Etruscan monarchy and the foundation of the Roman Republic, and then Rome's subsequent slide from republican virtues to a corrupting materialism and imperialism, offered a series of exemplars to emulate or avoid. Eighteenth-century Americans, like their European counterparts, avidly scanned the classics for suitable – and unsuitable – models of behavior. Ancient exemplars helped men and women know how to live well and, even more important in these troubled times, how to die well. Nathan Hale recalled Addison even on his way to the gallows for espionage; his "I regret that I have but one life to give to my country" is a paraphrase of Addison's Cato saying, on receiving the dead body of his son, "Who would not be that youth? What pity is it / That we can die but once to serve our country."[19] An epilogue written by Jonathan Sewall for a 1778 performance of Addison's *Cato* at the Bow Street Theater in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, makes clear what was at stake in contemporary performances of the play:

> In Caesar's days had such a daring mind
> With Washington's serenity been joined
> The tyrant then had bled, great Cato liv'd,
> Rise then, my countrymen! For fight prepare,
> Gird on your swords, and fearless rush to war!
> For your grieved country nobly dare to die,
> And empty all your veins for Liberty.
> No pent-up Utica contracts your pow'rs,
> But the whole boundless continent is yours![20]

Sewall's epilogue links the fight for liberty with conquest and expansion. Imitation of the Roman Republican heroes would result in a virtuous and healthy polity stretching across "the whole boundless continent," whereas following the example of Julius Caesar would corrupt the moral and political state of the young nation. "What is a Roman that is Caesar's foe?" asks Decius in Addison's play. "Greater than Caesar, he's the friend of virtue," Cato replies.[21]

The contrast between Cato and Caesar was paradigmatic and drummed into children from a young age; their textbooks regularly included passages from Addison's *Cato* and Sewall's epilogue.[22] The *Columbian Orator*, a widely used school reader, also includes in its lessons the lines spoken at a school exhibition by a seven-year-old boy, whose poem ends:

These thoughts inspire my youthful mind
To be the greatest of mankind;
Great, not like Cesar [sic], stain'd with blood;
But only great, as I am good."[23]

Another textbook recommended adopting Cato as a sort of internal personal surveillance monitor: "That when we are by ourselves, and in our greatest solitude, we should fancy that Cato stands before us, and sees every thing we do."[24] Similarly, Alexander Pope's prologue to Addison's play sums up the aim of the performance:

To wake the soul by tender strikes of art,
To raise the genius and to mend the heart,
To make mankind in conscious virtue bold,
Live o'er each scene, and be what they behold.[25]

Eighteenth-century Americans believed in the educative mission of the arts, as Diderot declared: "To make virtue attractive, vice odious, ridicule forceful: that is the aim of every honest man who takes up the pen, the brush or the chisel."[26]

The pen, the brush, the chisel . . . neoclassical aesthetic theory suggested that writers, painters, and sculptors could capture moral virtues on paper, canvas, or stone, shaping and molding not only the raw material of art, but through art, human souls. Plays, classical texts, paintings, and even statues and busts of eminent individuals in marble or bronze served to inspire men and women to virtuous action.[27] According to the theory of contagion, virtue or vice could be induced simply by being in the presence of an exemplary figure or in contact with one through literary description or artistic representation.[28] This helps us understand why Thomas Jefferson's tea-room in Monticello contained busts and 28 portraits of exceptional men, while John Quincy Adams had six bronze busts of ancient exemplars, which he called his "Household Gods."[29] Indeed, Addison's play shows the process of "contagion" at work: for his Juba, the mere presence of Cato inspired virtuous behavior. Cato's son Portius calls attention in act 1 to his passionate emulation of Cato:

Behold young Juba, the Numidian prince!
With how much care he forms himself to glory,
And breaks the fierceness of his native temper
To copy out our father's bright example.[30]

Juba expresses his admiration to Cato in similar terms: "I'm charm'd whene'er thou talk'st. I pant for virtue! / And all my soul endeavors at perfection."[31] Early American art and education aimed at nothing less than this: the (re)production of classical heroes – and heroines.

Elite educated white women were encouraged to study Greek and Roman history, usually in English or French translations.[32] One widely used school text published in 1792 recommended the study of history:

> What more agreeable entertainment to the mind than to mark the rise, progress, declension, and final extinction of the most flourishing empires; the virtues which contributed to their greatness, and the vices which drew on their ruin? It is an unpardonable ignorance in persons, of whatever sex or condition, not to be acquainted with the history of their own country, together with the histories of ancient Greece and Rome.[33]

Elite women believed in the same theory of imitation as their male counterparts, and Noah Webster's 1789 *An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking* (issued 40 times before 1801) offered various exemplars for American women to emulate. Roman matrons were admired for their dignity, courageousness, and piety. The Sabine women were exemplary for their loyalty to their abductors for the sake of peace. Portia, the wife of the Roman senator Brutus, was admired for her staunch support for her husband and for his conspiracy against Caesar. According to Plutarch, Portia's support was so unwavering that she committed suicide by swallowing hot coals after hearing of Brutus' death.[34] Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, so admired Portia that she signed her letters to her own husband "Portia."[35] Cornelia, the patriotic mother of the Roman politicians Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, was another favorite, as was Arria, wife of the politician Caecima Paetus, who had been condemned to take his own life during Nero's reign. Arria showed him how to die nobly: she plunged a dagger into her own breast saying, "Paetus, it does not hurt." Marcia the Younger, daughter of Cato, who features in Addison's *Cato*, was exemplary for unmarried women. In Addison's play, Marcia models herself after her father.

> Cato's soul
> Shines out in everything she acts or speaks,
> While winning mildness and attractive smiles
> Dwell in her looks, and with becoming grace
> Soften the rigour of her father's virtues.[36]

Like a good republican daughter, Marcia defers to her father and country and refrains from a romantic involvement with the Numidian prince Juba so that he can fight Caesar.[37]

American women commented on the health of the nation through writing history and creating fictional worlds peopled with ancient Romans.[38] Mercy Otis Warren, a historian, poet, and playwright, frequently signed herself "Marcia" in her long correspondence with both John and Abigail Adams. Warren is here referring not to the unmarried Marcia the Younger but to her mother Marcia, wife of Cato: a woman of reputed excellence, according to Plutarch.[39] In one of her

poems, Warren urges American women to emulate the austere patriotism of Roman matrons:

> Let us resolve on a small sacrifice,
> And in the pride of Roman matrons rise;
> Good as Cornelia, or as Pompey's wife,
> We'll quit the useless vanities of life.
> America has many a worthy name,
> Who shall, hereafter, grace the rolls of fame.
> Her good Cornelias, and her Arrias fair,
> Who, death, in its most hideous forms, can dare.[40]

Some years later, alarmed, perhaps, at the emerging factionalism, materialism, and open pursuit of commercial wealth that characterized the 1780s, Warren's didactic play *The Sack of Rome* (1790) makes Rome vulnerable to barbarian conquest because luxury has made citizens dissolute.[41] Warren clearly intended the play to show how luxury and self-centeredness can undermine polities. She dedicated the play to President George Washington, who, living up to the selfless standards of his Roman Republican heroes, had resigned his commission as commander in chief of the Continental Army after the peace treaty between Great Britain and the United States was signed in 1783, and returned to private life.

Washington's self-abnegating gesture was astonishing, but even more astonishingly, he repeated it 13 years later. To the surprise of European contemporaries, Washington did not hold on to power when he was president. He stepped down from the presidency in 1796 after serving two terms. His contemporaries saw him as modeling the Roman values admired in the early Republic so well that they often portrayed him with Roman symbols. Antonio Canova sculpted Washington in Roman military dress, his sword laid down to symbolize his relinquishment of power, his pen poised to write his farewell address on his departure from the presidency (figure 1.1). Jean-Antoine Houdon sculpted him as a modern American gentleman with his hands resting on the fasces, a symbol of Roman authority. John Trumbull and Charles Willson Peale painted him as Cincinnatus, the Roman farmer famously called from the plough to be dictator and lead the defense of Rome when the neighboring Aequi had surrounded the Roman army.[42] After saving the Republic, Cincinnatus relinquished power and went back to his farm. On his death, Washington was eulogized both as a Cato and a Cincinnatus.

In America, Washington's avoidance of Caesarism made his life an example for his immediate presidential successors and for generations of American citizens.[43] It also provided a basis for believing that America would remain exceptional as long as its citizens cultivated virtue and acted with the best interests of the republic in mind. On the other side of the Atlantic, Napoleon, the general turned imperial monarch, was making very different uses of Roman models, and appealing to a very different set of Roman virtues. In contrast to Washington's abhorrence, Napoleon

Figure 1.1 Antonio Canova, *General George Washington*, 1820–1. Courtesy of the North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

clearly admired Julius Caesar, and admired his imperial successor, Caesar Augustus, even more. French artists active at the court in Paris utilized references to both Roman rulers in art and iconography to illustrate and celebrate Napoleon's move from victorious general and first consul of the French Republic to Napoleon I, emperor of France.[44] By 1802 it had become clear that Napoleon intended to eliminate the newly created French Republic: he named himself first consul for life and in 1804, with the pope presiding, he crowned himself emperor (figure 1.2). As emperor, his face and name adorned coins, engravings, paintings and public monuments, a campaign of propaganda modeled on that of Augustus, the Roman emperor who claimed to have brought peace to the strife-torn republic and to have launched a golden age of prosperity and culture.

Figure 1.2 Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Napoleon on His Imperial Throne*, 1806. Oil on canvas. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, France. Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

For American observers, the failure of the French Republican experiment and its descent into absolutism in the person of Napoleon was disturbing but not surprising. The trajectory of the French Revolution and its aftermath was consistent with the classic cycle of imperial rise and fall in which republican democracy leads to mob rule, then autocracy and tyranny. It was the different outcome of the American Revolution that was the real surprise.[45]

In Roman and European political history Julius Caesar has been an ambivalent figure who has signified both tyrant and champion of the people.[46] But in the United States Caesar was so firmly painted as a negative tyrant in Revolutionary political discourse that the more positive aspects of Caesar and his political accomplishments have rarely been invoked. Caesar has almost always signified a

dictator or tyrant. Absent as well from American political discourse is a positive model for the political accomplishments of the first Roman emperor, Augustus.

The republic of George Washington's day lasted only a generation; like France after its revolution, America had evolved into an empire, though its governmental model remained republican. Vast new territories were added to the Union, including Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and Florida in 1819, transforming the United States into a continental commercial power. Americans built new cities and ports, and new roads and canals enabled increased trade and commerce. Factories and mass production changed the work experiences of many Americans and the consumption experiences of many more. Would the new wealth from industrialization and territorial expansion bring in its wake political and moral corruption? Worrying that *luxus* (luxury) and the deleterious effects of the rapid accumulation of wealth on morals were insinuating themselves into the new republic, John Adams asked Thomas Jefferson in 1819: "Will you tell me how to prevent riches from producing luxury? Will you tell me how to prevent luxury from producing effeminacy, intoxication, extravagance, vice, and folly?"[47] Factionalism and the pursuit of power and wealth by ambitious and self-interested men soon led some to worry that the new republic was in danger of replicating Rome's trajectory of decline even as others celebrated its rise as a commercial power.

An American Caesar?

Some Founding Fathers hoped that an enlightened aristocracy, inspired by civic virtue, would govern the republic with the good of the collective in mind. But the sweeping changes from the 1790s on undermined the social, political, and economic fabric of the republic of Washington's time. Many Americans sought a greater share of the new economic wealth and the expansion of commerce and so they increasingly demanded a more direct form of democracy. Resentment of the aristocratic establishment and the new mercantile monopolies grew increasingly more outspoken and strident as factions and divisions within the republic called for political egalitarianism. Suffrage was expanded to include all white men with the abolition of property ownership and tax payments as qualifications for voting. This was quickly followed by the election to the presidency of the Tennessee general-turned-politician, Andrew Jackson, signaling a decisive shift in American politics from the aristocratic government of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to the popular democracy of Jackson and his supporters. As democracy swept the country, fifth-century Athens was elevated as the exemplary ancient polity. To supporters of Andrew Jackson, Republican Rome now offered a *negative* model of aristocratic domination. Jackson's opponents, on the other hand, feared the rise of an American Caesar, civil strife, and the collapse of the new republic.

In 1829, Andrew Jackson became the seventh president, defeating the incumbent, John Quincy Adams. Adams was the last in the line of classically educated

gentlemen statesmen to be president. He was a member of a distinguished family: his father had been the vice-president (1789–97) and then president (1797–1801) of the new republic. Now the son, John Quincy Adams, feared that he was witnessing a repetition of the last days of the Roman Republic. Upon his retirement from the presidency, he read the complete works of Cicero and worried about the state of the American republic: "I watch with his sleepless nights. I hear his solitary sighs. I feel the agitation of his pulse, not for himself, but for his son, his Tullia, for his country."[48] To Adams, viewing the great changes of the times through the lens of Roman history, it seemed that the accumulation of excessive wealth had indeed opened the door to the dangers of *luxus*. Classical Republican political philosophy and ideology suggested that the corruption of the political process and, ultimately, the rise of tyrants and demagogues would surely follow.[49]

Andrew Jackson, the son of Ulster immigrants, had grown up in the backwoods of South Carolina and was virtually unschooled. Neither an aristocrat nor educated in the classics, he first acquired fame and popular adulation for his skills as a general. He was the "Hero of New Orleans," the man who defeated the British in one of the most famous battles of the War of 1812, and the general who, in 1818, crushed the Seminole Indians, seized Spanish forts in Florida, and authorized the court-martial and execution of two British men who had aided the Indians. Such autocratic behavior won Jackson popularity in some circles but led Senator Henry Clay, then Speaker of the House of Representatives, to recommend the censure of Jackson, warning: "Remember that Greece had her Alexander, Rome had her Caesar, England her Cromwell, France her Bonaparte, and that, if we are to escape the rock on which they split, we must avoid their errors."[50] Clay, who remained an outspoken critic of Jackson throughout his political career, saw Jackson's conduct in Florida as analogous to that of Caesar in Gaul: "In the provinces," he wrote, "were laid the abuses and the seeds of the ambitious projects which overturned the liberties of Rome."[51]

Just as Julius Caesar had done in his times, Jackson aroused passions that crystallized the concerns and anxieties of his age. He became, as Harry Watson has put it, the "symbolic leader of American political transformation."[52] The social, economic, and political differences and transformations that were dividing the new nation were expressed and condensed in the ardent debates about the merits and dangers of Jackson's presidency (1829–37). To his opponents he was a Caesar, an arrogant and imperious military hero-turned-demagogue who would lead the republic into tyranny and a damaging imperialism. Senator Clay had compared Jackson to Caesar years before he ran for president. Once in office, Jackson did nothing to assuage Clay's anxieties about his potential for Caesarism. "Caesar," critics of Jackson warned, "had 'harangued' the Senate, degraded its 'dignity and authority,' and appealed to the people against his senatorial adversaries; so had Jackson."[53] Jackson governed like an autocrat and used the presidential veto to override the wishes of Congress. Noah Webster fulminated against those "*democrats*, as they call themselves" who were so "servile" that they would even

allow Jackson to "assume the imperial purple" if he wished.[54] Not so, said the majority. On December 21, 1832, E. C. Genet of Prospect Hill, Greenbush, New York, presented Andrew Jackson with an ancient medal struck in honor of Julius Caesar. On the medal was inscribed the laconic report made by Caesar of one of his victories: *Veni, vidi, vici* ("I came, I saw, I conquered"). Genet, in bestowing the medal on the president, said:

> The Romans, in commemorating that glorious event, did not anticipate that it would ever be surpassed; but, sir, you have effectually surpassed Caesar. The Roman hero corrupted his fellow citizens with the plundered treasures of Asia, became the oppressor of the world, and attempted to raise a throne on the ruins of the republic; whilst the patriotic hero of New Orleans . . . hath strengthened the independence and liberty of his country . . . It may therefore justly be said; *Quod Caesar fecit, Jackson superavit* ["What Caesar did, Jackson has done better"].[55]

To some, at least, it appeared that Jackson displayed the virtues but not the vices of the Roman general (figure 1.3).

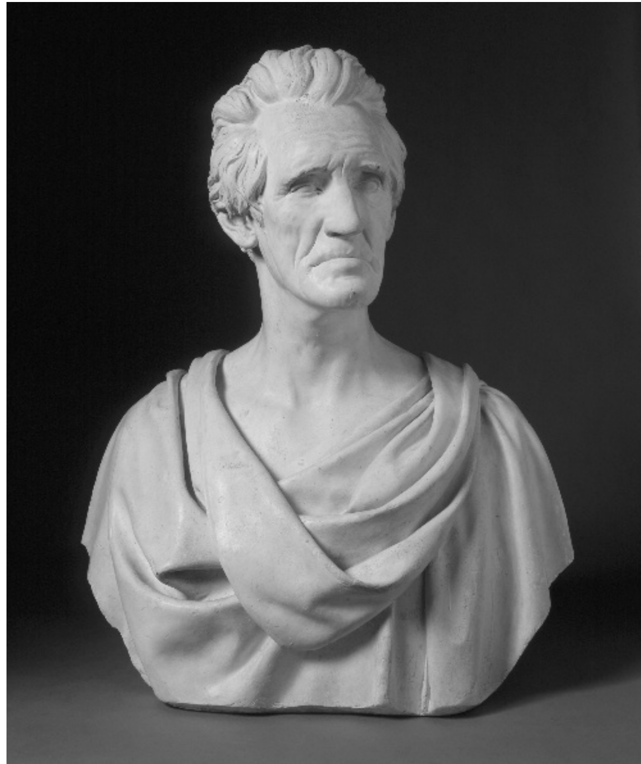

Figure 1.3 Bust of Jackson as a Roman. Hiram Powers, *Andrew Jackson, 7th US President*, 1835. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC/Art Resource, NY.

In any event, the Roman political model was by now beginning to lose its luster for many American citizens. Thoughtful observers, even those who had put their faith in Roman exempla for over half a century, began to express doubts about the worthiness or applicability of the Roman paradigm. In 1819, Thomas Jefferson confessed to John Adams in a letter that his first reaction on reading the letters of Cicero was to feel himself in the presence of "the purest effusions of an exalted patriot," but on reflection to wonder "what was that government which the virtues of Cicero were so zealous to restore, and the ambition of Caesar to subvert: certainly not good government since they never had it from the rape of the Sabines to the ravages of the Caesars."[56] Andrew Jackson called his own political beliefs an extension of "good old Jeffersonian Democratic principles," and his supporters looked into Rome's Republican past and identified with those who had resisted Roman aristocratic oppression.[57] Jacksonian democrats' ideological view of Roman history as a struggle between the plebeians and the patricians was deployed to reinforce their own views and rally their political allies.[58]

Jackson's opponents joined forces in 1834 under the banner of the Whig party, the name the Revolutionary patriots had adopted in opposing the British monarchy. Whigs worried about the dangers of factionalism and tyranny. Philip Hone, a wealthy merchant and former mayor of New York, feared that if the Whigs did not prevail in the upcoming election:

> This noble country of ours will be subjected to all the horrors of civil war; our republican institutions, theoretically so beautiful but relying too much upon the virtue and intelligence of the people, will be broken into pieces, and a suffering and abused people will be compelled to submit to the degrading alternative of Jacobin misrule or the tyranny of a Caesar, a Cromwell, or a Bonaparte.[59]

Hone and other Whigs did not trust in "the virtue and intelligence of the people" to preserve the fragile new republic. They worried that Jackson, like Caesar and other politicians and generals, might manipulate the populace and undermine republican institutions. Appropriating the rhetoric of the last days of the Roman Republic, the Whigs portrayed themselves as the counterparts of the Roman senators who defended their Republic and fought against Julius Caesar. Cato may have lost to Caesar and to the *imperium* (sovereignty) of Augustus after him, but the American Whigs hoped to win their struggle against Jackson and popular democracy.

In the 1770s, the dangers to liberty had been cast as coming from the distant imperialism of the British monarchy, like an absent Caesar crossing the Rubicon to threaten the liberty of those living along the eastern seaboard of America. Now, in the 1830s, Whigs believed the threat was from ambitious and ruthless citizens within the American republic. Now the threat was from a Caesar within the American government. "I cannot but recollect," wrote one critic of Jackson,

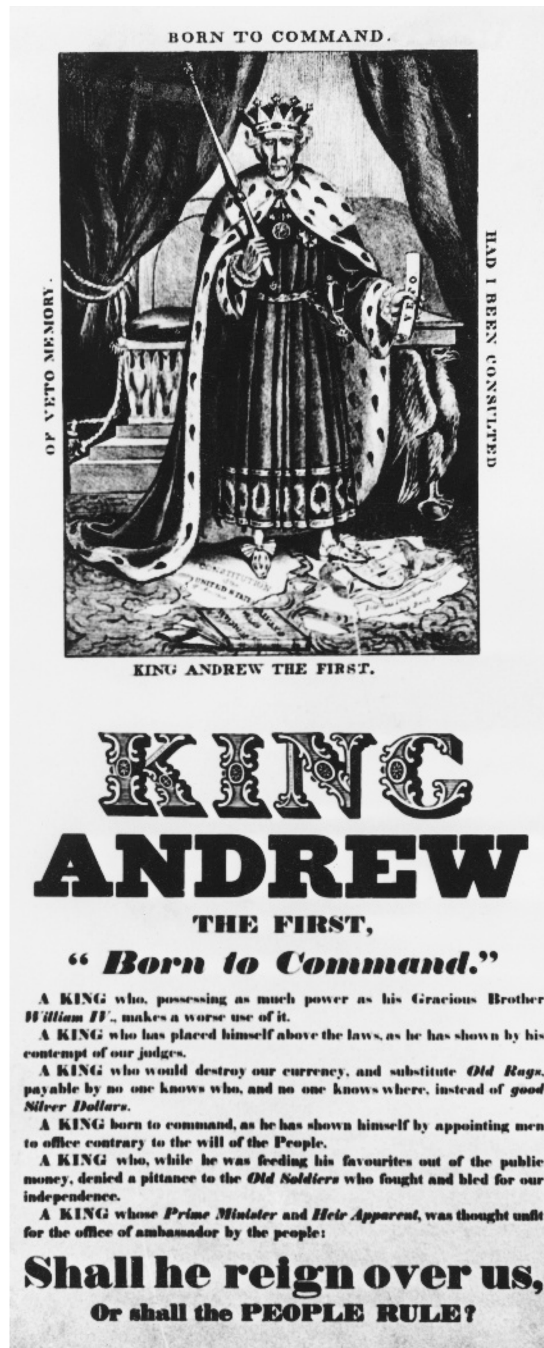

Figure 1.4 *King Andrew the First*, c.1832. Courtesy of the Tennessee Historical Society.

> that Caesar was the greatest democrat Rome ever produced . . . and that his first steps were to cypherize the Senate and judicial tribunals; to take into his own hands the whole power of appointment to office, and to distribute the spoils of victory among his adherents. It was these measures . . . that enabled him to lay deep the foundations of the imperial throne . . . it is time to look about us, and anxiously consider, whether the days of the constitution and of the Republic be not already numbered.[60]

According to this critic, Jackson, like Caesar, was an ambitious leader who wished to govern like a king. In 1831 *Niles' Register* suggested that the "future battle cry of the anti-Jacksonians might well be the motto adopted by a Vermont newspaper: 'Not the glory of Caesar, but the welfare of Rome'."[61] "Brutus has taken the field against Caesar," commented the *Baltimore Patriot* after the publication of a letter in the *United States Gazette* written by a former supporter of the president explaining why "the original friends of General Jackson cannot [now] support his reelection."[62] Critics accused Jackson of endangering liberty and he was shown in cartoons trampling the constitution and wearing regalia (figure 1.4).[63]

Whig congressional rhetoric repeatedly portrayed Jackson as Caesar incarnate.[64] When Jackson attempted to break the Second Bank of the United States (and the power of monopoly) by seizing the deposits of the nation's bank and putting them in state banks, he prompted outrage in Congress. In a dramatic speech given during the last days of 1833, Senator Henry Clay accused Jackson of endangering public liberty and establishing a tyranny. He compared Jackson's dismissal of secretary of the treasury William J. Duane to Caesar's seizure of the Roman treasury during his war with Pompey. Holding Plutarch in one hand and reciting his account of Caesar's actions, Clay explained to his congressional cohort the analogy to Jackson's behavior and the dangers it presented to the nation.[65]

Senator John C. Calhoun, who had been Jackson's first vice-president, agreed that Jackson had acted like Julius Caesar when he had invaded the public treasury on his way to destroying the Roman Republic, and he warned:

> We are at the same stage of our political revolution . . . With men and money Caesar struck down Roman liberty, at the fatal battle of Pharsalia, never to rise again; from which disastrous hour all the powers of the Roman Republic were consolidated in the person of Caesar, and perpetuated in his line. With money and corrupt partisans a great effort is now making to choke and stifle the voice of American liberty.[66]

In Calhoun's opinion, Jackson's autocratic actions resembled Caesar's and if unchecked might lead to the loss of American political liberty. Another critic compared Jackson to the first Roman emperor, Augustus, and urged his fellow citizens to guard their liberties, which were being "insidiously assailed" by the president. He warned that "a government may be a republic in form, but a despotism in fact. Augustus Caesar did not change the forms of the Roman Republic, but exercised a most despotic power over the laws, the liberty and the prosperity of the citizens."[67] Here, Jackson is compared negatively to the cunning Emperor

Augustus, who maintained the façade of the Roman Republic whilst in fact acquiring virtually monarchical powers.

Jackson defended himself against these and other senatorial condemnations.[68] He protested that he was not moved by ambition like other conquerors and usurpers:

> No; the ambition which leads me on, is. . . . to persuade my countrymen, so far as I may, that it is not in a splendid government, supported by powerful monopolies and aristocratical establishments, that they will find happiness, or their liberties protected, but in a plain system, void of pomp – protecting all, and granting favors to none.[69]

In a letter to Andrew Jackson, Jr., in 1834, Jackson asserted that "It was a corrupt and venal senate that overturned the liberty of Rome before ever Cezar [sic] reached her gates."[70] From the point of view of Jackson and his supporters, Jackson represented the interests of the exploited citizenry, and they laid the blame for the problems of the nation squarely on the corruption and exploitative practices of America's ruling classes. According to Jackson, the greatest danger to liberty arose from moral turpitude: "It is from within, among yourselves – from cupidity, from corruption, from disappointed ambition and inordinate thirst for power – that factions will be formed and liberty endangered."[71] In his farewell address of 1837 Jackson declared that "No free government can stand without virtue in the people and a lofty spirit of patriotism. If the sordid feelings of mere selfishness shall usurp the place which ought to be filled by public spirit, the legislation of Congress will soon be converted into a scramble for personal and sectional advantages."[72] Liberty required the cultivation of civic virtue. A healthy republic depended upon the subordination of private interests for the sake of the greater good. Jackson trusted that the majority of the people would avoid moral corruption: "Never for a moment believe that the great body of the citizens . . . can deliberately intend to do wrong."[73]

In January, 1835, Richard Lawrence unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate Jackson in the rotunda of the Capitol. By then, Whig rhetoric comparing Jackson to Caesar was so heated that Francis P. Blair, editor of the *Globe*, suggested that Lawrence might have been influenced by the orators who "had depicted the President as a Caesar who ought to have a Brutus."[74] Even after he left office, Jackson's opponents continued to liken him to a Roman emperor. When the Panic of 1837 ushered in a long depression, Representative John Pendleton Kennedy of Maryland contrasted the prosperity of 1829 with the hard times of 1837. Jackson, he said, "reversing the boast of the Roman Emperor [Augustus], might have exclaimed, at his departure from the capital, 'I have found Rome marble, and I have left it brick.'" Representative Henry A. Wise of Virginia parodied Mark Antony's funeral oration in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*: "Truly, truly, it may be said, sir, that the evil which General Jackson did lives after him."[75]

Nevertheless in 1845, Jackson pointedly refused the offer of a splendid Roman sarcophagus for his eventual remains because of its associations with kings and emperors and the aristocratic pretensions of such Roman allusions:

> I must decline accepting the honor intended to be bestowed. I cannot consent that my mortal body shall be laid in a repository prepared for an emperor or a king. My republican feelings and principles forbid it; the simplicity of our system of Government forbids it . . . True virtue cannot exist where pomp and parade are the governing passions; it can only dwell with the people, the great laboring and producing classes, that form the bone and sinew of our Confederacy.[76]

Instead of a Roman sarcophagus, Jackson preferred a simple burial. "I have prepared," he wrote, "a humble depository for my mortal body beside that wherein lies my beloved wife, where, without any pomp or parade, I have requested, when my God calls me to sleep with my fathers, to be laid."[77] Jackson died on June 8, 1845, and was buried next to his wife, Rachel, at the Hermitage, his home near Nashville, Tennessee.

Elite responses to, and critics of, Jackson's "Caesarism" were not confined to politicians. In the field of art, the painter Thomas Cole composed a series of five paintings (1833–6) entitled *The Course of Empire*. Cole clung to the eighteenth-century cyclical vision of history and he believed that the course of the United States would be shaped by universal historical forces.[78] "We see that nations have sprung from obscurity, risen to glory, and decayed. Their rise has in general been marked by virtue; their decadence by vice, vanity, and licentiousness. Let us beware," he warned.[79] Cole's paintings had a didactic purpose: he intended observers to recognize the analogies between the paradigmatic rise and fall of empires and contemporary 1830s America.

Cole's series offered an allegorical portrait of the agrarian origins of nations, their rise to imperial grandeur, their subsequent fall into corruption, tyranny, and conquest, and their end in bleak desolation. *The Course of Empire* was a general meditation on the rise and fall of empires, but many details in the central painting, *The Consummation of Empire*, evoke one empire in particular: imperial Rome (figure 1.5).[80] It depicts a purple-robed conqueror's triumphal return to a monumental white marble city. Colossal and elaborate classical architecture dominates the canvas; the harbor is filled with ships of the mercantile empire; and the goddess Minerva holding a victory figure stands on a columned pedestal to the center right. The crowned conqueror is surrounded, in Cole's words, "by captives on foot, and a numerous train of guards, senators & pictures while golden treasures are carried before him. He is about to pass beneath the triumphal arch, while girls strew flowers around."[81] Cole's triumphal procession is a visual compilation drawn from a number of sources, especially Andrea Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* at Hampton Court Palace, which Cole had visited in July 1829.[82] Mantegna's painting had made the triumphs of Julius Caesar exemplary for the triumphs of all Roman generals. Cole's victorious general is certainly suggestive of Julius Caesar, and to Whigs it may well have suggested Andrew Jackson.[83]

For the motto for his series, Cole chose an excerpt from Lord Byron's *Childe Harold* that articulated the inevitable historical cycle: "First Freedom and then Glory – When that fails, / Wealth, vice, corruption." For the title of his series,

Figure 1.5 Thomas Cole, *The Course of Empire: Consummation* (third of the series), 1835–6. Accession number 1858.3. Courtesy of The New-York Historical Society.

Cole chose a phrase from Bishop George Berkeley's poem *Destiny of America* – the idea of an unvarying cycle of imperial rise and decline:

> Westward the course of empire takes its way;
> The four first Acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the Drama with the day:
> Time's noblest offspring is the last.

Cole's negative views of empire were shaped by his pessimistic understanding of the rise and decline of empires, and the motto and the title of his series suggest that he interpreted Berkeley's poem to mean that even the New World empire remained subject to the same principles of historical causation.[84]

From Cole's conservative perspective, the popular democracy and the expansionist and commercial pursuits of the Jacksonian era seemed to signal the end of the virtuous American republic and the rise of moral corruption and tyranny.[85] Where many Jacksonian Democrats saw progress and the extension of democracy, Cole and others saw unchecked materialism, social decline, and the breakdown of order, and looked to the Roman Empire for criticism of it all.[86] There were growing gaps between rich and poor in cities. Riots and lawlessness were common. Commercial greatness and expansionism came at a heavy cost.

Margaret Bayard Smith, a contemporary of Thomas Cole's, was equally troubled by rampant commercialism and social and moral decline. She and her husband, Samuel Harrison Smith, publisher of the republican newspaper the *National Intelligencer*, moved to Washington in 1800. Margaret Bayard Smith lived in the capital for over thirty years. She experienced the social and political transformations of the Jacksonian era and she, too, saw in imperial Rome a negative parallel with Jacksonian America.[87] In the early 1830s, Smith published several short stories set in Rome in Sarah Hale's *Ladies' Magazine*. "In no period in Roman history," she informed her female readers, "did a darker gloom invest the aspect of society, than in the time of Nero, 'when virtue,' in the words of Tacitus, 'was a crime that led to certain ruin.' "[88] Most of her stories starred Roman matrons who remained virtuous even under the reign of the notoriously corrupt and decadent Emperor Nero. For Smith, the Roman matron remained an exemplary figure – even though there were now fewer women in Washington who emulated them. "The simple and frugal age of Rome," Smith wrote,

> when women were occupied with their distaffs and looms, had long passed, and the sex now partook not only of luxuries, amusement and license of society, but likewise of the political power and philosophical research. They had ceased to be the slaves, and had become the friends and companions of men . . . The social circles of Rome, at least those of the higher classes, were always composed of both sexes. Virtuous and learned women mingled with statesmen and philosophers, and imparted to society that refinement which they alone can impart. But it is with regret, the historian relates, that virtuous women were as rare as virtuous men. Arria was one of the precious few, who in a time of general corruption of morals, exhibited the qualities that have made the epithet of *Roman matron* a title of honor.[89]

Caroline Winterer has suggested that Smith may be looking back nostalgically in this passage "to her own days as a young Washington wife, circulating in elite society, to call for a return to the days when both men and women participated in learned, political conversation."[90] Like other elite republican women, Smith had hosted dinners and social gatherings where they engaged in political and literary discussions, termed "parlor politics" by Catherine Allgor.[91] But the social and political influence of these elite republican women waned under the new democratic administration. Under Jackson's presidency, the wives of former officials and power brokers no longer had access to the social and political circles of the administration.[92]

Smith's fictional Roman heroines resist the deplorable decline of Roman Republican values and ideals in the age of the emperors. They are strong, courageous, chaste, and pious. They uphold the virtues of the Roman Republican matron in a time of moral and political corruption. But Roman matrons were now out of fashion in the nation's capital. "In the days of Ancient Rome," commented one newspaper editorial,

> mammas – or *matrons* as the old-fashioned name then was – were proud of being the mothers of republicans – of hardy sons . . . [and] of highminded daughters . . . but now mammas are proud of nothing but lily complexions too fair for the sun to look upon, graceful dancing, tight waists, jewels, fashionable languor, and becoming uselessness. There are no Arrias among us . . . it is so much more easy to be a dandy or a belle, than to be a republican of the Roman; ay! Or the Jefferson school.[93]

Republican women like Margaret Bayard Smith found they were marginalized and increasingly out of step with the times.[94]

Both Margaret Bayard Smith and Thomas Cole were concerned at the erosion of gentility and old lines of authority and dismayed at the decline of civic virtue, which both believed had so far kept the republic intact. As their fiction and paintings respectively drew a parallel between Roman decline and 1830s America, their works expressed a continuing anxiety within American culture that was at odds with the nation's exuberant new pursuit of "manifest destiny," a view that dismissed the relevance to the United States of the cyclical view of history and the rise and fall of nations and empires.

In 1839 the editor of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, John L. O'Sullivan, asserted that the United States has "in reality, but little connection with the past history of any of them [other nations], and still less with all antiquity, its glories, or its crimes. On the contrary, our national birth was the beginning of a new history . . . Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity?"[95] Instead of repeating ancient history, America would develop and progress upward from it. Many Americans now shrugged off the relevance to their republic of ancient history. Instead of cycles or spirals, there could be a tale of progressive linear change over time. In 1838, the popular actor Edwin Forrest, an ardent supporter of Andrew Jackson, gave a speech at the Independence Day celebrations in New York. The Revolution, said Forrest, marked "the most august event which ever constituted an epock in the political annals of mankind."[96] According to the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* of September of the same year, Forrest's patriotism was "imbued with the philanthropy which saw America as designed by her example to shed the light of her moral truth into the remotest corners of the earth for man's emancipation."[97] Not long after this, in 1845, John L. O'Sullivan coined the term "manifest destiny" in his arguments for the annexation of Texas. "Manifest destiny" quickly came to mean not only that America was exempt from the cycles of history, but that the American achievement was the divinely ordained culmination of the westward movement of progressive civilization. America's unique combination of democracy, capitalism, and Christianity was destined to spread across the continent and to serve as a shining model for all nations to emulate. Conquest, expansion, and material progress were in vogue.

Given this predominant mood and rhetoric of the times, it is perhaps not surprising, as Andrew Wallach has told us, that the critic from the *New-York Mirror*

who reviewed Thomas Cole's *Course of Empire* series missed Cole's intended analogy. The critic suggested that "democracy was the *antidote* to the cyclical process . . . democracy and material progress would bring about an 'empire of love' the result of mankind's advance along 'the road to greater and greater perfection'."[98] The cycle of decline and fall could be checked by the extension of American democracy. In 1847 a contributor to *De Bow's Review* wrote "Westward is the tide of progress, and it is rolling onward like a triumphant Roman chariot, bearing the eagle of the republic or empire, victorious ever in its steady but bloodless advances."[99] Evidently, Rome could be simultaneously dismissed as irrelevant and then re-invoked to describe America's march of empire. By the end of the 1840s, the phrase the "course of empire" was merging with "manifest destiny." Angry invocations of Julius Caesar as an exemplar to avoid, and evocations of the values of the aristocratic Roman Republic, had faded. Many Americans now believed that democratic America could surpass Rome's achievements and was exempt from decline. Others, however, as we shall see in the next chapter, were not so confident in the endless progress of the republic without a major intervention to stem the growing concentration of wealth.

Notes

1 Waldo (1777).
2 Addison (2004), II, 1, 97–100.
3 Joseph Addison's play was first performed in London in 1713. Addison wrote during a time of political upheaval and intense factional conflict between Whigs and Tories over political control. Addison was politically associated with the Whigs, "yet *Cato* is remarkable for the manner in which both Whigs and Tories embraced it as sympathetic to their causes; leaders of both parties were present at the opening performance, and Alexander Pope's account of the premiere describes Whigs and Tories competing to appropriate the play to their own causes." Addison (2004), xiii.
4 There were nine American editions of *Cato* before 1800 and eight more in the nineteenth century.
5 Plutarch was widely read in eighteenth-century America in the English translation by John Dryden. For a discussion of the influence of Plutarch in America, see Reinhold (1984), 250–64. Cato the Younger was the great-grandson of Marcus Porcius Cato (d. 149 BCE). The two Catos are referred to as Cato the Elder and Cato the Younger to distinguish them from each other.
6 After Caesar crossed the Rubicon in 49 BCE, he was formally declared an enemy of the Republic. Caesar went on to defeat Pompey and his army at the battle of Pharsalus in 48 BCE but Cato did not concede defeat, and he and Metellus Scipio escaped to the province of Africa to continue resistance. Caesar defeated the army led by Metellus Scipio in 46 BCE and Cato committed suicide.
7 Addison (2004), II, 3, 8–13.
8 The importance of the play for Washington and others is illustrated by the fact that he had it performed despite a congressional resolution condemning stage performances

as contrary to republican principles. "Moreover, in 1783, when his officers encamped at Newbergh, New York, threatened to mutiny – as Cato's troops had done in the play – Washington appeared before them and quite self-consciously shamed them into abandoning the enterprise essentially by rehashing Cato's speech." Addison (2004), viii.

9 Addison (2004), II, 4, 61–3.

10 In 1764, James Otis called Caesar "the destroyer of Roman glory and grandeur, at a time when but for him and his adherents both might have been rendered immortal." In Patrick Henry's Stamp Act Speech of 1765, he compared George III with Caesar, declaring: "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George III [cries of 'Treason!'] may profit by their example." Adams, Otis, and Henry, quoted in Richard (1994), 91.

11 Richard (1994), 84.

12 Adams to Nathan Webb, October 12, 1755, quoted in Richard (1994), 77–8.

13 Ibid.

14 Adams, *Diary*, June 20, 1779, quoted in Richard (1994), 78. Ennius (239–169 BCE) wrote of the expansion of Rome's sway in the Mediterranean.

15 H. L. Watson (1990), 45.

16 Livy (1987), 1.1: 34.

17 John Adams to John Quincy Adams, Butterfield (1963), vol. 4, 117.

18 This American relationship to Roman antiquity illustrates what Hobsbawm has called "the invention of tradition," by which he means the ways in which groups, usually nations, establish a connection with a usable past as a means of constructing identity, validating present actions and values, and fostering group cohesion. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983).

19 Addison (2004), IV, 4, 81–2. Wills (1984), 132; Richard (1994), 60.

20 Sewall (1801), 107–10. Of the five American printings of *Cato* from 1779 to 1793, four contain Sewall's epilogue.

21 Addison (2004), II, 3, 40–2.

22 For example, excerpts from Addison's *Cato* are in J. Dana (1792), N. Webster (1801), and Bingham (1797). Bingham's *Columbian Orator* included Sewall's epilogue, 69–70.

23 Bingham (1797), 58.

24 J. Dana (1792), section on modesty, 53. Dana may well have had the following passage from Seneca in mind: "Cum iam profeceris tantum ut sit tibi etiam tui reverentia, licebit dimittas paedagogum: interim aliquorum te auctoritate custodi – aut Cato ille sit aut Scipio aut Laelius aut alius cuius interventu perditi quoque homines vitia supprimerent, dum te efficis eum cum quo peccare non audeas." ("And when you have progressed so far that you have also respect for yourself, you may send away your attendant; but until then, set as a guard over yourself the authority of some man, whether your choice be the great Cato, or Scipio, or Laelius, – or any man in whose presence even abandoned wretches would check their bad impulses. Meantime, you are engaged in making of yourself the sort of person in whose company you would not dare to sin.") Seneca (1917), *Epistle* 25.6. Thanks to John Dugan for tracking down this Seneca passage for me.

25 Addison (2004), Prologue, 1–4.

26 Diderot quoted in Honour (1977), 80.
27 Honour (1977), 80–1; Winterer (2002), 28–9; and Wills (1984), 102.
28 Wills (1984), 115–22.
29 Wills (1984), 111–12; Winterer (2002), 47.
30 Addison (2004), I, 1, 79–82.
31 Addison (2004), II, 4, 59–60.
32 See Winterer (2007), 1–102.
33 J. Dana (1792), 121–2.
34 Plutarch (1918), *Brutus*, 53.5. In Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, she dies after swallowing "fire."
35 Gelles (1992).
36 Addison (2004), I, 4, 151–5.
37 Hicks (2005), 2.
38 See Teute (1999), 89–121, and Winterer (2005), 53–60.
39 Hicks (2005), 21.
40 Warren (1980), 208–12 at 208. Poem entitled *To Honorable J. Winthrop* "who, on the American Determination, in 1774, to suspend all Commerce with Britain, (except for the real Necessaries of life) requested a poetical List of the Articles the Ladies might comprise under that Head." For a biography of Warren, see Zagarri (1995).
41 For an analysis of this play, see Winterer (2005), 54–5.
42 Wills (1984), 13.
43 Ibid., 80–2. Commenting on Mason Locke Weems's popular and long-lived *Life of Washington*, first published in 1800, Wills wrote that Weems was certain that "a description of a hero could produce heroes among his readers." Wills (1984), 110.
44 Huet (1999), 53–69.
45 G. S. Wood (1992), 368.
46 For articles exploring the shifting meanings of Julius Caesar from antiquity to the present in Europe and the United States, see Wyke (2006a).
47 Adams in a letter to Thomas Jefferson in 1819 quoted in Richard (1994), 54.
48 Adams quoted in Miles (1968), 365–6. Tullia was Cicero's beloved daughter.
49 Wallach (1994), 92.
50 *Annals of Congress*, 15th Cong., 2nd sess., 645–55. Clay quoted in Miles (1968), 363.
51 Ibid., 647. Clay quoted in Miles (1968), 363.
52 H. L. Watson (1990), 9.
53 *Register of Debates*, 23rd, 1st session, 1525, 3407, quoted in Miles (1968), 369.
54 "From Mr. Noah's Paper," *Connecticut Courant* (September 16, 1828): 3.
55 "Infamous!" *Eastern Argus Tri Weekly* (October 21, 1833): 2. It is unclear whether "the plundered treasures of Asia" is an error (for Gaul) or whether Genet was thinking of Caesar's time in Alexandria.
56 Jefferson to Adams, December 10, 1819, quoted in Burstein (1996), 39.
57 Jackson quoted in Wilentz (2005), 4.
58 Nineteenth-century Americans used the terms "patrician" and "aristocrat" interchangeably for a member of the Roman political elite, and "plebeian" for commoner/non-elite.
59 Hone quoted in Wallach (1994), 93.

60 "On presidential usurpation," *Farmer's Cabinet* (September 28, 1832): 2.
61 *Niles' Weekly Register* (April 16, 1831), quoted in Miles (1968), 368.
62 "Brutus; Caesar; United States; Gazette; Letter; Stephen Simpson; People," *Baltimore Patriot* (August 8, 1831): 2.
63 Jackson was also sometimes compared to Napoleon. Davison (1975), 23; Stansell and Wilentz (1994), 17.
64 Note the irony of identifying Jackson as Julius Caesar. Caesar after all was a patrician, in the technical sense, an aristocrat who traced his family history to Aeneas and the kings of Rome; Jackson was a common man.
65 "We are, said he, in the midst of a revolution, hitherto bloodless, but rapidly tending towards a total change of the pure republican character of the government, and to the concentration of all power in the hands of one man. . . . The measure adopted by the President is without precedent. I beg pardon – there is one; but we must go down for it to the commencement of the Christian era. It will be recollected by those who are conversant with Roman history, that, after Pompey was compelled to retire to Brundusium, Caesar, who had been anxious to give him battle, returned to Rome, 'having reduced Italy,' says the venerable biographer, in sixty days – [the exact period between the removal of the deposits and that of the commencement of the present session of Congress, without the usual allowance of any days of grace] – without bloodshed." Clay quoted in Benton (1854), 402–6.
66 Benton (1854), 411–12.
67 Editorial, *Baltimore Patriot* (August 11, 1834).
68 Jackson was officially censured by Congress for his actions while in power.
69 Jackson quoted in Benton (1854), 427.
70 Jackson to Andrew Jackson, Jr., April 15, 1834, quoted in Miles (1968), 374.
71 Jackson quoted in H. L. Watson (1990), 10.
72 Ibid., 45.
73 Ibid., 10.
74 "Attempt to assassinate the president" and "The case of Richard Lawrence," *Niles' Weekly Register* (February 7, 1835): 391. As early as 1820, Jackson was described as a Caesar needing a Brutus. See *Daily National Intelligencer* (April 4, 1820): 4. Carl Richard has pointed out that the Whig attempts "to brand Jackson as another Caesar were so numerous and passionate that one newspaper blamed the first presidential assassination attempt in American history on the overheated rhetoric." Richard (2003), 177.
75 Pendleton and Wise quoted in Miles (1968), 373.
76 Jackson in Bassett and Matteson (1926–35), vol. 6, 361–3. Letter to Jesse Duncan Elliott, March 27, 1845.
77 Ibid.
78 A. Miller (1993), 25.
79 Cole quoted in Wallach (1994), 93.
80 A. Miller (1993), 30; Stansell and Wilentz (1994), 18–19. Cf. Barringer's suggestion that Cole's city could also be read as "a parodic vision of Imperial London." Wilton and Barringer (2002), 53.
81 Cole quoted in Wilton and Barringer (2002), 102.
82 Parry (1970), 103–4.

83 Whig critical comparisons of Jackson to Caesar were well known. Modern critics have read Cole's series as a Whig allegory. A. Miller (1989), 71–76; Stansell and Wilentz (1994), 16; and Wallach (1994), 94.
84 Wallach (1994), 92, and note 195 on pages 109–10; A. Miller (1989), 80–1.
85 Stansell and Wilentz (1994), 10.
86 A. Miller (1993), 34–7.
87 I rely here on Winterer (2007), 138–41; (2005), 53–60; and Teute (1999).
88 M. B. Smith (1835), 134, quoted in Winterer (2007), 139–40.
89 M. B. Smith (1832b), 341, quoted and discussed by Winterer (2005), 58–9.
90 Winterer (2005), 58.
91 Allgor (2000).
92 Further discussions in Winterer (2005) and Teute (1999).
93 "A word for the mammas: Arria." *Workingman's Advocate* (February 26, 1831): 3.
94 In Teute's words, "With the rise of Jacksonian democracy, Roman matrons departed the stage." Teute (1999), 121.
95 O'Sullivan (1839), 426.
96 Forrest in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, quoted in Parker (1992), 17.
97 Ibid.
98 Emphasis added. Wallach (1994), 95.
99 DeBow (1847), 31. For more examples of positive comparisons to the Roman Empire see A. Miller (1989), 75–6.