St George Tucker's Essay "For the Old Batchellor" on Avarice: A Critical Edition

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ST. GEORGE TUCKER'S ESSAY "FOR THE OLD BATCHELLOR"

ON AVARICE

A Critical Edition

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of English
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Mary Beth Wentworth
1973
This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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Approved, May 1973

Carl R. Dolmetsch
Walter P. Wenska
Charles T. Cullen
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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to establish the place of one of the manuscript essays which St. George Tucker designated "For the Old Batchelor," in its American social milieu and literary context. Toward this purpose, I have provided an introduction to the life and times of the author, a critical edition of the manuscript essay, letter number thirteen on Avarice, and a critical analysis discussing the possible literary sources and analogues and evaluating the literary merits of the edited text.
ST. GEORGE TUCKER'S ESSAY "FOR THE OLD BACHELOR"

ON AVARICE

A Critical Edition
INTRODUCTION

St. George Tucker, second professor of law at the College of William and Mary in Virginia, jurist, political theorist, essayist, poet, playwright, and scientist, by virtue of his accomplishments and his versatility merits a prominent place in the history of the American colonies and the new nation. He was deeply interested and often deeply involved in virtually every aspect of life in the crucial times which molded the institutions of this nation. His devotion in both his personal and professional life to the improvement of self and society was true to that ideal of the versatile Virginia gentleman of the Enlightenment epitomized by Thomas Jefferson.

St. George Tucker was born on July 10, 1752, at "The Grove," near Port Royal, Bermuda, the youngest of the six children of Henry and Anne Butterfield Tucker. Of these children, two older brothers also gained prominence: Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, who published several poetic pieces including "The Bermudian" (1774) upon which his reputation as a minor poet is based; and Thomas Tudor Tucker, a physician by profession, who pursued a distinguished thirty-year career of public service which began in Congress and ended with his appointment by Thomas Jefferson in 1801 to the post of Treasurer of the United States.

The Tucker children received their early education in the small neighborhood school under the direction of an able but eccentric schoolmaster. All of them shared St. George's enthusiasm for learning and encouraged his childhood interests, particularly garden-
ing and elementary scientific experimentation. At sixteen, St. George, who was destined for the practice of law, began to study under the Reverend Mr. Richardson, rector of St. Peter's Church. The following year he spent studying law under his uncle, Mr. Slater, but his marked dissatisfaction led his father to make other arrangements for his continuing education. Unable to sponsor his third son at a European university, Henry Tucker determined to send St. George to an English colony on the North American mainland.

On October 27, 1771, St. George landed in New York and began a leisurely socially-oriented journey which took him through Philadelphia and finally to Williamsburg by January, 1772, where he enrolled in the College of William and Mary in Virginia for the remainder of that year. Gregarious by nature, St. George began to build friendships with the very men who were destined to lead Virginia and the new nation through the next fifty years of struggle for independence and stability. His social interests seem to have centered upon the members of F:H:C, (informally "the Flat Hat Club") which boasted Thomas Jefferson as a member a decade before St. George Tucker entered the college. This secret literary, scholastic, and social organization was perhaps the prototype for the later development of intercollegiate fraternities in America and specifically for Phi Beta Kappa, founded at William and Mary in 1776.

The following year, St. George began to study law under the direction of George Wythe, a prominent Williamsburg lawyer who was appointed in 1779 to the first professorship of law at William and Mary. His studies continued into the spring of 1774 when he was examined on April 4, by George Wythe and John Randolph, and admitted to practice in the
inferior courts. One year later he was admitted to the bar of the General Court.  

Unable to find a suitable position in a law practice, St. George returned to Bermuda in 1775 and engaged himself in the shipping business of his father and elder brother. Already his sympathy for the cause of the American colonies was strong. Circumstances seem to implicate both St. George and his brother Thomas Tucker, who was then living in Charleston, South Carolina, in the Gunpowder Plot of the summer of 1776. In this incident, a group of American colonists in two ships, one out of Virginia and one out of Charleston, carried out a successful raid of the unguarded powder magazine at the town of St. George's near Port Royal. Shortly thereafter, St. George was promised an appointment to a county court clerkship in Virginia and consequently departed from the British-controlled Bermudas late in 1776, arriving on the mainland January 3, 1777. 

In the next two years, St. George committed himself to the cause of his adopted homeland. He established both his financial independence and his political affiliation in the substantial shipping trade which he carried on to supply the needs of the Virginia revolutionary movement. He also established his own domestic happiness in his marriage on September 23, 1778, to Frances Bland Randolph, the widow of John Randolph of Chesterfield County. Through this prudent marriage St. George Tucker acquired three stepsons, Richard, Theodorick, and John, and three estates, Matoax, Bizarre, and Roanoke, to be held until the stepsons reached their majority. St. George joined his family at Matoax in Chesterfield county where he remained until 1779 when the threatened British raid on Portsmouth and Suffolk led him to
join a company of Chesterfield volunteers.

St. George Tucker's military career in the Revolutionary War was distinguished but minor. As a colonel in the Chesterfield county militia, he took part in the Battle of Guilford Court House. Later, as a lieutenant colonel of a troop of horse, he was wounded at the siege of Yorktown. Realizing the potential importance of this battle as one of the final encounters of the war, St. George kept a journal detailing the events which led up to Cornwallis' surrender on October 19, 1781.9

The end of the war freed St. George to devote himself fully to his growing family at Matoax, and the rebuilding of his promising legal career. Already the father of two children, Anne Frances and Henry St. George, St. George was blessed in the next seven years with three other children who survived infancy, Theodorick Tudor, Nathaniel Beverly, and Elizabeth. Also very much a part of the Tucker household were young Maria Rind, who was an indispensable aid to the increasingly frail Frances Tucker in the care of her children and home, and John Coalter, who was the able teacher of the elder boys.10

As his status in the legal profession increased, St. George Tucker was called upon to serve the people of Virginia in increasingly broad capacities. His reputation was advanced by his membership in the Council of Stode and in the 1786 convention at Annapolis which took the first steps toward the framing of the national Constitution. By the end of 1787, his financial and professional position was secure.

The shock of his wife's death on January 18, 1788, induced him to sever all ties with his Matoax home.11 When the judgeship of the General Court of Virginia was offered to him a second time in the early part of 1788, he accepted and moved his family to Williamsburg that 7.11.
His new location was not only a convenient midpoint on the circuit for his new appointment, but also reassuringly close to the many friends he had made as a young man. In 1790, he succeeded George Wythe as professor of law at William and Mary. On October 8, 1791, St. George married Lelia Skipwith Carter, the widowed daughter of Sir Peyton Skipwith, and began to reorder his life around his newly acquired professional and domestic responsibilities. In 1803, he was elected to succeed Edmund Pendleton on the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, and in 1804, he resigned his professorship to devote himself fully to his duties, which, although they required long absences from home, also allowed him regular intervals of leisure in which to read and write. Apparently, this appointment did not meet St. George's expectations, and in the early part of 1811, he resigned his judgeship. His comments in a letter two years later explain politely the ostensible reasons for his resignation:

...something more than two years and a half ago, I resigned my seat on that Bench [the Court of Appeals], resolving to withdraw myself from office, and from all public employment, my age and health seeming to require such a Resolution. When President James Madison appointed him judge of the federal district court of Virginia early in 1813, only "the persuasions and Importunities of... his particular friends" and the threat of impending war could prevail upon him to give up his leisure and accept the commission. St. George continued as a federal judge for the next fourteen years and resigned only when his rapidly failing health forced him to do so. He spent his final year in retirement at his Williamsburg home and died after an extended summer visit at Warminster,
the home of his stepson Joseph C. Cabell in Nelson County Virginia on November 10, 1827.

St. George Tucker was a man who strongly influenced and was influenced by the spirit of his times. This statement holds particularly true in the area of his professional concerns, politics and law. St. George Tucker's strong dedication to the cause of independence was demonstrated by the part he played in the Revolutionary War and the 1786 Annapolis convention. Consistently in sympathy with the liberal Jeffersonian republican ideals which prevailed among the Virginia aristocracy, St. George did not hesitate to put his political theories in practice in both his judicial decisions and writings. His pamphlet, A Dissertation on Slavery: With a Proposal for the Graduate Abolition of It in the State of Virginia (1796), reflects his strong humanitarian and egalitarian convictions in its bid for the emancipation of all children born to slave mothers. This revolutionary statement was the subject of much discussion and contention, but as history testifies, the adoption of his proposal into law was never seriously considered. St. George's most important contribution to legal theory and practice was his annotated edition of Blackstone's Commentaries, published in five volumes in 1803. In his appendus, some of which interpret the principles of government as outlined in the newly adopted federal Constitution, the essays "Of Several Forms of Government" and "Of Right of Conscience" reflect strong republican principles and a belief in the moral obligation to serve one's country. A somewhat sentimental restatement of this obligation appears in an essay "On Patriotism" which is contained in a collection of familiar essays written "For the Old Batchellor".15

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Also basic to the Jeffersonian republican political stance is the concept of land tenure. This concept is based on the belief that every man has a natural right to own land and that every sound political society must contribute to the development of its farmers. Ultimately, the belief is that a strong agrarian economy necessarily leads to a strong liberal democracy. The individual Virginian, regardless of his occupation or profession, from colonial times to the Civil War considered himself an agrarian. It must be added, however, that this sentiment did not produce an idyllic self-sufficient society primarily made up of small interdependent farmers, but a dominant planter aristocracy specializing in the production of tobacco for sale in the European markets. Nevertheless, the agricultural, and consequently, the economic and political predominance of Virginia shortly after the Revolutionary War were in decline. The depletion of the soil and the westering frontier necessitated the diversification of crops and the substitution of wheat for the main money product, tobacco. The subsequent drop in the state's economic status inspired a surge of experimentation which resulted in many improvements in farming practices such as the use of fertilizer, crop rotation, silage planting, and innovations in plowing and methods of soil preparation. Between 1790 and 1830, the number of agricultural treatises published by Virginians alone reached the hundreds.

Certainly St. George Tucker was concerned and interested in the plight of the farmer, and challenged by the furor of publication and experimentation which surrounded him. Exhibiting a love for plants from early childhood, St. George always kept a garden for his own pleasure at his home in Williamsburg. The presence of several
gardening manuals and almanacs in his library not only reinforces his apparent interest and concern for this important aspect of Virginia life, but also his rational scholarly approach to the problems which confronted him.

St. George Tucker, like most of the "Enlightened" members of the Virginia aristocracy, was dedicated to science as the ultimate form of reason. Accepting Newton's theory of a mechanistic universe governed by immutable natural laws, he believed that the scientific method was applicable to all aspects of human experience, and he served for several years as assistant secretary for the Virginia Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge founded at Williamsburg in 1773 by John Clayton and John Page. Throughout most of his adult life, he recorded astronomical observations and inventions in his commonplace books and letters. Among these are records of a bath house equipped with copper fixtures and hot running water, and an "earth closet" off his bedroom which could be emptied from the outside. He also took part in the construction and inflation of a hot air balloon with a group of William and Mary students, and wrote up plans for a self-propelling boat which could travel upstream without steam or any other power. Perhaps the most ingenious, if not particularly "reasonable," of his experiments were those which tested a "telegraph" or semaphore system as early as 1795. In these trial runs, he stationed Bishop Madison with spyglasses at the west end of Duke of Gloucester street while he flashed signals of light making up whole sentences from the cupola of the old Capitol.

His enthusiasm for the rational, scientific approach to life also manifested itself in his religious convictions. St. George during his adult life witnessed in Virginia the clash of two opposing religious
forces. On one hand was the outspoken evangelism of the Presbyterians and Baptists, and on the other, deism with its liberal appeal to reason and introspection. Although St. George was a nominal Anglican who maintained a pew in the stagnating Bruton Parish Church, he made no secret of his deistic leanings. On the contrary, he expressed his heterodox beliefs freely in his letters, manuscript poems, and in at least two essays which he apparently intended for publication.23

Genuinely interested in acquiring and communicating learning, St. George accumulated a private library of some five hundred volumes which reflect the amazing variety of his interests. Some of the authors represented, for example, are Horace, Ovid, Plutarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Milton, Cervantes, Voltaire, Locke, Hume, and Frenau.24 As the second professor of law at the College of William and Mary and for the remaining years spent in Williamsburg after his resignation, he continued to avail himself of the facilities at the college and to teach and to learn. In another of his manuscript essays25 concerned with the allegorical development of knowledge, he criticizes strict formality and advocates liberality and rational experimentation in the learning process. This of course was the exemplary stance taken early at the College of William and Mary.

In the area of the fine arts, St. George again seems to exhibit his characteristic versatility. The first and last word in architecture in Virginia at this time was Thomas Jefferson. His buildings, which combined the classic strength and grace of Graeco-Roman architecture with the taste for the functional simplicity of the new agrarian republic, have come to symbolize for us the "Southern way of life."26 Nevertheless, when John Hartwell Cocke was making plans for the construction of
"Bremo," which remains one of the finest examples of Virginia architecture, St. George Tucker, as well as Thomas Jefferson, was among his principal consultants.\(^{27}\)

St. George's taste in painting was quite typical of the Federalist period. The tastes of most Virginians were consonant with their views of politics and morality. Painting to them was still largely a documentary art whose social function might be considered exhortation or portraiture. Though in later years romantic subjects and treatments began to appear, the Jeffersonians usually still strongly favored the neoclassic, with a preference for the statuesque and commemorative.\(^{28}\)

Catering to these tastes were the miniatures of John Trumbull, the portraits, including one of St. George Tucker, of St. Memin, and the commemorations, such as "Washington Crossing the Delaware" and "Lafayette," of Thomas Sully.

Music in Williamsburg during the period of Tucker's residence following the Revolutionary War could be summed up in one name, Peter Pelham. Pelham, who directed the choir and served as organist at Bruton Parish Church from 1752 to 1802, was the single most important Virginian musician of the second half of the eighteenth century. When he was not involved in running the jail and tuning, building, and repairing musical instruments, he gave concerts with selections from Handel, Vivaldi, and Felton, and instructed a number of young Williamsburg music pupils. Among his charges were several of the Tucker children, hopeful of contributing to an extremely well-rounded musical family. While St. George composed both words and musical directions for several lyrics, his family and friends accompanied on a variety of instruments, including the harpsichord, timbrels, fiddle, welch harp, flute, and drum.\(^{29}\)
Several of St. George's lyrics were written to be performed in his plays. He was probably first exposed to professional drama in the theatre at Williamsburg which offered productions by the famous Lewis Hallam troupe seasonally from 1752 until the beginning of the Revolutionary War. St. George began writing plays of a popular sentimental flavor as early as 1789. Chronologically, his unpublished dramatic works are "Up and Ride, or the Borough of Brooklyne. A Farce"; "The Profligate: a Dramatic Ode; inspired by a rereading of *Gil Blas*"; "The Wheel of Fortune: a Comedy"; "The Times: or the Patriot rous'd, a musical drama"; and "The Patriot Cool'd." Although his letters testify to his desire to have some of these plays produced, the lack of theatrical facilities available in Williamsburg, the rather blunt political and social satire in several plays, and the tragic burning of the New Brick Theatre in Richmond in 1811 combined to prevent the staging of all but the first of his plays.30

The literary fashion in Virginia, as in the country at large, was still very much under the influence of neoclassicism. The only difference seems to be that the Virginians, who were exposed to the same periodical and popular literature, exhibited a somewhat stronger element of economic and political utilitarianism.31 The polite audiences receptive to light literature designed solely for the purpose of entertainment were very small. Most of the poetry, essays, tales, novels, and histories were written by members of the professional classes and were designed to serve some practical, public aim. Many of these, because of the feared harm to the author's professional reputation which might result from the appearance of idleness rather
than from the controversiality of his topic, were published anonymously, pseudonymously, signed with appropriate classical *noms de plume* or perhaps with mysterious initials. St. George Tucker, for example, used a wide variety of these methods, signing his essays at different times "Z," "Lycidas," "Philanthropus," "Moses Dolittle," and "Susannah Trifle." The scarcity of printers, the expense of printing, and the high retail cost of printed material resulted in the publishing of much of the literature of this period in the inexpensive and widely circulated local newspapers. Often the only bars to publication were the strong political opinions of the editor or conversely his desire to sell to both Republicans and Federalists. Criticism was neither formal nor stringent. The standard text for writers, critics, and orators was Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres*. This volume advocates classical simplicity of style and logical persuasion based in fact; it is primarily a how-to-do-it manual of the already popular neoclassical style. Critics like St. George Tucker and Thomas Jefferson, for example, relied primarily on the dictates of personal taste, decorum, and reason rather than on authoritative principles. Tucker's statement, which advocates a rather lenient and personal critical standard, was typical: "If the substance of what I read pleases me, I never stop to consider whether by an alteration of a sentence, or the substitution of one word for another, the Beauty of the passage might be improved. Though Criticism is defined by critics (or by some of them) to be an humane Art, in my opinion it is altogether a captious one, as it is generally exer-cis'd."33

The most popular and therefore the most often printed literary genre was the familiar essay. These essays dealt with a wide variety
of subjects and employed an almost equally wide variety of literary
techniques. Among the topics are political, economic, and scientific
treatises, satiric comments on manners, moral and didactic pieces,
layman's philosophy, and sentimental cultural histories aimed at
recording, and occasionally fabricating, American antiquity and tradition.  

William Wirt, through his newspaper series, *Letters of the British
Spy*, contributed materially to the vogue of the familiar essay in
Virginia. Even more popular locally were his *Rainbow* series and his
later *Old Bachelor* essays. He formed about himself a circle of amateur
essayists "reminiscent of the coffee house coteries of Augustan England...
[and] paralleled in their own time in America by men gathered about
Robert Treat Paine in Boston, [Timothy] Dwight in Hartford and New Haven,
Elihu Hubbard Smith and later the Irvings in New York, Joseph Dennie in
Philadelphia, Hugh Swinton Legare in Charleston, and the Delphian Club in
Baltimore." Furthermore, the character "types" found in the Wirt
essays reappear in the short stories of Nathaniel Hawthorne, and the
ey early Virginia novels such as the anonymous *Tales of an American Landlord*
and George Tucker's *The Valley of the Shenandoah*.  

Among the members of this versatile group was St. George Tucker.
From the beginnings of their friendship in Williamsburg in 1802, he and
Wirt corresponded on matters personal, literary, and political. The
essays which St. George wrote "For the Old Batchelor," with some possible
exceptions, remain in manuscript form. Their style is characteristically
neoclassical after the pattern of Bolingbroke, Hume and Addison. The
politically liberal and morally stringent ideas they expressed were
generally consistent with those of the remainder of the group; it is
of particular interest to compare St. George's manuscript essay #16
written "For the Old Batchelor" with William Wirt's earlier essay printed in the Rainbow series, both of which evaluate, or perhaps "propagandize" contemporary American literature.

The Richmond Enquirer, edited by Thomas Ritchie, a dedicated Jeffersonian Republican, was a principal literary depository for Virginian literature at this period, receiving both the Rainbow and the Old Bachelor series. A sensitive reflector of the public interest of the times, Ritchie dedicated about seven-eighths of his space to political news and commentary and one-eighth to literature. The first portion included Congressional reports, editorials, essays and scientific articles; the "literary" section was generally one column of poetry. 38

A frequent contributor to the poetry column of the Richmond Enquirer was St. George Tucker. His contributions in poetry here, along with those to Matthew Carey's American Museum (1787-92), and those which remain in manuscript, number in excess of two hundred. 39 St. George Tucker, like William Wirt in Richmond, was a central figure in a circle of amateur Virginian poets in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Acclaimed both as poet and critic, he advised and criticized aspiring poets from almost every portion of the state. His style is neoclassical, emphasizing the rhetorical analysis of man's practical relationship to society, the nature of morality and right conduct, and generally dealing with dry universals rather than individual or imaginative experience. By modern standards, his verse form is rigid and formal, and his diction, artificial. Representative selections are his deistic "Hymn to the Creator," the satiric Probationary Odes of Jonathan Pindar, Esq. (1794), the patriotic Liberty, a Poem on the Independence
of America (1788), the sentimental "Days of My Youth," and "The Belles of Williamsburg."

This discussion of the variety and stature of St. George Tucker's affiliations and accomplishments has been designed to reflect the extent of his involvement in and contribution to the life and times of his Virginia. Ideally, one would expect representative selections from all the areas of his interests to follow. This, however, is beyond the scope of my present intentions. As an alternative, I have chosen a single selection from his writings which reflects much that is typical of his literary style and his professional and personal opinions. While the following manuscript essay on "Avarice" written "For the Old Batchellor" is singular in its wide index of allusions and parallels, it reflects quite generally the author's broad base of historical, literary, and political awareness. It is hoped that the humanitarian concern and witty imaginative style of the essay, when read in the context of the author's own personal experience and the total experience of colonial Virginia and the emerging nation, will arouse an interest if not an appreciation for the efforts of this largely neglected and exemplary figure of the Revolutionary and Early Federal eras.
For the old Batchellor.

Sir,

The arrival of a very extraordinary personage in this country, of whom I have both heard & read a great deal, having prompted some further enquiries into his history, and character, I beg leave to communicate to you the Result, as a warning to our Countrymen against a character at once so specious, and so dangerous; and withal, whose story is so mysterious, and incomprehensible.

The Birth, and parentage of this personage, are entirely unknown; and together with his great Age, for he is said to be many Centuries older than the wandering Jew, make it doubtful whether he is a real mortal, or as some have suggested, a Demon, in the shape of a mortal. This is not all; it is said that he renews his Age, every Century; that he appears sometimes quite young, sometimes of a middle-age, and sometimes tottering under the weight of years, with a beard which descends to his waist, a bald head, furrow'd cheeks, famish'd looks, hollow eyes, and every symptom of approaching death; then, all of a sudden he is met bustling about upon the exchange, in the Coffee house, or snugly seated in a merchants Compting house; or, in the likeness of a plump Alderman, at a City feast; or, habited like a Jockey, at a purse race; or, at a pharaoh bank, in a gambling house. Some have
said, that like the God Janus,⁵ he has a double face, the one most captivating, smiling, & beautiful; the other as ferocious, as a mame- luke's;⁶ and what is equally extraordinary, if true, that like Tyresias,⁷ he is sometimes male, and sometimes female. That when he, or rather she, is in the latter predicament, she is the most abandon'd of prostitutes; but when restored to the male character, he generally avoids the other sex. These are not a twentieth part of the fabulous Tales I have heard of this wonderful Being; it is said that he has more than once been found, to all Appearance, dead, with hunger; that he was once discovered in that Situation in the Cellar of a famous french financier,⁸ the door of which shutting with a spring lock, secured him till he perish'd, or seemed to have perish'd with hunger, having gnaw'd off the flesh from his arms: other similar stories are told of him; and yet he certainly lives to this day.

However fabulous some of these stories may be, there seems to be some good reasons to believe that he is actually as old as the days of Moses, & that it was he that recommended to the Israelites to borrow of their Egyptian neighbors their vessels of Gold, and Silver, their Jewels, and their precious Stones, when about to leave the land of Goshen:⁹ this circumstance is supposed to have rendered him a favorite with that nation, ever since. Many other traces of him may be found, not only in holy writ, but in the histories of ancient Greece, and Rome, where on many occasions he made a conspicuous figure. In modern history we have frequent notices of him: he was certainly privy counsellor¹⁰ to Henry the seventh of England, and he¹¹ it was that advised his Son & Successor Henry the eighth to suppress all the monasteries. He was several times in the councils of the Holy-see;¹² and is thought to have been at the
bottom of all the penances, and absolutions, which were enjoyn'd on the one hand, or authorized on the other, by that Church: He accompanied the celebrated Hernando Cortez, and the brave Pizarro, to Mexico, & Peru, and assisted them in their Conquests: it is even said that he was with the Renowned Ferdinand de Gama, when he first doubled the cape of good-hope. Be that as it may, it is certain that he advised the massacre of the English, at Amboyna, by the Dutch. That he accompanied the late Lord Clive in his Expedition to the East-Indies, and was his prompter and adviser, on all occasions: it is alledged [sic] that he was also one of Governor Hastings, privy Council, whilst in India, and that he was the author of a plan for the Subjection and Government of that Country, which has been religiously pursued ever since. I had omitted to mention in order of time, that he was the confidential minister of Frederick the first of Prussia, and was highly honoured by his son, Frederick the Great, in the latter part of his life. He has frequently commanded a Band of Arabs, and many a Carravan [sic] has been taken, & destroy'd by him, and his associates. He has often been honoured with a Command in the British navy, and has been the advisor, & Conductor of many of their Expeditions; he has the rank of General and Commander in Chief in the Napolean Legion of Honor, and has commanded the Armies in Spain, and Portugal, on both sides, at the same moment: for he possesses a kind of ubiquity that enables him to assist in the British and french Cabinets, and in the navy of the one, and the armies of both, at the same moment. He is suspected of having administered a potion to the superannuated King of England, which has occasioned the dreadful malady under which he has laboured for some years; but such is his influence that no one presumes to
notice it. To come nearer to our own Country, and her Concerns, he it is, that advised the depredations upon our Commerce, which have characteris'd the Conduct of Great-Britain, at Sea, and of the french government, on Land; and he it was that prompted those measures in Opposition to our Government, which have disturb'd and threat'ned the Union. - In short, he has been the author and adviser of more wars, than are mentioned in History, and of ten times as many Robberies, and Murders, as the annals of the old Daily, & every other criminal Court in Europe, have recorded for a thousand years.

Such is the personage, who, as I am very credibly inform'd, has actually arriv'd in Virginia and in some measure fixt his residence amongst us. He has been sometimes seen traversing the Country in the character of a Landmonger, with his pockets, and his valise, stuff'd with fictitious platts, of Lands, Rivers, Streams, Vallies, Meadows, & Mountains, that might as well be in the Moon. In the time of the Embargo, he was engaged in a most active, and lucrative commerce to Europe, and other parts prohibited; he is thought to have been part owner of every ship in which British and American Merchants have been jointly concern'd since the establishment of the American Constitution; he was a great Stockholder in the United-States Bank, and some others; and as a Shaver, has distinguish'd himself beyond any other of that honourable profession. He has sometimes been seen at the Bar, and actually personated a certain physician, not long since deceased, by which it is thought he made an immense sum of money. - He has been suspected of some intention of getting into the General Assembly of this State; nay some have gone so far as to say that he has more than once personated a certain leading Member; but of this there is no actual
proof, though strong circumstantial evidence might be adduced to support
the conjecture. Others conjecture that he will get into Congress, some
how or other, and try to throw things there, into more confusion than
ever. — He is such a proteus\textsuperscript{29} that I have very little doubt of his
success in the attempt, if he makes it: how dangerous a person he may
be, in either of those Assemblies, I leave to the cool and candid
Consideration of every Citizen of the Commonwealth.

The name of this extra-ordinary personage is, like everything else
that relates to him, a caballistical\textsuperscript{30} compound, of Letters, and figures,
intermingled with each other. I have seen it written thus; --
A:5:a:r:1:100:e.\textsuperscript{31} -- perhaps AAron Burr,\textsuperscript{32} or some of his Correspondents
might decypher it, as he certainly was one of the associates in their
Conspiracy.

I am, Sir, Your hble servt.

Misavarus.\textsuperscript{33}

The fanciful character which is drawn of Avarice, in the preceding
Letter, might have been much further extended: Even when it leads not
to the Commission of crimes, Avarice, is amongst the most unamiable of
the human passions, inasmuch, as even in that Case, it absorbs and
annihilates every noble Sentiment, and every tender feeling, of the
heart. An avaricious person in the midst of his family, and friends, is
as perfectly alone, as if he were in a desert. Their Attention, their
kindness, their caresses are all lost upon him; wrapt in the contempla-
tion of his wealth, or the means of increasing it, or the dangers of
losing it, his whole soul is abstracted from every object around, however
pleasing, or capable of conferring happiness on others. Like another
Tantalus\textsuperscript{34} he thirsts amidst Waters, and starves amidst Plenty. Poverty
itself does not suffer more from hunger, thirst, cold and nakedness. The sick man, parching in a burning Fever, the frantic Bedlamite, or the condemned Felon, who expects the next morning to be his last, is not more sleepless. With millions at his command, he gives not a penny to relieve the miseries of others, or his own imperious wants. No Astrologer, or Soothsayer, ever predicted so many Calamities; the rise or Fall of the Stocks is in his eyes more dreadful than the plague; and the loss of an advantageous Bargain, more fatal than a Famine. - Dreading Death, he dares not afford himself the means of living. He presumes not to look up to Heaven for Comfort; for Despair hovers perpetually over him, and pictures to his terrified imagination, the ministers of everlasting Vengeance, preparing eternal Tortures for him: he shreiks [sic] with horror at the phantom, and hopeless, desponding, and trembling, gives up the Ghost.

The following passage is proposed as a motto to this paper. I have not the Book, and am not certain I have cited it accurately. It might be well to add Mr. Francis's Translation.

"Ore captat aquas fugientes Tantalus sitiens:

"Quid rides! Mutati nomine de te Fabula narratur.

Horace
CRITIQUE

In November of 1810, William Wirt organized what he called "a series of didactic and ethical essays, put together somewhat after the model of the Spectator."\(^1\) Introducing himself as Dr. Robert Cecil, the "old Bachelor," he set up his column in the Richmond Enquirer to receive the letter-essays of his friends and associates. In addition to the three regular correspondents, "Galen," Dr. Frank Carr of Albemarle; "Alfred," Richard E. Parker; and "Melmoth," Dr. Girardin of Richmond, he received essays from such prominent Virginia figures as Dabney Carr, David Watson, George Tucker, and St. George Tucker. According to the Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt (1851), written by John Pendleton Kennedy, a total of twenty-eight essays appeared regularly from December 22, 1810, to December 24, 1811.\(^2\) In 1814, these twenty-eight were republished in Richmond in book form, along with five additional essays which date from May, 1813; the project was then dropped.

The advertisement appearing as a preface in William Wirt's volume, The Old Bachelor, eloquently expresses the sentiments and intentions of both the author-editor and the contributors to the project, thus:

The following essays were the amusement of a few short intervals of leisure; and were given to The Enquirer with the hope of their amusing, also, his country readers. Their author never calculated on their taking the form of a book; and wrote therefore, with a rapidity and carelessness, excusable only in the ephemera of a news-paper.

In an early number communications were invited and many were received. Some of these are given to the public in this series of essays; many of value yet remain, which at a future day may possibly contribute
to form another volume.

The subject of Eloquence, merely begun in a few numbers near the close of this book, had constituted a prominent figure in the original design of the work. But the author's hours of leisure becoming more and more rare, as well as shorter, he was forced to leave the Essays which are published on that topic in a very crude and mutilated state, and to suspend, at least for a time, if not to abandon, altogether, the whole project. This he regrets—For the occupation was delightful to him; and he learned from a variety of quarters that it was not without pleasure or profit to the readers of The Enquirer. It is much to be lamented that this pleasing and popular mode of conveying instruction is not more courted in this country. We have many who have both time and talents for such compositions and who might do much good to others and credit to themselves by devoting a few hours in each week to such a work. There may, indeed, be less fame in such an employment than in many others; but in none can there be more peace, innocence or pleasure; and in few, indeed, more permanent utility. Pythagoras thought it more honorable to preside in a seminary of learning and form the future statesmen [sic], orators and heroes who were to govern and adorn the world, than to take an individual part in the political concerns of any country; hence he declined the various splendid offers of preferment which were made him, courted peace and science in the school of Crotona, and won immortality by the wisdom of his course.

The abandonment of this project left unpublished (and unnoticed) the collection of twenty-two manuscript essays written by St. George Tucker "For the Old Batchellor." The apparent inattention of William Wirt, a close friend and professional colleague of St. George Tucker, and the consequent absence of any contemporary public acquaintance with his essays certainly accounts for the largely esoteric literary interest and importance they hold for the modern reader and scholar. Representative of the popular genre, the familiar essay, they are strictly an imitative rather than an innovative or directive literary force. From the standpoint of history, essays of this type are quite significant subjective reflectors of the cultural and political climate of the times. Their value, of course, is often directly proportional to the reliability of the author. In light
of his personal and professional reputation, the familiar essays of St. George Tucker should provide a quite accurate picture of the "enlightened" post-Revolutionary War South. Those essays which have remained in manuscript form often have the added advantage of retaining the candid and often unguarded impressions of the author. Conversely, from the standpoint of literature, they are disappointing because they lack the polished style and unity which a complete work of art should possess. This perhaps is the principal objection to be posed against consideration of the essays of St. George Tucker as literature.

These essays, which were written for a heterogenous newspaper reading audience, reflect the traditional taste of the American planter-patriot for the familiar, the homespun, the moral and didactic, rather than the more sophisticated, urbane, elitist tastes of the typical reading audience addressed by their European counterparts. The influences of Neoclassicism, retarded by the characteristically lethargic flow of cultural influences from Europe to America and the American preoccupation with the concerns of war and politics, did not reach a peak in this country until the comparatively stable years following the Revolutionary War. Its force, already waning before the turn of the century in Europe under the Romantic reaction of artists such as Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Cowper, and philosophers building on the aesthetic speculations of Immanuel Kant, was still operative in America until the third decade of the nineteenth century. American literature in this era adhered closely to the Neoclassical taste for the utilitarian, the moral, and the rational, and American artists conformed willingly to its standards of natural order, reason, and decorum. Both in politics and the arts, Americans were anxious for the stability and security manifest in the Neoclassical
principles of order.

The moral, didactic, and utilitarian tendencies in American literature had already been established in the writings of the Puritan tradition. In the Revolutionary and Federalist eras, much of the literature continued in these directions. Political and scientific treatises, commemorative and historical poetry, familiar essays, and pamphlets, characterized by the work of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine and Philip Freneau, were added to the already popular and varied flow of histories, religious and domestic poetry, sermons, moral exempla and letters, characterized by the earlier writings of figures such as William Bradford, Anne Bradstreet, Edward Taylor, Cotton Mather and William Byrd. In these later writings, the emphasis upon social concerns seems much more pronounced. The familiar essay, as well as each of the accompanying genres, addresses itself primarily toward informing its audience of public events and concerns or toward demonstrating to them their moral responsibility to the society. To address oneself to the informing and improving of society is to encounter an extensive range of subject matter. Among the more popular topics of the familiar essay was the demonstration of what it was and what it meant to be an American. These essays generally, and the essays of St. George Tucker, while in the broad stream of moral, didactic, and utilitarian literature, exhibit also the particular qualities of a growing social or public awareness and the consequent conscious expression of the American social or national identity.

However, the essays of St. George Tucker were not solely the product of American literary influences, but also were enriched by the author's quite liberal acquaintance with the literature of classical Greece and Rome,
the medieval moral tales of Boccaccio and Chaucer, the Renaissance
terings of Spenser and Milton, and the more nearly contemporary work of
Dryden, Locke, Addison and Steele, Hume, Rousseau, and Voltaire. Considera-
eration of a representative selection from the essays of St. George
Tucker will serve to illustrate the variety of literary, historical,
and political knowledge at the command of the author, and the ingenuity
with which he incorporates surprising amounts of it into the morally
didactic framework of the essays.

The letter on avarice, essay #13 from the collection of unpublished
manuscripts written "For the Old Batchellor," has been reproduced above
as just such an illustration. The text is a literal transcription of
the manuscript. The spelling has been neither modernized nor corrected;
I have preferred in all cases the insertion of [sic] to indicate the
author's variance from modern usage. The archaic capitalization and
punctuation has been retained because these seem to reflect the author's
original intent and emphasis. More often, however, the variations are
simply a random application of the archaic grammar which required the
capitalization of all nouns. The notes are designed to clarify the
several allusions and echoes in the text.

The manuscript follows the same basic format employed in all of the
essays in the group designated "For the Old Batchellor." (See the
Appendix, pp. 37 -39, for a comparison of the texts.) It is handwritten,
probably by St. George Tucker, in the form of a letter, and signed with
a thematically appropriate pseudonym. Most of these essays are numbered
and bear the designation "For the Old Batchellor" at the beginning; all
show evidence of varying degrees of revision. The essay on avarice is,
however, unique in one curious way. Of the essays numbers 12 through
27, bound together in a paper cover, separate from the loose pages, #13
alone is folded to mail, and is addressed "For Doctor Robert Cecil." It is the last essay to contain explanatory comments or a postscript written apparently to William Wirt seeking his editorial advice. From the arrangement and binding of the manuscripts, the variations in the six loose essays, the largely homogenous format and the consecutive numbering of the final sixteen, I believe that #13 was the last essay St. George Tucker wrote with the immediate intention of mailing it to William Wirt to be considered for his column.

The condition of the six loose essays suggests that they are remnants or first drafts of the eleven essays which St. George did submit to William Wirt. These eleven are perhaps the "elegant communication for the O.B." which Wirt refers to in the following excerpt of an August 7, 1811 letter to St. George Tucker:

I have received your elegant communication for the O.B. for which I beg you to receive [sic] my thanks. They shall all have a place, except the last letter from Mitio the federalist, which they will all think too true a joke to be a joke at all - at least so I fear - and I, therefore, beg leave to retain it a few days, ad referendum. I am very glad your spirits have taken this turn, and in so fine a walk, which indeed, seems natural to them, I hope they will not weary.³

Of these, probably only one (part of essay #27 signed "Diogenes" in The Old Bachelor) was included in Wirt's first volume.

In a letter of September 14, 1813, from St. George Tucker to William Wirt, the former noted that "the O.B. has been silent for more than eighteen months now," that is, from late December of 1811, and sought the return of essays number 2 and 11 to be included in a new project.⁴ His plan was to announce the death of the "old Bachelor" and the inheritance of all the unpublished essays which remained in the files of the "old Bachelor" to a new column to be called "The Hermit of the
Mountain." This scheme, as well as William Wirt's wavering resolution to publish a second volume of essays as a sequel to the 1814 edition, *The Old Bachelor*, were apparently factors which led Tucker to bind up and leave his collection of essays ready for publication. As late as October 10, 1813, Wirt corresponded with Tucker about the *Old Bachelor* project, but his enthusiasm seemed then to be turning in other directions.

As to the O.B. I will, with pleasure, contribute what I can to the scheme tho' I fear that will be but little—
When I go down [to Richmond] I will make a thorough
_search, from Dan to Beersheba, for our stray flocks—
and hope to be able to drive them to their stalls before hard weather sets in.5

The remainder of the letter speaks of Wirt's interest in other literary and professional pursuits. He seems hesitant to take on the added burden of editing a second volume of the *Old Bachelor* and there is no further mention of it in St. George Tucker's correspondence; the projects of both were apparently abandoned or forgotten shortly afterwards.

Another curiosity is the subscript "E" which occurs at the bottom left of the final page of his essay. The significance of this notation is totally enigmatic. A single letter subscript, randomly "E," "X," "L," and "N" appears in all of the sixteen bound essays, and one loose essay. There does not seem to be any correlation between the letters and the subject, signature, or order of the essays. The most attractive possible meanings are that they are printer's directions, or that they are St. George Tucker's own identifying marks. Of course, there are problems with both theories. If they are printer's directions, they are not conventional, and if they are Tucker's personal notations, the scope of possible meaning defies definition.

Stylistically, St. George Tucker's essays reflect, as I have mentioned above, the influences of Neoclassicism and the Enlightenment.
His concern for the welfare of his fellow man established him in the tradition of the didactic essay of moral or social criticism made popular by the Spectator essays of Addison and Steele. Tucker's possession of volumes VII and VIII of the Spectator indicates that his acquaintance with this school of writing was probably more than casual. This influence perhaps was strengthened by his weekly exposure to the pulpit-oration at Bruton Parish in Williamsburg and his occupational familiarity with the rhetoric of the courts of law. One result of this exposure manifest in his writing style is the tendency to express himself in lengthy, intricate sentences. They are generally of paragraph length and employ an elaborate, almost ornamental system of punctuation. The sense is often obscured in St. George Tucker's enthusiastic catalogue of detail. Typical of the familiar essayists, Tucker was primarily concerned with the display of his cleverness and erudition. Consequently, he seems more interested in assembling a varied and entertaining mixture of factual and imaginative data, than with attending to the logical connection of ideas.

The essay on Avarice is incorporated into the framework of a letter to inform and warn its readers of the "arrival of a very extraordinary personage in this country," into whose character the writer has made extensive enquiries. Having announced the arrival of this mysterious personage, Tucker comments generally on his background, physical appearance, and moral and social habits. The character is developed in a series of elaborate comparisons to mythical, biblical, historical, and commonplace figures.

In a manner similar to that of Edmund Spenser in his Faerie Queene, (a volume which was, incidentally, among those in the library of St.
George Tucker at the time of his death), Tucker arranges a number of
descriptive strains taken from a variety of sources in order to produce
a complex, tapestry-like whole. His acquaintance with Spenser's work,
particularly the first two books, is suggested by the similar abilities
of his Avarice and Spenser's diabolical Archimago and Duessa to assume
a multitude of shapes, and the similarities between his general descrip­
tion of Avarice and Spenser's description of Avarice in the procession
of the Seven Deadly Sins from the House of Pride (Faerie Queene, I, iv,
27-29). In addition, Spenser's treatment of self-consuming Care before
the House of Richesse (Faerie Queene, II, vii, 25) is analogous to
Tucker's description of Avarice both trapped in the cellar of a "French
financier" and in the throes of death in the postscript appended to
the text, and Spenser's version of the classical legend of Tantalus
(Faerie Queene, II, vii, 57-58) is a possible source for Tucker's Tantalus.
From this evidence, it would seem that St. George Tucker not only borrows
Spenser's eclectic literary technique, but also a considerable share of
his abundant mythological and legendary knowledge. His "tapestry" is
not the masterful interweaving of varied and colorful strands achieved
by Edmund Spenser, but rather a series of sparsely sketched "tableaus"
arranged in chronological blocks and located in an appropriate variety
of geographical settings. Unlike Spenser, Tucker does not involve his
central figure in any purposive action or arrange any contact with
other figures or forces; rather, his purpose is the didactic exposition
of this specious character in a series of descriptive briefs which
alert the reader by negative example to the dangerous faults of the
avaricious person in society.

The tone of Tucker's essay is typical of the customary tone of
familiar essayists in America during the Revolutionary and Federalist eras, and reminiscent of the approach of the earlier British essays, the popular Spectator papers of Addison and Steele. His approach is conversational, yet his subject matter is academic; the evidence, which establishes this "personage" as an immortal creature endowed with the capacity to assume any shape and exhibiting an unprecedented enthusiasm for financial enterprises is presented quite systematically, yet it is founded on hearsay. The combination of the casual tone and the reasonable, analytical approach to the totally fantastic "evidence" he has uncovered about this "extraordinary personage" contributes to the incongruous and lightly humorous impression of the whole. The questionable reliability of the author's sources of information is appropriate for the treatment of a mysterious two-faced, male-female character who is consistent only in its tendency to change. The general introduction concludes with an ambiguous and fantastic tale which documents the amazing rejuvenative powers of the character.

A more specific discussion follows, which traces, in an involved series of biblical and historical allusions, his activities from Old Testament times, ancient Greece and Rome, through recent European history, to his arrival in post-Revolutionary War Virginia. This discussion is not consistently chronological, yet the allusions are helpful in establishing the date of composition of this essay. A letter of August 23, 1811, from St. George Tucker to William Wirt contains evidence that perhaps an early draft of the manuscript essay on Avarice here was submitted to the "old Bachelor." In this letter, Tucker notes:

I send you herewith an essay on Avarice. If you like it print it; if not reject it.
The manuscript essay presented here, however, seems to have been written later or is a late revision of the earlier lost essay on avarice. The reference to Governor Hastings of India necessarily places the date of composition or final revision after the date of his appointment in 1813. In addition, the "certain physician, not long since deceased," whom I have identified in my note as John Dixon, did not die until 1813. The essay therefore must have been completed late in 1813 before St. George Tucker became involved in the duties of his new position on the federal court.

In the process of fleshing out his sketch, Tucker criticizes not only the political and economic policies of several European powers, but also certain individuals whose identity would certainly not have been obscure to a contemporary audience. The shift of focus from Europe to post-Revolutionary War Virginia enables Tucker to be very specific in his criticism. He attacks Aaron Burr, the landmongers, the Bank of the United States, the blockade-runners prior to the War of 1812, and refers also to "A certain physician" and "a certain leading member" of the Virginia General Assembly, both of whom would have been the objects of much public conversation and speculation.

In the last paragraph of the letter proper, Tucker finally "reveals" the identity of this "extraordinary personage," Avarice, in "a caballistical compound of Letters and figures." The concluding paragraph is surprisingly abrupt and brief, and coming after the carefully sustained attempt in the earlier portion of the essay to maintain a sense of uncertainty and suspense, it is disconcertingly anti-climactic. The body of the letter-essay is signed appropriately, Misavarus, the Latin equivalent for anti-avarice. The signature is then followed by a long
postscript which contains the author's suggestion for the extension and deepening of his theme. St. George Tucker proposes a further description of Avarice in a domestic situation, which shows a surprising insight into the psychological manifestations of greed in the human personality. He vividly illustrates the deteriorating process which is the effect of this monomania; the self-centeredness, the constant apprehension and state of agitation, the isolation, and the ultimate destruction which accompanies the loss of wealth for an individual obsessed with material possessions. This portion with its suggested, even though incorrectly quoted, motto assumes the more straightforward manner of a sermon. Tucker shifts in this postscript from the description of the various manifestations of Avarice in society to a more searching enquiry into the psychology of the avaricious individual. The shift perhaps prefigures a part of the changing literary temperament from the Neoclassical to the Romantic orientation. Specifically, the shift is from the general and the universal to the specific, from the public to the personal, and from flat allegorical characterizations to the more rounded psychological portraits of later American literature. Tucker's rounding and deepening of the allegorical type outlined in the body of his essay anticipates the process which culminates in the full American character types found in the Romantic writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Viewed as a whole, the essay of St. George Tucker exhibits a number of tendencies characteristic of larger trends in American literature. Most notable among these is its didactic quality. The essay seeks to instruct its audience in the areas of moral virtue and patriotic responsibility. Consequently, the nature of its subject matter places the essay also within the traditions of moral, utilitarian, and national-
istic literature. The private, moral lesson that avarice follows relentlessly the achievement of worldly prosperity assumes public, national proportions. Written at a time when the nation, compared to the years of economic depression following the Revolutionary War, was enjoying unprecedented prosperity, the essay reflects the growing uneasiness of the public faced with the corruption of the money-hungry northern shipping concerns, the land-speculators, and the entrepreneurs involved in the renewal of the charter of the First Bank of the United States. Such a warning was well-directed to a young nation dangerously split by sectional self-interest in the face of threatened war. In America, where prosperity has become virtually universal, it is not surprising to find that this warning has become a recurrent theme in literature. Implied in the emphasis in early Puritan writings on moral conduct and spiritual fulfillment rather than material wealth and worldly pleasure as the goals of a worthy life, the theme of the corrupting power of prosperity on both the private and public levels has found expression notably in the writings of John Woolman, James Fenimore Cooper, Henry David Thoreau, Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, Henry James, Theodore Dreiser, and F. Scott Fitzgerald.

As I have suggested, the essay is also an early expression of American nationalism in literature. Among the first concerns of the new nation following the Revolutionary War was the desire to produce a literature uniquely American. The problem was, and remains to some extent, that the American people did not share a common history or culture extensive or stable enough to produce a distinctly and identifiably American flavor without its literature becoming a political manifesto. The American nation was, and is, continually confronted with
the task of assimilating new cultural influences at every turn in its development. Many authors have drawn from the typically American youthfulness resulting from constant social flux, the frontier homespun spirit, the indefatigable optimism and ingenuity, the irritating tendency to succeed, and the plainspoken honesty and pride of the people, to improvise an on-going expansive culture with the audacity to incorporate that which is most appealing in the cultures of the rest of the world and apply to it the American stamp. In their own small way, the familiar essays of St. George Tucker reflect the growing American self-awareness. Particularly, the essay on Avarice is addressed to the American people and takes note of a number of prominent persons and events in American history. It does not, however, strive to establish what is uniquely "American," so much as to identify what is specifically a threat to the American national welfare. The author's aim is not to produce an American literature for the sake of nationalism, but a didactic literature for the sake of the nation.

St. George Tucker's essay on Avarice reflects the moral, didactic, utilitarian, and in a limited sense, nationalistic traditions in American literature. Because it has remained unpublished, the essay can have made no actual contribution to the development of American literature. Rather, it is valuable for the illumination which the private sentiments and personal style characteristic of its notable author cast upon the public sentiments and national traditions characteristic of the mainstream of American literature.
## APPENDIX

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<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Batchelor</th>
<th>&quot;Title&quot; or (Content)</th>
<th>Signature</th>
<th>Marginalia</th>
<th>Letter Form*</th>
<th>Errors</th>
<th>Other</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>&quot;The History of Contentment: An Allegory&quot;</td>
<td>Lycidas</td>
<td>&quot;Written over again &amp; altered Aug. 9th/Title-History of a Foundling.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Folded</td>
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</table>

"On Patriotism"

| 9 | *         | (On the spirit of Patriotism) | Benevolus | "Thrown into a somewhat different form." | *          | *      | Folded** |

// | *         | (The genealogy of knowledge, etc.) | Lycidas | *                                          | "X" ***    |        |        |

* (an earlier copy of the genealogy of knowledge: less complete, more errors) | *      | Folded to mail |

To Solomon (In praise of S.S., Squaretoes, expounding the female point of view.) | *      |        |
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<th>Errors</th>
<th>Other</th>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>(A dream vision; a political allegory set in Lilliput.)</td>
<td>Gulliveri-ensis</td>
<td>&quot;Would not Diogenes' second letter (see no. 10) come in well after the preceding letter</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>&quot;N&quot; + motto</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>(Avarice)</td>
<td>Misavarus</td>
<td>long postscript folded to mail. &quot;For Doctor Robert Cecil&quot;</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>&quot;E&quot; + motto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>(Women of Virginia)</td>
<td>Philogenes</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>&quot;E&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>&quot;Generosity &amp; Economy. An allegory&quot;</td>
<td>Lycidas</td>
<td></td>
<td>no</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>&quot;X&quot;</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>Candidus</td>
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<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>&quot;L&quot;</td>
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<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>&quot;E&quot;</td>
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<tr>
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<td>*</td>
<td>(his father and his history)</td>
<td>Moses Dolittle</td>
<td></td>
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<td>*</td>
<td>&quot;N&quot;</td>
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<td>*</td>
<td>(on deism)</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>&quot;Hymn to the Creator&quot;</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>*(1)</td>
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<td>Z</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>&quot;X&quot;</td>
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<td>Z</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>(Youth, Health, &amp; Temperance-An Allegory)</td>
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<td>no &quot;sir&quot;</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>&quot;L&quot;</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>&quot;E&quot; +</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Susannah</td>
<td>Trifle</td>
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<td>&quot;Dear Doctor Cecil,&quot;</td>
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*The writing is both recto and verso on the manuscript pages.

**The first sentence indicates Wirt has expressed interest in earlier letters.

***These letters occur at the bottom left of the last written page.
NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION


3 Coleman, p. 9.

4 Coleman, p. 11.


6 Coleman, p. 21.

7 Coleman, p. 29.


10 Coleman, pp. 83, 98.

11 Coleman, p. 92.

12 Coleman, p. 140.


14 Coleman, p. 140.


A critical edition of this essay, entitled "St. George Tucker's Old Bachelor Essay on Patriots and Demagogues" was presented as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts at the College of William and Mary in 1972.

17 Davis, pp. 149-150.
18 Davis, p. 152.
19 Davis, p. 160.
20 Coleman, pp. 2-3.
21 Davis, pp. 177-178.
22 Davis, p. 194.
23 Tucker, Essays #19 and #20 "For the Old Batchellor," Papers MSS, Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia.
24 Inventory of the Estate of St. George Tucker, Papers MSS, Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia.
26 Davis, p. 212.
27 Davis, p. 218.
28 Davis, p. 220.
29 Davis, pp. 230-231.
30 Davis, pp. 239-245.
31 Davis, p. 255.
32 Davis, pp. 367-368.
33 Davis, p. 256.
34 Davis, p. 280.
35 Davis, p. 260.
36 Davis, p. 285.
37 Davis, p. 290.
38 Davis, p. 75.
39 Davis, p. 328.
NOTES TO THE TEXT

According to Thomas Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, the legend of the Wandering Jew was first recorded about 1228 by Matthew Paris in his Chronicle of St. Albans Abbey. Paris, a monk at St. Albans, supposedly heard first-hand from the garrulous servant of a visiting Armenian archbishop the already well-known legend of Pontius Pilate's porter, Cartaphilus who was doomed to live until the second-coming because of his harsh words to Christ bearing the cross. Cartaphilus, who converted and was baptised Joseph shortly thereafter, is the only living witness of Christ's passion. He undergoes the normal aging process, but at the end of every one hundred years is restored to his age, about thirty years, at the time of the crucifixion.

This reference is also to the legend of the Wandering Jew. See note #1.

A compting or counting house is a commercial establishment which handles book-keeping, correspondence, and billing for one or more other businesses.

A pharaoh bank is a part of the apparatus for a popular gambling game played with cards, introduced in colonial Virginia largely by the soldiers of Rochambeau after the Revolution. The name, which deteriorated to "faro," was supposedly taken from the picture of a Pharoah printed on French playing cards in the seventeenth century. The play, similar to roulette, is intended for large groups of players who place bets against the dealer or banker on any of the thirteen cards of the spade suit represented on the faro table and win or lose as each card in the dealer's deck is exposed.

Janus, the Roman god of doors and beginnings, was represented in art with two faces turned in opposite directions; one visage was very pleasant and the other equally unpleasant.

Mameluke is the name associated with one of a group of Caucasian slaves which seized the Egyptian throne in 1254 and continued as the ruling class until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Tyresias, for striking his cane between two copulating snakes, was changed by the gods into a woman. The name suggests one who has experienced both the male and female role in sexual relations. See Ovid, Metamorphoses, Book III, lines 316-341.

The French monarchy accumulated a huge national debt in the years immediately preceding the revolution, and by their dependence upon private loans, created a powerful class of financiers. After the revolu-
tion, the influence of these financiers continued to be widespread and postponed the equalization of the tax burden which continued to rest almost exclusively upon the shoulders of the common man. I have found no evidence to suggest that St. George Tucker's reference was to a specific individual.

9 There are three references in the Old Testament to God's instructions through Moses that the Israelites take the riches of the Egyptians in payment for their servitude. The first two refer to the proposal, and the last verse relates the act. Exodus 3.21-22; 11.2-3; 12.35-36.

10 Edmund Dudley (1462-1510), an English lawyer and privy councillor to Henry VII, was employed with Sir Richard Empson (d. 1510) as the collector of taxes and penalties due to the crown. Their enthusiasm earned for them the hatred of the populace, and in the second year of Henry VIII's reign, both were convicted of tyranny and treason, and beheaded on Tower Hill.

11 After the Act of Supremacy (1534), which appointed the king Protector and only Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England, Thomas Cromwell (1485-1540) succeeded Cardinal Wolsey as principal advisor to Henry VIII. He was responsible for the actions of the commission whose inspection of the monasteries led to the suppression of the smaller ones in 1536 and the larger ones in 1539. The confiscation of their property deprived the Abbots of their seats in parliament.

12 The Holy See refers to the papal See, or the Vatican in Rome.

13 Hernando Cortez (1485-1547), was the Spanish conqueror of Mexico. Francisco Pizarro (1478-1541), was the Italian explorer and conqueror of the Incas in Peru. Vasco de Gama (1469-1525), was a Portuguese navigator who discovered the trade route to India around the Cape of Good Hope. In his inaccurate reference to "Ferdinand" de Gama, perhaps St. George Tucker has confused the first name with that of another Portuguese navigator, Ferdinand Magellan, whose ship was the first to circumnavigate the globe.

14 The Dutch massacre of the British in 1623 at Amboina, Malaysia, forced the latter to abandon all trade in Siam, Japan, and the East Indies.

15 Lord Robert Clive, a member of Parliament and Baron of Plassey, was commended for his military accomplishments in India between 1743 and 1753. In 1772, he was censured by Parliament however, when the brutality of his tactics there were made public.

16 Francis Rawdon-Hastings, 1st Marquis of Hastings (1754-1826), was made Governor-General of Bengal and commander-in-chief of all of the forces in India in 1812. Although he apparently was successful both in military and civil affairs, he resigned in 1821 after charges of corruption had been filed against him.

17 This statement reflects the apparently unfounded charges against
Hastings, who, far from being tyrannical, instituted several important civil and administrative reforms.

18 The court of Frederick I of Prussia was noted for its excessive pomp and extravagance in the fashion of the court of Louis XIV at Versailles. This reference suggests that the financial disorder which accompanied this excessive spending may be traced to a specific minister, probably the minister of Finance. His identity, however, is not clear; St. George Tucker's reference to Frederick the Great is inaccurate; Frederick the Great was not the son, but the grandson of Frederick I. He was born in 1712, just one year before his grandfather's death, and consequently the connections between his court and that of Frederick I two generations before are quite uncertain.

19 Legion d'honneur, a French order of distinction, was instituted in 1802 by Napoleon I. Membership is granted to those who have exhibited merit either in civil or military service.

20 George III, eighty-two years of age at the time of his death (Jan. 29, 1820) suffered from extreme mental derangement during the last ten years of his life.

21 The resumption of the Napoleonic wars in 1803 resulted in British interference with American merchant vessels, and French intrigues in the Louisiana territory.

22 Both the British and the French governments restricted American trade in Europe, precipitating a great deal of strife due to the conflicting economic interests among the states, and leading ultimately to the United States' involvement in the War of 1812.

23 The Old Bailey is the street in the city of London which gives its name to the central criminal court for London, Middlesex, and parts of Essex, Kent, and Surrey, located at the corner of Old Bailey and Newgate Streets.

24 The Land-monger was one of a class of speculators who invested in enormous tracts of land at the low rate set by Congress as the Western territories were opened for settlement following the Revolutionary War.

25 The United States maintained a continual embargo, or prohibition on British and French trade from 1806 (Non-Importation Act) to 1814 (the repeal of Macon's Bill, re-establishing trade with France).

26 Contrary to the wishes of the Jeffersonian Republicans, Alexander Hamilton was successful in obtaining a 20 year charter for the Bank of the United States in 1791. The issue was fresh again in 1811 when the charter was due to be renewed.

27 "Shaver" is a popular term for an extortioner or swindler; specifically, the term refers to an adulterer of coins, one who "shaved" off and melted down imperceptible amounts of precious metal from coins and then passed them at their original value. Mr. Jefferson's familiarity
with the term is evidenced in an 1813 note (Writings, (1830), IV, p. 199), which states that "this . . . the States have . . . alienated to swindlers and Shavers, under the cover of private banks."

28 I believe that this "certain physician" and "certain leading member" are two specific individuals whom St. George Tucker had reason to criticize and whose identity would have been recognized at least in his own circle of friends. Although there do not seem to be any references in his letters and papers to men who fit either description, an interesting possible candidate for the "certain physician" is John Dixon, a prominent and suspiciously wealthy Williamsburg physician who died in 1813. The "leading member" remains entirely obscure.

29 Proteus, in Greek and Roman mythology, was the god of the sea, fabled to have the power to assume many shapes.

30 Caballistical must be St. George Tucker's own extension of the word "caballist"; this granted, his term is an adjective meaning secret.

31 When Roman numerals are substituted for the numbers in this compound, the result is A:v:a:r:i:c:e.

32 William Wirt, a close friend and professional associate of St. George Tucker, assisted in the prosecution of Aaron Burr for conspiracy in Richmond in 1807. He submitted as evidence of his guilt a "cypher" letter written to General Wilkinson. The publicity given the trial in the nation's papers, particularly the Richmond Enquirer, the participation of his good friend and frequent correspondent and the special notice paid to the proceedings as evidenced in his personal writings indicate Tucker's interest in this matter.

33 Whether the use of pseudonyms is a literary convention adopted arbitrarily by the contributors to the "Old Batchelor," or a necessary precaution undertaken for the protection of the reputation and person of those contributors is not certain. At any rate, the pseudonyms follow the Latin form adopted in the Spectator Papers, and generally are appropriate to the theme of the essay. Misavarus, for example, if translated literally from the Latin, is "less greed."

34 According to classical mythology, Tantalus, a Phrygian king and son of the nymph Pluto and Zeus, was condemned to Tartarus for revealing the secrets of the gods; he was situated beneath a rock ever threatening to fall, hungry beneath ever-receding branches of fruit, thirsty chin-deep in ever-receding waters.

35 A bedlamite is specifically an inmate of Bedlam, the familiar contraction for the infamous London insane asylum St. Mary of Bethlehem, or generally, a madman or lunatic.

36 According to the Oxford English Dictionary, Shreiks was an acceptable spelling in the seventeenth century for the modern shrieks. This epigraph appears also in #18 of William Wirt's The Old Batchelor.

The quotation occurs in correct Latin as follows:

"Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat
Flumina: Quid rides? mutate nomine de te fabula narratur."
(Horace, *Satires* #1, line 70).

The translation of Phillip Francis is very free, when compared to the accurate line by line translation of Christopher Smart. Compare:

"Burning with thirst, when Tantalus would quaff
The flying the waters—wherefore do you laugh?
Change but the name, of thee the tale is told," (Francis),

and

"The thirsty Tantalus catches at the streams, which elude his lips. Why do you laugh? The name changed, the tale is told of you." (Smart).

Dr. Robert Cecil was the pseudonym used by William Wirt in *The Old Bachelor*, a series of essays published in the Richmond Enquirer between December 22, 1810 and December 24, 1811.
NOTES TO THE CRITIQUE


2 Kennedy, p. 266.


8 Tucker, Essay #13 "For the Old Batchellor," Papers MSS, Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, p. 3.

9 Tucker, Essay #13 "For the Old Batchellor," Papers MSS, Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, p. 3.
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