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THE ALGERINE CAPTIVE: THE EMERGENCE OF
NATIVE AMERICAN FICTION IN
ROYALL TYLER'S NOVEL

by
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INTRODUCTION

Royall Tyler, early American jurist, statesman, poet, dramatist, and novelist, has the dubious distinction of being one of the most frequently cited yet least read of any American man of letters. His play The Contrast (1787) is inevitably mentioned in anthologies in prefaces and introductions to the American Colonial and Revolutionary periods as the first publicly-performed American comedy. Following his success as a playwright and during the early years of his law practice in Vermont, Tyler found time to produce, in 1797, a significant early American novel. Like The Contrast, The Algerine Captive is more frequently mentioned as evidence of early literary activity in America than subjected to careful critical examination. During Tyler's lifetime, his novel appeared in three different editions, including one in England, and ran serially in a British periodical. Recent scholarly interest in both Tyler and his only novel is evidenced by a 1967 facsimile reprint of The Algerine Captive,¹ a projected edition of the novel by Twayne Publishers, and a proposed study of Royall Tyler in Twayne's United States Authors Series.

In both the prologue to The Contrast and the preface to The Algerine Captive, Tyler asserts a desire and a determination to pre-

sent the manners and customs of his native country. The fictional narrator of The Algerine Captive, Dr. Urdike Underhill, determines to make the account of his adventures thoroughly American and to stop the neglect of native material. It is the goal of this study to examine the novel in detail, assessing whether Tyler successfully presents an American story, or, whether, like other early American authors with similar avowed purposes, he "failed in technique and treatment, though not in setting."² The study also will consider Tyler's use of wit and satire and his understanding of American ideology. In addition, an exploration of the social milieu of the day and of Tyler's literary ideals will seek to explain the novel's didactic tone.

Royall Tyler's only novel is purported, by its author, to be an examination of American manners and customs and a display of American character, mores, morals, and beliefs. If Tyler has been successful, his novel deserves to be regarded as a work of art representative of its period, a chronicle of Colonial and Revolutionary thought and philosophy, and a revelation of America's literary independence. The focus of this investigation will be to determine if such claims may be made legitimately for The Algerine Captive. In addition, it seems appropriate to consider some of Tyler's other literary works (The Yankey in London, his minor plays, and his poetry) in an effort to discover if they reflect a similar interest in nativism and morality.

Before examining Tyler's works per se, it will be helpful to look briefly at the biography of this colorful and often eccentric New Englander.

CHAPTER I

TYLER'S LIFE: PETTED AND CARESSED

Royall Tyler might rightly be called a cradle-mate of the nation he loved and served. The appropriateness of Tyler's distinction as one of the first writers to use native American materials in works of literature is reinforced by surveying his almost sentimentally patriotic early years. Perhaps Tyler's sibling-like relationship to the new nation explains why he expressed his patriotism as naturally in belles-lettres as in more direct service to his government. Born on July 18, 1757, Tyler had roots in Boston going back four generations. The Tyler home, from where the happenings in the harbor could easily be viewed, was situated in Ann Street in the shadow of Faneuil Hall. In his formative years, young Royall (originally named William Clark) witnessed from close range the organization of the Sons of Liberty, Samuel Adams' creation of the Committees of Correspondence in opposition to the Townshend Acts, the Boston Massacre, the Boston Tea Party, and other turbulent activities of pre-Revolutionary Boston. Royall Tyler Sr., for whom the boy was re-named at age fourteen following his father's death, was an illustrious public figure as well as a

successful importer. The elder Tyler sat on numerous committees in Boston and served as Justice of the Peace, Overseer of the Poor, a legislator in the House of Representatives, and held a position on the King's Council from 1764 until his death in 1771. He left an estate valued at £4,100. Tyler's revolutionary zeal is typified by his leading the committee which demanded the withdrawal of the British fleet from the harbor and the troops from the city in 1768, and by his speaking so rashly about driving out the British soldiers, at a meeting after the Boston Massacre, that he turned his fellow Whigs against him.

Just before his fifteenth birthday, having completed the usual seven years' work at Latin school, young Royall Tyler entered Harvard College on July 15, 1772. The youth found the college, just across the Charles River from Boston, as alive with revolutionary activity as Ann Street. Students at Cambridge were abstaining from tea as the seniors had voted to do four years before Tyler's entrance, joining the student military company called the Marti-Mercurian Band, and experiencing such unsettled conditions that the college authorities did not allow a public commencement from 1772 until 1781. By October of Tyler's senior year (1775) British troops were quartered all over Cambridge, temporary barracks were constructed in the college Yard and the Common, and classes were being held in Concord.

The flurry of patriotic activity at Harvard during Tyler's tenure there no doubt stimulated his political interests, but one article in the laws of the college must have been particularly discouraging to his artistic activities. The article read, "If any Under-

graduate shall presume to be an Actor in, a Spectator at, or any Ways concerned in any Stage Plays, Interludes or Theatrical Entertainments in the Town of Cambridge or elsewhere, he shall for the first Offence be degraded--- & for any repeated Offence shall be rusticated or expelled."¹ This attitude of the authorities at Harvard regarding the theatre was later echoed by Congress, meeting in Philadelphia to discuss what action should be taken in the controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies. On October 12, 1778, the Congress resolved to dedicate itself to the "suppressing of theatrical entertainments, horse racing, gaming, and such other diversions as are productive of idleness, dissipation, and a general depravity of principles and manners."² The resolution apparently did not have the desired effect, because, on October 16, 1778, Congress passed a more drastic one.

Where as frequenting playhouses and theatrical entertainments has a fatal tendency to divert the minds of the people from a due attention to the means necessary for the defence of their country and the preservation of their liberties;

Resolved, That any person holding an office under the United States, who shall act, promote, encourage or attend such plays, shall be deemed unworthy to hold such office, and shall be accordingly dismissed.³

However, just as we have ample evidence that George Washington, a member of that Congress and a signer of the resolution, attended at least one play during the ban and probably was prevented from further enjoying them more by his duties as commander of the Continental Army than by the Congressional resolution, Harvard's ban did not completely stifle the literary interests and activities of its student body. The Speaking Club (formed by Samuel Phillips in 1770) and the Mercurian

Club (guided by Fisher Ames of the class of 1774) were both functioning while Tyler was a student at Harvard. These clubs were supported by Tyler's classmates and friends, and their interests were more literary than political.

In July of 1776, when he was nineteen, Tyler received his degree from Harvard as well as a B. A. ad eundem from Yale. After graduation, Tyler began the study of law with Francis Dana of Cambridge, later studied under Benjamin Hichborn, and was granted a master's degree from Harvard in 1779. The dashing young lawyer led a rather irresponsible life during the next few years. He established a law practice in Falmouth, Maine, and served as an officer under General Lincoln in Shays' Rebellion. But, because of his reputation as a gay blade, John Adams rejected Tyler's suit to marry his only daughter, Abigail.⁴

Serving as an aide to General Benjamin Lincoln in Shays' Rebellion, Tyler was ordered to New York City, leaving Boston March 8 and arriving in New York March 12, 1787. Affairs of state took Tyler to New York, but his nature (too gay and frivolous for John Adams) also allowed him some time to see and enjoy the city. Tyler's indulgence in the pleasure of the theatre while successfully discharging the business of his commission provided the opportunity for his writing The Contrast which proved to be the most famous incident of his life. On April 16, 1787, five weeks after his arrival in New York, Tyler's comedy with a native setting was performed at the John Street Theatre. On May 19, little more than a month after the production of The Contrast, his comic opera called May Day in Town was staged. Tyler's success and

reputation as a literary figure were immediate. The passion for the "unlettered muse" was operating and Tyler, portraying the role of a handsome young lawyer and soldier who could dash off popular plays, enjoyed to the fullest his new fame. Grandmother Tyler's Book recalls that Major Tyler was, during these two months or so, "petted, caressed, feasted, and toasted."⁵

One source of the legend of Tyler's spontaneous ability as a playwright is the advertisement written by the actor Thomas Wignell for the printed version of The Contrast, which he edited in 1790. Wignell described The Contrast as "the first essay of American genius in a difficult species of composition; it was written by one who never critically studied the rules of drama, and, indeed, had seen but few of the exhibitions of the stage; it was undertaken and finished in the course of three weeks."⁶ Arthur Nethercot takes no exception with the first or last of Wignell's assertions, but contends the implication of Tyler's almost complete ignorance of the drama has been "accepted far too easily and uncritically by practically all succeeding historians."⁷ Nethercot also challenges similar statements by William Dunlap, George O. Seilhamer, Thomas J. McKee, Montrose J. Moses, Arthur Hobson Quinn, Allan G. Halline, and Tyler's granddaughter, Helen Tyler Brown, saying, for the most part, these dramatic historians merely echoed Wignell. It is Nethercot's thesis that "Tyler knew the rules too well and followed them too closely to produce a really natural and original work."⁸ Most of his evidence is from allusions to other plays, characters, and dramatic criticism contained in the text of The Contrast.

Tyler's activities immediately following his triumph as a New

York dramatist are uncertain because of a lack of accurate information. Moreover, Tyler was naturally impulsive, as the following incidents from his life demonstrate. He left a successful and established law practice in Boston and moved to Vermont. Mary Palmer (later Mrs. Royall Tyler) recalled that Vermont was "then considered the outskirts of creation by man, and [an area] where all rogues and runaways congregated, and for that reason considered a good place for lawyers."⁹ At that time Vermont offered cheap land and low taxes. Statehood and an influx of population were immediate prospects. But a young lawyer with an established practice and friends in Boston who had recently been lionized by New York society was an unlikely candidate for the opportunity of "beginning again" which Vermont offered. Thus the reasons for Tyler's move to Vermont are as difficult to fathom as the many other abrupt changes of location and fits of depression in his lifetime. Equally mysterious are the details of Tyler's secret marriage to eighteen-year-old Mary Palmer in May of 1794. Moreover, it has never been explained why Tyler, who enjoyed a profitable law practice, left his wife and infant son living with the Palmers in poverty for almost two years.

When they finally settled in Vermont, Royall and Mary Tyler apparently pursued happily the lives of frontier settlers. Ten more children were born to the couple, the law practice flourished, Tyler formed his famous partnership with Joseph Dennie, and their literary "firm" of Colon and Spondee turned out prose and poetry to the delight of newspaper and magazine readers of the Vermont wilderness. At this time, Tyler's brother was managing the Federal Street Theatre in Bos-

ton. Tyler's comedy The Georgia Spec., which was written while he lived in Vermont, was produced at his brother's theatre on October 30, 1797, and later that year in New York. Three other comedies--The Farm House, The Doctor in Spite of Himself (an adaption), and The Island of Barrataria--were written at this time and may have been produced, although no record of their production survives. In 1797 Tyler found enough leisure time to turn out his novel, The Algerine Captive, on the timely subject of Barbary piracy.

For the instruction of female readers, Mrs. Tyler produced a 291 page book containing her experiences and advice concerning motherhood, which was published anonymously in the fall of 1811 by the New York publisher Isaac Riley. Taking as its motto the dubious maxim, "Every Mother her Child's best Physician," the book is well described by its complete title: The Maternal Physician: A Treatise on the Nurture and Management of Infants, from the Birth until Two Years Old. Being the Result of Sixteen Years' Experience in the Nursery. Illustrated by Extracts from the Most Approved Medical Authors. By an American Matron.

During the Vermont years Tyler pursued his legal career, riding the circuit for court sessions, often having young men studying under him, and becoming a celebrated and successful attorney. From 1794 until 1801 he served as Windham County State's Attorney, was elected as one of the three judges of the Vermont Supreme Court in 1807, was defeated in his bid for the United States Senate in 1812 by only 16 votes, and served the University of Vermont as a trustee and as Pro-

fessor of Jurisprudence.

Tyler's success in law was no doubt partly due to his skill in public speaking. He more than once delivered a lay sermon in the absence of a minister. His wife records a comment of his following one particularly successful sermon: "and in truth it would have been a rest to my soul at that time had I dared [become a preacher], but a consciousness of having lived too gay a life in my youth made me tremble lest I should bring in some way disgrace upon the sacred cause."¹⁰

Although it was merely a hobby, Tyler continued to write even after his appointment to the Supreme Court. In fact much of Tyler's fame as a jurist results from his taking the time to publish a series of reports of the Vermont Supreme Court cases heard while he was on the bench. The Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature of the State of Vermont cover the cases heard between January, 1800, and February, 1803. Although no more were published, Tyler's Reports are the only record of Vermont cases in the interval between 1797 and 1813. "The legal reports of all states were chaotically published during the early years of the republic--and were not published at all except when someone like Tyler had the energy to prepare them."¹¹

During Tyler's years of legal activity, the Reports were not his only publication. His series of essays on English customs, A Yankey in London, supposedly written by an American visiting England, was published anonymously in 1809. In one of his first Vermont years, 1793, his poem called The Origin of Evil was published and A Christmas

Hymn was issued in broadside. He had plans for writing a work to be called "Moral Tales for American Youth" and a comic grammar, but these never developed. His three religious plays were written during these later years, and he was preparing The Bay Boy, a semi-autobiographical narrative, for the publisher when he died.

The last thirteen years of Royall Tyler's life were unhappy and, in many respects, tragic. Three misfortunes beset the judge in rapid succession in the fall of 1813. His oldest son, Royall Jr., a promising student at the University in Burlington, who had already written a poem ("The Present Age") and a play ("Quackery" or "The Dumb Gent", performed at the college in 1812), died in a typhoid epidemic at the beginning of his junior year. Tyler lost his position as the Chief Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court in the elections in October of 1813. This meant that his steady source of income was stopped, and he returned home to find creditors clamoring for his property. Tyler raised some money by "selling the farm and moving into town, and through the kindness of Judge Gilbert Bedison, he was made Register of Probate for Windham County (beginning in December of 1815) and managed to reestablish his private practice."¹² Although Tyler received some income for these duties, his second son, John, who was in business with his uncle George Palmer, had to help his parents financially. In 1822, John's business failed and Tyler's illness, now diagnosed as cancer, forced him to give up his probate duties. Then Royall and Mary Tyler became the objects of public charity.

The remainder of Tyler's life was spent in unrelieved poverty

and sickness. In his last days, nearly blind because of the cancer near his left eye, he sat in a darkened room with his wife reading him selections from the Bible, Cooper, Scott, Maria Edgeworth, Byron, Cellini, Josephus, and others. Pathetically, he still held the hope of publishing more of his writings. In 1822 he wrote what his wife described as "several beautiful little poems". He made an attempt, in 1824, to revise The Algerine Captive; wrote a play, Five Little Pumpkins, for the children of a local school; and, as late as April, 1825, sent the manuscript of his collection of tales for children, Utile Dulci, to a publisher in New York.

During the last weeks of Tyler's life, the cancer caused agonizing pain which could be relieved only by resorting to opium and laudanum. Royall Tyler died on August 16, 1826, and was buried in Prospect Hill Cemetery near Brattleboro, Vermont, under an epitaph celebrating his judicial career but not mentioning his literary accomplishments. The epitaph is ironic today since it is Tyler's literary productions rather than his judicial services which attract attention and perpetuate his name.

Despite the considerable extent of Tyler's literary canon, his principal claim to artistic fame, with the exception of The Contrast, is his novel, The Algerine Captive, or The Life and Adventures of Urdike Underhill, Six Years a Prisoner among the Algerines. The book sold well and was widely read both on account of the topicality of the Algerine situation in 1797 and the growing reputation of its author as a wit and literary craftsman. By comparison with other late eight-

eenth century American literary productions, Tyler's book received considerable critical comment. These comments, plus some interesting and unusual details surrounding the book's four separate printings, once as a serial in a British periodical, are worthy of a close examination.

CHAPTER II

THE ALGERINE CAPTIVE: PUBLICATION

AND CRITICAL RECEPTION

The Algerine Captive was first published by David Carlisle at Walpole, New Hampshire, in August, 1797. Like Tyler's other literary works, the novel first appeared anonymously. Apparently, however, the author's anonymity was seldom a very closely guarded secret, since he had been almost immediately lionized by New York society following the production of his "anonymous" plays, The Contrast and May Day in Town, in the spring of 1787. On August 17, 1797, Joseph Nancrede, the Boston publisher and bookseller, advertised: "The Algerine Captive, which has, for a few weeks since excited so much curiosity, and which on perusal, has been pronounced by a few men of taste, The Rab-
elais of America, is hourly expected at the above Store."¹ By late September, however, Nancrede had changed his advertisement to read: "These two volumes, attributed with some foundation to Royal [sic] Tyler, Esq. have been pronounced by Gentlemen of taste, to be fully equal to Mr. Tyler's reputation. They are offered to the American Public, as a specimen of indigenous Wit."²

The reasons for Tyler's publishing his fiction anonymously are

obscure and the cause of some speculation. According to custom at that time, gentlemen who published novels seldom affixed their names to their works. There is always a certain hint of intrigue and a psychological appeal generated by unsigned literary works, which may lead to speculative interest and increased sales. At the time of the publication of The Algerine Captive, Tyler had a rather dubious reputation as a result of his early days of "dissipation," his mysterious flight from New York, and, subsequently, from the security and serenity of an established law practice in civilized and sedate Boston to the frontier of Vermont. In a puritanical society such as America in the late eighteenth century, producing fiction was not entirely respectable. However, Tyler's authorship seems to have been no secret among his literary friends, as evidenced by an item in The Columbian Centinel: "It is said that the presumptuous editor of the Walpole paper [Dennie] is helped to all his native poetry by Dr. Updyke [sic] Underhill, who was six years a prisoner among the Algerines."³ Tyler may have chosen not to reveal his identity as the author of The Algerine Captive because the title page of the novel indicates that the tale is a factual account of Algerine slavery, written by an eye witness, and Tyler knew no more about Algerine slavery than what he had read in newspapers and books.

The popularity of The Algerine Captive immediately after its publication is confirmed by the difficulty some people had in obtaining copies; although, Carlisle's original printing of 1,000 copies was sizeable for an American work of fiction in 1797. The

first edition of Washington Irving's Sketch Book (1819) was only 2,000 copies.⁴ Nathaniel Hawthorne's Twice Told Tales (1837), printed forty years after Tyler's novel, had a first edition of only 1,000 copies, and it took over a year to sell them all.⁵ Joseph Dennie, who was continually prodding Tyler to write and had suggested the idea for his novel, wrote to Tyler late in August of 1797:

Your novel has been examined by a few and approved. It is however extremely difficult for the Bostonians to supply themselves with a book that slumbers in a stall in Walpole, supposed, by the latest and most accurate advertisements, to be situated 400 miles north of their meridian . . . People are pretty well convinced that you are capable of writing well on any subject, and, for your encouragement, I can assure you, that a taste for letters begins gradually to obtain here.⁶

The Federalist journalist William Coleman, for a time the law partner of Aaron Burr, wrote a month later:

When I heard you mentioned here, with much tribute of applause, for your literary talents, as I have often; and when I see your publication of the "Algerine" announced with great eclat, as it has repeatedly been in different papers, and "the public curiosity is said to be alive to read it;" I feel proud that I was once so intimately acquainted with the man and the Author.⁷

The topicality of Algerine piracy and slavery in 1797 probably added to the initial popularity of the book. Readers were eager for news and information concerning the Barbary incidents even from a source like Tyler's which was more imaginative than factual. In 1797 trouble with the Barbary states was both a source of concern and a unifying cause for Americans. No longer protected by England, American vessels were a natural target for privateers. Meeting this challenge was a matter of national pride for the United States. In the

fall of 1793, the young country lost eleven merchant ships and 109 men in less than two months. At one time in the early 1790's, there were 1200 Christian slaves in Algiers, exposed to cruelty and plagues. American newspapers were providing an eager public with every scrap of fact or myth concerning Algerine captivity they could find. Tyler himself acknowledges this interest in a preface he wrote for a proposed later edition of the novel in 1824:

In the year 1797, when the sufferings of our unfortunate seamen, carried into slavery at Algiers, was the common topic of conversation, and excited the most lively interest throughout the United States, the Author . . . embodied such information as could then be obtained as to the manners, customs, habits, and history of those Corsairs in a little work entitled, *The Algerine Captive*.⁸

During the years of the crisis, so many works of fiction containing accounts of slavery in the Barbary states were produced and avidly read that the Algerine captivity narrative almost became a distinct species of adventure story.⁹

Obviously, Tyler capitalized on the topicality of the Algerine situation. However, the first volume of *The Algerine Captive* is a chronological account of Updike Underhill's adventures before he is enslaved, at age twenty-six, by the Algerines. The satire of American customs in the first volume is, in part, an attempt to make an excellent country even better, as promised in the preface. This was sufficient raison d'être for Underhill. But as a sophisticated and urbane wit, Tyler delighted also in directing satirical jibes at the dullness and stuffy virtue of the rustic heroes as he had done with Manly and Jonathan in *The Contrast*. Yet in a blindly puritanical way Tyler never attacks the institution of slavery. He sees the hypocrisy of

the Virginia minister's beating his slave on the way to deliver a sermon, but not the immorality of slavery. He is concerned for the inconvenience and distress of Underhill's captivity, but not that of his fellow slaves. He sees the Algerine situation as a threat to American merchant seamen and commerce, but overlooks the larger issue of slavery itself. As a physician, Underhill can sympathize with the suffering and pain which slaves endure because of needless unsanitary conditions on the ship. He can admire, as an eighteenth century sentimentalist, the slaves' nobility in chains and bondage. Tyler has the literary skill to exploit the pathos of the slaves he sees stolen from their families; however, his humanity is superficially directed at individuals rather than at the slave trade in general. After all, this is an American institution, and Dr. Underhill is very much an American. The second volume exposes Algerine slavery and barbarism to further emphasize, by comparison, the glories of American freedom for white men, but neglects the plight of enslaved American Negroes. The satirical, picaresque flavor of the first volume of Tyler's novel is similar to Brackenridge's Modern Chivalry, while the second volume resembles contemporary Indian captivity narratives. Although the two volumes are loosely held together by the tradition of the wandering rogue, they are essentially two separate books.

The first volume, despite its resemblance, is not as well-organized as Modern Chivalry, which is a thorough investigation of the practice of democracy. The Algerine Captive satirizes many social

follies, not all of which are explicitly related to democracy. Tyler knew his Cervantes as well as Brackenridge, as evidenced by The Island of Barrataria. "But the unity of a picaresque novel requires more than the presence of a hero, and the individual incidents (about election procedures, for example) in Modern Chivalry add up to a coherent whole in a way those in The Algerine Captive do not."¹⁰

In Volume I, the fictional narrator, Updike Underhill, traces his descent from Captain John Underhill, author of News from America (1638). The Captain's exploits occupy the first three chapters. The hero's birth, on July 16, 1762, is accompanied by proper omens. His mother dreams that Updike is captured by an Indian "playing at foot ball"¹¹ with his head, a prophecy that he "would one day suffer among savages."¹² His childhood and his study of Greek and Latin (which he greatly enjoys) are covered in a few paragraphs. After serving dutifully but unhappily as a country schoolmaster until a fire destroys the schoolhouse, he undertakes the study of medicine under a celebrated doctor. Completing his study of medicine in June of 1785, he visits Boston and Harvard to procure medical supplies before beginning his practice. Disappointed with his first place of residence, he moves to Virginia. His journey is a pleasant one, including a visit with Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia. Finding conditions in the South less favorable than he had anticipated, he sails as surgeon on The Freedom, a merchantman bound for England with a cargo of tobacco. In London, he records his impressions of

the city, British society, and Thomas Paine, to whom he devotes three chapters. On July 18, 1788, he embarks once more, this time on the equally ironically-named slave ship Sympathy bound for the coast of Africa to pick up a load of slaves. When an epidemic breaks out among the slaves on the return voyage, Underhill, as ship's surgeon, recommends that they be taken ashore to recuperate. The captain opposes the plan, and abandons Underhill and five slaves who have gone ashore with him. The six men are captured for ransom by the Algerine privateer Rover on November 14, 1788, and, eleven days later, arrive in Algiers. It is at this point that the first volume ends.

The second volume of The Algerine Captive is a direct, unadorned, and supposedly factual account of Algerine history and customs, including, among other things, their religion, law, public ceremonies, and finance. The second volume is some forty pages longer than the first, but lacks its satire and whimsy. The description of setting which almost obscures the plot in the second volume is extremely dull compared with the first volume. Of course, Tyler was totally unfamiliar with Algerine manners, but had a thorough knowledge of the native materials he presented in the first volume. Most of the episodes of the second volume are included merely to put Underhill into situations where various aspects of Algerine life can be expounded. The tone of the first volume is satirical and anecdotal, while the second is factual and expository.

The second volume begins with a description of the palace of the Dey of Algiers to which Underhill and the other captives are brought. Lacking the means to pay his ransom, he is exhibited and sold in the slave market. The next three chapters (5-7) contain more intrusions and editorial comments than plot. Underhill's attempt to help a fellow slave who is being whipped gets the hero banned to a stone quarry and prompts a comment on the freedom of America. Religious commentary results from Underhill's conversation with an Englishman who has espoused Mohammedanism and from his debate with the mullah. There is little plot progression in Chapter Eight, which describes "The Language of the Algerines." Dr. Underhill plans an escape in Chapter Nine, but his plans are thwarted by a public celebration which he describes in Chapter Ten.

Chapters Eleven through Twenty-seven advance the plot very little, concentrating instead upon accounts of Algerine medical practice, the history of the Algerine nation, the city of Algiers, Algerine government, revenue, military forces, Algerine dress, marriage and funeral rites, the "Life of the Prophet Mahomet," various sects and religious practices, an analysis of the sources of Algerine power, the failure of Europeans to suppress the Algerines, an example of an Algerine lawsuit, an Algerine sermon, and a review of the position of Jews in Algiers. Throughout these chapters the main narrative is suspended to the detriment of the plot. The adventures of Underhill are at last taken up again in Chapter Thirty and several

chapters are devoted to an abortive attempt to escape by bribing a Jewish resident of Algiers. After a delay of four chapters, describing a pilgrimage to Medina and Mecca, Underhill's escape is finally accomplished when the son of the Jew with whom he had first arranged his release, arranges to lend him enough money to pay his ransom. Surviving a storm at sea, and escaping from a second captivity imposed by a man from Tunis, Underhill finally makes his way to Portugal, and returns to the United States via England. Arriving at Chesapeake Bay on May 3, 1795, after an absence of seven years, he buys a horse and rides to a happy reunion with his parents.

Although extremely episodic and loosely organized, The Algerine Captive contains a number of recurrent themes which may be easily identified. Moreover, an examination of Tyler's other literary efforts, plays, poetry, and essays, reveals that he presented these same themes frequently. The dominant motif of The Algerine Captive is Americanism. Tyler was patriotic to the point of being chauvinistic, and this feeling is apparent, in varying degrees, in all his writing. As indicated by the title, slavery--political, spiritual, and physical--is treated in some detail in his novel. The physical distress Underhill suffers at the hands of the Algerines leads him to a reaffirmation of the glories of American liberty, which he fears his countrymen are prone to take for granted. Again, it must be noted that Tyler's concern for liberty in no way includes any awareness of the evils of slavery as an institution. The Horatian satire of American customs

and practices, which constitutes most of the first volume, is designed to correct minor deviations from the idyllic state of naive innocence which Tyler feels has existed and must continue to exist in the New World. To achieve this end, Tyler makes his novel frankly moralistic and didactic. American foibles are presented in the first volume in a satiric effort to correct them. In the second volume, America is glorified by comparison to England, France, and Algiers in which, Underhill perceives, freedom, justice, and humanity do not exist as they do in New England. For example, on the ship when Dr. Underhill makes suggestions regarding ordinary hygienic care for the slaves, the captain scoffs at his "Yankee nonsense about humanity."¹³ Mildly attacking contemporary problems of the new republic, but celebrating her virtues and privileges, The Algerine Captive urges Americans to correct their (minor) faults and count their blessings.

Although literary criticism was rare in early American newspapers and periodicals, Tyler's novel did receive some critical comment from the press. A letter to the editor of the Farmer's Weekly Museum on April 24, 1798, began with a statement to which exception cannot be taken even today:

An American novel has lately been presented to the public, from your press under the title of The Algerine Captive. The subject of this work is well chosen, the publication well timed, and the execution does great credit to the talents and erudition of the writer. In delineating the national character, customs, and language, of the people of New England, there is no preceding work, either from Europe or America, which can claim the smallest pretence to rivalship.¹⁴

The article finds two faults with the novel. First, that the Rover, according to the story, sails from Gibraltar to Algiers, a distance of over five hundred miles, in one night. The second is that the stress on New England uprightness is a little hypocritical and may be offensive to inhabitants of the South (such as the Southern minister satirized in chapter 24).

An edition of The Algerine Captive appeared in London in 1802, printed by G. and J. Robinson. G. Thomas Tanselle, in an article in the Studies of the Bibliographic Society of America¹⁵ strongly discredits the commonly-accepted claim that the 1802 edition of Tyler's book marked the first instance of an American novel's being reprinted in England. Tanselle maintains that that distinction properly belongs to Charles Brockden Brown's Ormond, published in London in 1800. He also discredits claims of Joseph Dennie and others that Tyler's novel was not faithfully reproduced by the London publishers. Defending the Robinsons, Tanselle points out that "the two volumes were handsomely printed, and the text was not expurgated, not even the patriotic preface or such references to England as 'that haughty exasperated power.' "

The London edition did not have a large circulation, however, because the warehouse in which it was stored burned to the ground, destroying nearly all copies. To remedy the loss, the Robinsons issued the work serially in the Lady's Magazine, which they published. The novel appeared in the magazine in 1804, divided into thirteen installments and adorned with several engraved plates, illustrating such

scenes as "A Medical Consultation" and "Updike Underhill seized by the Algerines." It may well be that the Lady's Magazine is the source of the claim that The Algerine Captive was the first American novel reprinted in England. A note to the initial installment announced, "The narrative is almost entirely founded on facts; and it is the first genuine American production of the kind that has been published in this country."¹⁶

Tyler's novel probably enjoyed a more prolonged life than many of its contemporaries. In 1810 the Boston Monthly Anthology, in one of its "Retrospective Reviews," lamented "This little work is very undeservedly hastening to oblivion. It contains an admirable picture of the manners of the interior of New England."¹⁷ In 1816 in Hartford, Peter B. Gleason issued the novel again in a compact, but hastily proofread, one-volume edition; however, its many typographical errors make it an inferior edition to any of the preceding three. Finally, Tyler himself was working on a revision and expansion of the work in the last years of his life, indicating continuing interest in his novel.

CHAPTER III

TYLER'S AESTHETIC: "PRODUCING OUR OWN BOOKS OF AMUSEMENT"

Tyler hoped to prevent Americans from becoming self-contaminated as a result of their reading foreign novels that reflected European artificiality and decadence. He also wished to help provide an indigenous literature for his country. This native literature must not present life in a nonrealistic fashion, delude the mind with romantic visions, nor display (even retributive) vice. Consistent with Tyler's faith in the new republic and his belief that Americans needed to count their blessings, he sought, in The Algerine Captive, to "display a portrait of New England manners hitherto unattempted."¹ Indeed, the first volume of The Algerine Captive does present many vivid portraits of everyday life in New England in the late eighteenth century. Although frequently presented as the object of satirical comment, there are many authentic accounts of daily activities. Tyler gives a detailed account of the church services at which Captain John Underhill was disgraced and of the misconduct with Mistress Wilbore for which he was excommunicated, the country school which young Updike Underhill attempted to keep, and several social gatherings and customs. The picture of Harvard University and its museum

is clearly drawn. There is great detail given in the account of the parson, his church service, his sermon, and his activities at the horse race in Virginia. Benjamin Franklin and his coterie in Philadelphia are treated in detail. It is quite apparent in comparing volumes one and two, that Tyler provides greater detail in describing people, places, and events in America than those of England and Algiers with which he had no personal, first-hand acquaintance. If Americans had more pride in their own manners and morals, he reasoned, they would be less prone to imitate others. Tyler found it imperative "that we write our own books of amusement and that they exhibit our own manners."² Even a cursory survey of the American fiction which preceded The Algerine Captive will confirm Tyler's distinction as an innovator in the presentation of New England manners and mores as a fictional backdrop.

Certainly the first novels produced in America placed little emphasis on native manners. Sentimental narratives, for example, were too concerned with the dichotomy of good and evil represented by lecherous seducers and long-suffering heroines to focus on American manners. The efforts of these novelists were to expose the deadly perils to maiden virtue inherent in unformed males, to evoke sympathetic tears in response to the plight of their heroines, and to advocate chastity as the panacea of youth. Obviously, such a limited view of the virtuous life left time for only oblique references to everyday life and manners.

Still Tyler could not and did not ignore all literary conventions to construct an entirely new genre. There is no indication that he wanted to or needed to. The Algerine Captive shows the influence of the picaresque and the sentimental traditions. Tyler's attempts to strengthen the moral fiber of his nation by guarding closely the reading material of its youth are not unlike those of the ancient Greeks, who, Daiches says, insisted "that all stories told to children should be morally edifying; they should never suggest wrong ideas."³ For example, in Book II of the Republic, Socrates, in a dialogue with Adimantus, recommends for young people "that the first stories that they hear should be so composed as to bring the fairest lessons of virtue to their ears."⁴ In Book X, Plato records Socrates' charge that imaginative writing stimulates passions which should be suppressed. In conversation with Glaucon, the philosopher asserts that poetry "waters and fosters these feelings when what we ought to do is to dry them up, and it establishes them as our rulers when they ought to be ruled, to the end that we may be better and happier men instead of worse and more miserable."⁵ Socrates' statement anticipates Tyler's exclamation that, for the novel reader, "while fancy is enchanted, the heart is corrupted."⁶ It is apparent, then, that Tyler's attempts at innovation were precisely the substitution in fiction of American manners for British.

There is an essential difference, however, between the author Royall Tyler and Updike Underhill, the moralist. In writing The

Algerine Captive, Tyler borrowed from established literary conventions. He is not an innovator of literary form. But a more important concern for Tyler than the form of his novel was his concern for the morality of American youth. He intended for his novel to edify and entertain, with the emphasis on the former. The means to this end, as Tyler perceived it, was to display American manners. These ways may have been provincial and bigoted, but to the puritanical mind they were far more worthy than the manners and morals of Tom Jones. Thus, using the mask of Updike Underhill, Tyler presents rustic New Englanders and their manners as exemplary. But this does not prevent the literary and witty Royall Tyler from lightly satirizing the provinciality and naivete of these backwoodsmen. Tyler's ambivalence operated in similar fashion in The Contrast as he allowed Charlotte to undercut the pristine pomposity of Manly, but without questioning the moral soundness of the colonel's manners.

Since Tyler sought to present American manners and deplored the fact that art "must come from Europe and be ready made,"⁷ it may seem a bit ungracious to dwell upon the methods and ideas he borrowed from Europeans. Nevertheless, the debt he incurred to Sheridan and The School for Scandal in creating The Contrast, drew O'Dell's much-quoted remark that "assuredly, one feels in reading it, that Sheridan is at least twenty miles away."⁸ Moses recognized The School for Scandal as Tyler's "chief source of inspiration" for The Contrast.⁹ Consideration of the extent and effectiveness of Tyler's borrowing

as opposed to his originality in writing The Contrast is beyond the scope of this present study. But it is worthwhile to notice such a discrepancy between Tyler's avowed innovation and his obvious appropriation from Sheridan; moreover, the same ironic condition in The Algerine Captive must be carefully analysed.

Tyler's attempts to make his novel read like the account of an actual occurrence go beyond an author's duty to provide his creations with a reasonable degree of verisimilitude. Like Defoe, who refused to be labeled a novelist, Tyler employs diary-like detail to give the illusion of an eye-witness report. The rollicking adventures of the carefree young Dr. Underhill suggest (although Tyler would have cringed at the comparison) the irresponsibility and attitudes of a Fielding bildungsroman hero. The second half of The Algerine Captive is a tale of travel and high adventure not unlike Robinson Crusoe or Moll Flanders. As ironic as Tyler's adoption of these foreign conventions may appear, he still maintained that since American manners were being presented, morality could be preserved. The question is whether Tyler's borrowed techniques served his thematic needs.

If The Algerine Captive is as uniquely native as Tyler proposed in his Preface, it must display this quality in more than merely setting and manners. The British novels which the Vermont judge condemned usually followed classic tradition in form and quoted freely from the ancients. For example, there are many Latin phrases and verses in Tom Jones, the subtitle is in Latin, and allusions to the

works of Virgil, Homer, Tully Cicero, Demosthenes, Horace, and Martial abound. Such legendary personages as Adonis and the Amazons are frequently mentioned. Several French expressions appear among the accounts of Jones' escapades.

The garrulous Mr. Fielding cannot resist the pattern of telling that intimate but anonymous confidant, identified only as "the reader," what he plans, attempting it, then recounting the endeavor and ruminating on its success or failure. It is with such candid thoroughness that he admits, in the subtitle, that Joseph Andrews is "written in imitation of the manner of Cervantes, author of Don Quixote." Whether the apparent contradiction in the "Author's Preface" characterizing Joseph Andrews as a "species of writing, which I have affirmed to be hitherto unattempted in our language" is the result of deliberately devilish duplicity, a lapse of memory, or an addiction to name dropping is a bit of information Fielding declined to divulge to "the reader." However the "Preface" promises more hereditary likeness to Homer than Cervantes, and heralds Joseph Andrews as the world's first "comic epic poem in prose." Contemporary literary critics usually assign the less unwieldy designation "mock epic" to his effort. Nevertheless, Fielding is consciously trying to give a new twist to a classic tradition while still operating clearly within the framework of time-honored heritage.

Several characteristics of the mock epic are apparent in Joseph Andrews. Fielding's division of the novel into books and

chapters suggests similar divisions in the epics of Homer, Virgil, and Milton. Unquestionably Parson Adams lacks the stature and significance of Odysseus, Achilles, Aeneas, or Beowulf, but he has an unworldly and impractical nature which seems to alienate him from his mundane, provincial environment. Adams' persistent reading of Aeschylus, his quoting, musing, and arguing obscure passages from ancient Greek authors, and his idealistic desire to have his sermons published and read all indicate an elevated temperament in marked contrast to his contemporaries. Adams' fights with Tow-wouse, the host at the Sign of the Dragon, and Fanny's attackers are described in elaborate Homeric fashion. The mock-heroic aspects of Joseph Andrews reach their climax, however, in the scene in which Andrews seizes his cudgel (which is described in grandiloquent terms) to beat down a pack of dogs, while Adams with his crabstick fells the enemy in droves. The language of the scene, punctuated by an omnipresent Fielding intrusion, to apologize for failing to include a heroic simile or some other imagined deficiency in style, is hilariously Homeric.

Dr. Underhill's connections with the classics are limited to a series of embarrassments inflicted by snobbishly unlettered rustics.¹⁰ In spite of the bigotry, Tyler would have seen virtue securely entrenched in such simplicity. Not that he saw any harm in the classics, but country lads and lasses, once acquiring learned capabilities, might well indulge in more than the fundamental three R's. Anyone capable of reading Homer might turn to Rowson, or Richardson, or even

Roderick Random. If, in reference to such selections, Tyler had advocated "better dead than read," it would have been consistent with his fear that "the farmer's daughter, while she pities the misfortune of some modern heroine, is exposed to the attacks of vice, from which her ignorance would have formed the surest shield."¹¹

While Homer, Lilly, and the Iliad are mentioned, no lines from them appear in The Algerine Captive. There are no phrases or quotations in French, few in Latin, and there is not a Greek character in the book. In addition to these noticeable omissions, Underhill does not report a single word of the Arabic or the vernacular Lingua Franca in which he claims to have been conversant while in Algeria. A logical explanation of the delations of examples of the native Algerian tongues is quite possibly the limitations of Tyler's newspaper-and-rumor acquaintance with the Algerines.

Consistent with Tyler's intention of preserving the sacred isolationism of America and resurrecting a decadent Europe with the gospel of virtuous provincialism, is the chauvinistic anecdote Underhill relates in connection with Lingua Franca.

I well recollect, being once at a loss to name a composition of boiled barley, rice and treacle, I called for the "hasty pudding and molasses." The phrase was immediately adopted, and "haschi pudah molaschi" is now a synonyma with the ancient name; and, I doubt not, if a dictionary of the Lingua Franca shall ever be compiled, the name of the staple cookery of New England will have a conspicuous place.¹²

Relating his travels abroad, Underhill's scorn of everything foreign underlines his almost blindly chauvinistic insistence on the

superiority of American people and manners. One good illustration of this, from a man who gloried in the nobility of the American Revolution and its heroes, is his reference to the ruthless techniques of the French Revolution (slightly anachronistically, for it is not yet 1789 in the story) and to Robespierre as "that Moloch of the French nation."¹³ In his sketch of London, Underhill's contempt for the late mother of the American colonies is candid, vehement, and uncompromising.

Men of unbounded affluence, in plain attire, living within the rules of the most rigid economy; crowds of no substance, strutting in embroidery and lace; people, whose little smoky fires of coals was rendered cheerless by excise, and their daily draught of beer embittered by taxes; who administer to the luxury of pensioners and placemen, in every comfort, convenience, or even necessary of life they partake; who are entangled by innumerable penal laws, to the breach of which banishment and the gallows are almost universally annexed; a motley race, in whose mongrel veins runs the blood of all nations, speaking with pointed contempt of the fat burgo master [sic] of Amsterdam, the cheerful independent farmer of America; rotting in dungeons, languishing wretched lives in foetid jails, and boasting of the "glorious freedom of Englishmen"; hereditary senators, ignorant and inattentive to the welfare of their country, and unacquainted with the geography of its foreign possessions; and politicians, in coffee houses, without one foot of soil, or one guinea in their pockets, vaunting, with national pride of our victories, our colonies, our ministers, our magna charta, and our constitution.¹⁴

Yet the unpleasantness, unrest, moral decay, and dissipation which Underhill finds in abundance in England and Western Europe seem only mildly repugnant compared with the cruelty he suffers among the Algerines.

The object of this unsavory picture of life in Europe is ostensibly to emphasize the glories and blessings of life in the

new republic. Reading of the atrocities and barbarism of life in the Old World, the American must recognize and empathize with Underhill's renewed appreciation of American freedom, culture, and prosperity. The conscience of responsible Americans must respond also to Underhill's plea to protect American youth from the literary production of Babylonian London since the curiosity and daring of youth might find imitation of such lax moral standards a temptation too strong to resist. Still the topicality of the Algerine situation surely helped provide material for a most appealing advertisement. Moreover the sensationalism of Underhill's capture, enslavement, and narrow escape from enforced conversion by the mullah doubtless created an exotic enchantment not unlike that of The Arabian Nights for weary readers depressed by the severity of New England winters, the rigors of frontier-like existence, and the austerity of lingering Puritan conservatism.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATIVE IMPULSE: TYLER'S NATIONALISTIC, MORAL, AND LITERARY CONCERNS

Before discussing and evaluating Tyler's nativism, a definition of the term needs to be established as a criterion for judging his success or failure. In his book Native American Humor, Walter Blair presents a definition of "nativism" in humor, taken from a British periodical, which may be applied to literature in general. The article characterizes writing as national when "it is impregnated with the convictions, customs, and associations of a nation . . . their institutions, laws, customs, manners, habits, characters, convictions---their scenery whether of the sea, the city, or the hills."¹ The focus of this chapter will be an examination of Tyler's motivation and goals in presenting the attitudes and actions of his fellow countrymen. The attitudes and actions themselves are presented and examined in some detail in subsequent chapters dealing with the humor and satire of The Algerine Captive.

Royall Tyler was an extremely patriotic man. He came of age in a Boston seething with revolutionary passion, served his country militarily in both the Revolutionary War and Shays' Rebellion,

and devoted much of his adult life to public service. Even in his literary avocation, he desired to serve his country. Efforts to establish an indigenous American culture were more often thwarted than encouraged. The British, having lost the war, belittled American cultural progress. As late as 1820, a British writer, Sydney Smith, asked contemptuously, "Who reads an American book?". Many influential Americans were no more encouraging to the emerging national culture than were their disgruntled British cousins. Highly-respected, well-educated John Adams once remarked, "I would not give sixpence for a picture of Raphael or a statue of Phidias."² Adams is the spokesman of a stable, virtuous, but materialistic segment of the American population. However, a native culture or national tradition in the arts had not yet evolved in Revolutionary America; consequently, it could not be evaluated by either the Philistine or the aesthete.

A number of practical concerns delayed the inception and acceptance of novels in the New World. Before the close of the seventeenth century, the struggle for survival demanded most of the attention and ingenuity of settlers. Political turmoils commanded the abilities of the enlightened minds during most of the eighteenth century. Moreover, until about 1670, Puritanism constituted a powerful deterrent to artistic activity.³ Still, in spite of apathy and antipathy, novel reading and production increased with great rapidity in New England in the 1790's. Tyler comments on the rapid increase

in novel reading through his fictional hero, Updike Underhill, who is astounded by the popularity of the novel in 1795, as compared with seven years earlier, revealing an interest in the emergence and a concern for the direction of this new and popular literary form. He, like other moralists, was aroused and exclaimed against the change. But, paradoxically, while novels were indeed popular in every quarter of society, each quarter rationalized against the growing threat of romance reading. People with the least ability to articulate their alarm dismissed novels as lies. Pious persons asserted they served no virtuous purpose. Spartan spirits contended they softened sturdy minds. Utilitarians condemned their crowding out more useful books. Realists objected that novels presented adventure too romantically and love too vehemently. Patriots feared that, dealing with European manners, novels confused and dissatisfied republican youth. In the face of such censure, Carl Van Doren observes, "American novelists came forward late and apologetically, armed for the most part with the plea that they told the truth, pointed to heaven, and devoutly believed in the new republic."⁴ Accepting the moral limitations of public opinion (which seem to have coincided with his own), Tyler attempted to produce a distinctly American literature which would both edify and entertain with the emphasis on the former.

There are at least two reasons why Tyler wished to produce native American works. He felt a patriotic compulsion to celebrate American manners and thus help provide his fledging nation with the

distinction of an indigenous culture. Secondly, like many of his contemporary novelists and playwrights, Tyler envisioned an American literature untainted by European degradation that might lead Columbian youth astray. In The Contrast, Colonel Manly displays the naive virtue and chauvinistic nationalism which Tyler later advocated in the preface to The Algerine Captive. Even though, as an eighteenth century wit and sophisticate, he satirizes Manly's bigotry and provincialism, Tyler, the moralist, believed, as did Underhill, that such naivete, however narrow, should be illustrated in the books American youth read, rather than the sophisticated urbanity of Fielding, the sensationalism of Defoe, or the retributive vice of the sentimental novelists. However, Manly comes on stage as an adult. The audience sees nothing and learns very little of his background. Tyler did not have the opportunity to demonstrate the development of his virtuous hero. But, in the novel, freed from the restrictions of dramatic economy, he could trace Underhill from two generations before his birth, through, his childhood, education, and to his initiation into the world. Tyler, then, had the opportunity of presenting, in the hero of his novel, the evolution of virtue and a pattern for others to follow. Such development was denied him in the creation of his stage hero, Manly, who appears only as a middle-aged veteran whose character and reputation are fully established before the play begins.

Before Tyler wrote The Contrast in 1787, American writers had made only a few attempts at drama. These efforts include dialogues such as The Masque of Alfred (1757) by students of Philadelphia College, John Smith's A Dialogue between an Englishman and an Indian (1779) and A Little Teatable Chitchat (1781), and a more conventional play form by Robert Munford called The Candidates (1781). But Tyler's five-act comedy, The Contrast, performed at New York's John Street Theatre April 16, 1787, was the first native American comedy to be professionally produced.

Tyler's desire to present the American way of life as exemplary and to declare American literary independence in The Contrast is evident. The Prologue addresses "each patriot heart," and avers "Our Author pictures not from foreign climes / The fashions or the follies of the times . . . On native themes his Muse displays her pow'rs." He answers his question "Why should our thoughts to distant countries roam, / When each refinement may be found at home?" by recalling the hypocrisy of foreign manners which "Our free-born ancestors . . . despis'd." Deploing the fact that art in America has customarily "come from Europe . . . ready made," he implores the audience to view his play and "Let your own Bards be proud to copy you." Recent criticism confirms Tyler's success. Richard Moody judges the play "the first comedy of American manners with an authentic rendering of current tastes, sentiments, dress, and morals,

combined with a heroic espousal of national unity and the native and unequivocal worth of American culture."⁵

In The Algerine Captive, Tyler's scorn of European ways is evident from the first sentence of the Dedication. Assuming the mask of Updike Underhill, he comments with the authority of first-hand observation, "In Europe, dedications have their price; and the author oftener looks to the plenitude of the pockets, than the brains of his patron." By way of contrast, Underhill dedicates his memoirs to David Humphreys, Minister of the United States at the Court of Lisbon, in appreciation of Humphreys' efforts "to liberate hundreds of our fellow citizens" from Algerine slavery.

The spread of popular education in the United States presented a new problem for Tyler and his fellow-moralists by the time of the writing of The Algerine Captive. If Columbian maidens had remained illiterate, of course, there would have been no danger of their corruption by reading novels. At one time, young ladies were immune by virtue of their ignorance, but this changed during the lifetime of Tyler's colorful character, Van Rough in The Contrast (1787). Admittedly, Van Rough may not be considered a spokesman for Tyler to the same extent that Updike Underhill is. However, Tyler's satirizing of Van Rough is through his dialogue, rich in colloquialisms, like "in the dumps," "popp'd the question," and through his fondness for homely expressions like "money makes the mare go," and "keep your eye on the main chance." Here Tyler is employing the rather common literary device of having a character repeat favorite expressions

which reveal his type. Van Rough is a stock comic type---the protective, prying elder who thinks of his daughter's marriage in terms of security, while the young heroines are more concerned with sentiment. This father figure continued to appear in American comedies for almost fifty years.⁶ But Tyler does not ridicule Van Rough's basic principles. The New York merchant emerges as a native type, and the expediency of his puritanical, Poor-Richard, work-hard-and-do-good philosophy is given at least tacit approval. To the end, Van Rough remains the same shrewd, practical, no-nonsense Yankee businessman. He allows Maria to abandon plans to marry Dimple, not because of any change in his economically-inspired ethics, but because of Dimple's sudden reversal of fortune. She still has an economically advantageous marriage, albeit with Manly rather than with Dimple. Philistine, mercenary, avaricious Van Rough would rather have girls "mind the main chance" and seek profitable marriages than be formally educated and have their emotions aroused by reading novels. He tells his daughter, Maria, who has read Six Charles Grandison, Clarissa Harlow, Shenstone, and A Sentimental Journey:

They us'd to say, when I was a young man, that if a woman knew how to make a pudding, and to keep herself out of the fire and water, she knew enough for a wife. Now, what good have these books done you? have they not made you melancholy? as you call it? Pray, what right has a girl of your age to be in the dumps? haven't you everything your heart can wish; an't you going to be married to a young man of great fortune; an't you going to have the quit-rent of twenty miles square?⁷

Ten years later, in 1797, when The Algerine Captive appeared, the situation was different. Obviously, although he applauds the

practicality and industry of the virtuous middle-class merchant, Royall Tyler's personal enlightenment and love of literature would not allow him to accept illiteracy as an antidote for youths' indiscriminate selection of reading material. Underhill vows that the reading habits of the innocent in America must be considered, because, as he notes with pride, "in no other country are there so many people in proportion to its number, who can read and write."⁸

In the Preface to *The Algerine Captive*, Dr. Underhill takes young Americans' interests in literature into consideration in contemplating the spiritual and moral well being of his countrymen. He finds that in his absence libraries and booksellers have "filled the whole land with modern Travels and Novels." This type of literature has replaced for the newer generation of readers the "sober sermons and Practical Pieties of their fathers." The facetiousness of the much-quoted observation that Dolly, the dairy maid, and Jonathan, the hired man, had "amused themselves into so agreeable a terrour that they were both afraid to sleep alone," does not lessen Underhill's concern for the readers of the popular new form of reading material.

Dr. Underhill at last soberly summarizes his observations on the reading habits of his countrymen by deploring first that "while so many books are vended, they are not of our own manufacture," and, second, "that Novels, being the picture of the times, the New England reader is indefensibly taught to admire levity, and often the vices

of the parent country. While the fancy is enchanted the heart is corrupted." It is Dr. Underhill's contention that the solid native integrity and common sense of Americans, especially innocent young ladies, may be undermined by the romantic portrayal of vice in imported novels "from which her ignorance would have formed her surest shield." Tyler's attitude, like that of many of his contemporaries, is that somehow an avowed work of fiction is potentially more dangerous than a factual tale; therefore, The Algerine Captive, like many other early American novels, purports to be an excursion into fact rather than fancy. The audiences and authors of early novels seemed to recognize a choice between truth and error rather than between fact and fiction.⁹ Apparently Tyler is displaying some of the practicality with which he imbued the principled, but not uncompromising, Yankee. In many respects, Tyler was as moralistic as Underhill. However, as a writer, Tyler had to be concerned with the sales of his novel. He was surely aware of the literary convention of presenting novels as factual accounts, which seemed to make them more virtuous in the eyes of moralists like Dr. Underhill. Yet he was also aware that sensational material, offensive to the moral reader, might be presented under the guise of a factual biography or memoir. This eighteenth century convention had been exploited by Defoe, Richardson and Radcliffe, for example. The topicality of the Algerine situation, then of grave concern to national security, and the romantic appeal

of the exotic setting were to Tyler's advantage, especially since he could retain the respectability of a "factual" account.

Dr. Underhill felt that the inability of naive American readers to distinguish between fact and fiction protected them from vice. Tyler exploits this phenomenon to great advantage in The Contrast in Jonathan's account of his first visit to a theatre. Moreover, literal-mindedness became a distinguishing characteristic of most stage Yankees who followed in Jonathan's stumbling and rudely-shod footsteps. Mary Palmer Tyler recalls that while The Algerine Captive was being written, a female domestic in the Tyler home read the manuscript avidly as it was written. This rustic was convinced of Dr. Underhill's existence, recalling she had once known some people of that name in Rhode Island, and eagerly looked forward to the day when the illustrious traveler would call at the Tyler home to see how his biography was progressing. All efforts to convince the maid of her mistake were in vain, and Mrs. Tyler remembered meeting her many years later and her "asking seriously if Dr. Underhill ever came to visit."¹⁰ William Czar Bradley, in a letter dated December 7, 1857, (now in the Vermont Historical Society), tells of "an honest Westmoreland farmer" who came into his father's office soon after the publication of The Algerine Captive talking about Dr. Underhill's adventures." When the truth was explained, the "indignation of the farmer on hearing what he called the gross imposition was almost uncontrollable and would have delighted the author."¹¹

The memoirs of Dr. Underhill, purporting to be true, are thus designed to serve a two-fold purpose; "that we write our own books of amusement, and that they exhibit our own manners." Underhill's life is deemed worthy of presentation also because it "would at least display a portrait on New England manners, hitherto unattempted" not to mention its supplying the public with "some notices of the manners of that ferocious race (the Algerines), so dreaded by commercial powers."

In spite of Tyler's moralistic and chauvinistic desires to celebrate in print the manners of New Englanders and his deploring the vice imported into America via English novels, his writings reflect established and conventional fictional techniques borrowed from Europe. America had inherited the language of England and acquired, naturally therefore, something of the British taste in literature. Since the United States had no literary heritage, the tendency of Colonial writers to draw on the English tradition was inevitable. We have Dr. Underhill's own testimony of the "extreme avidity with which books of mere amusement were purchased and perused by all ranks of his countrymen." These books were British novels. There are elements of the picaresque, the sentimental, the gothic, and the romance in The Algerine Captive as well as in other early American novels. The adoption of these techniques does not in itself signal ineptitude nor insincerity in Tyler's writing. The question is

whether Tyler was able to adapt successfully established form and conventional techniques to serve his thematic needs.

By almost any standard, certain scenes in eighteenth-century British novels such as Moll Flanders, Tom Jones, and Tristram Shandy must be judged rather risqué. There are no such scenes in The Algerine Captive. In 1802 G. and J. Robinson of London printed Tyler's novel serially in their periodical called the Lady's Magazine: Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex. For such a delicate and sedate audience as the Lady's Magazine had, the editors felt it necessary to expurgate only the brief episode in which the narrator's ancestor John Underhill is charged with adultery, because, at a public lecture, he gazed "steadfastly, and perhaps inordinately" upon the enticing hands of Mistress Miriam Wilbore through the "wanton open workt gloves" she wore. Updike Underhill's rollicking adventures clearly do not lead him along the sensuous route pursued by the heroes of many British picaresque romances.

CHAPTER V

TYLER'S SATIRE: THE HORATIAN EDGE

Late in the eighteenth century, when Americans began their prolific production of novels, they quite naturally looked to established British fictional traditions for guidance and inspiration. They found in current fashion in England the historical romance, the Gothic, the picaresque, the sentimental (or domestic), and the satirical. However, importing a literary type seems to have been easier than getting it to prosper in the new environment.

For instance, the historical romance had no chance in New England. It would have to wait until history itself could be written. The Indians had, by the late eighteenth century, largely vanished from the colonies, and their histories had not been compiled. Fully equipped libraries were rare in America; there were no annals nor archives. Therefore, historical romance, later popularized on both sides of the Atlantic by such writers as Cooper and Scott, could not yet be written in the United States.

The Gothic novel never achieved much success in America either. Gothic tales, never meant to be organically moral, frequently

suffered the indignity and encumbrance of moral tags provided by American authors. Charles Brockden Brown, rightly regarded as America's first professional man of letters, is also properly classed as a disciple of Godwin. His novels Wieland, Ormond, and Arthur Mervyn are indeed Gothic. But in spite of Brown's success, the climate was not right in America for Gothic literature to thrive. Reading a horror tale and frightening oneself into a "mass of gooseflesh and fluttering nerves"¹ could hardly be justified as serving the cause of God and John Calvin. Although Puritan opposition never extended far beyond Massachusetts and waned after 1670, there were obvious technical limitations detrimental to the Gothic novel's success. America in 1790 lacked the backlog of legends, mythology, traditions, and folklore needed for Gothic settings. The colonies had not accumulated ancient graveyards, rotting castles, charnel houses, and romantic ruins. Moreover, such manuscripts and Gothic paraphernalia as did exist were embarrassingly modern. Like would-be writers of historical romances, Gothic authors were forced to wait--at least until the buildings had mouldered a little.

The world of the picaresque novel, with emphasis on dupery, sex, and shiftlessness appears to have been just too far removed from the reality of austere existence on the colonial frontier to be credible. It was, in fact, "not until the 1920's that the picaresque novel flourished, in modified form, in the United States."²

The first form of fiction to succeed in the New World was the sentimental. In the Richardsonian tradition, these tear-jerkers were firmly grounded in Christian ethics and were generally regarded as

morally edifying in America as they had been in England. Alexander Pope exclaimed, without his characteristic satirical cynicism, that Pamela "would do more good than many volumes of sermons."³ Moreover, these authors' discreet exploitation of thrills in tales of seduction appealed to the popular audience. In The Power of Sympathy, usually reckoned the first indubitably American novel, William Hill Brown proposes "to represent the specious causes, and to expose the fatal consequences of seduction . . . and to promote the economy of human life."⁴ Thus the sentimental novel titillated thrill-seekers with "specious causes" while appeasing moralists with "fatal consequences."

Yet moralists and thrill-seekers do not make up the coterie of serious critics who support belles-lettres in a society. Satire has a more respectable literary reputation. Although often regarded askance by readers less alert than its authors and frequently unappreciated or misunderstood by an offended public, satire had some interesting advantages for development in the United States. Although they may have needed a more mature and sophisticated audience than infant America could provide, satirists treat universal traits of men; therefore, they are not dependent upon geographical or historical orientation as are writers of other types of fiction. Although those satirized are usually specific individuals or at least easily recognizable types, still the major target of satirists is certain universally identifiable human frailties or foibles.

In The Algerine Captive Tyler's targets for satire are not particularly unique. He lambasts education, slavery, duelling, med-

ical quackery, the American past (particularly the Puritans), and the hypocrisy of aristocratic life. For the most part, certainly in the first volume of his novel, Tyler writes light, facetious, amused, Horatian satire, lacking indignation or vehement protest.

Of course, Tyler was not the first American to write satire. Horatian satire was produced in journals by Tyler's frequent collaborator, Joseph Dennie, and by a contemporary novelist, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, in Modern Chivalry. Earlier, Mercy Warren and Robert Rogers had written plays condemning the British and their sympathizers with the trenchant force and stern indignation of Juvenalian satire. Tyler gently chided his itinerant hero by giving him the alliterative and descriptive name Updike Underhill. But this is bland and inoffensive humor compared to the names of Mrs. Warren's Loyalists: Brigadier Hateall, Secretary of State Dupe, and the foppish esquires Crusty Crowbar, Simple Sapling, Beau Trumps, and Hum Humbug in The Group (1775). Mrs. Warren's closet drama was a powerful propaganda tool, and wielding her pen-shaped weapon "endeared her to John Adams, Joseph Warren, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and the rest of her coterie."⁵

Although not as immediate in its political implications as Mrs. Warren's attack on members of the Massachusetts Loyalist Party, Rogers' burlesque of mercenary, callous British attitudes toward the Indians in his drama Ponteach (1766) is no less vehement in its protest. Like Mrs. Warren, he shows little mercy in the self-incriminating names assigned to recalcitrants, such as the three British governors, Sharp, Gripe, Catchum; their subordinates, Colonel Cockum

and Captain Frisk; and McDole, the infamous opportunist and trader. Labeled the "first American problem play,"⁶ Ponteach is as much devoted to degrading the British as it is to dignifying the Indians. McDole advises a fellow-trader early in the play "Our fundamental Maxim is this, / That it's no Crime to cheat and gull an Indian,"⁷ recalling an earlier trader whose secret to success was that he "made the ign'rant Savages believe / That his Right Foot weigh'd exactly a Pound."⁸

Tyler does not write this kind of satire. He attempts to nudge slightly wayward American saints back into line by gentle rebukes and whimsical satire.

Brackenridge's satirical technique in Modern Chivalry is more akin to Tyler's than to Mrs. Warren's or Major Rogers'. This is to be expected since Brackenridge's purposes also paralleled Tyler's. Like the Vermont judge, Brackenridge was steeped in the classics, his favorite authors being Lucian and Horace. Brackenridge's novel lacks organic unity, and, apparently, he was uncertain of his purpose and theme as he wrote. Thus his rambling narrative extended to over 800 pages (divided into seven volumes), and its publication stretched to nearly a quarter of a century (1792-1815). As the name, Modern Chivalry, implies, Brackenridge's novel is frankly imitative of Cervantes.

The book finally emerges as an objection to "both democratic excesses and aristocratic pretensions."⁹ The author may be seen as a "believer in Jeffersonian democracy and education [who] represents

a happy balance between aristocracy and mobocracy."¹⁰ Obsessed with an idealism as fervent as his idol, Cervantes, Brackenridge began his novel embittered by personal experiences in public life, and he might easily have made it a retaliation against his political enemies. Yet Brackenridge's sense of humor, skill as a story teller, basic belief in democracy, and the opportunity for over twenty years of reflection and reconciliation mellowed his original feelings and altered the tone of the novel. Although Modern Chivalry may have been conceived in rancor, it matures into a skillful, objective inquiry into the political principles and the actual conditions of the young republic. The novel presents the rambling adventures of Captain Farrago and Teague O'Regan and a panoramic portrait of frontier life in Pennsylvania rather than a treatise on government or a bitter satirical attack on political adversaries. Nevertheless, Brackenridge's idealistic intentions remain. He hoped his audience would be the frontiersmen of whom he wrote, but the book's satirical quality and classical tone were really geared to the intelligentsia, as later critics have observed. Spiller notes, "While the lady novelists were dispensing simple lessons in morality for young folk, Brackenridge was teaching his fellow men how to be good citizens. His was the harder task."¹¹ Tyler also hoped to produce "good citizens." But while Brackenridge demonstrated to his readers examples of poor citizenship and hoped they would profit by others' mistakes, Tyler isolated his readers from any but the most virtuous displays of good conduct and responsible citizenship.

Brackenridge, like Tyler, exposes the foibles and follies of Americans rather than more serious vices, which Tyler consigns to Europeans, and Brackenridge largely ignores. Brackenridge sees the threat to America in the excesses rather than the essence of democracy. In this way, he may claim the distinction, assigned to him by Spiller, as "one of the ripest minds of the era."¹² Recognizing the danger of zealously elevating any citizen--the more ignorant and unenlightened the better--to have a decisive voice, if not an office, in government shows the concern of Hamilton and others and anticipates the fears of Victorian writers such as Charles Dickens, Thomas Carlyle, and Matthew Arnold more than fifty years later. The deliberate elevation of mediocrity and ignorance occurred in fact rather than in theory during the Reconstruction and in later farm and labor movements. Thus Brackenridge, while probably no more sincere than Tyler, may have been more perceptive and far-sighted.

While Tyler's satire is primarily Horatian rather than Juvenalian, and his tone amused rather than indignant, there are exceptions. Certainly Tyler is not amused by the Algerine situation. The young and practically defenseless American nation suffered considerable losses of men and supplies to the Barbary corsairs. The author's uncle, Thomas Tyler, was captured by the Algerines and never heard of again. The atrocities of the privateers were made more repugnant to the patriotic Tyler, because their weakening of American economy and prestige delighted an England still smarting from defeat by the upstart colonies. The United States could not defend themselves against the Barbary pirates without military power, protective allies,

or diplomatic prestige. England remained passive and haughty in response to American misfortunes. America's losses and humiliation bolstered England both economically and psychologically and prompted Benjamin Franklin's cynical observation that if an Algiers had not existed, Britain could well have afforded to construct one. Tyler's reaction to Algerine lawlessness on the high seas is, therefore, understandably bitter, indignant, and trenchant.

The satire of the first half of Tyler's novel, however, is light and facetious. Tyler is writing about American people and institutions. If he finds situations and individuals which are somewhat less than Utopian, he never loses sight of their inherent perfectibility. It is toward such a reformation that the efforts of his satire are directed. An instance of corrective satire is his attack on good intentions misdirected which he observed among early Puritan settlers, who were such zealots that they often saw sin where no sin existed. The point is established hilariously, but without rancor, in the account of the excommunication of Captain John Underhill for adultery in 1637. The doctor-narrator's ancestor was indicted on no better evidence than that at a public lecture he looked too long on the hands of a certain Mistress Miriam Wilbore, who had appeared with a "pair of wanton open workt gloves, slit at the thumbs and fingers for taking snuff."¹³ The grandsire's crime, based upon the scriptural admonition "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart" (Matthew 5:28), is rendered less odious by Dr. Underhill's whimsical observation that Mistress Wilbore was "not charged with the latter crime of using

tobacco."¹⁴ Yet neither Captain Underhill's waywardness, Mistress Wilbore's coquetry, nor the Church's hypocrisy are remembered as anything more than the basis of a good story.

Probably Tyler has more to say about education than anything else he satirizes. Tyler's interest in the famous Puritan divine Cotton Mather is in his pedagogy rather than his theology. The jeering reference, in The Algerine Captive, to the credulity of this distinguished fellow of Harvard could well be the first, but was certainly not the last, of such references in fiction. Although Underhill seems to have valued the classics personally and appears to have been well repaid for his study of them, classical education is satirized in two ways. Updike Underhill's application of Greek and Latin in frontier social conversations, courting, and animal husbandry ridicules idle erudition as well as the bigotry of the undereducated.

No more vehement than his ridicule of education are Tyler's jibes at the medical profession. In one episode the four doctors--the learned, the cheap, the safe, and the musical--treat a drunken jockey for a fall from a horse with everything from a rum and cobweb poltice to a dose of urine and molasses. Their treatment of the jockey, who miraculously survives, is an exposure of ignorance and stupidity rather than a serious indictment of the medical profession. Tyler is amused rather than indignant at Underhill's attempt to advertise his busyness by hiring a boy to summon him out of a meeting, ostensibly to treat a patient. (Many years later, readers of the Pickwick Papers would chuckle at Bob Sawyer's efforts to establish

his medical practice by means of the same deception.) Equally facetious and lacking in bitterness against the profession as a whole is Underhill's father's reaction to his son's intentions of studying medicine. The elder Underhill, aware of his son's previous failures in all attempts at gainful employment, but "conceiving my aversion to labor, my inattention to farming business, and the tricks I had played him, the preceding season, as the sure indication of genius,"¹⁵ agreed to his pursuit of a medical career. Another jibe at the profession is contained in the father's approval of his son's plans. Mr. Underhill "only dryly observed, that he did not know what pretensions our family had to practice physic, as he could not learn that we had ever been remarkable for killing any but Indians."¹⁶

The young doctor's mistaking a challenge to defend his honor as an invitation to hunt partridges heralds a satirical episode on duelling. The New Englander's mistake seems natural enough since he is not familiar with the custom as is the Carolina native who corrects his erroneous assumption. Moreover, the semi-literate challenger signed his billet "with grate parsonal esteem your sincere friend, ardent admirer well wisher and umble servant to command."¹⁷ The realities of the duel are even more ludicrous than the challenger's spelling, grammar, and misplaced cordiality. Neither participant has the desire nor the fortitude to carry out the match; Underhill's second affirms that he fought three duels before the age of seventeen and "had rather fight ten more than pass once, in a waggon, over Horse Neck,"¹⁸ and civil authorities dispatch a "platoon of militia, with a colonel at their head"¹⁹ to insure that no such

chivalrous activities will occur. Still neither challenger nor challenged is forced to compromise his honor and the young physician recalls the feudalistic fiasco "established my reputation, among the bucks and belles. The former pronounced me a man of spunk and spirit; and the latter were proud of my arm in an evening rural walk on the paved street."²⁰

Much of the social satire in The Algerine Captive is presented in connection with Dr. Underhill's learning by embarrassing experience among his rustic clientele the impracticality of his classical education. He is bewildered, for example, by the young lady who frequently borrowed from his personal library. Returning the two volumes of Doctor Johnson's dictionary three days after borrowing them, she declined Underhill's offer to peruse them further and "replied, with the prettiest lisp imaginable, that they were indeed very pretty story books; but, since I had lent them to her, she had read them all through twice; and then inquired, with the same gentle lisp, if I could not lend her a book, called Rolling Belly Lettres."²¹ Underhill's paean to a New England nymph, in imitation of a favorite Grecian ode, did not evoke the desired response, especially her literal interpretation of his metaphorical comparison of her to the ox-eyed Juno. Country dames' condemnation of Penelope's ignorant persistence in her seven years' stint at the loom with yarn that was obviously too rotten to hold should have been sufficient to dampen the young classicist's ardor for Homeric recitations, but it wasn't. On another occasion, he suffered the indignation of having an audience to which he was reciting from the Odyssey abandon him in favor of a reel

inspired by a drunken bumpkin's enticing arrangement of "fire upon the mountain, run boys, run." Underhill later reflected that if he had presented his "insulted Greek" as Indian his audience would no doubt have listened with bucolic rapture.

What prompts this domestic satire is, however, nothing more serious than stupidity, pedantry, and harmless charlatantry. Tyler's satire does not reflect the misanthropy of a Swift nor the indignation of a Juvenal. He does not denounce man's vices, but rather human foibles and frailties. The absurdities in the behavior of ignorant New England peasants cannot obscure their basic good-heartedness nor Tyler's obvious pride in these simple, unaffected natives of his beloved homeland. Their virtuous thrift, industriousness, and Spartan prudence clearly distinguish them from the hypocritical Virginia minister, the hedonistically anglicised Thomas Paine, and the heathen Barbary pirates he encounters later in his travels.

It is the naively virtuous New Englander whom Tyler hopes to protect from being corrupted by consuming foreign novels. His gentle satire, hopefully, could provide a remedial route for these only slightly wayward pilgrims. In any event, traveling Tyler's Columbian turnpike would prevent reader's rushing down the primrose path to perdition, guided by "gay stories and splendid impieties of the Traveller and the Novelist."²² His patriotically-inspired goal was to provide for the sons (and, more importantly, the daughters) of Columbia a literature both morally instructive and innocuously entertaining.

Tyler's goal and the apprehensions which prompted it bring into focus some essential differences in sophistication between American and British literature and society. For example, Fielding readily acknowledged the existence of vice. Tom Jones is a rowdy young man who sows his wild oats, profits from experience, and eventually reforms. The real villain of Tom Jones is not the promiscuous foundling but the outwardly exemplary Blifil who "observes all the proprieties, is exceedingly polite, and, on the surface, thoughtful."²³ But Blifil is hypocritical and treacherous in his endless schemes to obtain Squire Allworthy's fortune. It is Blifil's ultimate downfall, as a result of his scheming, which makes Fielding's world moral, if not as puritanical, as Tyler would wish America to remain. The society in which young Jones romps is not essentially decadent. Still another indication of Fielding's sophistication is his burlesque of the seduction motif by having female seducers both in Joseph Andrews, as Lady Booby attempts to force her attentions upon the hypervirtuous hero, and in Amelia, in which William is seduced by Miss Matthews. In Fielding's novels, immoral escapades are at least tolerated if not condoned by a sophisticated society, enlightened by eighteenth-century optimism, and comforted by the sentimental belief in man's perfectibility. Fielding's view of such escapades as natural folly rather than as unnatural sin meant that he never concerned himself with the possibility of contaminating his readers, through such exposure. But Tyler was convinced of the danger of recounting such incidents in print.

Nor would the Vermont judge dare trust the uninitiated to the Richardsonian treatment. The sentimental novelists prescribed exposing innocents to "true accounts" of lecherousness, immorality, and seduction. Their readers, entertained, informed, and inoculated, could be admonished to "go ye and not do likewise." Tyler perceived the simple life of New England rustics as being moral and just. He abhorred introducing the virtuously immature to the corruptions of society. This approach to fiction is distinctively American. Provincial, isolationistic Columbianism permeates Tyler's fiction and clearly distinguishes it from Fielding's sophisticated urbanity and Richardson's confident immunization.

The "see no evil; do no evil" philosophy in which Tyler placed his confidence has had a long life. Fear of imitation (albeit of mere boyish pranks) has caused even "Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn to be at times barred by librarians in whom zeal exceeds imagination."²⁴ Today cases of censorship and obscenity are frequently debated, with neither laymen nor Supreme Court justices able to agree on acceptable standards. Still the reason for such dialogues seems to be a latent faith in the ignorance-innocence-virtue formula indigenous to American culture since early seventeenth-century settlement.

The concept of a country of naive innocents too virtuous to risk corrupting by exposure is indigenous to America largely because of what is conveniently if ambiguously called the "American dream." Spiller points out that "as a state of mind and a dream, America had existed long before its discovery."²⁵ He contends that one of the oldest visions of Western civilization had been of a Utopia. Men

always harbored the notion that somewhere, far away, there must exist on this earth a paradise of abundance, free from corruption and suffering. Not a land where the vices and sins of men had been overcome, but where they had never existed. There must be a place where there were not even words in the language to describe man's moral faults--where Pandora's box was still unopened and the forbidden fruit as yet untasted. The discovery of the American continent, of course, suggested the possibility of another Eden. This spark of hope was ignited by reports of early navigators who landed in the tropic and semi-tropic zones of the new continent. They beheld a semi-clad, peaceful, shameless, simple people subsisting without toil or industry in a balmy, fertile land. Europeans were intrigued by the concept of the noble savage years before Rousseau gave it a name.

The imaginations of Europeans were provided abundant excuses for going on a rampage by reports of travelers returning from the New World. The Jesuit missionaries, for example, steeped in classical tradition, recognized in the Indians replicas of Greek and Roman stoicism and republican virtues. Not all inhabitants of the Old World were beguiled by the reports of travelers to the new. Hobbes, for example, used accounts of discoveries in America as a basis for his unsympathetic reconstruction of the natural state of men. But more prevalent was the "picture of a boundless and generous land, preserved from the evils of our modern society."²⁶ More consistent with popular European reaction to America's discovery was Thomas More's placing his Utopia in the New World in 1516, which seemed so logical that countless imitators located their perfect states in America also.

The dreams of an Earthly Paradise provided, Spiller contends, a necessary mirage for a world-weary Western civilization. If such a place could exist then man had not been irredeemably condemned. Famine, toil, suffering, oppression, war, misery, need not be accepted as man's inescapable condition as a result of the original sin. Man's faulty organization of society rather than man's errant nature could be blamed for his unhappiness. The possibilities suggested by this idea revitalized the civilized world. This last hope of mankind must not be allowed to sicken and die as a result of exposure to a contaminated Europe. In the minds of both Europeans and Americans, there was nothing incredible in the noble virtues of the Indians being shifted to the Quakers and other settlers in the New World. Voltaire wrote in his Lettres Anglaises (1734) that Penn had "brought to this earth the Golden Age, hitherto believed an invention of poets but now existing in Pennsylvania."

Later the American Revolution provided a dramatic portrayal of the strength and character of the new land and evoked still more romantic expectations. The tyrant clearly had no chance in the New World. Oppression had survived for centuries in Europe and Asia, but its demise was swift and sure in the colonies. Thomas Paine and others assured the world that the issues at stake in the Revolution were more universal than local. Citizens of the world readily and willingly believed that the American cause was the cause of humanity. They were convinced that the conflagration begun at Bunker Hill would spread throughout the world and end oppression everywhere. Once this was accomplished, the economic structure would change. It would sig-

nal the end of monopolies, herald freedom of the seas, and lead to a complete reorganization of international life. Many of the promises of the American dream were, of course, too fantastic ever to reach fruition. But "as long as the United States stood, there was hope that ultimately the peoples of the Old World could be redeemed from themselves."²⁷

It was this hope that Tyler and others strove to keep alive by keeping Americans simple and virtuous. If their countrymen must remain ignorant and unsophisticated, it was a small price to pay for maintaining and preserving the hope of the Western world.

CHAPTER VI

UPDIKE UNDERHILL: PURITAN PICARO

A close examination of Tyler's hero, Updike Underhill, and the theme of The Algerine Captive helps to validate the author's assertion that he has created an indigenous American novel. Underhill's wanderings, the frequent contributions of naivete to his successes (which might more accurately be called "escapes"), the first person point of view, the episodic structure, and the satiric tone of the novel all place The Algerine Captive in the picaresque tradition. However, Tyler had made Underhill a distinctively Americanized picaro. For example, Underhill's adventures do not involve a thematic quest for improving the world like the idealistic Don Quixote, nor is the doctor's goal a search for identity as is Tom Jones'. Tyler's aim is to preserve virtue. This objective is presented with the sincerity of Richardson's Clarissa or Pamela, rather than the ridicule of Fielding's Joseph Andrews or Shamela. Moreover, Tyler seeks to preserve the virtue of an entire defenseless nation rather than one heroine as do Richardson's sentimental exercises in the protection and preservation of maidenhood.

The personality and background of Tyler's wandering New England medic differ significantly from those critics usually assign to picaresque heroes. Elizabeth Drew characterizes the picaro as "an outcast from society, often a bastard, living by his wits."¹

Underhill is the antithesis of this description. He is a respected member of society, with a proud family heritage, living by his merit.

The roguish hero was freshly appealing to sixteenth-century European audiences, weary of the aristocratic settings, the artificiality, and the delicate niceties of genteel romances. The increasing number of readers among the lower classes in England were forced to read Gascoigne, Greene, and Lyly, however, because more realistic types of fiction were not available. The stylized, moralistic world of sensibility, through which fops and their ladies pursued their chivalric courtships, was alien to the masses. However, paradoxically, one of the appeals of the picaro was his ability, through roguery, chicanery, and affrontery, to pass from one social stratum or one professional class to another, and to exploit those in more elevated positions. The risque rogue who could outwit the authorities and overcome the rigid barriers of social stratification was both refreshing and reassuring to the majority of European readers.

In discussing Don Quixote, Ralph Ranald refers to the typical picaro of Spanish fiction as a "criminal." The virtuous Dr. Underhill certainly has no criminal inclinations. He never attempts to exploit anyone, and social climbers, in the type of society Tyler envisioned, would be as inappropriate as anarchists. Moreover, the political and social conditions in Cervantes' Spain opposed to Tyler's New England

account for noticeable differences between their novels. Professor Ranald points out that the Spanish picaresque novel is typically a "protest against the life of bourgeois and aristocratic respectability."² Neither Tyler nor Underhill was at war with the Establishment. Tyler's book could be called a defense of bourgeois and aristocratic respectability, rather than a protest against it. Of the classic form, Ranald writes, "the picaresque novels are also a critical commentary on the economic and social conditions of contemporary Spain, which were precarious."³ The nationalistic Tyler was celebrating rather than attacking the economic and social conditions of his country. In Tyler's New England, bourgeois respectability was exemplary; in Cervantes' Spain it was reprehensible, at least for Cervantes and his readers. Thus the nativism of Tyler's novel is revealed thematically.

Tyler's purpose in The Algerine Captive also alienates Underhill from his predecessors as a picaresque protagonist. Professor Drew, commenting on Fielding's purpose in Tom Jones, states, "his aim, though is not narrowly didactic, but broadly humane."⁴ Tyler's purpose, we have established earlier, is essentially not broadly humane, but narrowly didactic. His basic premise in fiction is that it must edify, celebrate American manners, and not expose Columbians to European standards of conduct. To be sure, Fielding is broadly humane and Tom Jones emerges a basically moral individual, who, apparently, becomes a worthwhile citizen. But the bawdy adventures and lusty lanes leading to that end seem too treacherous for Tyler. The straight and narrow paths along which Tyler would guide American youth detour the

sloughs of temptation and the empirical bogs of worldly knowledge.

It may seem odd, at first, that Tyler would conduct Underhill on a journey of thousands of miles and expose him to all sorts of temptations including a nearly-successful attack on his basic Christian belief. The ethics which were firmly ingrained in Underhill as a result of his New England upbringing are severely tested and tried. But he triumphs over all corrupting influences and temptations voluntary and enforced. Tyler is merely trying to prove his thesis. Updike Underhill serves as an example of the fine moral character which can be molded amid the stony fields of the Puritans' promised land. Underhill travels within the protective shield of Calvinistic purity, fed on the manna of Puritan piety, and led by a fiery cloud of New England simplicity. If Updike Underhill, in bonds and slavery, tempted by the promise of immediate and unconditional release, can remain true to the principles of his austere moral code, then such an environment as forged his character must be preserved, and future generations must be provided the advantages of similar tempering. Underhill's birth and rearing transpired in a simple, isolated, provincial society uncorrupted by foreign influences and "books of biography, travels, novels, and modern romances." The example of Updike Underhill, a product of this environment, retaining his virtue and warding off the attacks of European and Middle-Eastern civilization on his ethics and beliefs is ample justification for the careful preservation of such a training ground. Tyler would not deprive Americans of art, but he would not have art endanger the youths' opportunities for developing in the unworldly atmosphere which could pro-

duce an Updike Underhill.

The most serious threat to Underhill's probity was his encounter with the mullah, an apostate Englishman, who sought to convert the enslaved physician to Mohammedanism. Underhill's defense is illogical, but effective. He wins his debate with the mullah, and apparently with his own conscience by sheer Yankee doggedness and determination. But he does win, and he perseveres in his native faith even though exposed to the severest temptation. Underhill admired the sincerity of Mohammedans while still on board ship. He noted, "the regularity and frequency of their devotion was astonishing to me, who had been taught to consider this people as the most blasphemous infidels."⁵ The dramatic clash between Christianity and Mohammedanism, however, comes much later in the book. The mullah and the captive doctor have a five-day discussion on the merits of their respective religions. Critics seem to agree that the mullah presents a much better argument than does Underhill. Nevertheless, the Puritan successfully retains his faith and resists the arguments of the mullah whether by reason or by obstinance. He states: "disgusted with his fables, abashed by his assurance, and almost confounded by his sophistry, I resumed my slave's attire, and sought safety in my former servitude."⁶ Tanselle's discussion of the argument concludes, "but whether Updike has set a better example of the thoughtful approach to religion or of Yankee stubbornness is debatable."⁷ A careful examination of the debate reveals that probably the latter is the case.

Underhill's best defense against the temptations and influences of the world outside New England is a rather provincial display of prejudice, narrowness, chauvinism, and bigotry. Even when he claims to be objective, praises a Mohammedan sermon, and says that it "was received . . . with a reverence, better becoming christians than infidels,"⁸ one cannot ignore the loaded term "infidels." The hypocrisy of the slave-beating Virginia pastor is hardly more noticeable than Underhill's claim to "steer the middle course of impartiality" in his discussion of Christianity and Mohammedanism, while referring to Mohammed, in the same paragraph, as that "fortunate impostor."⁹ A rather disillusioning concept of Tyler's own bias appears when one considers that the author apparently condoned the prejudice, if it preserved the moral standards of provincial, unenlightened, eighteenth-century New England. Evidence of Tyler's attitude exists in the didacticism of The Algerine Captive, which he would have substituted for more artistic works in the libraries of his contemporaries.

Updike Underhill, the American picaro, may be distinguished by that axe, slung over his lanky Yankee shoulder, which he intends to grind. His character is the personification of a didactic, exemplary literature which moralists wish Americans to read to save New England society from sophistication and aestheticism. Underhill's journey into the underworld has proved the necessity of preserving the social system and has prohibited such an excursion by future American heroes or heroines (since European manners are off limits lest they be imitated). Notwithstanding, Tyler established the precedent of testing the American way of life by sending heroes abroad, which was to be

followed by many later writers. Henry James and Mark Twain, in many of their works traced American aliens and their fortunes abroad.

Surely Tyler would not have felt honored to be credited with establishing what to him seemed a dangerous precedent, but he clearly seems to have done so.

CHAPTER VII

TYLER'S HUMOR

Since Tyler attempted to construct an indigenous, innocuous American literature designed to keep Federalist sons and daughters entertained, edified, innocent, and content, his keystone was to be the substitution of American manners for British. If this plan of architecture were employed, native novels could promote patriotism, exalt American mores, and keep colonial readers blissfully ignorant of European moral standards and ethics. The surest means of preventing Americans from emulating European manners seemed to Tyler to be ignoring their existence. In The Contrast, Manly summarizes Tyler's plan in an exchange with Dimple, an American deluded and wayward as a result of exposure to Chesterfieldian manners while abroad. Dimple says, "Believe me, Colonel, you have an immense pleasure to come; and when you shall have seen the brilliant exhibitions of Europe, you will learn to despise the amusements of this country as much as I do." To which Manly replies, "Therefore I do not wish to see them; for I can never esteem that knowledge valuable which tends to give me a distaste for my native country."¹ In spite of his sister Charlotte's witty jibes at Manly's pious, sentimental, and sanctimonious exhortations, the Colonel's pristine naivete is the means of

solving each character's difficulties. In the end, Jonathan's rustic, idyllic, and pastoral ethics, grounded on "the Bible, a rock, and a cow," rather than Dimple's artificiality or Van Rough's urbanity emerge as the means to happiness. Manners, therefore, are important to Tyler's literary philosophy and to the organic structure of his works.

In both The Contrast and The Algerine Captive, Tyler employs manners as a moral barometer. This may be considered a native element in Tyler's works, since English novelists of the eighteenth century did not use manners in this way. In Tyler's works, a man who has rustic manners--who is bucolic in his speech, garb, and deportment (all unquestionably rural American)--is inevitably virtuous. Anyone who is fashionably dressed and displays courtly or sophisticated behavior is immoral. It was not Tyler's premise that a stylish appearance made someone immoral, but that appearances were an infallible gauge of one's virtue, or lack of it. This attitude is not held by English novelists. Fielding, for example, would argue that manners are not an indication of virtue. In Tom Jones he satirizes responses to appearances and points out how often people are deceived by them. Tom is treated with respect by a number of innkeepers because of his dress and manner, but their hospitality quickly diminishes when they learn he is a foundling. Coarse and uncouth Squire Western has property but no refinement and is contemptuous of civilized values, but he is not immoral. Black George Seagrim

and his daughter Molly are simple rustics, who in Tyler's eyes would be virtuous. But the gamekeeper is a poacher and pockets the ~~£~~500 which belongs to Tom. Molly's morals would hardly be condoned by Tyler either. Fashionable Squire Allworthy is a paragon of virtue, but the equally stylish Lady Bellaston urges gallant Lord Fellamar to rape Sophia and he is lecherous enough to attempt it. But for Tyler the formula never fails. He does not look beneath the ruffles and lace. Rustics are virtuous; sophisticates are immoral. This application of manners helps categorize Tyler's works as natively American.

However, Tyler's using manners for humor follows a literary precedent. Congreve, Wycherley, Etherege, and Sheridan had exploited manners in their comedies. The fact that Tyler frankly patterned The Contrast after The School for Scandal has, of course, long been established. In addition to the humorous potentialities of manners, Tyler regarded appearance and deportment as infallible evidence of both deplorable and exemplary moral standards.

In The Contrast, for example, one of Manly's many virtuous acts is his shunning Dimple's invitation to indulge in the gay life and court the girls of a New York too provincial for the Chesterfieldian fop, but too Babylonian for the Revolutionary veteran (Act III, sc. ii.). No less virtuous nor vehement is the Colonel's curt refusal to trade his tattered regimentals for more modern attire. Scorning fashions, he avows patriotic devotion to an emblem of the

embattled farmers, "men who had endured so many winter campaigns in the service of their country, without bread, clothing, or pay."² No doubt somewhere in Manly's subconscious rankled the admonition of a Puritan parson to "Abstain from all appearance of evil" (I Thessalonians 5:22).

The efficacy of Calvinistic holiness and New England simplicity is confirmed by negative example in The Algerine Captive when Dr. Underhill encounters Thomas Paine. Tyler doesn't appear to have shunned Paine's writings as seditious tools of the devil as did Mrs. Tyler. In Grandmother Tyler's Book, the Vermont grandame attributes the indolence and waywardness of her brother Hampden Palmer to his reading The Age of Reason. "Woe to him who imbibes," she said, "the poison of such infidel works as that," remembering that "it was many years before Hampden recovered from the sad consequences of that book, which has no doubt ruined thousands."³ Although equally concerned for the moral welfare of frontier youth, patriotic Colonel Tyler would have recognized Paine's contributions to the success of the Revolution and appreciated his efforts more than his non-literary spouse. Having wide acquaintance with literature as an avid reader and an enthusiastic writer, Tyler was a more liberal critic than his wife. (Mrs. Tyler also attacked Tom Jones with predictable passion and deplored the "broad, vulgar jokes" in her husband's play The Contrast). Nevertheless, the Thomas Paine who appears in The Algerine Captive is not the patriotic pamphleteer and it is not as such that he is scrutinized by Tyler's alias, Updike Underhill.

It is obvious that Tyler is carelessly anachronistic in constructing the Paine episode. According to the story, Underhill met the pamphleteer in London several weeks before the start of the doctor's six years' captivity, which terminated in May, 1795. He met Paine, then, in 1789, but references to Paine's blasphemies obviously refer to The Age of Reason (1794-1796). This is also the section of the novel which refers to Robespierre and the French Revolution, indicating that Tyler more than once forgot to check his chronology carefully; Robespierre was not prominent among the Jacobins until 1793. Paine had won Tyler's esteem as a contributor to the success of the Revolution by writing Common Sense (1776) and The Crisis (1775-1783). It is the memory of these past glories which makes Paine's physical, economic, and intellectual demise in London so disappointing to Tyler. The fall of this great man would seem to evoke fear and pity in the American audience similar in manner and intent to that Aristotle found in the Greek tragedies. The example of Paine's misery and depravity as a result of submitting to temptations in a European environment of moral laxity and permissiveness frightened less agile minds into resolving never to expose themselves to such pitfalls, nor, more importantly, to allow such standards to cross the Atlantic.

Shedding the cocoon of New England purity and trying his wings in the fashionable London fog, Paine has become a quarrelsome, petulant rascal whose powers of reason are clouded by dissipation.

Clearly, as an epigram points out, "the devil's in Paine."⁴ Tyler's naive contention that manners belie moral fiber is borne out by the first impression Dr. Underhill has of Paine, his physical appearance, which he found to be "both mean and contemptible."⁵ "A spare man, rather under size," Paine is dressed like a dandy with "a bob-tailed wig" and "shoe buckles of the size of half a dollar." This anglicized appearance serves as an appropriate prelude to Paine's characterization as a "fiery Hotspur," a "modern vandal," and a "great apostle to the Gentiles," who "railed at Washington, a savior of his country," shook "the pillars of morality," spoke "most freely against revealed religion," and laughed "most loudly at the gospel."⁶ The fact that many of Paine's religious and political blasphemies occurred while he was "in his cups" or "when he was most intoxicated with ale or viler liquors" makes him more odious and presents more vividly the rampant European vice from which Americans had to be protected lest they emulate it. New England's isolation from such corrupting influences as had compromised the morals of such a great mind as that of Thomas Paine, Dr. Underhill perceived, would have kept the devil in pain.

In spite of the fact that Tyler never visited England (and probably, like Colonel Manly, had no desire to) there are some obvious patterns he might have used for his caricature of the foppish Thomas Paine. In the thriving seaport of Boston in which he spent his youth and early manhood, Tyler must have seen visiting Englishmen dressed this way. Possibly in Boston, and almost certainly in New York, he

could have seen Americans, like Dimple, returned from London, affected by and imitative of Chesterfieldian manners, dress, and deportment. We know of Tyler's literary exposure to foppishness through Sheridan's The School for Scandal. In addition, Tyler doubtless read other discussions of dandyism. There were many available including: Benjamin Franklin's The Way to Wealth (1757), Philip Freneau's "The Bergen Planter" (1790), and St. John de Crevecoeur's "What is an American?" (1782). Another possible source is the periodicals of his day which carried not only descriptions, but often illustrations of such Englishmen. For example, The Royal American Magazine, or Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement, published at Boston by I. Thomas, from January, 1774 to March, 1775, printed, in its first issue, "The Thunderstorm: A Moral Tale." It was a tale of seduction aimed, for a change, at the "lawless libertines" rather than the innocent damsels. The would-be seducer, Sir Frederick Wooton, is pictured in an accompanying engraving dressed in frills, ruffles, and silver shoe buckles. The February, 1774 issue pictures Sir Wilbraham Wentworth reposing in classical surroundings complete with sword, wig, and decorative buckles at the knee as well as on his fashionable shoes. Political cartoons in the June, 1774 and January, 1775 issues show dandified British officials, including the king, planning and executing atrocities against the colonies. Portraits of the American leaders John Hancock in the March and Samuel Adams in the April, 1774 issues display contrastingly conservative attire.

These cartoons, engravings, and illustrations--all called "embellishments" and highly derisive of fashionable dress and its wearers---may have suggested a pattern for Tyler's description of Paine.

On native soil, Underhill met a paragon of patriotism, purity, and public service in the reigning president of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin. Tyler never makes an overt assertion that the differences between Franklin and Paine in their post-Revolutionary activities are the result of environment. Nevertheless, Paine in London is dissipated, moody, foppish, and contemptible while Franklin in Philadelphia is venerable, productive, honored, and respected. Doctor Franklin, who has been "the desirable companion of the great ones of the earth," is discovered as an exemplary sage among a "company, most of whom were young people." His pleasant, polite demeanor and "simplicity of language" led Underhill to the conclusion that "men of genuine merit, as they possess the essence, need not the parade of great knowledge. A rich man is often plain in his attire, and the man, who has abundant treasures of learning, simple in his manners and style."⁷ From the comparisons of Franklin and Paine and their respective positions in later life, it seems apparent that Tyler is not content with a mere display of American manners. He most explicitly shows the effects of both American and British morals with didactic thoroughness, emphasizing the advantages of implementing his literary proposal and the tragedy of ignoring it.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that Tyler presented manners only as a barometer of morality. He did not ignore the excellent opportunities for humor inherent in manners. Constantly abiding with the moralistic Judge Tyler, who desired to be a minister, was Royall Tyler, a mysterious, fashionably dressed wit, once lionized by New York society for writing an imitation of a Manners Comedy--- a not-always proper Bostonian who courted ladies in sleighs and gigs drawn by his much-admired and high-spirited team, Crock and Smut. Updike Underhill was a Calvinist, but Royall Tyler was an Episcopalian. More pertinent to this study, however, Royall Tyler was a shrewdly observant humorist and satirist. Some justification of Tyler's position as an innovator in American literature rather than an imitator of European conventions may be seen in his humor. The stage Yankee, created for The Contrast, remained a stock comic figure of the American stage for generations and finally evolved into our national symbol, Uncle Sam.⁸ In The Algerine Captive, Tyler also uses humorous devices which were later employed by American literary comedians.

At least one episode in The Algerine Captive suggests the comic method of the stage Yankee. In a state "south of Philadelphia," Dr. Underhill attends a church service. The sermon, condemning "sinning with one's tongue," is delivered in "animated" fashion by a parson who arrived cursing and beating his slave. The service is quickly concluded so that the worshippers may perpetuate the Sabbath

tradition as a day of rest by attending a near-by horse race. One of the most fervent celebrants among the zealots at the race is the parson. Knowledgeable, devoted, and dutiful, the divine "descanted, in the language of the turf, upon the points of the rival horses, and the sleeve of his cassoc was heavy laden with the principal bets."⁹

The incident is particularly interesting since it is one of Underhill's first encounters with the world and the flesh outside of New England. The righteousness of the original colonies is illustrated by the direct ratio of sinfulness to proximity to them. Traveling from his homeland, Underhill first discovers the hypocrisy of Virginia, then the dissipation and degradation of London, and, finally, the barbarism of Algeria. The intermediary nature of these southerners' transgressions is established quite skillfully. Compared to the inhumanities and debaucheries Underhill witnesses in Europe and Africa, the worldliness of these pleasure-seeking Sabbath breakers is indeed insignificant. With the possible exception of the unfortunate slave, no one really suffers as a result of this incident. After all, these miscreants are inhabitants of the New World, and their basic natures have not been degraded and demoralized as have those of their Old World counterparts.

Tyler accomplishes this impression by keeping his satire light, his criticism gentle, and the injuries superficial. This tone is maintained and the humor heightened by Underhill's reflection upon the day's events in this characteristically naive Yankee

dead-pan account:

The whole of this extraordinary scene was novel to me. Besides, a certain staple of New England I had with me, called conscience, made my situation, in even the passive part I bore in it, so awkward and uneasy, that I could not refrain from observing to my friend my surprise at the parson's conduct, in chastising his servant immediately before divine service. My friend was so happily influenced by the habits of these liberal, enlightened people, that he could not even comprehend the tendency of my remark. He supposed it levelled at the impropriety, not of the minister, but the man; not at the act, but the severity of the chastisement.¹⁰

Typically Yankee also is Underhill's advice that the reader "interlard" the quotations of the Virginians with "about as many oaths, as they contain monosyllables." Thus Tyler protects the delicacy of his New England audience from the full onslaught of Southern realism while reaffirming the shrewdness of a Yankee disguised beneath his apparent naivete.

The Carolinian who vowed he would "rather fight ten duels than ride in a stage waggon across Horse Neck"¹¹ anticipates techniques of journalistic humorists more than fifty years later. Walter Blair found in Mark Twain "sentences which juxtapose incongruities, understatements."¹² Professor Beers of Yale noted an "air of Innocence and surprise"¹³ in the writings of both Twain and Artemus Ward. Twain's drollery in describing the "calm confidence of a Christian with four aces" echoes the innocence and surprise of the Carolinian's remark. Tyler was one of the first writers to use what Beers called "the American humorist's favorite resource of

exaggeration and irreverence." The quack doctors' ministrations to the drunken jockey illustrate Tyler's early application of this technique. Tyler employs both irreverence and incongruous juxtaposition in the account of a minister's persuading Underhill's father to hire the parson's tutelage for his son. The clergyman had come to the farm to trade cattle. This cleric, "who prided himself on the strength of his own lungs," had been impressed by the lad's ability in an earlier visit to the local school during which Underhill recalls, "I read a lesson in Dilworth's spelling book, which I recited as loud as I could speak, without regard to emphasis or stops."¹⁴ Having persuaded Mr. Underhill, with the help of a doting mother, to provide the parson with sufficient tuition to insure the boy's education, the preacher returned to the bovine bartering, and the budding scholar remembered, "it was concluded to swop even though my father's were much the likelier cattle."¹⁵

The exaggeration involved in Mark Twain's Roughing It or the famous account of the "prodigious fire-breathing dragon" in Chapter XVII of A Tramp Abroad recalls that of Tyler in describing Underhill's application of classical education to the management of a farm. Tyler's hero reminisces that he once "killed a fat heifer of my father's, upon which the family depended for their winter's beef, covered it with green boughs, and laid it in the shade to putrify, in order to raise a swarm of bees, after the manner of Virgil; which process notwithstanding I followed closely

the directions in the georgics, some how or other, failed."¹⁶

This exaggerated anecdote also suggests a device of Twain's which Blair called assuming the role of "an inspired idiot."

Although the narrative of The Algerine Captive is in first person; employs Dr. Underhill's rather polished, educated diction; and records little native speech, he does on occasion recount a colloquialism and illustrate obliquely the dialect of his contemporary rustics. As later American humorists often did, Tyler uses such irregularities in speech to the embarrassment and chagrin of his hero. Underhill says that the minister who accosted his father about education and cattle came to "dicker." Some New England customs and their dialectical names hamper young Underhill's amorous intentions. He insulted an "ox-eyed" young lady by a classical allusion. He embarrassed himself once while trying to impress the belles, because his audience defected to a crude country dance in preference to his recital of lines from the Iliad, and "it was reported all over the town, the next day, that the master was a papist, as he had talked French two hours." Underhill's erudite but impractical training combined with a uniquely New England manner of courtship to prevent his escorting a young lady one evening. The school master was about to leave a gathering, he remembers, "when it was hinted to me, that I might wait on Miss Mima home; but as I could recollect no word in the Greek, which would construe into bundling, or any of Homer's heroes who got the bag, I declined."¹⁷

Tanselle points out that the rustics' lack of appreciation of Underhill's classical education indicates a "split between the educated minority and the Philistine majority."¹⁸ Although Tyler's position is somewhat ambiguous, since he, like Underhill, enjoyed his Greek and Latin training, but advocated a naive and virtuous populace, the theme was to recur in American literature. Tyler is amused and Sinclair Lewis aroused, but Underhill's embarrassments and frustrations among the uneducated resemble Carol Kennicott's experiences in Gopher's Prairie in Main Street (1920).

Tyler's hero, Updike Underhill, and the hilarious misadventures in which he becomes involved anticipate another type of American humor and underscore again Tyler's position as an innovator in American literature. Norris W. Yates defines one character type in American humor as the "solid citizen." Yates' sketch of the type describes Updike Underhill almost perfectly. The six characteristics of the solid citizen may be summarized as follows: "1) He tended to live in the city or the suburbs. 2) Economically he was a little bit better off than 'just folks.' 3) He was a model of good manners, avoiding the uncouthness of the rustic and the snobbery of the nouveau riche, with both of whom he was often placed in contrast. 4) The norms of the solid citizen included language usage on a certain level. 5) Along with correctness in speech, the solid citizen showed a moderate acquaintance with culture. 6) Since he was an idealization in status and deportment, this solid citizen

could less easily be made to play the fool--even the wise fool--than could the crackerbox oracle."¹⁹ Perhaps Underhill unwittingly played the fool more than the proto-type Yates had in mind and had more than a moderate acquaintance with culture, but the similarity between Tyler's character, created in 1797, and the "Gibson man" and Clarence Day, whom Yates had in mind over a century later, is undeniable.

In Tyler's treatment of manners, then, the dual nature of the moralistic Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court and the dandy of Harvard and New York society may be seen. The Calvinistic Dr. Underhill holds himself up as a model of virtue and exemplary behavior while Episcopalian, urbane, sometimes rakish Royall Tyler, with a straight face but a twinkling eye, exposes the eccentricities and foolishness of pious naivete. This is not to suggest that Tyler consciously wrote to appeal to two audiences (witty and moral), but merely that, in his own character, such a tension between the poles of morality and sophisticated wit exists. This tension is evident in his writing. It would seem that for Tyler, unlike Fielding, the sophisticate cannot be moral, and this attitude, Calvinistically founded, is strikingly native American. Tyler's nativeness is displayed in his attempt to exalt American manners, while avoiding English customs, and in his innovations of techniques of American humor, many of which were employed later by other literary comedians.

Tyler's interest in nativeness and humor is not confined, however, to his novel and The Contrast. It may be seen in Tyler's

other plays, his poetry, and his collection of epistolary essays called The Yankey in London. In evidence also is the duplicity of the somber, moralistic judge and the gay and witty man of letters just as it is in his novel and his best-known play. Although the focus of this study is The Algerine Captive, it is interesting to take a brief look at some of Tyler's other literary activities and attempt to discover whether he was consistent in his literary philosophy and techniques. Examining some of these lesser-known and, by comparison, inferior works is helpful also in seeking to establish Tyler's proper distinction in the American literary tradition and in understanding more fully his nativism in The Algerine Captive.

CHAPTER VIII

TYLER'S NATIVISM IN THE YANKEY IN LONDON,

HIS PLAYS, AND HIS POETRY

Like Colonel Manly in The Contrast, who thought he was a better American citizen because he never had set foot outside his native land and never cared to, Tyler himself never strayed far from New England. One of the earmarks of nativism in Tyler's writings is his keen awareness of the American character and his attempt to display American manners and everyday life in his works with a thoroughness not attempted by writers before him. For example, he vows in the preface to The Algerine Captive to "display a portrait of New England manners, hitherto unattempted."¹ Yet Tyler often sought to glorify America by making a foil of some foreign culture, with which he had only scant, second-hand acquaintance.

The fact that Royall Tyler never traveled outside the United States did not deter him from describing and ridiculing the customs, manners, religions, and fashions of many different countries. Apparently his high moral standards did not prevent his following the literary convention of the travel narrative by documenting experiences and observations over half the world with the authority of an eye-witness from his study in Vermont. We do know that, in the case of

the Algerine situation, he was acquainted with accounts of the country and the crisis from both geographies and newspapers, if not from conferences with actual observers. Grandmother Tyler's Book admits that The Yankey in London (1809) is "in its humorous exposition of English characteristics and customs, a remarkable tour de force for one who had never visited England."² The Yankey in London is a series of thirteen letters, twelve of them addressed to a friend named Frank, usually referred to as "My excellent Friend." The remaining one, on fashions in clothing, is directed to the letter writer's sister. Tanselle notes that The Yankey in London, like The Contrast and The Algerine Captive, seeks to prove either directly or by implication that America is a glorious place, with a proud heritage and a promising future, and that hypocrisy and artifice irrationally govern the lives of many supposedly rational beings.³

Obviously the British government is one of the prime examples to show, by contrast, the superiority of the United States. British national traits are ridiculed along with the government, but not without some penetrating comments on the American character. The subject of national traits leads, quite naturally, to a discussion of fashions. Tyler's satirical wit is at its best when he, conveniently perhaps because of lack of knowledge, declines to describe the latest London styles to his sister, observing that the information would be obsolete by the time the letter arrived, or when he observes that fashions pass in England from the upper classes to the lower, and then to the United States.

Tyler's continuing interest in the Yankee figure, which he used so successfully in The Contrast, is evident in the 180 pages of The Yankey in London. He tries to record dialect and observes several differences in diction between England and New England. As might be expected, Tyler is a language purist. He deplors the use of slang, and the fact that "there are a number of words now familiar, not merely in transient converse, but even in English fine writing, which are of vulgar origin and illegitimate descent, which disgust an admirer of the writers of their Augustan age, and degrade their finest modern compositions by a grotesque air of pert vivacity."⁴ Viewed as a whole, The Yankey in London is didactic and patriotic to the point of being chauvinistic, as are The Contrast and The Algerine Captive. Tyler is careful to assert and demonstrate what is good and what is bad, inevitably with American manners, morals, customs, fashions, and government corresponding with the former and British with the latter. He is, in essence, expressing the same ideals which Jonathan, Manly, and Underhill advocated earlier. Like Dr. Underhill, the anonymous letter writer is an American in a foreign environment comparing, contrasting, and testing American ways. Again Tyler anticipates Twain and James who sent not only tramps and innocents but also Tom Sawyer, Isabel Archer, a Connecticut Yankee, and Daisy Miller abroad on similar missions.

In addition to The Contrast, Tyler wrote several other plays, many of which are no longer extant. Four of Tyler's dramas which are available and which display Tyler's nativism and sense of morality

are The Island of Barrataria, Joseph and His Brethren, The Origin of the Feast of Purim, and The Judgement of Solomon.

The Island of Barrataria is a dramatic adaption of selected episodes from Chapters 45, 47, 51, and 53 of Part II of Cervantes' Don Quixote. The play was written about the same time as The Algerine Captive, which also emulates Cervantes in its picaresque and episodic structure. Tyler is heavy-handedly didactic in his treatment of Cervantes' material. The main character of the play, Sancho Panza, is not so much anglicized or Americanized as Tylerized. Panza appears as a judge with the concealed shrewdness of Jonathan, which Tanselle, somewhat awkwardly, calls "the pragmatic wisdom of Sancho's untutored judgment."⁵ Tyler's flair for comedy is evident in a scene (Act I, sc. iv.) he builds from an original Cervantes episode in which Sancho is not allowed to eat. The second thing Panza says is, "And then let us go to dinner, for I am very hungry."⁶ Tyler capitalizes on the idea of hunger and makes food and eating the occasion for some Yankee-like expressions. Panza says, for example, "How shall I listen to the calls of Justice when my belly is crying cupboard all the time?" (p. 10), "Good Christian People, if you have any bowels of compassion let me have some small matter to eat---a thick slice of bread & cheese---a hock of cold pork or other little matter---truly my bowels do yearn" (p. 11), and, to the Don Formal, "You look as if your office did not require starving" (p. 11). When introduced to Julietta, he asks, "Can she make a good dumpling?" (p. 16).

Moreover, there is a coarse, rural New England humor in Carlos' description of Seignior Alvarez' daughter. He avers, "She would be a beauty if it were not that she is blind of one eye and squints with the other---would dance admirably, if she were not lame---and delight you with the tones of her piano if the larum of her shrill tongue did not drown the musick of her instrument" (p. 16). This straight-faced, Yankee description recalls Updike Underhill's account of a New England lass in The Algerine Captive whom he insulted while attempting to praise in a verse he composed which complimented her golden tresses and compared her beauty to the ox-eyed Juno. He remembers, "the young lady was remarkable for very prominent eyes, which resembled what, in horses, are called wall-eyes. Her hair was what is vulgarly called carrotty; its unfashionable colour she endeavored in vain to conceal by the daily use of a leaden comb."⁷

Perhaps the naive wisdom of a Yankee figure was never more exalted and appreciated than in its application, by Panza, to the decisions he makes as a judge. Tyler satirizes the extravagances and jargon of his profession, but Sancho's wisdom is beyond reproach. He deftly handles a paradoxically baffling case dealing with travelers on a bridge, each of whom is asked his reason for crossing. Travelers telling the truth are permitted to cross; those who lie are immediately hanged. The problem is with Lope de Stepaway (comically named to suggest his wandering propensities, as is Updike Underhill) who claimed to be crossing the bridge for the purpose of being hanged.

Don Ignatio complains there is no precedent for Panza's decision to "Let the prisoner go free for where the case is doubtful, the judge should always incline to mercy" (p. 17). Tyler's wit, satire, and sense of justice are all evident in Panza's reply, "Then put it in your books, that there may be one page at least an honest soul may love to read" (p. 17).

The second case seems a bit risqué compared to other writings of Tyler's, but the humor and the moralizing are easily recognizable. The case involves a woman accusing a man of assault, though the man claims he paid her what she had asked until she saw that he had more money. Judge Panza awards the purse to the woman. Again the man attempts to take it away from her, but she defends it vigorously, prompting Panza's remark, "if you had been as carefull to defend your Jewell as you have the purse, there are not many men in the old or new world who could have rob'd you" (p. 20). Finally, Sancho sees through the chicanery of a peasant who has merely handed his staff to a second peasant and claimed that he has repaid a debt. The money is hidden inside the staff.

Sancho Panza's wit, wisdom, and colloquialisms are reminiscent of Jonathan. Tyler's Panza is capable of "long Locrum story" (p. 17), "how she kites it" (p. 23), and "Cork your peepers, good woman, and unstopple your mouth" (p. 18), whereas, Cervantes' Panza is not. "As in The Contrast, Tyler's underlying purpose is to deliver a sermon to the new republic."⁸ Thus Tyler is writing very much as he did in The Contrast and The Algerine Captive in this clever, witty, but

didactic dramatization. It is lamentable, and perhaps to the detriment of The Algerine Captive, that there is no Jonathan figure in it. The rusticity of the New England types, whom Tyler admires but satirizes in Volume I, does not compensate for the omission of a strong, comic type.

Royall Tyler had a many-sided personality. At one extreme, of course, was an apparently almost rakish libertine who was more than once disciplined by the authorities while at Harvard, may have fathered a child out of wedlock as an undergraduate, cut a dashing figure around the countryside as a fashionably-dressed and witty young attorney, wasted an inheritance in dissipation, and enjoyed mingling in New York society. The moralistic judge, didactic novelist, and nationalistic playwright seems to represent the middle ground where Tyler's vacillating psyche spent most of its time. At the other extreme was a devoutly pious, reverent man, who desired to be a minister. It is in this role that he adapted three Biblical stories as verse dramas. The Judgement of Solomon, The Origin of the Feast of Purim, and Joseph and His Brethern appear to be the sincere products of long familiarity with the Bible.

The Judgement of Solomon deals primarily with the famous incident, recorded in I Kings 3:16-28, in which two women, each claiming the same child as her own, appear before Solomon for settlement of the dispute. Solomon proposes to have the child cut in half and give one half to each woman. Determining the real

mother by watching the reactions of the two women is considered to represent one of the high points in Solomon's wisdom. As in The Island of Barrataria, Tyler's interest in courts and judgments is evident. The play consists of two acts (the first with three scenes, the second with two), a prologue, and an epilogue. The first act is not from the Bible, but is supplied by Tyler to build interest and suspense before the second act, which contains the famous trial scene. For dramatic effect, Tyler introduces the Queen of Sheba into the play; although, in the Biblical account of Solomon's life, she appears somewhat later (I Kings 10:1-13).

As in The Algerine Captive, Tyler dwells on the departed glory inherent in man's turning away from the simple virtues. The "Prologue" asks "Has wisdom ceased her cry in modern times?" (p. 99), to which the answer is "No," but modern man has turned to "earthly vanities" and to "idols vain." After displaying again the wisdom of Solomon in the main body of the drama, the "Epilogue" points out that wisdom even greater than Solomon's is still bestowed "on all who rightly seek the Lord / And gain the honor of the Christian name" (p. 121). Thus Tyler's insistence on morality and purity and shunning the corruption of modern life are as evident in The Judgement of Solomon as in The Algerine Captive or The Contrast.

The Origin of the Feast of Purim is extremely didactic.

The defeat of righteousness is put no more pointedly in the epigrams from Psalms and Proverbs⁹ than in the concluding lines of the play:

"pride and envy, baleful passions, /Altho' awhile they injure righteous men / Upon their base possessor oft recoil / And merge him in the ruin he design'd" (p. 60). The play is almost a sermon. It is a very devout Tyler at work here, exercising a similar, but deeper-felt, faith than that which prompted Dr. Underhill to attempt to entertain and edify American youth with his memoirs.

Joseph and His Brethern recounts chronologically the long and complicated adventures of Joseph from his boyhood to Jacob's recognition that his son is yet alive. Curiously omitted is the episode between Joseph and Potiphar's wife, which successfully tests a young man's faith in a hostile environment, and parallels the experiences of Jonathan and Manly in New York and Underhill in Europe and in the hands of the mullah. This drama seems even more moralistic and didactic than the other two Biblical plays since Tyler added very little to the original story by way of action, suspense, or interest. Tyler's additions to the Genesis narrative are in the form of elaborations and interpretations of the moral truths already self-evident in the original version. Near the beginning, for example, Joseph takes sixteen lines to explain that God works in mysterious ways (p. 67); he later simplifies the point of the story almost to the point of insulting the reader's intelligence by asking God to turn seeming evil into future good (p. 73); and he tediously points out that his earlier misfortunes were part of God's plan to save Jacob and his family (pp. 91-3). Of course, Tyler never intended any of

the three Biblical dramas for the stage. As exercises in playwriting, they allowed him a tour de force in condensation and adaption. They were part of the same impulse that produced adaptations of Moliere (The Doctor in Spite of Himself) and Cervantes (The Island of Barataria) and projected "moral tales" for the instruction of youth. In producing materials for instruction, moreover, Tyler was living vicariously the life of a minister which he felt denied to him by the reputation of his past adventures and frivolous living.

Although Aunt Granch remembered that Royall Tyler could write poetry as easily as he breathed,¹⁰ and in spite of the fact that he produced a considerable quantity of verse for a part-time writer, very few of his poems are now available to the public.¹¹ It is unfortunate that no comprehensive study of Tyler's poetry has yet appeared. Tyler's many interests are displayed in his verse, and, as a poet, he appears in each of the many roles he assumed during his lifetime.

Many of his poems are humorous satires of current fashions, reminiscent of The Contrast. Other light verse treats love, marriage, and sensual joys, not infrequently in a quite risqué manner, recalling Tyler's Bohemian days as a student at Harvard, a dashing young lawyer, and a raconteur in fashionable New York society. Tyler appears as a literary critic in his parodies of Della Cruscan poetasters such as "An Ode to a Pipe of Tobacco, Addressed by Della Yankee, to Anna Jemima," which appeared in the Farmer's Weekly Museum of April 4, 1797.

In 1799, he constructed a Della Cruscan sonnet by amplifying the New England Primer rhyme, "The Cat doth play, / And after slay."

Tyler the patriot speaks through his occasional poems.

Tyler's talents were well suited to such versifying, since he apparently could produce a smooth and graceful lyric on very short notice. "A Christmas Hymn," composed for services at Claremont, New Hampshire, on Christmas, 1793, is a good example of patriotism in Tyler's poetry. The anthem celebrates, of course, the birth of Christ, but most of its lines demonstrate how the Lord is responsible for the freedom of the United States. Naturally Tyler commemorated many national occasions in verse. His "Ode Composed on the Fourth of July," which appeared in the Newhampshire and Vermont Journal on July 19, 1796, is his best known poem. Tyler also wrote occasional verse for theatrical events, most of them following the theme of literary nationalism expressed in the prologue to The Contrast. His "Occasional Prologue" (1794) to She Stoops to Conquer shows that, despite "Proud Europe, and still prouder Britain, the liberal arts "have stemmed the atlantic wave":

Let candor then, imprint this thought alone,
The painting, acting, music, are our own.

In 1795, Tyler wrote "An Occasional Address" for the opening of the Boston Theatre's new season, the first under his brother's management. The "Epilogue to the Theatrical Season: Or, A Review of the Thespian Corps," appeared in the Polyanthos for April, 1806, and, two months

later, Tyler contributed "An Epistle to My Muse: Or, A Postscript to the Epilogue to the Theatrical Season."

Tyler the classicist and Tyler the pious, would-be divine are evidenced in another group of poems, which may be characterized as his reflective poems. Without the mask of humor or satire, Tyler produced at best mediocre newspaper verse, heavily tainted with sentimental clichés. He labeled many of these didactic verses "fables", since they were often based on mythological figures or stories from the Bible. He wrote a quantity of blank verse which he called "Author's Manuscript Poems", and used for the epigrams to twelve chapters of The Algerine Captive. He attempted the Adam and Eve story in tetrameter quatrains in a 108-line unsigned work entitled The Origin of Evil: An Elegy, which appeared in 1793.

Tyler's longest poem, The Chestnut Tree: or, A Sketch of Brattleborough at the Close of the Twentieth Century, Being an Address to a Horse Chestnut Presented to the Author by the Rev. A. L. Baury, was completed just before his death, but not published until 1931. It is a prognostication of events which will occur in the two hundred years in which a newly-planted chestnut tree will stand as an observer. The poet finally concludes, rather irrelevantly, that his own situation is not unlike that of the chestnut seed, a symbol of immortality.

One must remember that Tyler wrote only as a hobby. The very personal nature of poetry allowed him to purge his feelings, whatever they might be, at any particular time and place he chose to take

up the pen. In his verses, therefore, the many interests, attitudes, and beliefs of Royall Tyler may be seen. One of Tyler's interests clearly in evidence in his poetry is his intense patriotism. Tyler's verse reflects the same attempts to moralize, to express nationalistic pride, and to assist in the creation of an indigenous American literature which characterized The Algerine Captive.

CHAPTER IX
CONCLUSIONS

Royall Tyler, motivated by intense patriotism, sought, in The Algerine Captive, to bolster pride in American manners, to perpetuate the American dream, and to create an entertaining and exemplary novel. As an educated and perceptive man of affairs, Tyler understood the American temperament of the last decade of the eighteenth century. The moral austerity of waning Puritan influence, the swagger of nationalism fostered by the defeat of the British and the establishment of a new government, and the indigenous wit of an adolescent society which had not learned to take itself too seriously are all evident in his novel. Tyler wrote for his generation. But The Algerine Captive must be viewed as more than a quaint sketch of the author's contemporaries. It would be presumptuous to cite Tyler as a pattern for later, more skillful literary craftsmen. However, he clearly felt the pulse of the American national character. The follies, foibles, and virtues of his countrymen which Tyler exploited in his portrayal of American manners are the same qualities of the national consciousness which were to be treated by other literary commentators.

Royall Tyler took his hero, Updike Underhill, out of America.

The only American novels which preceded The Algerine Captive, the sentimental, Richardsonian tales of seduction, and the first three volumes of Modern Chivalry, had not taken an American outside the borders of his native land. Tyler took his hero out of the colonies, suggesting the first step toward broadening the palette of the American novelist. Disappointingly, however, Tyler does not make Dr. Underhill a citizen of the world. In his travels, Underhill is kept isolated by his own provincialism and chauvinism as well as by the enforced confinement of his slavery. He contributes "hasty pudding" to the Lingua Franca, but reveals not one word of the foreign language to his American readers. This ability of Underhill's to be in a culture but not of it exemplifies some curious traits of his creator.

Tyler attacks the sophistication of urbanites and ridicules the provincialism of rustics. He could identify and empathize with neither. He enjoyed his classical training, as did Underhill, but deplored its impracticality. His portrayal of New York society in The Contrast indicates a familiarity with it. We have evidence (from Grandmother Tyler's Book) that he enjoyed his sojourn in urban society. Yet his stay was brief. He stayed in New York only two months in 1787 and never returned. Instead he retreated to the backwoods of Vermont. The frontier was a curious habitat for a witty man of letters, but this is where Tyler spent most of his adult life. He advocated the naive virtue of Colonel Manly and Updike Underhill, but

satirically undercut their stuffiness and lack of a sense of humor. Manly can be identified with George Washington, whom Tyler idolized with exaggerated, if not chauvinistic, pride. Yet, in The Contrast, Charlotte's witty repartee consistently ridicules her brother's unimaginative virtuousness. The famous remark, in the preface to The Algerine Captive, that Mrs. "Ratcliffe's" novels delightfully terrorized the maid and the hired man so that neither could "sleep alone" reveals a wit of which Tyler was capable but Underhill was not. In The Yankey in London, Tyler declares himself a language purist, opposed to inhorn terms, coinages, and foreign borrowings. Yet he is regarded as an innovator in presenting the backwoods dialect of Jonathan and other rustics. The books his wife read to him when he was nearly blind and dying of cancer (the Bible, Cooper, Scott, Maria Edgeworth, Byron, Cellini, and Josephus) reveal the incongruity of Tyler's varied interests, as do the subject matter and tone of his various literary works. The ambiguity of a witty, urbane intellectual practicing law and advocating naive virtue in the primitive and unenlightened backwoods of Vermont, could not be resolved by Tyler himself any more than by scholars and critics who have attempted to analyze his motivations and temperament. Advocating naive piety while appreciating literate sophistication, Tyler seemed to be caught in the middle and unable to reconcile himself to either.

Setting for himself the goal of an indigenous literature, Tyler seems to have secured the blessings of a native Muse. He did not write British literature in America. His is the literature of an

emerging nation--unsteady, but fiercely independent. There is nativism in Tyler's novel. Lacking the strength of organic unity, it abounds in the power of effective, amusing anecdotes and episodes. The American novel, like the nation in 1797, is an organism developing unevenly, but meeting the challenge with determination. Updike Underhill (who is never described physically) is not, by scholarly, literary standards, a complete character. Like the young nation, he needed correction at times, and Tyler's satire provided remedial assistance. Underhill lacks development and maturity as did the national character and the native literature of his day. But development is a process, not an event. If viewed as a developmental phase in the American literary tradition, The Algerine Captive is a work for which no apology need be offered.

However, considered as a whole, the novel cannot be judged a success. Character is not presented completely nor developed fully. There is a lack of organic unity. Moreover, the novel suffers because of the limited vision of its hero. The lack of organic unity and the failure to develop character may be attributed to Tyler's lack of experience as a writer. The limited vision of the hero is a reflection of Tyler's own ambivalence and of the adolescent insecurity of the American nation in 1797.

Paradoxically, however, these very weaknesses in the novel demonstrate certain strengths in the novelist. Tyler was ambivalent. Like Underhill, he was a classical scholar confused by chauvinism and a Calvinistic heritage. Tyler is skillful in presenting humorous

episodes. He has successfully adapted literary conventions and inserted native elements, as he promised to do in the preface to The Algerine Captive. But it must be remembered that in 1797 Tyler was an inexperienced writer and America was a fledging young nation with no literary heritage of its own. The weaknesses of America's moral vision as a new nation and its puritanical stuffiness were problems with which American writers were to grapple for another century. The major flaw of the novel, equating naive rusticity with virtue and sophistication with immorality, is not resolved by Underhill any more than by Tyler in his own life. Just as it is unfair to judge The Contrast against Tyler's pattern, The School for Scandal, so it is unfair to compare The Algerine Captive with Tom Jones. These works, by highly-skilled, experienced, and professional British writers, are understandably more satisfying artistically than the works of the inexperienced Tyler, who wrote only as a hobby and lacked the urbane outlook and the security of an established literary tradition or a sophisticated culture which both Sheridan and Fielding enjoyed. But Tyler's early work, with its adaptations and innovations, anticipates the direction of the American novel and of American humor. Such humorous treatment of manners through exaggeration and dialect and the thematic device in the novel of taking the American abroad, for example, are the very elements which later, more skillful writers were to employ in producing American literature with more artistic merit.

Tyler was successful in presenting native American elements in his works. Adapting European conventions of the novel and innovating

from thematic necessity, Tyler succeeded in presenting a native novel rather than an imitation of a British work. It is a phase in the development of American literary culture. It is in the presentation of native elements that Tyler is at his best. The novel succeeds in this particular, although it fails as a whole. Tyler's ambivalence resulted from the conflict of three forces. On the one hand, he reflects the enlightened attitudes of his age, in part as a result of his classical education at Harvard. But on the other hand, Tyler cannot escape his New England heritage, with its rigid, Calvinistic attitudes. And finally, as a Revolutionary patriot, he is not able to avoid a certain provincial chauvinism. In Tyler the man there was no resolution of this conflict, clearly evidenced in his life, nor is there any resolution in his novel.

The forces which seem to have prevented Tyler's producing a first-rate novel were to plague later American writers, also. The artistic dilemma which Tyler could not resolve was to be a subject of major concern to sensitive and perceptive writers in their lives and in their works for many generations following the publication of The Algerine Captive. Some writers, such as Irving and Cooper, were to be limited by these conflicts as was Tyler. Others, such as Hawthorne and Melville, were to treat these matters thematically in their works. Still others were forced to flee from America, finding that they could not work in a climate in which such conflicts existed. Among these expatriates, the best known is Henry James, who initiated a pattern of exodus to Europe which continued well into the twentieth

century. But, whatever the reaction or response, the same conflicts of environment and enlightenment which caused Tyler's irreconcilable ambivalence, present in both The Contrast and The Algerine Captive, persisted for many decades in the American artistic tradition. Whether or not Tyler actually perceived this dilemma of the American artist is a moot question. That he was caught in it, however, is clearly evident in the pattern of his own life and in the major flaw of his novel.

Thus Tyler displays nativism in his novel to an even fuller extent than merely adapting European styles, accurately recording everyday life in America, or correctly assessing the American ideology of his day. The cultural dilemma is, for Royall Tyler, an artistic liability. Nevertheless, its appearance in his works, may well be his major contribution to American literature.

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

¹Royall Tyler, The Algerine Captive, ed. by Jack B. Moore (Gainesville, Florida: Scholar's Facsimile Reprints, 1967).

²Bartholow V. Crawford, Alexander C. Kern, and Morriss H. Needleman, American Literature (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1955), p. 42.

Chapter 1

Tyler's Life: Petted and Caressed

¹G. Thomas Tanselle, Royall Tyler (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 5, citing Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol. XXXI, (1935), 358.

²Journals of the Continental Congress (34 vols.; Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), XII, 1001.

³Ibid., p. 1018. See also Paul Leicester Ford, Washington and the Theatre (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967).

⁴In 1782 when Tyler was courting Abigail Adams, her father was serving the United States in the Netherlands. Mrs. Adams informed her husband of the young lawyer's fondness for their daughter and admitted that while Tyler had lived in dissipation and squandered much of his inheritance, he was an agreeable and imaginative person, whose literary graces rendered him especially captivating both to her and to her daughter. John Adams strenuously objected to the match and wrote his wife that their daughter was "not to be the Prize, I hope of any, even reformed Rake." L. H. Butterfield, ed., The Earliest Diary of John Adams (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 18. Soon after this letter was written, Abigail visited her father, now assigned to England, and married Adams' secretary of legation in London, Colonel William Stephens Smith. For complete details of the Tyler-Adams courtship, see Lida Mayo, "Miss Adams in Love," American Heritage, XVI (February, 1965), 36-39, 80-89.

⁵Mary Palmer Tyler, Grandmother Tyler's Book: The Recollections of Mary Palmer Tyler, ed. by Helen Tyler Brown and Frederick Tupper (New York: G. P. Putnam's Son's, Knickerbocker Press, 1925), p. 107.

⁶Royall Tyler, The Contrast, with an introduction by Thomas J. McKee (New York: The Dunlap Society, 1887), p. xix.

⁷Arthur H. Nethercot, "The Dramatic Background of Royall Tyler's The Contrast," American Literature, XII (1941), 435.

⁸Ibid., p. 436.

⁹Tyler, Grandmother Tyler's Book, p. 151.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 183-84.

¹¹Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 40.

¹²Ibid., p. 47.

Chapter II

The Algerine Captive: Publication and Critical Reception

¹The Independent Chronicle, August 24 and 31, 1797, cited by Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 140.

²The Independent Chronicle, September 21, 1797, cited by Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 140.

³The Columbian Centinel, October 25, 1797, cited by Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 264n.

⁴Frank Luther Mott, Golden Multitudes (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1960), p. 72.

⁵Ibid., p. 130.

⁶Dennie to Tyler, August 30, 1797, in The Letters of Joseph Dennie, ed. Laura G. Pedder (Orono, Maine: University of Maine Studies, 2nd series, no. 36, 1936), p. 165., cited in Tanselle, Royall Tyler, pp. 140-41.

⁷Quoted from pp. 103-04 of an unpublished memoir of Tyler by one of his sons, Thomas Pickman Tyler, now in the Vermont Historical Society (Royall Tyler Collection, gift of Helen Tyler Brown). Cited by Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 141.

⁸Tyler memoir, pp. 98-99.

⁹The Algerine Spy in Pennsylvania; or, Letters Written by a Native of Algiers on the Affairs of the United States of America (with the early letters set in Gibraltar) was published by Peter Markoe in 1787. Slaves in Algiers; or, A Struggle for Freedom, Susanna Rowson's first play, was performed and published late in 1794. A poem of 695 lines of pentameter couplets called The American in Algiers; or, The Patriot of Seventy-Six in Captivity (which also attacked Negro slavery in America) was published, anonymously, in two cantos, in 1797. Although the entire poems are not devoted to Barbary privateering, references are made in David Humphreys' On the Happiness of Americans (1786) and Joel Barlow's Columbiad (1807). In 1797 James Wilson Stevens' An Historical and Geographical Account of Algiers and an American edition of Donald Campbell's Journey over Land to India (which included shipwreck and imprisonment) appeared. Matthew Carey published A Short Account of Algiers in 1794, James Leach wrote A New and Easy Plan to Redeem the American Captives in Algiers in 1795, and Emanuel de Aranda concluded The History of Algiers in 1796. In addition to these American works, European writers treated Algerine slavery in the following: J. Morgan's Voyage of the Mathurian Fathers to Algeria and Tunis, for the Redemption of Captives (1735); Thomas Shaw's Travels and Observations (1738); A Compleat History of the Pyratrical States of Barbary (anonymous, 1750); The Female Captive (anonymous, 1769); Alexander Jardine's Letters from Barbary (1788); and Abbe Poiret's Travels Through Barbary (1791). In The Algerine Captive, Tyler cites such authorities as Shaw (II, 100), Sales, and Prideaux (II, 141-42).

¹⁰Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 154.

¹¹Royall Tyler, The Algerine Captive (Walpole, New Hampshire: David Carlisle, 1797), I, 201.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Tanselle, Royall Tyler, pp. 143-44.

¹⁵G. Thomas Tanselle, "Early American Studies in Fiction: The Case of The Algerine Captive," Studies of the Bibliographic Society of America, LIX (1965), 367-84.

¹⁶Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 146.

¹⁷Monthly Anthology and Boston Review, IX (November, 1801), 344-47. The review was written by Nathaniel Appleton Haven, according to the entry for November 13, 1810, in the Journal of the Proceedings of the Society Which Conducts the Monthly Anthology & Boston Review, introd. M. A. De Wolfe Howe (Boston, 1910), p. 242, as cited in Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 148.

Chapter III

Tyler's Aesthetic: "Producing our own Books of Amusement"

¹Tyler, The Algerine Captive, p. xii.

²Ibid., p. xi.

³David Daiches, Critical Approaches to Literature (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1956), p. 11.

⁴Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, eds., The Collected Dialogues of Plato, trans. by Paul Shorey (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966), p. 625.

⁵Ibid., p. 832.

⁶Tyler, The Algerine Captive, p. x.

⁷Royall Tyler, The Contrast, in Dramas from the American Theatre, 1762-1909, ed. by Richard Moody (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1966), p. 33.

⁸George C. D. O'Dell, Annals of the New York Stage (12 vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1927-1940), I, 256.

⁹Montrose J. Moses, Representative Plays by American Dramatists 1765-1819 (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1946), p. 433.

¹⁰Several instances of such embarrassments are discussed in some detail in chapters dealing with Tyler's humor and satire.

¹¹Tyler, The Algerine Captive, p. x.

¹²Ibid., II, 68.

¹³Ibid., I, 183.

¹⁴Ibid., I, 171-73.

Chapter IV

The Native Impulse: Tyler's Nationalistic,
Moral, and Literary Concerns

¹H. W., "Slick, Downing, Crockett, Etc.", The London and Westminster Review, XXXII (December, 1838), 138-39, quoted in Walter Blair, Native American Humor (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, Inc., 1960), p. 3.

²Robert E. Spiller and others, eds., Literary History of the United States (3d. ed., rev. New York: Macmillan and Company, 1963), p. 188.

³Beginning in 1670 in the colonies, the franchise was determined by property ownership rather than by church membership, as it had been previously.

⁴Carl Van Doren, The American Novel, 1789-1939 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), pp. 147-48.

⁵Moody, Dramas from the American Theatre, p. 32.

⁶Some examples are: Peter Lovemuch in the anonymous A Girl of Spirit (1789), J. Robinson's Mr. Fingercash in Yorcker's Stratagem (1792), Mr. Campdon in James Nelson Barker's Tears and Smiles (1808), both Mr. Dashaway and Mr. Marcene in Yankee Notions (1809) by A. B. Lindsley, Headstrong in Robert Montgomery Bird's The City Looking Glass (1828), and Mr. Tiffany in Anna Cora Mowatt's Fashion (1845).

⁷Moody, p. 37.

⁸Tyler, The Algerine Captive, p. vii.

⁹Pelham Edgar asserts that Defoe, like other early English novelists, professed in his novels "to be a chronicler of fact, a plain unvarnished reporter of the truth, a transmitter of things that happened." (Pelham Edgar, The Art of the Novel from 1700 to the Present [New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939], p. 21.) Early American novelists followed this tradition also. The complete titles of many colonial novels indicate their authors' attempts to present them as factual accounts. The original title page of William Hill Brown's 1789 book labels it The Power of Sympathy: or, The Triumph of Nature, Founded in Truth. Susanna Rowson's popular sentimental tragedy, first printed in 1791, is called Charlotte Temple: A Tale of Truth. James Butler's novel, also treating Algerine captivity and printed the same year as The Algerine Captive, is called Fortune's Football: or, The Adventures of Mercuti, Founded on Matters of Fact.

¹⁰Tyler, Grandmother Tyler's Book, p. 259.

¹¹Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 264n.

Chapter V

Tyler's Satire: The Horatian Edge

¹Alexander Cowie, The Rise of the American Novel (New York: American Book Company, 1951), p. 22.

²Ibid. Although Cowie makes this observation in his first chapter, called "At the Beginning," he offers no examples of which novels of the 1920's he considers picaresque. In his discussion of the twenties, Cowie refers to the "sweat and filth on farms" (p. 744) as described by Hamlin Garland and the treatment of laborers in books by Thomas Bailey Aldrich, William Dean Howells, Edward Bellamy, and others. Characters in the works of these novelists often rose socially as well as economically and, in some cases, might be considered roguish. Without more evidence, it remains a matter of conjecture that these novels are the "modified picaresques" which Cowie had in mind.

³Edgar, p. 51.

⁴William Hill Brown, The Power of Sympathy (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Company, 1789), Dedicatory Page.

⁵Colton Storm, ed., "Forward" to Mercy Warren, The Group (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1953).

⁶Moses, p. 113.

⁷Ibid., p. 118.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Crawford, p. 43.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 144.

¹¹Spiller, p. 180.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Tyler, The Algerine Captive, I, 36.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., I, 78.

¹⁶Ibid., I, 80.

¹⁷Ibid., I, 103.

¹⁸Ibid., I, 107.

¹⁹Ibid., I, 110.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., I, 115.

²²Ibid., p. x.

²³Abraham H. Lass, ed., Fifty British Novels (New York: Washington Square Press, Inc., 1966), p. 29.

²⁴Van Doren, pp. 147-48.

²⁵Spiller, p. 192.

²⁶Ibid., p. 193.

²⁷Ibid., p. 215.

Chapter VI

Updike Underhill: Puritan Picaro

¹Elizabeth Drew, The Novel (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1963), p. 24.

²Ralph Ransald, Cervantes' "Don Quixote" (New York: Thor Publications, Inc., 1965), p. 22.

³Ibid.

⁴Drew, p. 63.

⁵Tyler, The Algerine Captive, I, 214.

⁶Ibid., II, 65.

⁷Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 172.

⁸Tyler, The Algerine Captive, II, 172.

⁹Ibid., II, 141.

Chapter VII

Tyler's Humor

¹Moody, p. 53.

²Ibid., p. 41.

³Tyler, Grandmother Tyler's Book, pp. 253-54.

⁴Tyler, The Algerine Captive, I, 185.

⁵Ibid., I, 176.

⁶Ibid., I, 184.

⁷Ibid., I, 55.

⁸Despite continuing insinuations that the stage Yankee, Jonathan in The Contrast, was not original with Tyler, there has been to date no conclusive, scholarly research on the matter. The country-bumpkin clown, of course, appeared in Shakespeare, but he lacked the concealed shrewdness of the American trader. Spiller calls Partridge (in Fielding's Tom Jones) a "literary cousin of Jonathan." (Spiller, Literary History, p. 187). But the remark is intended more as a tribute to Tyler's craftsmanship than an innuendo regarding Jonathan's originality. Tyler himself speculates that the term "Yankee" may have originated as a corruption of "Yorkshireman" as pronounced by the Indians. (Royall Tyler, The Yankey in London [New York: Isaac Riley, 1809], p. 75, quoted in Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 200.) Constance Rourke suggests the yeomen of Yorkshire, who were wanderers and given to swapping, as a possible source of the figure since many, though by no means a majority, of the Puritan settlers in America came from Yorkshire. But she notes certain decidedly American characteristics of the figure as he appears in the New World. He was a character with which Americans could identify and gain a sense of unity. By ridiculing old values, he helped create new ones. Rustic and unsophisticated, scoffed at by the British regulars, his type had been victorious in the battles of the Revolution. He was a symbol of victory, shrewdness, and determination. Inspiring confidence and nationalistic pride, he finally emerged as America's national symbol. Miss Rourke concludes, "No character precisely like him had appeared before in the realm of imagination." (Constance Rourke, American Humor: A Study of the National Character [Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1931], p. 35) Walter Blair notes characteristics of Tyler's Jonathan in Poor Richard's Almanac (1732-1758); in the Old Farmer's Almanac, begun in 1793; in characters in a farce called The Blockade of Boston, believed to have been written by the British General Burgoyne and performed by his compatriots during the Revolution; and in the scurrilous Battle of Brooklyn, written either by a

Loyalist or an Englishman. Nevertheless, Blair credits Tyler with a significant contribution to the development, if not the creation, of the Yankee figure. "Tyler skilfully drew together all the touches of type-characterization available for his portrait, and probably from his own experiences, added some additional touches." (Walter Blair, Native American Humor [San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1960], p. 23) Marston Balch ("Jonathan the First," Modern Language Notes, 46, /May, 1931/, pp. 281-88) notes a three-act comic opera by Captain Joseph Atkinson, A Match for a Widow, or The Frolics of Fancy, first performed at the Theatre Royal (Smock Alley) in Dublin on April 17, 1786, in which appeared a "Jonathen" with all the traits of the traditional Yankee. In his epistle dedicatory to Richard Daly, manager of the Dublin theatre, Atkinson acknowledges his debt for the plot of A Match for a Widow to the one-act French drama, L'Heureuse Erreur by Joseph Patrat, but adds, "I totally altered the dialogue, incidents, and situation of that plot, and, for the first time, attempted the introduction of a Yankee character on the European stage." Atkinson's Jonathen, like Tyler's Jonathan, is the servant of a Revolutionary military officer who is the hero of the play; is introduced into fashionable surroundings alien to his rural background emphasizing his rustic speech, dress, and behavior; and is able to hold his own with Yankee self-control and good humor, singing Yankee Doodle, spouting Yankee phrases, and becoming the most clearly defined figure of the play, showing up affectation by provincialism. Balch emphasizes the colloquialisms of Atkinson's Yankee which indicate his familiarity with the type and, although nothing seems to be known of his military career, strongly suggest that the captain served in New England. Balch's conclusion is that while Tyler may have had some knowledge of Atkinson's Jonathen from theatrical acquaintances of Daly's who came to America, he could not have seen a printed version of Atkinson's Yankee play, since A Match for a Widow, though performed a year before was not in print until a year after the opening of The Contrast. Balch calls for "radical amendment" of the conventional statement that The Contrast marked the first time that the figure of what came to be the typical Yankee was introduced upon the American stage (O'Dell, Annals of the New York Stage, I, 256, and Quinn, Representative American Plays, pp. 45-6), but still credits Tyler with originality, believing that there is no evidence that Tyler ever saw Atkinson's play performed nor had any knowledge of the comic creation. Moreover, Balch, displaying almost Tyler-like nationalism, asserts that knowledge of Atkinson's Yankee coming to Tyler, with his life-long familiarity with the type, would be "coals to Newcastle." A possible compromise in the debate over Jonathan's originality is suggested by Tanselle's observation that "one can, with some justification, think of The Contrast as standing at the head of a tradition /rather than/ as the ultimate source of the Jonathan character (or of native characters speaking idiomatic American speech" (Tanselle, Royall Tyler, 56).

⁹Tyler, The Algerine Captive, I, 161-62.

¹⁰ Ibid., I, 162-63.

¹¹ Ibid., I, 107.

¹² Blair, p. 148.

¹³ Henry A. Beers, Initial Studies in American Letters (New York: Flood and Vincent, 1895), p. 201.

¹⁴ Tyler, The Algerine Captive, I, 54.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., I, 65-66.

¹⁷ Ibid., I, 74.

¹⁸ Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 158.

¹⁹ Norris W. Yates, The American Humorist: Conscience of the Twentieth Century (New York: Citadel Press, 1964), pp. 23-25.

Chapter VIII

Tyler's Nativism in The Yankey in London, His Plays, and His Poetry

¹ Tyler, The Algerine Captive, p. xii.

² Tyler, Grandmother Tyler's Book, p. 265n.

³ Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 193.

⁴ Tyler, The Yankey in London, p. 103, quoted in Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 200.

⁵ Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 92.

⁶ Royall Tyler, Four Plays by Royall Tyler, Vol. XV of America's Lost Plays, Arthur W. Peach and George F. Newbrough, eds., (20 vols. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1956), p. 10. All subsequent references to The Island of Barrataria, Joseph and His Brethern, The Origin of the Feast of Purim, and The Judgement of Solomon will be from this text and will be indicated by page number parenthetically.

⁷ Tyler, The Algerine Captive, I, 100.

⁸Tanselle, Royall Tyler, p. 95.

⁹"Pride goeth before Destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall" Proverbs 16:18. "Verily there is a reward for the righteous / Verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth" Psalms 58:11. "Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain, / But a woman that feareth the Lord she shall be praised: / Give her of the fruit of her hands and let her works praise her in the gates" Proverbs 31:30-31.

¹⁰Tyler, Grandmother Tyler's Book, p. 79.

¹¹Only a small percentage of Tyler's poetry was published during his lifetime. Most of his published poems appeared in the Newhampshire and Vermont Journal: or The Farmer's Weekly Museum of Walpole, New Hampshire. Marius B. Peladeau has prepared a collection of Tyler's poetry (The Verse of Royall Tyler) which reportedly attempts to establish the canon of Tyler's poetry and includes annotations and extensive bibliographic citations. Originally scheduled for release early in 1967 by the University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, the anticipated date of publication is now the fall of 1968.

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