

CONCEALED AUTHORSHIP ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION:
PSEUDONYMITY AND THE AMERICAN PERIODICAL PUBLIC SPHERE,
1766-1776

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Master of Arts

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Presented by Michael Patrick Marden

In candidacy for the degree of Master of Arts

And hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS..... | ii |
| LIST OF FIGURES..... | iv |
| ABSTRACT..... | v |
| INTRODUCTION..... | 1 |
| PART I. Three Papers, Three Regions: A Colonial Survey..... | 8 |
| John Holt's <i>New York Journal</i> | |
| Alexander Purdie and John Dixon's <i>Virginia Gazette</i> | |
| Benjamin Edes' <i>Boston Gazette</i> | |
| PART II. A Brief Sojourn into Theory: Abstraction, Negativity and Myths of Pseudonymity..... | 30 |
| Michael Warner: Expanding Upon the Principle of Negativity | |
| Exploding a Few More Myths | |
| PART III. Female Pseudonyms: Conformity and Subversion in the Public Sphere..... | 48 |
| How to Treat "A Lady" | |
| Some Uses of the Female Pseudonym | |
| Elizabeth Barebones: The Gendering of the National Credit | |
| The Mysterious Disappearance of Sally Tickle and the Limits of Female | |
| Authorship | |
| PART IV. Nationalism, Pseudonymity, and the Imagined Community..... | 64 |
| Data Trends Among Nationalist Pseudonyms | |
| The Nation as Symbol on the Eve of the Revolution | |
| PART V. Aspect Invocation and the Interest Group Pseudonym..... | 75 |
| PART VI: Associative Pseudonymity and Community Pressure: The Pseudonym of Surveillance..... | 86 |
| CONCLUSION..... | 95 |
| APPENDICES..... | 99 |
| Some Notes on Methodology | |
| Appendix A: Edes' <i>Boston Gazette</i> | 107 |
| Appendix B: Purdie's <i>Virginia Gazette</i> | 126 |
| Appendix C: Holt's <i>New York Journal</i> | 131 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY..... | 139 |

List of Figures

Figure

| | |
|--|----|
| 1: New York: Actual Total of Pseudonymous and Initialized Essays..... | 12 |
| 2: Virginia: Actual Total of Pseudonymous and Initialized Essays..... | 18 |
| 3: Boston: Actual Total of Pseudonymous and Initialized Essays..... | 25 |
| 4: Percent of Total Articles that are Initialized..... | 39 |
| 5: Average Percent of Articles which are Native Between 1766 & 1776..... | 41 |
| 6: Percent of Articles which are Native (Non-Imported) per Paper..... | 41 |
| 7: Total Percent of Classical Pseudonyms Over Study Period..... | 45 |
| 8: Percent of Classical Pseudonyms by Region..... | 46 |
| 9: Share of Total Female Pseudonyms in all Papers..... | 49 |
| 10: Total Pseudonyms of National Identification..... | 66 |
| 11: Boston: Pseudonyms of National Identification..... | 67 |

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ABSTRACT

Concealed authorship played a vital role in the critical ten years prior to American independence. Authors utilized printers as cover to publish political essays seditious and disruptive to British authority. Pseudonymity, in particular, was useful to Colonial Americans as it allowed them to identify one another in public space as cohorts, and allowed their enemies to do the same.

A comprehensive study of concealed authorship in three newspapers: Benjamin Edes' *Boston Gazette*, Alexander Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*, and John Holt's *New York Journal*, reveals the dynamic and surprisingly local characteristic of public sphere authorship during this period. Far from an inert phenomenon, pseudonymity was used creatively by Colonial Americans in each colony toward a number of ends. It was used, particularly by Boston, to rally diverse colonial interests around the symbol of an America which did not yet exist. It was used everywhere by local leaders to appear in public as the omnipresent community, whose eyes were everywhere, and whose interest was the regulation of buyers, sellers, and public loyalty to the patriot cause.

Pseudonymity was creatively employed by planters to organize their interests outside of government, or by local elites to reduce the class divide between themselves and those they sought to persuade. Finally, inventively, it was used by both men and women to appear in the newspapers as women, and in some special cases it was used as a tool to maneuver public debate and to volley liberal possibilities into public discourse.

Introduction

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of newspapers to the revolution and early republic. British American colonists were a largely literate population, particularly in New England where near universal male literacy rates prevailed, and where new studies have indicated higher rates of literacy for women than previously estimated. Moreover, this literate and reading public supported a surprising number of newspapers considering the number of actual population centers, and it did so particularly in response to the tumultuous events which presaged independence. The number of papers in the colonies had more than doubled in the 15 years between 1760 and 1775, an increase which, itself, more than doubled the actual growth of the American colonial population during the same period. The American public was undeniably a reading public. The perception of events in Boston and Philadelphia, the actions of colonial legislatures, the measures enacted by parliament, all of these events were filtered through the mouthpiece of the colonial press, particularly for citizens who did not directly witness the action of their colonial neighbors firsthand. Indeed, the actual participation in the seminal events of the revolution *must necessarily* have been experienced by a relatively limited segment of the population. The sense of solidarity which could convince those who never met that they were indeed co-participants in events which occurred hundreds, if not thousands of miles away, was absolutely the direct result of the sense of community fostered and fanned by the American newspaper.¹

¹ Literacy rates: Kenneth J. Lockridge, *Literacy in Colonial New England: An Enquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974). Also, Ruth Wallis Herndon, “Research Note: Literacy among New England’s Transient Poor, 1750-1800,” *Journal of*

It is necessary to recognize the difference between the modern and eighteenth-century press to understand the authorship examined in this thesis. It was not the newspaper article, ostensibly devoid of any perspective but the intention to relay fact, that dominated the pages of the newspaper. While these types of articles existed, they were more commonly used to communicate news from abroad, and were supplemented with the actual or fictional letters of individuals who had first or even second-hand accounts of the events wherever possible. Colonial Americans, like their transatlantic neighbors, sought perspective in their papers. They sought opinion. As such, it was the personal political essay which was the primary means of communication about the tumultuous events which lead up to the revolution, and it was the political essay that was used to contest the meaning and consequence of these events.

It is for this reason that the pseudonymic essay is important to the broader discussion of the revolutionary period. Writing anonymously or pseudonymously was the *modus operendi* of the news consuming and news making public. It arose from an enlightenment ethos which did not yet recognize intellectual property and was spurred-on by republican virtue, but withholding one's name had actual consequence upon political management in the American colonies. When a writer was able to withhold his or her name from the sources of power, and when those identities were similarly protected or were unknown by the editors who printed the material, then it was possible to print tracts seditious to central authority without being punished. Thus, the type of opinion making

Social History, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Summer, 1996), 963-965. On female literacy see: E. Jennifer Monaghan, "Literacy Instruction and Gender in Colonial New England," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 1, Special Issue: Reading America (Mar., 1988), 18-41. Joel Perlmann and Dennis Shirley, "When Did New England Women Acquire Literacy?" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Jan., 1991), 50-67. On newspaper growth I am deeply indebted to Jeffrey Pasley, *The Tyranny of Printers: Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (University of Virginia Press, 2001), 401-405. Extrapolated from Harry B. Weiss, A graphic summary of the growth of newspapers in New York and other states, 1704-1820 (New York Public Library, 1948).

that lead to concerted public objection to British taxing authority – measures such as the Stamp Act, Townshend Acts, or the military occupation of port cities like New York City and Boston – was made directly possible by the anonymous and pseudonymous political essay.

Further, I would suggest that anonymity, alone, was never enough to drive this rebellion forward and give citizens the sense that they were members of a larger community whose local resistance was being matched inter-colonially and intra-colonially. Only concealed authorship under a pseudonym conveys a meaning that can be understood and which allows individuals who have never met to identify each other as members of a cohort in public space. It was its malleability and its versatility as a method of authorship, and its unique property of establishing public identity without revealing an author's name, that made it the ideal vehicle for the eighteenth-century political essayist.

By advancing and demonstrating this position throughout the thesis I am running against the prime originator of eighteenth-century public sphere theory, Jürgen Habermas, whose construction of the public sphere has informed a myriad of disciplines for the last 40 years. In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* Jürgen Habermas had theorized the public sphere as an abstract space in which rational-critical dialogue was engaged upon between disembodied and reasoned bourgeois persons in the eighteenth century. Emerging out of a merchant tradition of news-exchange on the cost of goods, the hazards of travel, etc., it came to include the exchange of thought via essaying on the nature and effectiveness of government and policy among the landed elite. To Habermas, the public sphere should have been a realm of pure abstract exchange of ideas,

a type of social intercourse that “far from pre-supposing the equality of status, disregarded status altogether.”²

This ideal mode of discussion was purportedly born in the first half of the eighteenth century, only to die at the hands of capitalist consumerism in the nineteenth. It was the first time private people had come together as a public and claimed the public sphere from any and all authority as their own. It allowed the “public” to hold a mirror to itself, to read and debate about itself. Importantly, this public would have experienced a “parity of all cultivated persons,” who shared an “abstract universality,” were “subsumed under it in an equally abstract fashion,” and were “set free in their subjectivity precisely by this parity.” If the public had not concealed their identity then the parity and “common humanity” in the public sphere could not have been a reality.³

Habermas wanted, even needed, the eighteenth-century press to be an idealized space so that he could criticize twentieth and twenty-first century discourse, but in doing so he encouraged a return to a means of communication which, in actuality, never existed.⁴ Far from observing rational-critical dialogue between reasoned and abstracted persons, when one actually delves into the periodical literature of the revolutionary era press one is struck by similarities to the present. After a long hibernation through the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries, the pseudonymic essay has returned

² Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991) 36.

³ Ibid, 27, 43, 54.

⁴ Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun, 109- 142 (Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1992); Harold Mah, “Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians,” *The Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 1: 166; 162-182.

through blogs and message boards, and with it all the imagination, flexibility, and vitriol that accompanies its use. A twenty-first century reader of digitized essays would not be altogether unfamiliar with furious attacks between pseudonymous authors in the eighteenth-century that ended with some variation of “...read more, write less, and take [an enema]. Adieu, I have done with you.”⁵

This thesis will demonstrate through documentary evidence that discourse was an entirely different animal during this period than that which Habermas had asserted. Far from rational-critical, it was colorful and fractious, performative and polarized, and much more personal than abstract. Pseudonyms provided an excellent cover for individuals with varying interests to speak out against each other with anger, passion, and hostility, qualities that would have been strongly discouraged by eighteenth-century polite society. Further, while materials from other regions were frequently incorporated, this thesis demonstrates that political newspaper essays were primarily a local phenomenon featuring local actors, who behaved differently in different American regions. Far from an inert eighteenth-century convention, the pseudonym was a deliberate and carefully chosen fiction, a stylized identity, and was often as much a part of the intended communication as the essay, itself. Importantly, the ability to recast oneself as another person, as a different gender or as an idea, as an omnipresent community or as a member of a (yet) non-existent nation, provided the colonial author with a unique set of tools for characterizing themselves and their relationship to the world.

I have chosen to isolate four types of pseudonymity below to make this clear. First, studying the comparatively atypical instances of female pseudonymity will allow

⁵ An attack upon “Honestus,” Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 5 November, 1772. The original text reads “a clyster.”

me to demonstrate the ways in which fictional female pseudonyms were taken rather seriously as stylized identities, were subject to the same rules as actual female authors. In addition, since they were able to both express themselves as women while concealing their actual identities, pseudonymous authors were also capable of publicly suggesting change to the existing gender order. Following this, I will discuss pseudonyms which overtly demonstrate allegiance to an emerging nationality. These “Nationalist Pseudonyms” had a special utility in creating an imagined community between disparate and dispersed persons across the eastern seaboard who would never personally meet. Following this, I will demonstrate a multitude of examples in which authors used pseudonyms to generate some of the first interest group politics in early America, creatively manipulating the pseudonymous convention into a vehicle to agitate for class or trade interests. These are referred to on the following pages as “Aspect-Invoking Pseudonyms.” Finally, I will show the unique role of the “Associative Pseudonym” as a means of creating a seemingly omnipresent surveillance, making individual writers appear in public as groups so that those persons could engage in the intimidation of buyers, sellers, and dissenters as British authority began to dissolve. All of these examples demonstrate the way that pseudonymity was used creatively by colonial Americans to creatively affect and manipulate discourse on the eve of the revolution, and collectively they illustrate the actual nature of the busy colonial public sphere during this critical period.

The study on the following pages draws upon over 2,195 unique pseudonymous contributions from 3 different colonial papers: Purdie’s *Virginia Gazette*, Edes’ *Boston Gazette*, and Holt’s *New York Journal*. The data is drawn over a ten-year period, between

1766 and 1776. In addition to the findings in this thesis, I have sought to make any study of pseudonymity in the future easier by both carefully documenting and intelligibly classifying this material for interested scholars. Further, I employ a few techniques which I feel are particularly well-suited to this type of study. Wherever possible, I have let these authors speak for themselves by utilizing their own voices. In this way, the actual character of their public discussion is made more clear. In addition, where appropriate, I have attempted to graphically demonstrate the data as trend lines over the ten-year study, particularly in regard to pseudonymity and nationalism. Doing this allows the reader to see how the use of these pseudonyms fluctuated over time and across regions.

Before taking a look at actual examples of pseudonymity during this period I will provide my reader with background on the newspaper and editor under investigation in each colony, tying the rise and fall of concealed authorship over time in these locations to the actual timeline of events. For the theoretically-inclined, I follow this with a more nuanced criticism of both Habermas' public sphere model and the claims of the most influential scholar on eighteenth-century discourse since Habermas, Michael Warner. For those not theoretically inclined, after reviewing the editors the argument is best taken up again in the section which follows Warner: the redressing of myths and misconceptions about the way that the late colonial public sphere operated.

Three Papers, Three Regions: A Colonial Survey

John Holt's *New York Journal*

The colony of New York acquired its first press in 1693, though it was by warrant from the general assembly and was intended mainly to print the laws in force for the colony for many years thereafter. In 1723, Benjamin Franklin would visit the only printer in the colony at that time, William Bradford, in search of an apprenticeship but found too little work to support his training. Franklin had arrived two years too soon. The first real newspaper, that is a paper designed to print news, essays, rumor, and advertisement, was founded by William Bradford in New York just two years later. A few years after that arrived the infamous editor John Peter Zenger, famous for standing trial and being acquitted of libel against the government in what Americans have thereafter, to varying degrees of accuracy, labeled as a watershed event for press liberty.⁶

Zenger's *New-York Weekly Journal* was a forum in which partisan criticism of government actually began several decades earlier than the general trend and, as such, the criticism that filled the pages of John Holt's paper thirty years later owed a significant debt to his trial and defense. The political controversy which has since drawn him so much attention occurred primarily between the years 1733 and 1735. Before that period, Zenger was simply a struggling German printer who had made a failed attempt at printing

⁶ Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America: With a Biography of Printers & Account of Newspapers* (New York: Weathervane Books, 1970), 456-470; Stanley Nider Katz, ed., *A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger Printer of the New York Weekly Journal by James Alexander* (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1972); Stephen Botein, ed., 'Mr. Zenger's Malice and Falshood,' *Six Issues of the New-York Weekly Journal 1733-1734* (American Antiquarian Society, 1985); for the foremost author on the inability of the Zenger trial to fundamentally advance press liberties, as Whig historians had later suggested, see Leonard W. Levy, *Emergence of a Free Press* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

in Maryland, and had since occupied himself through the printing of works of Dutch Theology, books, and a few polemical tracts to a limited audience in New York City. He was raised to political importance by Lewis Morris, one of the wealthiest and most influential citizens of New York, as a result of conflict with Governor William Cosby and the resultant exclusion of Morris and his allies from Cosby's inner circle.

Zenger was, by all accounts, simply the printer of the tracts which earned him so much attention. The mastermind of said tracts was Morris and his allies, specifically the lawyer James Alexander, whose relationship with the dramatic and rhetorically gifted Andrew Hamilton would influence the latter lawyer to come to the aid of Zenger during his trial in 1735. What is important here is that it was not Zenger who created the tracts which earned him the ire of the Governor and his court. It was the pseudonymous authors whose works dotted his pages, whose concealment under names such as "No Courtier" allowed the faction out of power to assault the governor without fear of personal reprisal. The method by which concealed authors essentially used a printer as cover in order to advance controversial, even seditious positions against the governor and government flourished briefly in New York during this period before disappearing in 1736. However, it presaged the same type of printer-author relationship which would emerge with great importance during the period of this study thirty years later. On the following pages a similar, if not identical relationship was at work between the revolutionary printers and the authors who used their pages to originate and develop resistance to British authority.⁷

⁷ Botein, 'Mr. Zenger's Malice;' Katz, *A Brief Narrative*, 1-35; Larry D. Eldridge, "Before Zenger: Truth and Seditious Speech in Colonial America, 1607-1700," *The American Journal of Legal History* 39, no. 3 (Jul., 1995): 337-358; Eben Moglen, "Considering 'Zenger': Partisan Politics and the Legal Profession in Provincial New York," *Columbia Law Review* 94, no. 5 (Jun., 1994): 1495-1524; and for a somewhat dissenting opinion see Leonard W. Levy, "Did the Zenger Case Really Matter? Freedom of the Press in Colonial New York" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 17, no. 1 (Jan., 1960): 35-50. I would

The New York Journal, subject of study in this thesis, was printed by John Holt. A Virginia native, Holt began his career as a printer around his 35th year, having already worked several busy but unprofitable years as a merchant and serving briefly as mayor of Williamsburg. He started as editor of *The Connecticut Gazette* in 1754, established in response to the demand for both frontier and foreign news brought about by the Seven Years War, and he directed both the printing office and the post office in New Haven, Connecticut as a junior partner of James Parker & Co. After a schism developed between Parker and partner William Weyman the union was dissolved, and James Parker dispatched John Holt to oversee a New York paper which would compete with Weyman's own in 1760.⁸

The venture with Parker in New York turned out to be a relatively brief one. After working for him about two years, Holt hired out Parker's printing materials and ran the *New York Gazette and Post-Boy* while operating a bookstore. As the Stamp Act crisis and colonial unrest erupted with force within the British American colonies, Holt left Parker's paper and printing house entirely and unveiled his own paper on October 16th of that year. Auspiciously, Holt named his paper *The New York Journal*, in many ways a revival of Zenger's gazette of the same name, and the fact that he retained significant numbers of his subscribers from the previous paper speaks strongly to John Holt's competence as a printer. Importantly, it also speaks to his ideological affiliation with the burgeoning

contend that Levy's argument about the failure to change the common law needs to be weighted against the ability of that law to actually be enforced. That said, I have no contention against his observation that speech against the colonial assembly, itself, was harshly restrained. On Zenger's own pseudonymous essaying see Philip M. Marsh, "From 'Ezekiah Salem' to 'Robert Slender' The Pseudonymic Creations of Peter Zenger and Philip Freneau," *Modern Language Notes* 61, no. 7 (Nov., 1946): 447-451.

⁸ Thomas, *The History of Printing*, 464-470, 474; *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, Volume XXX* (New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, 1899), 49-51.

resistance, that movement which would transform over a long decade into the patriot independence movement in New York City.⁹

“New York was *the* North American terminus. The Hudson served as a speedy method of travel so that New York had efficient ties with not just the colonies but with England as well. A certain antiauthoritarianism had permeated New York politics and culture since Dutch resistance to British rule in the mid to late seventeenth-century, while large numbers of immigrants, including both French Huguenots and German Palatines, brought a firm tradition of skepticism and resistance to authority with them to New York City. Holt was thus editing a paper for a population that was in some ways already acculturated and accustomed to a general distrust of government and authority.¹⁰

The acting (and later) lieutenant governor of New York, Cadwallader Colden, did very little to relieve tensions between the British government and New Yorkers. In actuality, the governor strongly exacerbated tensions in 1764-1765 by choosing to interfere with traditional appeals processes, thus devaluing the accepted verdicts handed down in trial-by-jury, an issue with noted historical importance in New Yorkers. In the years that followed, Holt’s paper lent fuel to the fire of crisis by creating a public forum in which individuals could freely air their anxieties about British rule. Meanwhile, a series of overlapping conflicts served as a never-ending stream of material for discussion: the Stamp Act, Colden’s judicial controversy, the Quartering Act and, upon resistance to

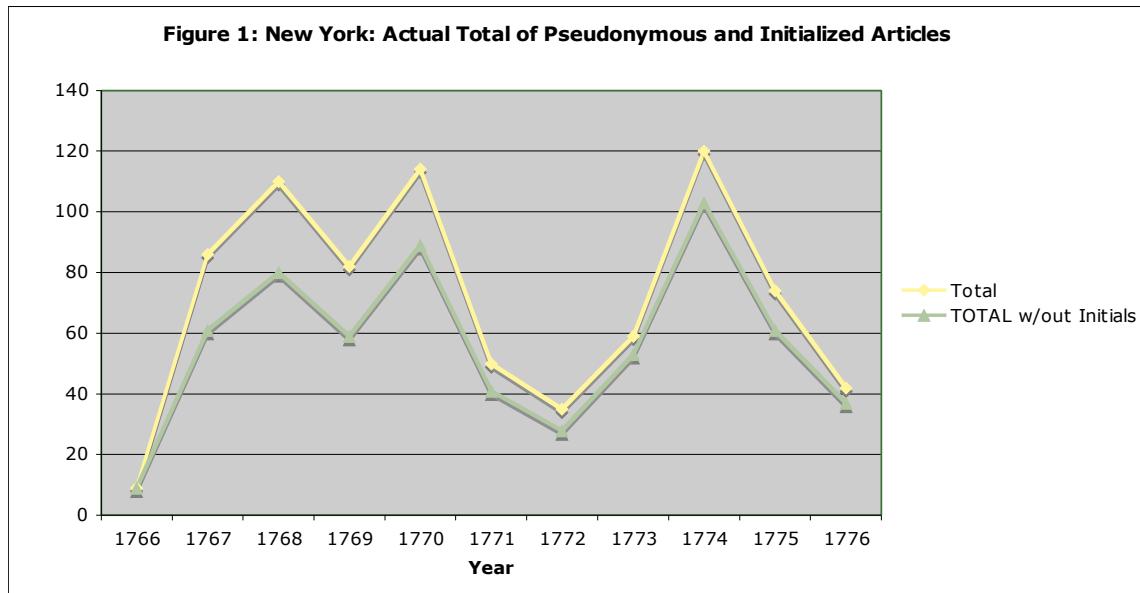
⁹ Thomas, *The History of Printing*, 474-475; John Warner Barber, *The History and Antiquities of New England, New York, and New Jersey* (Worcester: Printed by M. Spooner and H.J. Howland, 1841), 518-520.

¹⁰ Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1975), 337-343. Joyce D. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City*. (Princeton University Press: 1992), 187; 188-221. Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (Oxford University Press, 1986), 52-81, 93.

quartering troops, the Restraining Act which nearly disbanded the New York Assembly.

Each of these controversies with Great Britain redoubled the anger and anxiety of the public mind.¹¹

This frustration was vented as a strong upswing in communication and essaying through the public prints from 1764 to 1768, as can be seen in Figure One below. The ebb and flow of polemical newspaper essaying and debate can be witnessed as the rise and fall in the frequency of debate, as depicted on the graph below, and on similar graphs for the two newspapers which follow. Thus, from the creation of Holt's *New York Journal* in late 1766, the degree to which New Yorkers wrote, read, and dialogued about events can be seen ticking steadily upward to reach their first peak with the culmination of these heated issues two years later.



¹¹ See Figure 1 Below. In addition, January 1767 is the final time an author requests to pay for the insertion of an article, almost certainly allowing for greater incentive in contributing to Holt's *Journal*.

In 1768, Lord Hillsborough gained responsibility for the British oversight of colonial affairs in London and the target for punitive action largely became Massachusetts instead of New York, one reason that escalating tensions and political essaying may have relaxed a bit by 1769. In fact, 1769 marked the lowest year for non-imported articles in Holt's *New York Journal* at about 40%, which means that 1769 was the year in which New Yorkers were least inclined to use Holt's paper as a forum for airing their views. This quiet in public discussion didn't last long, however. When conflict between British troops quartered in the city and native New Yorkers erupted into the armed violence of the Nassau and Golden Hill Riots in 1770 it generated the second largest outpouring of American political debate to ever appear in Holt's paper and the public returned with immediacy to a preference for hearing from local authors, a preference that never again dipped below 55% during the remainder of this study.¹²

The pitch of conflict that escalated between 1764 and 1768 had begun to draw in more and more of the mechanic and tradesman classes of New York City, causing considerable anxiety among the local elite that if the trend continued unabated they would soon be at the mercy of a righteous mob. When this troubling trend was followed by the riots of 1770, it caused the New York gentry to swing toward a considerably more conservative stance than they had held in the previous years, once again (at least conditionally) supporting Colden and his government. This negotiated peace lead to a

¹² See Figure 1. Data on local articles compiled from material in Appendix C. On the Nassau and Golden Hill Riots see for example Benjamin L. Carp, *Rebels Rising* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 90-92; or Kammen, *Colonial New York*, 356-357; or simply see New York *New York Journal* 1 March, 1770.

considerable lull in newspaper essaying between 1771 and 1773, with less than 40 political essays published in 1772.¹³

That peace was dramatically interrupted at the tail end of 1773 as events escalated with shocking rapidity. First, news of the Boston Tea Party arrived, and in May the disturbing news of the close of Boston's port caused their sister harbor in New York a great deal of alarm. Citizens in New York City held their own tea party in April of that year and future tea ships were then turned away from New York's lucrative harbors. By May of the following year, effigies of Lord North and other hated British officials were being carried through the streets of New York City and burned. By July of 1774, public gatherings were again being held out doors with regularity to protest British measures, and representatives to the Continental Congress had been elected and dispatched. Old centers of rebel power such as the Sons of Liberty and popular leaders such as Isaac Sears lost power by 1775 at the precise moment that separation from Great Britain and the construction of a new government became pressing issues.¹⁴

All of this is reflected in the newspaper trends, demonstrated by the radical upswing in essaying in 1774, followed by the rapid decline in 1775 and 1776 as central authority crumbled. These events undoubtedly caused the rise of the Associative Pseudonym, or the pseudonym of community surveillance, pressure, and threat. Associative pseudonymity features such newspaper personages as "The People," "Many," "Legion," or "Vox Populi," whose authors, likely just one person or a small

¹³ See Figure 1. Conversely, this period saw the highest number of female pseudonyms. See "Female Pseudonyms and the Public Sphere" below.

¹⁴ See Figure 1 for the rise and fall of concealed authorship in relation to these events. On the specifics of associative pseudonymity please see relevant section below. On the decline of leadership and authority see Kammer, *Colonial New York*, 362-375.

group, were nevertheless intended to convey the impression of vast multitudes who were anywhere and everywhere. This type of authorship peaked in 1773 and reached its highest mark in 1775 at the end of this study, as individuals began speaking *as* the community to moderate public behavior and ensure patriot solidarity through the pages of Holt's paper. Thus, closed a long and tumultuous decade in Holt's paper, though this in no way tells the whole story of the New York's dialogue about these events. This represents only the rise and the fall of essaying by concealed authors, in general. Much more was at work in New York, such as national identity building, the nuances of class conflict, and the most active female authorship of the period, each of which is explored in greater depth below.¹⁵

Alexander Purdie and John Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*

Printing first came to Virginia in 1681, but was prohibited almost immediately thereafter. The practice of printing was then absent from Virginia until around the year 1729, when William Parks was appointed by the governments of both Maryland and Virginia to set up an official press in each colony. Soon after taking up residence in Williamsburg in 1733, Parks was accused of libel for revealing that a member of the House of Burgesses was once convicted of stealing sheep. That member had fled into the backwoods many years earlier instead of facing justice. He set up an estate there and was later elected by his neighbors to the house. Using truth as his defense against accusations of libel, in a manner which echoed the efforts of John Peter Zenger of New York, Parks was eventually cleared of the charges, the member of the Burgesses was removed, and

¹⁵ See Figure One. See all Appendices A, B, and C. On Female Pseudonymity see "Female Pseudonyms: Conformity and Subversion in the Public Sphere," 48-63.

the printer victoriously continued publishing in Williamsburg and Annapolis until the late 1740's.¹⁶

Printing then continued in Williamsburg under William Hunter and then Joseph Royle until the latter's death sometime in 1765. When the *Virginia Gazette* began publishing again in March of 1766 it immediately found itself with something Virginians, unlike many of their colonial contemporaries, were unused to: competition. During this period two rival papers were established within a few months of each other. Alexander Purdie, born in Scotland, continued printing Royle's *Virginia Gazette* for the benefit of Royle's widow and her new husband, John Dixon, with whom he would form a partnership until 1775. This official, more conservative, and better-preserved paper is the subject of study in this thesis. A second *Virginia Gazette* was established two months after Purdie and Dixon's, however, at the encouragement of Thomas Jefferson, who considered the first *Virginia Gazette* too wedded to the interests of the governor to serve as a proper outlet for public expression. Thus, William Rind was encouraged to come from Annapolis in May, 1766 to set up a second paper by the same name.

While the second *Virginia Gazette* announced in its masthead that it was "Published by Authority" during 1767, that title was discarded and only the headline "Open to ALL PARTIES, but Influenced by NONE" was used after March 12th of that year. Intriguingly, it was during this exact same period that Purdie and Dixon published a notice in their *Virginia Gazette* "acquainting all, who may hereafter send us pieces to be inserted, that we shall expect their names either to the pieces themselves, or to the letter they may send along with them." Thus the printers might know the authors' "true name,

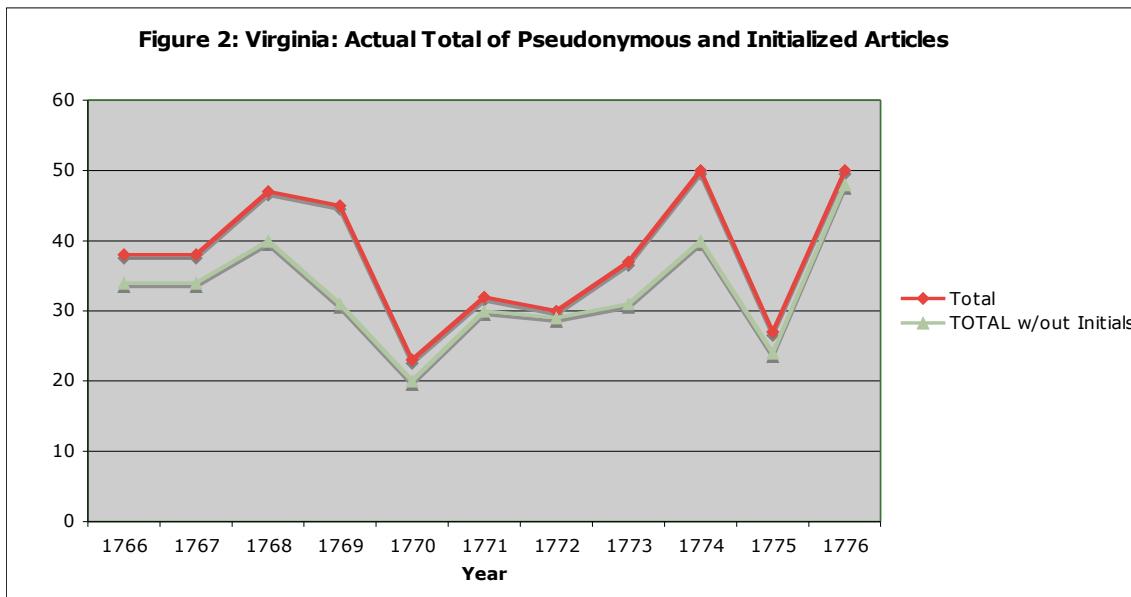
¹⁶ Thomas, *History of Printing*, 550-554. Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer* (Dover Publications, 1995), 134-135.

to take the blame from us.” I strongly suspect that while Rind had arrived and begun printing the previous year, his decision to cut ties with the authority of the governor and begin fully representing the interests of dissenting writers correlated directly with Purdie and Dixon’s decision to stop publishing pseudonymous tracts for which the author was unknown in March of 1767.¹⁷

The requirement of the *Virginia Gazette* to know the identity of its authors in early 1767 contributed to the low numbers of pseudonymic essays published in that paper. In addition, the Virginia printers, unlike their contemporaries, were less likely than others to import material from other colonies. Local affairs dominated their interest, and from the launch of the gazettes denizens had a number of local events to capture their attention. A competition for speaker of the assembly, an event not experienced in a quarter century, provoked essays in late 1766. So did a vicious public conflict between Richard Henry Lee and George Mercer, the appointed Stamp Distributor, which lasted into 1767, and a murder scandal involving a former member of the House of Burgesses, John Chiswell. Virginians had a great deal of local material with which to keep themselves occupied through 1769, and competing gazettes meant each editor was pressed-upon to insert articles addressing the issues, and addressed *at* contributors from the competing gazette, creating a volley of very public opinion which would have theretofore remained quite private.¹⁸

¹⁷ Purdie and Dixon’s notice: Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 5 March, 1767. Only 6 of Rind’s papers have been preserved from 1767. “Published by Authority” exists on the 19 February, and 12 March, 1767 papers, but vanishes by 23 July. I think it is safe to say that the close timing of Purdie and Dixon’s announcement and Rind’s change of patronage is not coincidental, and that the ability to act as a truly concealed author was the defining difference between the two papers.

¹⁸ See Figure 2. Also, Warren M. Billings and others, *Colonial Virginia: A History* (New York: KTO Press 1986), 305-320.



It was for these reasons that Virginian attention to affairs and public debate continued at a constant, but never breakneck pace throughout the final years of the 1760's. Even before the announcement of the repeal of the Townshend Acts, public dialogue in Virginia had begun to fall in Purdie and Dixon's closely monitored gazette, which had become dominated by non-topical, even trite discussions instead of the highly topical issues that concerned Boston and New York during the same period. Further contributing to a decline in public essaying, Virginia, unlike its contemporaries, was not occupied by British troops, nor in conflict with hard-nosed British official, since acting governor Francis Fauquier had died in early 1768 and was not replaced by an official governor until 1771. While public discourse in general was down, during these years Virginians still used the public sphere creatively, generating their largest outpouring of

aspect-invoking pseudonymous authorship, largely from planters organizing their interests among themselves and, predictably, in opposition to merchants.¹⁹

When concealed authorship perked up in 1771 and 1772 it was largely caused by a heated and vitriolic religious conflict, mainly between Robert C. Nicolas, treasurer of the colony, and the reverend Samuel Henley who was friend to both Jefferson and Peyton Randolph, speaker of the assembly. The comparatively sharp ascent beginning in 1773 and peaking in 1774 was caused by the Tea Acts and Boston Port Act, dramatic events which compelled the Virginia leadership to once again take an active lead in revolutionary politics, this time in the setting up stronger committees of correspondence. The closing of the port of Boston to all commerce, in particular, concerned and united the Virginia leadership behind a common cause of resistance in a way that they largely had not in the previous few years. In fact, news of both events arrived while the Virginia Assembly was in session, prompting quick action on a unified trade embargo. This, coupled with a day of public fasting to mark solidarity, probably prompted Governor Dunmore to delay the assembly from reconvening again until November. When unified support from Virginia leadership was combined with a restriction on the ability to actually (physically) meet in public space, the result was a sharp increase in the use of the newspaper as a public forum in which these rapidly-escalating issues could be debated, and this caused one of the highest levels of concealed authorship to occur in Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* during the course of this study. Many of these authors, likely elites, penned under monikers which marked them unmistakably as locals, marking a

¹⁹ Ibid. Also See Appendix B. On the trite affairs that merited public attention in Purdie and Dixon's gazette see, for example, conflict over the transit of Venus, Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 25 May to 3 August, 1769. On planters interests: Bruce A. Ragsdale, *A Planter's Republic: The Search for Economic Independence in Revolutionary America* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996), 1-42.

trend of emphasizing regional identity when writing in the press that is absolutely unique to Virginia.²⁰

A dip in concealed authorship in 1775 certainly parallels a collapse of Dunmore's authority and an uncertainty about the probability or imminence of armed conflict with troops under his command. Further, maybe more importantly, it was a year in which the conventions met repeatedly, and in longer sessions, in defiance of Dunmore's authority to discuss public business. The ability to discuss business in established committees probably decreased the need to air those same issues using the news media. In 1776, with the defeat of Dunmore's forces at Great Bridge, and the largely unrestrained sack of Norfolk, a loyalist stronghold, a great deal of political essaying on the "lesson" to be learned from Norfolk's humiliating and crippling defeat crossed the pages of the *Virginia Gazette*.

The way in which Dixon and Hunter allowed their paper to be used it as a mouthpiece for patriot warnings against other loyalists should caution readers against reading material from this paper solely as a polar opposite to Rind's gazette. The removal of Dunmore and the departure of Purdie in January, 1775, probably allowed the first *Virginia Gazette* to finally disentangle itself from the longstanding necessity of knowing its contributors names, even while the committees of correspondence for external patriot news and authority were growing stronger and more reliable. Thus, the rapid increase in concealed authorship at the beginning of independence should be read not so much as a change of heart from the gazette's editors, or a belated response to

²⁰ Based on occurrence of regional pseudonymic monikers, as noted in Appendix B. Warren M. Billings and others, *Revolutionary Virginia*, 326-356. On religion in Virginia, Thomas E. Gage, "The Established Church in Colonial Virginia: 1689-1785" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1974), 33-64, 98-132; Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia: 1740-1790* (W W Norton & Co, 1998).

independence, but more as an ability of the gazette to finally reclaim the sort of freedom from libel that pseudonymity had always allowed, and to publish dissenting voices with the same regularity that contemporaries in Boston and New York had already enjoyed for many years.

Benjamin Edes' *Boston Gazette*

Printing came and flourished in Massachusetts much earlier than its colonial neighbors. In 1638, a press was brought into Cambridge, then the same size as Boston, which was at that time the seat of both church and state assemblies. The first printer in Massachusetts, and in colonial America, was Stephen Daye, who printed for the colony about eleven years. He was replaced by Samuel Green, who had arrived in Massachusetts with Governor Winthrop and, with funding from the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England, printed the first Indian Bibles, a move which attracted the attention and praise of King Charles for the press of Harvard college in Cambridge. Green's press was the only in Massachusetts for many years. There are indications that another press was briefly set up or was very nearly set up in Boston around 1664, but it was quickly stopped by order of the Governor for being too liberal.²¹

It wasn't until 1667 that the first press was established in Boston by one John Foster, a native to Massachusetts, who had graduated from Harvard college about ten years prior. It was carried on by several men after that time, but none for any considerable duration until Bartholomew Green, son of Samuel Green. One of many Green children to follow their father's business, Bartholomew Green was responsible for

²¹ Thomas, *History of Printing*, 42-67.

printing the first actual newspaper in North America in 1704, *The Boston News Letter*. Notably, a paper under this name continued in Boston until the British evacuation of the city in 1776. However, during the next several decades a plethora of papers were established in Boston, many of which continued under the same name but different printers. *The Weekly Rehearsal* became, later, *The Boston Evening Post* under the fiery Thomas Fleet of England in 1735. Gamaliel Rogers and Daniel Fowle established *The American Magazine* in 1743 and *The Independent Advertiser* in 1748. John Green, son of Bartholomew Green, began printing *The Boston Weekly Advertiser* in 1757, a paper that continued until 1773.²²

This is merely a cross-section. When compared with the press in Virginia, or even New York, the examples above serve to really highlight the considerable difference between the number presses in those colonies and the proclivity of printing and readership in Massachusetts, and of Bostonians in particular. The paper under study in this thesis, *The Boston Gazette*, is well-known for its prodigious role in the revolutionary movement of colonial America. It was the second paper to be established in British America, originally under the direction of postmaster William Brooker in 1719, and briefly produced by a few different men including, quite briefly, James Franklin, elder brother of Benjamin Franklin. It was eventually brought under the control of Samuel Kneeland and Timothy Green, grandson of Samuel Green, who together published the *Boston Gazette and Weekly Journal* for twenty-five years.²³

²² Ibid, 67-148.

²³ Ibid.

The *Boston Gazette* attained its lasting fame as *The Boston Gazette and Country Journal* under the direction of Benjamin Edes and John Gill, who went into business together in Boston in 1755. The partnership was well-suited to both. Edes in particular was well-connected to the patriot movement in the city. As a founding member of the “the Loyall Nine,” a group of Sons of Liberty who had organized in the summer of 1765, Edes helped that group guide many of the popular protests by wedging resistance to British measures to questions of self-government, religious authority, and popular economic concerns. Under his direction, local patriot leaders and elites would convene, in the words of John Adams, with the intention of “cooking up paragraphs, articles, occurrences, &c., working the political engine!” Nearly all of this propaganda was pseudonymous in nature.²⁴

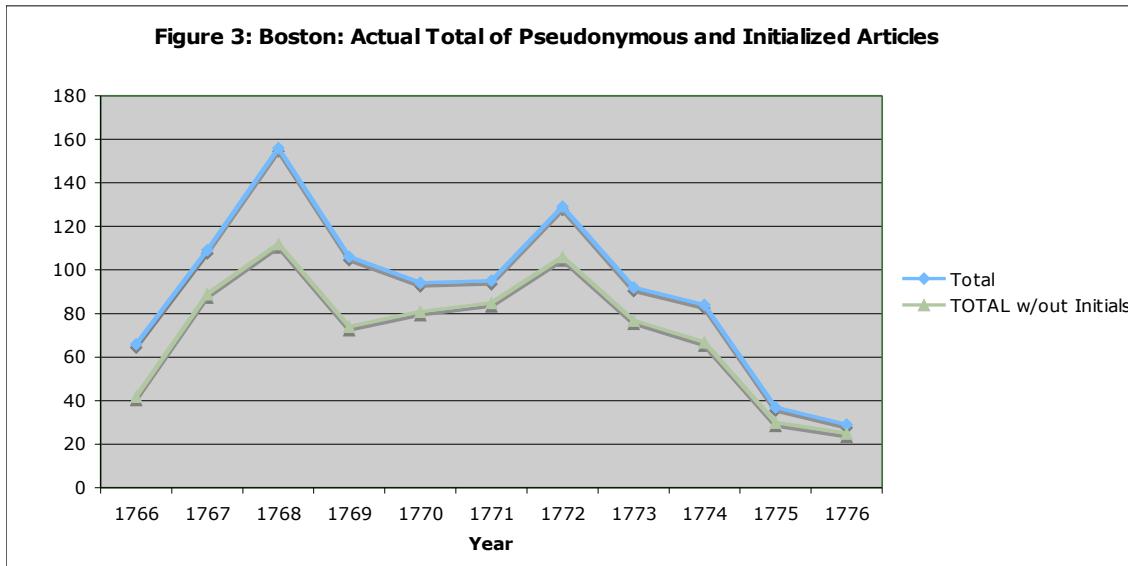
As this narrative opens on Boston in 1766, a number of key events had already begun to unfold in the city. A hard line of faction had already been drawn between Governor Francis Bernard and his ally Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson, and the country party lead by James Otis and Samuel Adams. This, coupled with an economic depression that hit Massachusetts at the beginning of the 1760’s created a hostile and accusatory atmosphere in which men like Adams and Otis had positioned themselves, not as a party, *per se*, but as the representative of the peoples’ liberties outside of the royal government. A government they repeatedly characterized as being dominated by placemen under the pay of the crown whose intentions were out of step with the interests

²⁴ Phillip Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution: 1763-1783* (The University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill, 1941), 66, 227-28. John Adams’ quote comes from Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams, with a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations*, Vol. II (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1850), 219. Michael J. Manning and Herbert Romerstein, *Historical Dictionary of American Propaganda* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004), 93-94. Edward Countryman, *The American Revolution* (Hill and Wang, 2003), 94-97.

of Bostonians and who were, by the very nature of their position, vulnerable to corruption if not corrupt already. When word of parliament's Sugar Act reached an already tense Massachusetts in 1764, Boston merchants reacted with immediate and vocal alarm as their economic interests, already strained by depression, appeared to be further constricted by the measure.

Quick on the heels of the Sugar Act came the Stamp Act of 1765, which compounded the concerns of merchants while introducing potential economic consequences for coastal communities, farmers, landholders, ship owners, and, importantly, printers. The summer before 1766 had seen continental resolutions against the measure, and resolves adopted specifically by the Massachusetts House of Representatives. It had also witnessed the hanging in effigy of appointed Stamp Master Andrew Oliver, in a carefully organized protest which united Edes and the Loyall Nine with local rabble rouser and hero to the working classes, Ebenezer MacIntosh.²⁵

²⁵ Benjamin W. Labaree, *Colonial Massachusetts: A History* (KTO Press, 1970), 218-230; Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: The Northern Seaports and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 1979), 185-194; Peter Charles Hoffer, *Seven Fires: The Urban Infernos that Shaped America* (PublicAffairs, 2006), 56-61.



The dawn of 1766 witnessed the quick rescinding of the Stamp Act, and while parliament never relinquished the right to tax the American colonies, the repeal was widely seen in Boston as winning the essential point about taxation, a misunderstanding that would come to bear heavily on both parties shortly thereafter. As measured by actual articles of concealed authorship over time in the *Boston Gazette*, 1766 represented a rather slow year. The trend between 1766 and 1768 is quite clear, however, as a number of events proved excellent tinder with which Bostonian elites could keep the fire of resistance to British authority and taxation authority burning. The Quartering Act, while it affected New York City most directly, was picked up on principle by Bostonian writers as an abrogation of liberty. Meanwhile, Massachusetts strongly resisted the insistences of parliament to pay for damages accrued as a result of rebellion and disorder from Stamp Act riots. While they objected on principle, the financial interests of those who would pay the most must have strongly informed the decision to resist.²⁶

²⁶ See Figure 3.

In early 1767, Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed a new set of taxes on a wide cross-section of imported goods, including a comparatively heavy tax on tea and, auspiciously, paper. News of the new measures reached Boston slowly, but by October they were under serious consideration in actual and printed public space. By 1768, those concerns erupted in a fresh flurry of emotionally charged and vitriolic essaying against not just the acts themselves, but the tyranny of British government and its agents in Boston and elsewhere. The tone of the *Boston Gazette* grew so intense in this, the highest year of concealed authorship during the entire course of the study, that Hutchinson attempted to indict Edes and his “Trumpeters of Sedition” on charges of libel. Samuel Adams, however, was firmly in control of both public sentiment and the Suffolk Jury that had been summoned. They refused to indict Edes, and Hutchinson was unhappily informed by the jury that in their opinion “the Liberty of the Press is a great bulwark of the Liberty of the People” and that it would continue to be guarded and maintained. This, coupled with the introduction of British troops into Boston later that year, undoubtedly generated the immense need to engage in printed dialogue about these events. Moreover, both the court case caused by one of Edes’ unnamed authors, and the daily reminder of armed authority, must have made the utility of concealed authorship dramatically clear to Boston writers and their sympathetic readers.²⁷

Boston did experience a decline in general authorship in 1769, as can be expected after the tumultuous events of 1768 came to a close. But despite falling to their 1767 levels, authorship really didn’t decline significantly again until 1775. This is a

²⁷ Michael J. Manning and Herbert Romerstein, *Historical Dictionary*, 93-94. Miller, *Sam Adams*, 138-142. See Figure 3: 1768. John Stetson Barry, *The History of Massachusetts: The Provincial Period* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co., 1856), 381-384.

considerably different trend than that which has been seen by Boston's neighbors in New York and Virginia. One would expect, for example, that there would be a sharp jump in political essaying from Adams and others following the Boston Massacre in March, 1770. That is not the case. This is not a reflection of lack of interest or controversy regarding the confrontation between British troops and Bostonians. In fact, it is quite the opposite. Boston writers were already essaying at heightened levels before the actual physical conflict, and they continued to do so after. In 1769, the *Boston Gazette* was publishing only slightly less than both the *Virginia Gazette* and the *New York Journal*/put together, and they continued to publish at almost that exact level of output through 1771, long after even the inter-colonial agreement against importation had been annulled.²⁸

In 1772, as authorship fell to its lowest point in New York City, the *Boston Gazette* actually demonstrated another small leap in concealed authorship. As British goods once again flooded Boston markets, and tea and sugar duties were being paid, Edes printed a flurry of new tracts by Adams and others who raised sudden alarm that salaries of the governor and Supreme Court were to be paid from customs duties. While this reinforced the perception of corruption, in that men salaried or pensioned from the crown might be less responsive to the public will and more inclined toward tyrannical measures, the increase in dramatic concealed authorship probably also demonstrated a certain sense of desperation. Quiet, normalcy, and acceptance seemed to have settled all about Boston as their colonial neighbors began to accept the status quo. Worse, even some of Sam Adams' own supporters in rural Massachusetts had begun to turn against the sort of agitation that he and his cohorts were attempting to keep alive in the *Boston Gazette*. The

²⁸ See Figure 3. Miller, *Sam Adams*. Philip Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution: 1763-1783* (New York: Norton, 1973).

need to publish political essays as a myriad of concealed characters thus became an intense calling, a crusade to drum-up attention about the “tyranny” of British authority for a population which was everywhere losing interest.²⁹

The record of concealed authorship becomes even more strange, and telling, when examined from 1772 to the end of the study. Where as this selfsame period was experienced in the other two colonies as either a gradual or dramatic upsurge in printed dialogue as a reaction to events, Boston clearly demonstrates a consistent decrease in newspaper essaying. As seen earlier, whereas Virginia authors and pundits seemed to gradually catch on to a change in the political winds from the onset of the Tea Act to the Boston Tea Party at the end of 1773 (an event said to have been orchestrated in Edes’ offices), and New York was even more dramatically brought to a sense of alarm, Boston authors gradually, almost unbelievably, backed off. Events quickly escalated into the closing of Boston’s port and the assembly of the Continental Congress in 1774. They reached, perhaps, a point of no return with the outbreak of military conflict in 1775. Yet, the scope of politically charged authorship that had characterized Boston newspaper essaying up until 1773, and which was increasing everywhere else, continued to falter and dwindle. While seemingly mystifying, the reason is quite simple. Boston authors and elites had finally accomplished what they had intended from the beginning. With the break in relationship between Great Britain and the colonies increasingly apparent, and the majority of their colonial neighbors finally lulled from the contentment that marked the years since 1769-1770, a large number of Edes’ authors could discontinue writing and

²⁹ See Figure 3.

begin to operate within the new, local power structures that were emerging in tandem with the collapse of British authority.

Authorship in the *Boston Gazette* was not entirely composed of this small cohort of political agitators, but they did represent the major force behind concealed essaying and used the paper as their platform for political assault when the more general public had stopped. While there are arcs and currents that exist within this general line of Boston authorship, toward ends different (though not differing) from the Boston elite, the general story of pseudonymity in Boston is this story. The documentary evidence supports the assertions of Thomas Hutchinson that Samuel Adams and his cohort would not rest until British authority was dissolved and local elites could become undisputed masters of their own institutions and assemblies.³⁰

³⁰ Hutchinson's perspective drawn from Bernard Bailyn, *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974), 114-115. This is in turn drawn from the following letters from Thomas Hutchinson's letters to Thomas Pownall, 12 February, 1767, 23 February and 8 November, 1768.

A Brief Sojourn into Theory: Abstraction, Negativity and Myths of Pseudonymity

As noted in the introduction, for the theoretically inclined I want to devote some room to a philosophical discussion of Jürgen Habermas' public sphere and, especially, the criticisms which have been leveled against it the last few decades, particularly by Michael Warner. Many historians find it unnecessary to engage with this material when talking about print discourse, and in many ways I understand this inclination. The postulations of Habermas and Michael Warner do not make for easy reading. They are both nuanced scholars making special points in regard to print discourse during this period. Most historians will simply use Habermas' term "public sphere" without much thought for how and why the author envisioned such a social space, and how he believed it operated. This is understandable. However, I think that in a discussion centered on the public sphere I should draw forward the scholar's original conception of this space during that period and, using primary source evidence, question the original design as Habermas envisioned it. Contrary to the scholar's formula, discourse was not primarily rational-critical during the period under study here, it was not purely abstract, and class and identity were not fully subsumed by concealed authorship. This is because colonists took every opportunity to put those exact attributes back into the public discussion.³¹

³¹ Many authors *have* raised significant questions regarding the public sphere. Among them: Jessica J. Kulynych, "Performing Politics: Foucault, Habermas, and Postmodern Participation," *Polity* 30, no. 2 (Winter, 1997): 322-323; 328; 334. Michael Schudson, "Was There Ever a Public Sphere? If So, When? Reflections on the American Case," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun, (Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1992); Harold Mah, "Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians," *The Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 1 (Mar., 2000).

In a Habermasian public sphere participants must be willing to “question and transcend whatever their initial preferences may have been,” “an element intrinsic to the preconditions of communication of all practices of rational debate.” However, colonial writers behaved in almost *exactly* the opposite fashion and they did so long before the public sphere was purportedly supposed to have degenerated.³² In the pages of competing gazettes in colonial towns such as Boston (the *Boston Gazette* versus the *Boston News-letter*) or Williamsburg (Rind’s *Virginia Gazette* versus Purdie and Dixon’s) this sort of emotionalism defied the established norms of polite social interaction and contrasts with the timeline of descent suggested by Habermas. Pseudonymity and anonymity may have caused gentlemen to feel more at liberty to act out in public space, or it may have just enabled them to defy cultural standards of behavior due to public ignorance of authorship. Regardless, its existence affected dialogue and allowed for a conspicuous alternative to polite behavior during the period. The insular nature of these competing perspectives housed within competing papers encouraged participants to create mediums in which they could talk mainly to themselves, thereby reinforcing and polarizing previously held perspectives.³³

Habermas regarded the rise of parties and partisanship as a degeneration of the public sphere as he theorized it, yet the sort of personal emotional discourse that accompanied the growth of parties, and which is supposed to have showed up during the

³² Jürgen Habermas, “Further Reflections on the Public Sphere,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1992), 449.

³³ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 65; Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States: From 1690 to 1872* (J&J Harper Editions, 1969); Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America: With a Biography of Printers & an Account of Newspapers* (New York: Weathervane Books, 1970); Charles E. Clark, *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in American Culture, 1665-1740* (Oxford University Press, 1994).

public sphere's degeneration in the nineteenth-century, can actually be found decades before their rise. Jeffrey Pasley, in his work *The Tyranny of Printers*, documents the phenomenal growth of the Republican press at the dawn of the nineteenth century. As it consistently outstripped the generation of Federalist presses, two competing perspectives were recorded in print. Importantly, these two perspectives most often talked *to* their respective audiences and *about* their ideological competitors. Far from rational-critical, these conversations in the public sphere most often degenerated (or originated) in frenzied and emotional outbursts. This is essentially within Habermas' timeline. However, this research demonstrates that even before two American parties competed for support and attention, a polarizing effect was already at work in the colonial press. True, this was emerging between the burgeoning patriot and loyalist movements, however the trend toward polar positions could occur on anything from a very high profile assault, or murder, to an unexpectedly heated confrontation about the transit of Venus. The very act of concealing ones identity seems to create a drift toward communication which is not rational or conciliatory, as it is largely removed from the consequences which accompany similar behavior in person.³⁴

In Habermas' construction, the parity of persons enables the public, deprived of actual identity, to play a neutral and supervisory role over their own affairs and the affairs of their officials. However, the willingness of that public to allow their neighbors in public space to actually act in that capacity was extremely slim. Those who advanced claims of impartiality were almost never actually impartial in their dialogue. Even those

³⁴ Pasley, *The Tyranny of Printers*, 402-405. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 27-30, 65; Habermas, "Further Reflections on the Public Sphere, 449; Schudson, "Was There Ever a Public Sphere?," 154-156.

who quite literally called themselves impartial, such as “The Impartialist” did in New York from 1770 to 1771, opened themselves up to attack for claiming to wear the banner of neutrality when their viewpoint contradicted another author. Thus, the public constantly interfered with its own Habermas-assigned task of being a rational supervisory body. Again, the fact that authorship was concealed had an effect that Habermas never considered, which is to add an extra degree of mistrust between colonists who were used to the name, status, and social position of persons with whom they associated and, when relieved of those statuses, often reacted with emotion and mistrust at anyone (especially ideological opponents) who would claim the mantle of reason.³⁵

Michael Warner: Expanding Upon the Principle of Negativity

No one has drawn more attention, and deservedly so, for expanding early Americanists’ perception of the eighteenth-century public sphere than Michael Warner. Among other observations, the scholar has insisted that while public negation of identity may have promised a “utopian moment” of universality, because disembodied and unidentified persons were on equal footing with one another, it was actually a source of domination. “The ability to abstract oneself in public discussion has always been an unequally available resource,” Warner has said, therefore “the subject who could master this rhetoric in the bourgeois public sphere was implicitly, even explicitly white, male, literate, and propertied.”³⁶

³⁵ “The Impartialist” New York City *New York Journal* 20 December, 1770, 14 February through 7 November, 1771. See, for example, “Naaman’s” retort on 5 September, 1771.

³⁶ Michael Warner, *Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 382-383.

Thus, pamphlets, newspapers, and other written ephemera in the public sphere could not have served as “an impulse of liberalization,” such as Habermas contends, so much as an “abstraction” of the public. Because gender, race, and class tended to predict both citizenship and active literacy, “freehold and discourse could coincide without necessarily entailing a liberalization of power.” It is for these reasons that entry into the public sphere automatically demonstrated a disposition of character as white, male, genteel, and normal which, due to its implicit or explicit assumptions, would cover even a voice which might originate outside one of those categories.³⁷

My contention is as follows: while it is logical that contributors in a Habermasian public sphere were presumed to have the normative qualities that Warner suggests, his “principle of negativity” is a misnomer. When Warner insists that during the eighteenth-century “what you say will carry force not because of who you are but despite who you are,” he advances Habermas’ own public abstraction of person without real regard for pseudonymity as the means of self-identification which delivered those messages. The reality of interpersonal contact and argument was never actually abstract in the Habermasian sense because the pseudonym, as the preferred method of signature, was an intelligible method of self-identification.³⁸

Warner is correct in his assertion that entry into the public sphere automatically dictated character attributes such as whiteness, maleness, and normalcy. However, he is largely unaware of the actual character of those discussions and the intricacy of identity-creation in the public sphere, itself. To his credit, in his brief discussion of pseudonymity

³⁷ Warner, *Letters of the Republic*, 48-49.

³⁸ Michael Warner, “The Mass Public and the Mass Subject,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1992), 382.

he begins to understand that the nature of discussion in the public sphere may not have been purely one of dispassion or rational-critical discussion, but he misses the remarkable work of fiction and stylization at play and, as a result, his principle of negativity continues to be a stand in for personal abstraction. The reduction of identity into one particular aspect of one's character – say a merchant, planter, or tradesman – could allow participants to accurately identify each other and act in concert. The same principle of stylization allowed members of a region or an emergent nation to do the same. Warner is thus correct when he suspects that the Habermasian public sphere could not have been “simply reason or criticism,” but he misses the mark when he ponders the consequence of pseudonymity to instead be “an identification with a disembodied public subject that [one] can imagine as parallel to his private person.” In his own words, Warner’s idea of concealed authorship under a pseudonym is as a “prosthetic person,” which makes the subject “no longer self-identical” and allows the individual the “negativity of debate.” It “takes abuse for the private person,” thus gaining “an intimate subjective benefit of publicity’s self-abstraction.”³⁹

An author might gain the benefit of avoiding actual, i.e. physical, abuse by utilizing a pseudonym. However, the degree to which this author would be shielded from exposure would be directly related to the degree to which he managed to conceal his identity. The “prosthetic,” or parallel person of Warner’s rendering was no impenetrable shield for the contemporary author (which is not to say he meant it as such). But, it is important for those observing the eighteenth-century public sphere to recognize that for every person writing pseudonymously during the period, there were countless potential

³⁹ Warner, “The Mass Public,” 381. Italics mine. Warner is referring to Steele, an individual who was certainly not actively hiding his identity, though it stands as a general example of the eighteenth-century phenomenon of the “prosthetic person.”

others interested in de-masking that author, for either personal or, purportedly, public benefit. Indeed, the same language used to define the “public,” as an “indefinite number of others,” is quite applicable to the potential and unknowable number of others working to undo an author’s fiction. Therefore, to amend this particular assertion, one could benefit from a concealed identity to the degree to which one managed not to make enemies, the degree to which one was especially successful at hiding his or her identity, and the degree to which other citizens chose to go along with an author’s fiction. A common misconception is that colonials obeyed an author’s negativity or self-abstraction *as a rule* of the period. Both Habermas and Warner make the same mistake: they assume that contemporaries played fairly by the rules of their own game. Indeed, they assume that this was the nature of the game at all. Eighteenth-century colonials were blithely unaware of the rigidity of rules which scholars have since imposed on their methods of communication.⁴⁰

While one colonial, “A Partizan for Honesty,” insisted that after a political piece has been written “it is contrary to a fundamental rule in the Republick of Letters directly to charge a man by name as the father of it,” most colonials would go straight for the throat if sufficiently agitated. “Justice” asked the printer of *New York Journal* in 1774, “to convey a few thought to *Poplicola*, alias a [New-York] *Farmer*, alias *Agricola*, alias *John Calvin*, & C.c alias a *Rhapsodist*, alias a *Quibbler*, alias a *Punster*, alias a *Ballad Maker*,” or “any other name or character” he might assume. Following this, “Justice”

⁴⁰ Ibid, 380-382. Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 1-88. One of many examples of “rule-breaking” might be a conflict between Virginia Treasurer Ro. C. Nicholas (“The Christian Layman”) and Reverend Samuel Henley (“The Orthodox Layman”), ending in a fever-pitch argument in which Nicholas threw aside his mask and retributively de-masked Henley in the process. Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 20 May, 1773. De-masking, or seeking to de-mask an ideological opponent was more-or-less common when tempers piqued.

issues an implicit threat of impending consequences, warning him that since he is so universally hated he should “take effectual care, that no innocent person should lie under the suspicion” of being the author of works “chargeable upon himself alone.”⁴¹

“A Country Man,” lashing out against “false, crafty, avaritious, designing, and ungrateful men” speculated that four of them, “True Patriot,” “Amicus,” “Trader,” and “Letter-Writer,” were one in the same. A few months later, “A True Patriot,” furious at actual authors he had recently uncovered, informed readers that “though we may *not* pursue the slanderer from motives of revenge,” those who have “unjust aspersions” cast upon their characters, “are obliged to endeavour to detect him, so he may be prevented from injuring them again.” He promises that he and others “will zealously endeavour to deprive them of the power of injuring us hereafter. –We will strip the serpents of their stings, & consign to disgrace,” those “ betrayers of their country,” by whom he clearly means those who cast the “unjust aspersions” which made him so irate. Finally, “The Real Associator,” almost certainly Virginia treasurer Robert C. Nicholas, riled by insinuations of nepotism in the *Virginia Gazette* by “An Associator,” interrogated and then coerced Purdie’s clerk, Henry Laughton, into signing an affidavit while Purdie was away. In it, he swore that an essay signed by “An Associator” was given to him during Purdie’s absence by the reverend Samuel Henley, thereby publicly exposing Henley as the author. Clearly, colonials were making the “rules” up as they went along.⁴²

⁴¹ “Partizan” Boston *Boston Gazette* 5 May 1766 (“Justice”) New York City *New York Journal* 4 August, 1774.

⁴² “A Country Man” Boston *Boston Gazette* 16 November, 1767 (“A True Patriot”) 14 March, 1768 (“An Associator,” “A Real Associator”) Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 8, 15 December, 1774. Please see the section on gender and pseudonymity below.

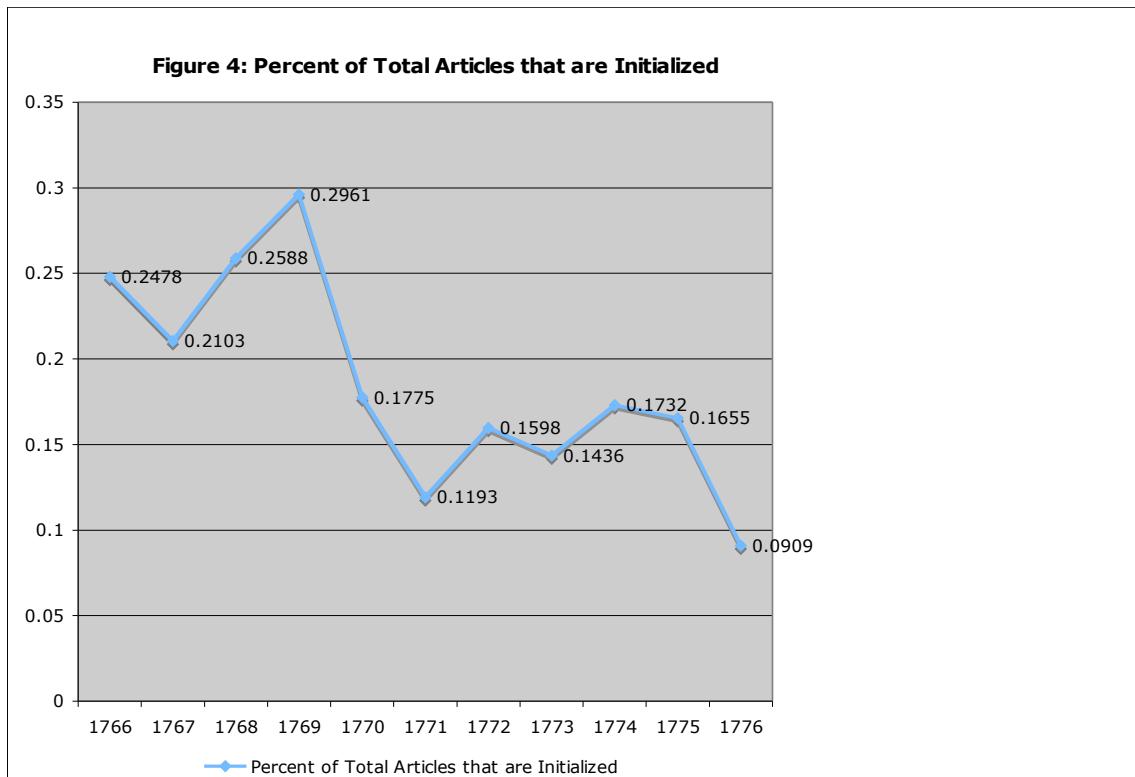
Finally, in Warner's criticism of the public sphere he notes the Habermasian assertion that "the bourgeois public sphere claimed to have no relation to the body image at all," but contests this by claiming it "continued to rely on features of certain bodies," by which he means whiteness and maleness. I agree with Warner's assertions regarding the presumed whiteness and maleness of public sphere authors. But, what I think Warner doesn't account for are the characteristics of the *other body*: the parallel person. The vast majority of the eighteenth-century authors were indeed white, male, and genteel; this must be conceded. Yet, the fictive parallel persons were imagined and rendered with specific purpose and often great detail. These diverse personas were intended to carry and convey specific meanings to a reading audience and, as will be seen, could even be subject to the limitations of gender when appearing in the public sphere under a female fictive identity.⁴³

By utilizing a pseudonym that was not male, perhaps, or by adding a character attribute that extended *beyond* mere whiteness and maleness the pseudonym added body and substance to an otherwise abstract realm. It was never a no-thing, a meaningless convention to be ignored on the way to an idealized rational-critical debate, and in this way it defies the conclusive nature of the principle of negativity. Concealed authorship under a pseudonym allowed for the potential creation of an avatar with specific, even female, character attributes. As such, it conveyed meaning beyond Warner's pure negativity and extended discourse beyond mere abstraction.

Exploding a Few More Myths

⁴³ Warner, "The Mass Public, 382-387.

I want to begin by drawing a clear line between anonymity and pseudonymity. The unsigned essay would have accomplished the task of concealed authorship. In addition, the initialed essay, when initialization is obviously not the letters of ones own name, was also quite capable of accomplishing this end, and was another means by which authors signed their essays during the period. It most clearly adheres to the personal abstraction as depicted by Habermas and Warner. Between 1766 and 1776, the trend for this type of anonymity is quite clear:

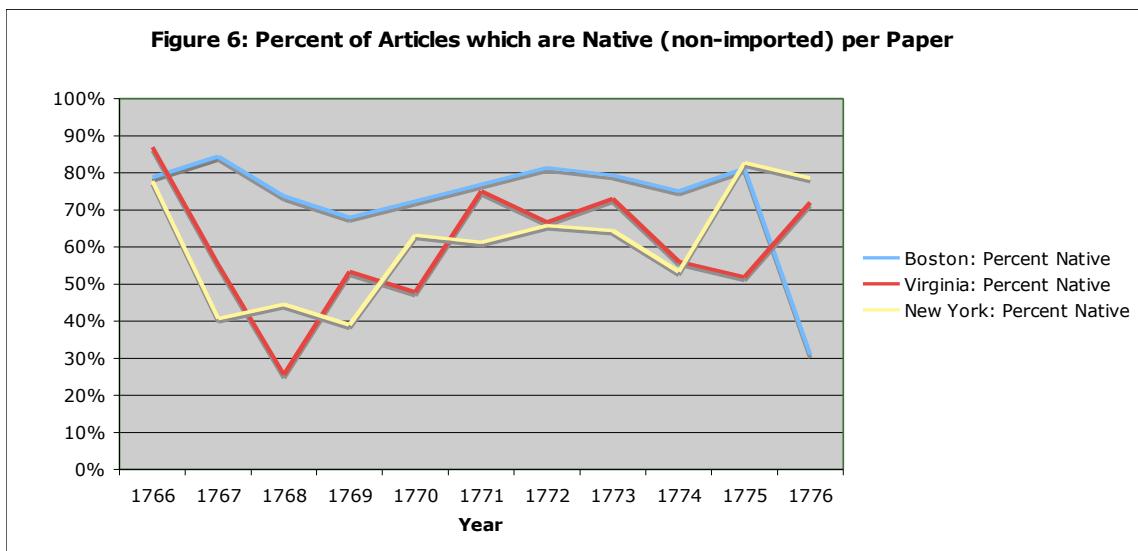
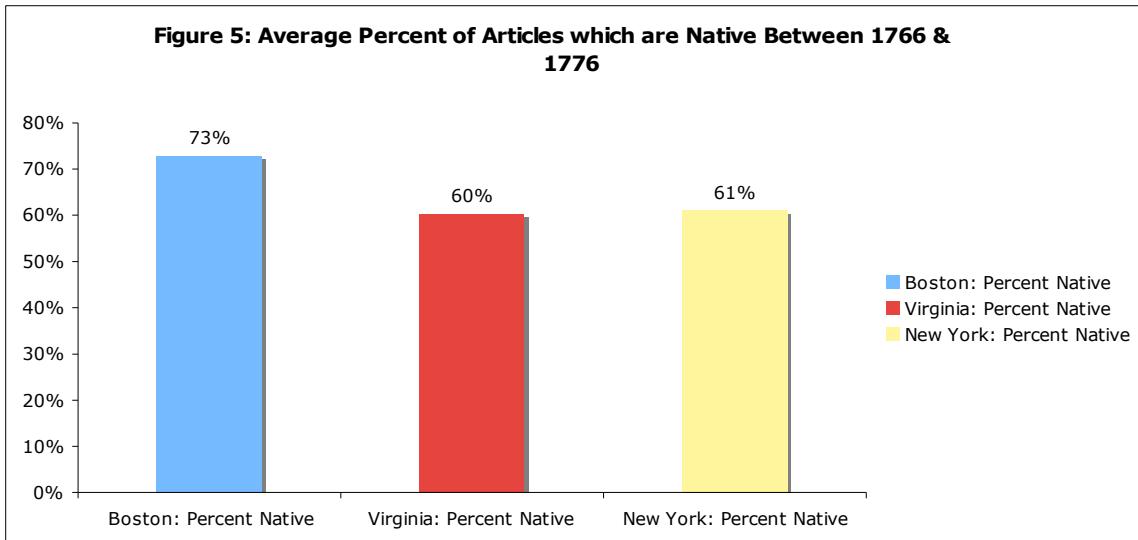


Initialization, as a form of anonymity, shows a very clear trend toward decline. Even at its highest between 1768 and 1769 it only accounted for about 25-30% of total essays. It is evident that colonists gradually increased the number of editorials signed

pseudonymously and preferred this method of communicating in the public sphere. There were practical reasons for this. As “No Bigot” complained to another author in 1766, because “Z.A.” had chosen to use initials someone with “Worth and Character,” of the same initials, “was imagined to be the author of thy worthless Scrawl.” Even more important, however, is that concealed authorship under a pseudonym allowed for the introduction of layered meaning and it allowed for the reintroduction of those character attributes that abstract debate was supposed to obviate.⁴⁴

Another misconception about the pseudonymic essay is that the majority were imported from elsewhere by colonial editors. On the contrary, my research has indicated that while this may have been the situation in the metropole, in the colonial American periphery there was a marked preference for “native” articles, or those which were addressed directly to the gazette which printed them. This is not to say that editors didn’t also fill their pages with material from other colonies, or from Great Britain, they just moderately preferred their own material from their own material public spaces.

⁴⁴ “No Bigot” Boston *Boston Gazette* 19 May, 1766.



As can be seen in the first table, while Boston dominates both its middle and southern neighbors in terms of native production of political ephemera, it does so by a margin of only 10%. It is clear that all three colonies actually preferred their own authors during the period of study. In the second figure it is clear that, while it fluctuates, the average representation of local political authors is generally prominent. Aside from a

considerable dip in Virginia in 1768, undoubtedly caused by its smaller data set combined with the publication of John Dickinson's "Farmer's Letters," the data on the whole remains relatively constant. The one exception, Boston, corresponds with the considerable decline in concealed authorship during that period noted earlier, and strongly reinforces the earlier observation that Boston authors no longer felt the need to write using these methods at that time.

A third misconception is that one would have needed to have subscribed to a paper in order to be exposed to pseudonymous political essays, and thus actual readership was quite low, or predicted solely by subscription numbers. In addition to the colonial coffee shop, which like its London counterpart was a public space in which news reading, and news making, were central, the tavern served as a location for even the illiterate to receive news. Both David W. Cory and Sharon V. Salinger note that public houses such as taverns were probably among the most important spaces to hear news read and debated in the late colonial period, a process no doubt lubricated by copious amounts of alcohol. Indeed, much of the native material probably originated from these public spaces. Even private reading groups, such as that noted by a contributor to the *Boston Newsletter* in 1760, might belie the number of both readers and hearers of colonial newspaper essays.⁴⁵

The final misconception of the American colonial public sphere is that it was dominated by pseudonymous figures of antiquity. These played a role in discourse, however the predominance which is widely asserted is probably the result of classicists

⁴⁵ Lawrence Stone, "Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900." *Oxford Journals* No. 3 (Feb., 1969), 85; Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002) 54-71; David W. Cory, *Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1995), 234-240; Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 15-19. Boston *Boston Newsletter* 3 March, 1760.

who have heretofore been the only scholars looking at this type of material. As Caroline Winterer remarked in *The Culture of Classicism*, British colonists “placed the ancient authors at the core of their ideals of civility, learning, and piety.” Their teachings filled “seventeenth-century courtesy manuals, sermons, and rhetorical and educational ideals...” and by the mid eighteenth-century this had perpetuated a “culture of classicism” that permeated colleges, politics, literature, and the arts. Working to this end was the proliferation of print, “which helped to disseminate the number of classical allusions, images, and motifs available to Americans...” in what Winterer describes as an expanding public sphere of impersonal political discussion.⁴⁶

This “imagined affinity” between a classical past and revolutionary present is well-accepted and it is undeniable that a culture of classicism was omnipresent in the colonies during this period. However, I believe there should be a distinction drawn between actual classical figures from antiquity and every stray incident of actual or macaronic Latin which appears in the sources. Carl J. Richard, Caroline Winterer, and others are absolutely correct in noting that a culture of classicism permeated discourse in the revolutionary period, both before and after independence. However, to cite “Americus Britannicus” as a manifestation of classical culture, as Richard does in *The Founders and the Classics*, substitutes something very ubiquitous for something considerably more specific (and interesting).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Caroline Winterer, *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life 1780-1910*, 10, 15-16 (The John’s Hopkins University Press, 2002).

⁴⁷ “Macaronic” is used here as a common and contemporary term to indicate any jumbled word or phrasing, specifically between two languages. It probably originated in the translation of biblical texts in the Medieval Period and has been in use in English since the early seventeenth century. For an interesting early nineteenth century argument against its continued use see Sylvanus Urban, “On Compounds in the

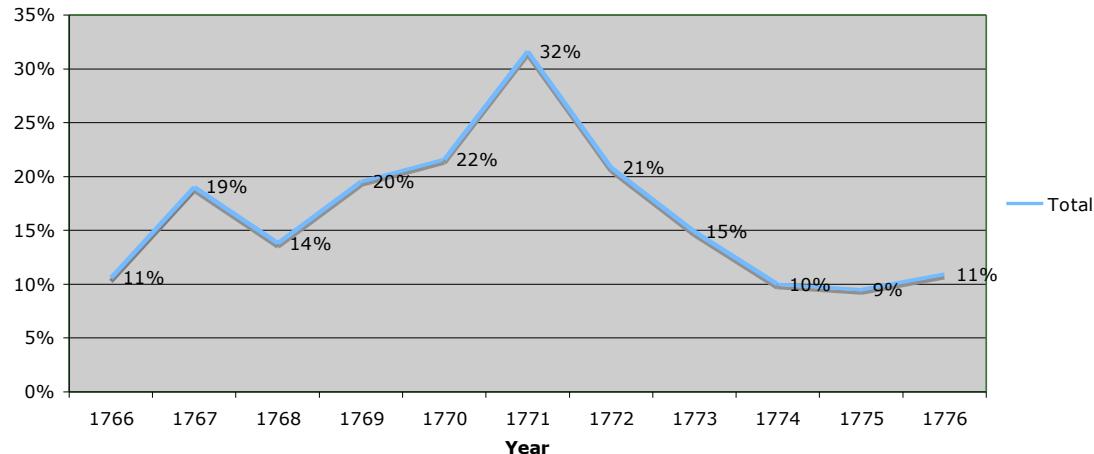
“Americanus” is not a manifestation of classical learning. Neither is “Determinatus,” “Rationalis,” “Honestus,” “Benevolus,” “Constitutionalis,” or, for that matter, “Academicus.” Adding “-us” or “-is” to words is in no way evidence of a deep familiarity with the classics. In fact, it might quite possibly have been the opposite. These more clearly seem to be examples of the ways in which colonists employed classical learning and Latin in exactly the form which Bernard Bailyn suggests, and to which Richard objects: as “window dressing.” When such symbols are encountered in the preserved ephemera it is important to note the contemporary convention of Latinizing everything and to move beyond this very common convention in the pursuit of what the signature was trying to convey and what it reflected about what the colonial American who employed it. There are plenty of examples of classical learning in the periodicals, and these too are important, but to tout about every stray piece of macaronic as classical learning is both inaccurate and misleading.⁴⁸

When the data is restricted to actual classical characters, whose names and stories were used to add intended meaning and context to a pseudonymous political essay, then the category of classical pseudonymity more closely reflects classical learning. Given these parameters some interesting observations may be gleaned about the use of the classical pseudonymity across time in three different colonial regions.

English Language.” *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle* CII (Jul. to Dec., 1832), 591-593. Richard, *The Founders and the Classics*, 39.

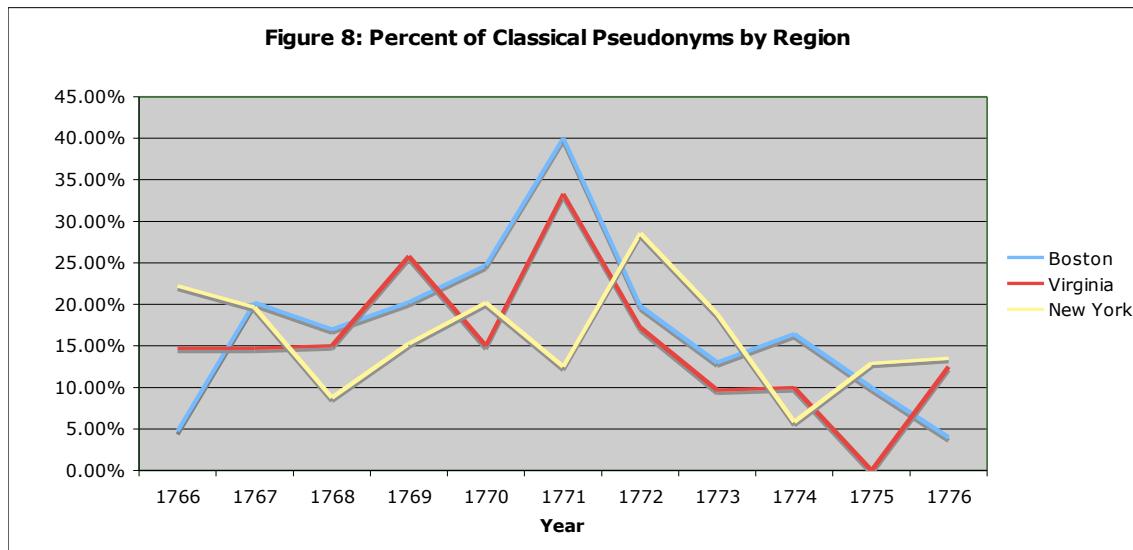
⁴⁸ Boston *Boston Gazette* (“Americanus”) 5 March, 1770 (“Honestus”) 5 February, 1770, New York City *New York Journal* (“Determinatus”) 15 October, 1767 (“Constitutionalis”) 29 November, 1770, Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* (“Academicus”) 20 February, 1772 (“Rationalis”) 19 May, 1774 (“Benevolus”) 18 March, 1773. There are actually multiple incidences of almost all of these. “Window Dressing.” Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, 23-26. Note that Bailyn was referring to their *actual* understanding of the argument of classical critics, not the copious use of half-understood Latin phraseology and macaronic Latin. I have taken some liberty in extending his basic criticism.

Figure 7: Total Percent of Classical Pseudonyms Over Study Period



The table above marks the increase and decline of classical characters as a pseudonymic choice in the volatile years preceding independence and running contemporaneously with colonial revolution. The manifestation of classical characters during the years in question is far from static. The low marks fall on either end of the spectrum, in the year which marks the end of the Stamp Act crisis and the year which marks the onset of actual independence. As the reality set in for some colonists that the end of the Stamp Act did not mark the end of conflict, but rather the beginning of a larger and more protracted conflict the percent of pseudonymous choices that are classical did indeed increase to nearly a full third between 1768 and 1772. Yet, as actual conflict ensued, as events became more dramatic, deaths became real, and actual revolt became clear, the results are similarly striking. The desire to employ a classical figure as a choice moniker decreases dramatically, falling to 50% of its 1771 totals in the critical years between 1773 and 1776, coming to hover around only 10% of total essays.

Further, this trend in the data is not caused by a marked increase or decrease in one colony skewing the results of their colonial neighbors:



What is evident is that while classical pseudonymity *did* play a role in fictive representation in the American public sphere, it did not play the only role, nor even the dominant role. It fluctuated over time in a trend that had peaked by 1771 and was clearly in decline after that. Further, while it was quite obviously a technique favored by Boston (a likely explanation for why it has been come to be depicted as predominant) it was only moderately employed by Virginians, and it was never a particularly useful symbol in New York.

Before proceeding with a deeper look at four types of pseudonymity imaginatively created and utilized by American colonists I want to make a brief note:

very little work actually exists on the study of eighteenth-century pseudonymity.⁴⁹ As the pseudonym was *the* vehicle for concealed political authorship by eighteenth-century political writers it seems curious that such a large body of periodical literature has remained so long un-touched. Since Bernard Bailyn's *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, the political essay has been viewed as a valid and useful object of study in understanding the revolution and the more well-known pamphlets, broadsides, and ephemera have, indeed, gotten their due. But the public sphere was filled with a plethora of lesser-known, but equally important figures who employed the same devices. It is not enough to study the known literature. Other voices spoke into the public sphere, to varying effect, with varying purpose, and with the intention of being heard. It is the least we can do to listen.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Those which do exist are primarily unrelated journal article whose authors' interests briefly intersected with pseudonymity in the public sphere but whose insights are useful. See, Michael Peled Ginsberg, "Pseudonym, Epigraphs, and Narrative Voice: Middlemarch and the Problem of Authorship," *ELH* 47, no. 3 (Autumn 1980): 542-558; Frederic M. Litto, "Addison's Cato in the Colonies," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (July 1966): 431-449. Douglass Adair, "A Note on Certain of Hamilton's Pseudonyms," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (April 1955): 282-297; and the response to the former, Mackubin T. Owens, Jr., "A Further Note on Certain of Hamilton's Pseudonyms: The 'Love of Fame' and the Use of Plutarch," *Journal of the Early Republic* 4, no. 3 (Autumn 1984): 275-286; Helen Saltzberg Saltman, "John Adams' Earliest Essays: The Humphrey Ploughjogger Letters," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (January 1980): 125-135; An explosion of pseudonymous authorship in response to crises has also been noted by W. A. Speck, "Political Propaganda in Augustan England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22 (1972): 17-32. Until this point, those who look more closely at the meaning of this phenomenon have been classicists. See, Carl J. Richard, *The Founders and the Classics: Greece, Rome, and the American Enlightenment* (Harvard University Press, 1994). Meyer Reinhold, *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984). John W. Eadie, *Classical Traditions in Early America*, (Ann Arbor: Trilium Press, 1976); Eran Shalev, "Anicent Masks, American Fathers: Classical Pseudonyms during the American Revolution and Early Republic," *Journal of the Early Republic* 23, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 151-172. The two authors who have attempted to collect, but not analyze, some newspaper and pamphlet accounts are Pierce Welch Gaines, ed., *Political Works of Concealed Authorship of the United States 1789-1810 with attributions* (Shoe String Press, 1965). Also T.J. Carty, ed., *A Dictionary of Literary Pseudonyms in the English Language*, 2nd ed. (London: Mansell Publishing, 2000). Carty does not organize entries chronologically but dates are included.

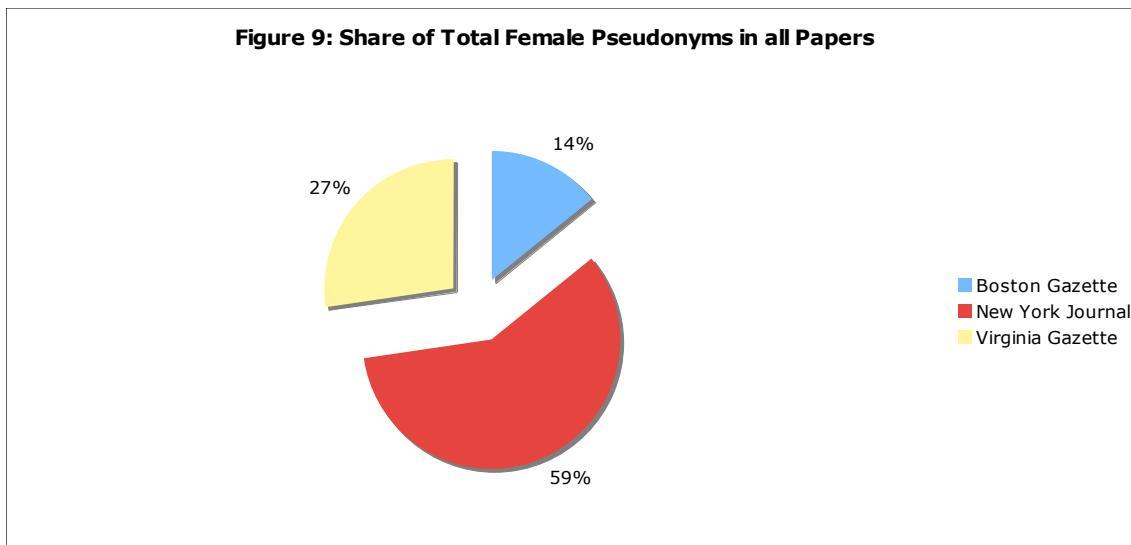
⁵⁰ Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967). It is important to note the contribution of Pierce Welch Gaines, *Political Works of Concealed Authorship Relating to the United States, 1789-1810* (Hamden, 1972). Though it is primarily

Female Pseudonyms: Conformity and Subversion in the Public Sphere

Incidences of female pseudonymity occupy a special place among the primary source material. It is the rarest form of pseudonymity pulled out for deeper study. Women, even more than men, were unlikely to write under their own names for newspapers during this period or to appear in print with a pseudonym that directly indicated their gender. In fact, many of these examples are probably not women writers at all, but men writing as women. This does not negate their importance. Regardless of the actual gender of the writer, indeed sometimes because of it, the female pseudonym was a useful vehicle for political and other forms of writing in the public sphere. How they were used, how frequently, and to what ends and effects are all objects of inquiry here. Predictably, traditional women's issues such as proper conduct, dress, church, motherhood, and marriage were appropriate subjects for concealed authors appearing as woman. Predictable, perhaps, but they nevertheless demonstrate that the female fictive identity was *female* when it spoke to and interacted with other persons and personas in public space, and as such was subject to the same expectations and conventions as actual women, even if the author behind it was a white, propertied male. Yet, a few examples at the end of this section demonstrate another perspective. While the majority of examples illustrate the above, a few demonstrate how pseudonyms could be used as a narrative device to launch non-conformist or subversive ideas into public discussion, if only briefly.

concerned with ephemera other than periodicals, it has, until now, been the largest collection of concealed authorship and remains so for the first two decades of the new republic.

While examples from all papers are drawn out for discussion, by far the largest publisher of these pseudonyms was Holt's *New York Journal*, whose contributions total more than those of both Boston and Virginia together. The overwhelming dominance of the *New York Journal* in publishing female pseudonyms is largely due to Holt's decision to include a weekly poetry section, an editorial choice that both other editors toyed with but never adopted permanently during the period in question.



How to Treat “A Lady”

I want to pause briefly to reflect upon the most ubiquitous female pseudonym used in the papers for discourse and expression: the somewhat ambiguous moniker, “A Lady.” This is a name frequently attached to poetry and seldom to a political essay. However, no other female signature gains this degree of repetition in any colony during the period.⁵¹

⁵¹ Data drawn from total contributions and may be found in the appendices for the *Virginia Gazette*, *Boston Gazette*, and *New York Journal*. It is important to recognize that though poetry was the method of

The examples so-signed are included in these records as pseudonymous contributions. It must be conceded, however, that women may never have been given the choice to include a particular pseudonym along with their submission. In this case, women may have actually attached their own names, or may have chosen pseudonyms only to have it replaced by a male editor with what he considered to be a common and acceptable form. Alternately, the lack of unique signatures may be related to the availability of fewer models for female pseudonymity in the European historical, Christian, and Classical lexicons. Some of these stories and histories, written and recorded primarily by men, may have emphasized traits out of step with a woman's intention. Some women may have gotten around this by finding their outlet in more gender-neutral and overtly patriotic monikers, such as that which has been ascribed to Mercy Otis Warren as the "Columbia Patriot." Others could have drawn upon popular, if ambiguous first names: Sally, Emily, Marcia, Maria, and so on. The rest, in this second hypothesis, might have simply opted for the ambiguity of "A Lady," or would have had that title chosen for them.⁵²

However, I think it more likely that the woman who signed her poetry "A Lady" saw such a signature as her conventional pseudonymic choice, a choice she was exposed to time and again by reading fiction, poetry, and other literature by female writers in the

communication to which this signature was attached, poetry was yet another form by which one could express their opinion and offer support or dissent.

⁵² "A Lady" abounds. See for example Isobel Armstrong, "Mary Seymour Montague: Anonymity and 'Old Satirical Codes,'" in *Women's Poetry in the Enlightenment*, ed. Isobel Armstrong and Virginia Blain, 67-80 (New York: Macmillan Press, 1999). Mary J. M. Ezell, "From Manuscript to Print: A Volume of Their Own?," in *Women and Poetry, 1660-1750*, ed. Sarah Prescott and David E. Shuttleton 140-160 (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). More generally, referring to anonymity for women (where her identity as a woman is nevertheless known): *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1690-1780*, ed. John Richetti (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

public sphere. Perhaps there is some cross-applicability here in Nancy Armstrong's assertion that, not only did the image of a domestic woman become a reigning ideology during the eighteenth-century, but that she gained importance in her alienation from the body, her ability to disappear into the woodwork, and to exercise domestic surveillance. "A Lady" would then be a deliberate and meaningful ascription, something indicating not only her manner and station, but her ability to publicly exercise surveillance over spheres which were considered her own, as well as demonstrating her learning as a woman of letters.⁵³

The ubiquity of "A Lady" thus suggests something about how women saw and wished to portray themselves and, as such, it was a product of eighteenth-century polite society and the refinement and projection of taste. It was likely to have been chosen by a woman as a desirable moniker under which to forward her literary accomplishments. As noted, it was never a signature appended to a political essay in the primary source material from these gazettes. This is not to say, however, that it was never used in such a way. T.H. Breen uncovered an example in the *Boston Gazette* of 1740 in which "A Lady" pushed the boundaries of acceptable female commentary by suggesting that additional education would not only benefit women in becoming more industrious, but that their success in business might actually outstrip that of men, since men spent too much time in taverns and coffeehouses while women "go directly Home, and follow their affairs."⁵⁴

Some Uses of the Female Pseudonym

⁵³ Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel*, (Oxford University Press, 1987), 76-80. Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992): 43-44, 80-96. T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford University Press, 2004), 151-192.

⁵⁴ Breen, Marketplace of Revolution, 179-80. See also 173 for a brief, but subversive poem by "A Lady."

It is notable that of all articles in this study only 41 entries (or 2%) purport to be women's voices. That, alone, says something about the acceptability or the usefulness of the female fictive identity in public print dialogue. The study of these particular pseudonyms should be drawn forward as an object of discussion, however, precisely because of their rarity, and because the subject of gender in the colonies is of interest to many scholars, including myself.⁵⁵

As has been noted, the poem was the primary outlet for female pseudonyms. Twenty-eight of the forty-one, or 68% of the female pseudonymous contributions are poetic in nature. This is certainly not to say that poetry itself was of only one nature, or predictable. A female author calling herself a "Daughter of Liberty" wrote ardently on the subject of patriotism while another author calling herself "Cleora" used the paper to elegize a dear and departed friend. Still another "Lady" from the 1768 *Virginia Gazette* used the vehicle of the verse to suggest that friendship among wives and husbands was a prudent practice, a suggestion not necessarily palatable to some husbands.⁵⁶

Obviously, not all of these ladies were actually ladies. Essays written to promote strict codes of conduct might equally have been authored by men. An author called "Eusebia" invoked the goddess of loyalty and filial respect to instruct young women to look to God instead of flattering snares in order to guide them through a dangerous youth. Another author, "Tabitha Strawbonnet," appeared in Boston prints in 1766 to request that

⁵⁵ Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1980); Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1980); Percentages of total samples drawn from all data in the gazettes, as found in the appendices.

⁵⁶ "A Daughter," New York City *New York Journal* 9 December, 1773 ("Cleora") 26 August, 1773; ("A Lady,") Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 7 July, 1768. On friendship and marriage, Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, 180-182.

women no longer wear red to church. In addition to being inordinately expensive in a time of self-imposed restraint, the color itself had meaning for women. Whereas, “White is an emblem of innocence and purity” and therefore an appropriate female adornment, crimson and scarlet were whorish, and “used as the strongest images of sin” in biblical literature.⁵⁷

Another group of “female” authors addressed the subject of marriage, or relations between a husband and wife. “Diana Languish” was a satirical young woman in the *Virginia Gazette* who complained that men were too reticent to ask for her hand. After stating what it is that she’s looking for in a man, “he must...be at least 5 feet 8 inches high, neither dark nor very fair, have expressive eyes, good nature, and commonsense,” she revealed that she was in possession of a lottery ticket worth 5,000 and that her personal information could be found by inquiring at the publishers office. In contrast, “A Widow” lamented a useless conflict between herself and her husband before his death, and urged wives to reconcile with husbands and to never let anger linger, especially before a trip. “Belinda,” a name quite possibly drawn from Pope’s mock-epic “The Rape of the Lock,” itself a commentary on virtue and high society, encouraged women never to attend a local playhouse which had been drawing controversy. She invoked their status as good women and mothers to support her reasoning, as well as reasons both economic and patriotic.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ “Eusebia,” New York City *New York Journal*, 19 May, 1768; (“Tabitha.”) Boston *Boston Gazette*, 6 January, 1766. Tabitha was also noticed by Breen, though declined to cite this passage which, I believe, most clearly shows the inherent contradiction between Miss Strawbonnet and the object of her anger, the wearer of luxurious and “sinful” consumer goods, such as red hats. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, 232.

⁵⁸ “Diana Languish,” Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 26 February, 1767; (“A Widow”) New York City *New York Journal*, 9 July, 1772 (“Belinda”) 9 April, 1768. Norton, *Liberty’s Daughters*.

While concealed authors spoke predictably as women on the subjects above, these were by no means the only subjects upon which they spoke. “Rachal Armstrong,” widely-accepted to be one of Otis’ female alter egos, was employed (probably in the aftermath of some public or private criticism) to prove that women enjoyed a good tarring and feathering spectacle as much as any man. “Hermina” chastised another newspaper essayist for claiming that political loyalty predicted religious affiliation. “Socratissa,” meanwhile, satirically demonstrated what an educated woman should not be: idle, self-indulgent, and amoral. Though the “natural timidity” of her sex nearly kept her from publishing, “Sophronia,” a character drawn from *The Female Tatler*, wrote passionately against the violence of slavery. “Clio,” a name most associated with the muse of history, though also closely connected with *Clio*, the autobiography of Martha Fowke Sansom, wrote that women could and should contribute to the written world while “Aspacia, Belinda, and Corinna” insisted that women were equal to men in terms of their virtue, love of country, and honesty.⁵⁹

The use of names like “Sophronia,” “Clio,” and the host of aforementioned “Ladies” make obvious a limited, but important tradition of pseudonymous authors appearing in public prints as women. They often wrote for women, spoke on issues which affected and could be affected by women, and employed particular conventions that were adapted by other readers and writers who appeared as women in print. Two essays in

⁵⁹ “Rachal Armstrong,” Boston *Boston Gazette*, 20 November, 1769 (“Clio”) 22 March, 1773 (“Aspacia...”) 28 December, 1767; (“Socratissa”) Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 22 October, 1767; (“Hermina”) New York City *New York Journal* 16 May, 1776 (“Sophronia”) 18 August, 1774. M. M. Goldsmith, ed., *By a Society of Ladies: Essays in The Female Tatler*, 42-48 (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1999). Phyllis J. Guskin, ed., *Clio: The Autobiography of Martha Fowke Sansom (1689-1736)*, (New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1997).

particular are offered up below, both for their novelty, and to demonstrate the ways that gender could be used by authors to affect public sphere discourse.

Elizabeth Barebones: The Gendering of the National Credit

For three consecutive issues between November 27th and December 11th, 1766 a concealed author personified an ill and weakening national treasury in Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* as "Elizabeth Barebones." This writer built a fictive female identity as the ill and dying mother of her beloved and ungrateful children in order to unite notions of female fragility, virtue, and motherhood with the otherwise tedious and dry subject of the public credit system. The technique represents just one way that authors used female pseudonyms to drive home political points.⁶⁰

The foundation of the three-part essay by "Elizabeth Barebones" is a commentary on her own health, a metaphor for the weakened health of the public credit system. By anthropomorphizing the abstract and stagnant system as a woman, particularly as a woman in distress, the author is able to utilize gendered discourse to instill pity and issue a call to action. Noting that she is "a person of so delicate a frame that it frequently requires a *consultation of physicians* to keep me in tolerable repair," she is able to confer upon the financial system certain familiar genteel American notions of female fragility. The lady's sickness is escalated by the issuance of paper money, whereby "emission succeeded emission, I had convulsion after convulsion, with a rapidity that left little or no intervals." Indeed, her condition is pitiable but not uncorrectable. She "rejoiced" to see

⁶⁰ Note that this is an example used unjustly by Brendan McConville, *The King's Three Faces: The Rise & Fall of Royal America, 1688-1776* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 272. McConville wants "Elizabeth Barebones" to be the wife of a dead sixteenth-century parliamentarian to make a larger point about civil war. A reading of the essay in context demonstrates no grounds for his assertion.

her old “appointed physician departed” and smiled at the emergence of a “staunch well-wisher to my recover” who promoted the good by “exposing the miscarriages of him by whom I had been deserted, and left a prey to my misery and affliction.”⁶¹

The reason for her former illness is luxury and lack of virtue. Some of her more ungrateful and “degenerate brats” had gorged themselves on a “rich diet, quite unsuitable to their constitutions.” Meanwhile bad (perhaps quack) physicians had caused her injury, and were working to “degrade, the most sublime virtues, by labouring...to bestow their unalienable complexion on vices of the worse tendency.” This language of the degradation of virtue is made all the more potent by the adoption of a female identity and the personification of the injury as being suffered by a woman. Indeed, money, the lifeblood of the public credit system, had been taken at her expense by no less than “fraud and rapine, and stolen from the innocent and just.”⁶²

In addition to themes of fragility and stolen virtue is added the importuning voice of a desperate mother. “O! my children! My children! Be upon our guard against imposters, fine words, and fair appearances...” she calls in the second essay. “Oh! my dear children! sick! sick! deadly sick!” is how she begins her first. That her health must be secured by her whole family is a repeated theme. She is their mother, and the sympathetic listeners (as opposed to the “brats,” to be found perhaps in Rind’s gazette) are her beloved, if recently undutiful children. She signs her second letter “your most affectionate and tender mother” and encourages her children to “conceive of me as *a tree of life* to you” and her recovery should be their “first concern, which no other must be

⁶¹ “Elizabeth Barebones,” Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 27 November, 4 December, 1766. Italics original.

⁶² Ibid. Italics original.

suffered in the least to obstruct.” Indeed, the time is long since past for “probing to the bottom, for laying *bare* the *bone*” to obtain a “real and unequivocal cure.” The meaning of “Elizabeth Barebones” is thus laid bare within the name, itself. The author creatively used the pseudonymic personality to gender the credit system as female, thus imbuing an cumbersome subject with intimations of fragility, untouched virtue, and even motherhood in an unexpected emotional appeal to spur both citizens and their lawmakers into action.⁶³

The Mysterious Disappearance of Sally Tickle and the Limits of Female Authorship

In the winter of 1773 John Holt departed from his usual method of inserting pseudonymous articles without comment and addressed his curious new contributor, “Sally Tickle,” directly. “The Printer highly esteems the Favours of his fair Correspondent,” he said, “and has no Doubt of her Qualifications to give him, and the Public, the most agreeable Entertainment.” Claiming to have not understood that this author wished her first letter to be published, Holt apologetically inserted the original letter as well as her reprimanding second letter on January 7th of that year.⁶⁴

The contents of these pieces are remarkable for several reasons. In the first letter intended for publication, Miss Tickle rejects “servants, and go-betweens of all sorts,” by invoking playful images probably culled from the theatre with its missed missives and mistaken messengers. As “there are so many obstacles in passing a letter to you with privacy, that with all the contrivances I am mistress of...I cannot fall upon any one mode

⁶³ Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 27 November, 4, 11 December, 1766. For a fascinating juxtaposition to the colonial anthropomorphism of credit see John F. O'Brien, “The Character of Credit: Defoe's ‘Lady Credit’ The Fortunate Mistress, and the Resources of Inconsistency in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain.” *English Literary History* 63, no. 3, (Fall, 1996), 603-631. Republican motherhood Kerber, *Women of the Republic*.

⁶⁴ “Sally Tickle,” New York City *New York Journal*, 7 January 1773.

of doing it” without “great risque of discovery,” she confides. She also uses language with subtle but thinly veiled sexual connotations, confiding to Mr. Holt that “you know the genius of Women...that how liberal soever they be of their favours to your sex, they choose to keep the correspondence private.” Holt, delighted, repeatedly assures “Sally Tickle” that he “esteems the Favours of his fair correspondent,” that there will always be “Propriety in her Commands,” and that he is certain of her ability to “give him, and the Public, the most agreeable Entertainment.” That John Holt is, in all likelihood, engaging in public flirtation with a man adds delightfully to the entire scenario.⁶⁵

In her letter, “Sally Tickle” suggests a means by which actual correspondence might make its way to the editor more subtly: “Suppose you were to have a box with a lock an key to it,” she notes, “and a slit on the lid to admit letters.” Holt could then “put up in the Coffee house for the conveniency of Gentlemen resorting there, and another fixed to the door of your own house.” What is notable here is that Sally, a “woman,” would never need a box at that the coffee shop, as this was a space for male political banter and discussion. The suggestion that a box be installed in that location serves only the gentlemen who frequent it. Its implementation allows for greater anonymity only for those authors while the box on Holt’s door provides an apparently plausible reason for the reading audience to believe that a woman could have contributed them. Readers are thus invited to suspend their disbelief and to accept “Sally Tickle” as an female identity for the remainder of the series.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Ibid. Both letters one and two appear in this issue.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

For both the above reasons, and a few given below, it seems more than probable that “Sally Tickle” was in fact a group of coffee shop wags. In the second letter, she upbraided Holt for not immediately inserting her first, insisting that the “*Quid nuncs* themselves, will certainly have no objection to your sacrificing a few fusty paragraphs about people and things we don’t know, to give room to what concerns, or may divert ourselves.” She goes on to say that first letter was intended to introduce the “authoress” to the public, “and to pave the way to a proper reception of what was to follow. Print it then in the next paper, in which case I shall send you something for the week afterwards: and of this don’t fail, on pain of *our* displeasure.”⁶⁷

The use of the plural and suggestion of community is pronounced. In some sense, it invokes a “royal we,” in the same witty tone which permeates the rest of her writing. In another, the inference is that there is a group at play operating out of the local coffeehouse during the day, a fact of which Holt probably well aware. It is possible that they are to write in rounds for their own amusement and for the public’s, or that one will write for the others. It is clear given the insistence that “when letters are sent for publication, it is to be presumed the writer has some connected plan” that more are intended for publication. In fact, the possibility of *many more* are suggested, both from the insistence of prompt publishing as part of “some connected plan” of which the author(s) “only can know what is to follow,” and exaggerated claims that she is able to provide the public “with a variety of fare” which might range from “Love Letters, and

⁶⁷ Ibid. Italics added.

Love Songs you may be sure.” but also “serious and solemn ones,” such as “a sermon that might pass, it was said, tolerably well on a country congregation.”⁶⁸

Holt is willing to indulge this game, even if he doesn’t know the exact identity of the authors, since the material thus far does nothing to suggest any motive besides lighthearted humor, bawdy fun, and jesting. He indulges Sally’s demands with obedience, to “secure him from the disagreeable Necessity of refusing to oblige her.” Indeed, strikingly, “she may depend her Pieces shall never be defer’d, unless of absolute Necessity.” To all appearances – to writer, printer, and newspaper reader – the stage is set for a prolonged set of editorials, humorous or otherwise, written by a female identity for a collective audience, with any of the subjects aforementioned as fair game.⁶⁹

Two weeks later, “Sally Tickle’s” first essay appeared and the tone is strikingly different. She insisted that “as a Rule in Writing,” a person should select a “subject agreeable to the Frame of Mind he happens to be in.” At present, the subjects of “Female Accomplishments” had occupied the author’s mind, and the “noble ends” and “influence” to which they could be applied. “Sally” then makes her intentions for the essay quite clear: “That the Men were always jealous of the intellectual Talents of Women, is very clear, from the Pains which they have always taken to exclude them from a Share in the Administration of publick Affairs, to debar them from a liberal Education, and on the contrary, to employ their Minds on Trifles.”⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Ibid. Italics mine. Italics original.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ “Sally Tickle,” New York City *New York Journal*, 21 January, 1773.

Regarding the “art of government, nobleness of sentiment, and the “most refined exertions of the mind,” there are many instances where women are not just equal, but quite possibly superior to men. Women, “by their genius,” at the beginning of the world “discovered most of the useful Arts of Life” resulting in the “Lords of Creation” in antiquity to regard them as “superior Beings.” In fact, “women are equal to the highest Exertions of the human Mind” and in some cases are actually *superior*. Sensibility of the heart, elevation of the mind, magnanimity, and bravery in the face of misfortune.⁷¹

Then the author goes further by addressing women directly, “let me press you then – ye fair Ones, to know your own Importance, and to exert it.” Rather shockingly, “Sally Tickle” tells women to “confine your attention no longer to the Concerns only of a Family” and to “Consider yourselves as intitled to a Suffrage, and possessed of Influence, in the Administration of the great Family of the Publick.” The assertion is unlike anything I encountered in any of the papers over the 10 year period. That it occurred in the *New York Journal* which published articles under female names more than both other papers combined is probably not unrelated. Granted, the author spends the last paragraph writing what seems like a quick backtrack, with considerably more role-convention than the rest of the essay. As final thoughts, women should pressure husbands not to exceed a family’s needs, the unmarried should choose only men who embody virtue, and all women should scorn those who work for personal emolument against the public good. But these final thoughts, easily made into a separate, less-controversial essay, in no way obviate what had already been done. “Sally Tickle” never appeared in print again.⁷²

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

Granted, some unforeseen and unrecorded event may have occurred, such as the death or debilitating illness of the author, but that would be a stretch. What is probable, indeed what is obvious, is that “Sally Tickle,” as a woman, could jest and even flirt as a woman, but in making assertions about the capabilities of women, their rights to education, or otherwise, she exceeded the acceptable bounds of discussion regarding the role of women in public society. To be so bold as to assert that the mental capacity of women matched and at times exceeded that of men was unacceptable. That they should assert and exert their influence without qualification in public was even more unacceptable. The positive mention of ancient practices that had raised and even deified women, regardless of their classical nature, was heretical. Finally, to insist that women were only held back due to the contrivances of men violated polite society and exposed a system of oppression that could not, under any circumstances, be brought into light without embarrassment. “Sally Tickle” had with a few strokes of pen unabashedly attacked the repressive social order of New York society. That a cacophony of male voices would have been raised to silence her was seems certain, and yet no one appeared in print to contradict her points. She simply vanished from public space without contest. Beautifully crafted, persuasive, and in all likelihood written by a man to push the limits of inclusion for women, the calls for equality ultimately proved too subversive for any woman to advance, even a fake woman.

A unique research find, the story of “Sally Tickle” is an example of the limitations ultimately imposed upon pseudonymous female authorship in the public sphere. However, *and importantly*, it is also a demonstration of a man pushing the limits of public discussion about female capability, rights, and civic participation, a perspective

that John Holt printed, if only once. As such, it points to alternatives which were conceived, if not fully realized, during the revolutionary period and must be regarded as an example of one radical possibility which briefly sprang up into realization. Finally, the “Sally Tickle” material colorfully displays the ways that concealed authors during this period dynamically and performatively toyed with the expression of identity, even if that identity was by its very nature a fiction.⁷³

⁷³ Here I owe a great debt to Linda K. Kerber, “The Paradox of Women’s Citizenship in the Early Republic: The Case of Martin vs. Massachusetts, 1805,” *The American Historical Review* 97, no. 2 (Apr., 1992), 349-378, specifically when she suggests that “it is our task as historians to be alert to occasions on which silence is broken” and the moments in which it possible for contemporaries to conceive of alternatives” to conservative and traditional gender relations.

Nationalism, Pseudonymity, and the Imagined Community

Obviously, there is a wide array of pseudonymic data that could potentially be included in a study on nationalism. To utilize these findings productively, I have chosen to employ some rather hard parameters to contain my discussion. In doing so, I have been insistent that the symbols in this section quite literally communicate allegiance to, or participation in, a given group. The data recorded below is thus specifically of British identification (“A Britain,” “Magna Britannia”), American identification (“American,” “An American Patriot”), or mixed identification (“A British American,” “Brittanus Americanus”).⁷⁴

To choose to express yourself simply as an American, or a Britain, is a statement of self that is read, reacted to, and repeated, making this type of literary artifact well suited to recovering the rate at which colonists absorbed and embraced this definition of self. By qualifying the categories in the way that I have described, I can visually demonstrate the general trend of British, American, or mixed nationalist identification across time in all colonies in a way that is both novel and useful.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ These examples were drawn from all three gazettes. If desired, please see appendices for all examples of this type of pseudonymity.

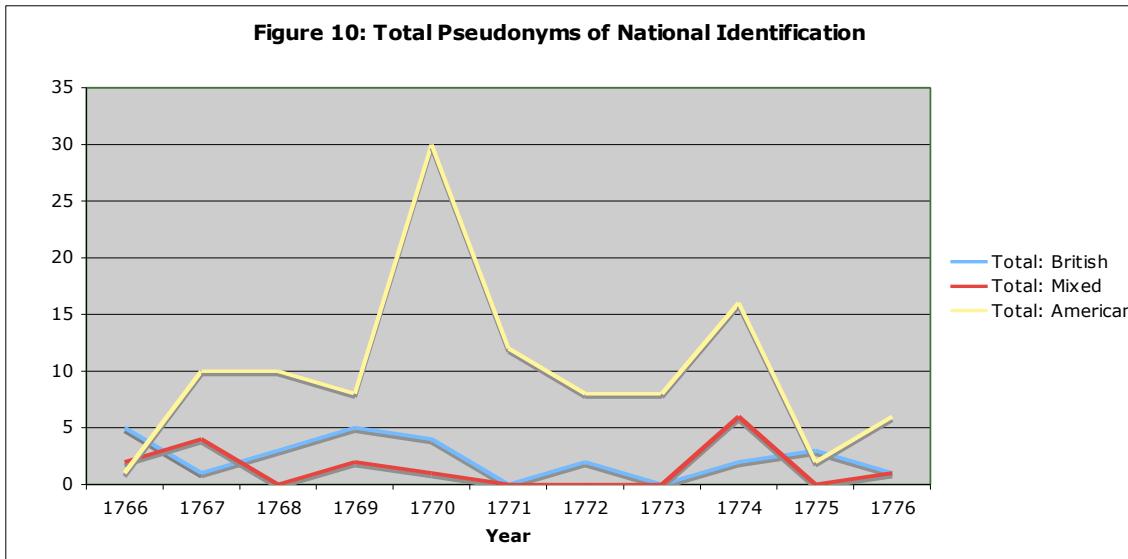
⁷⁵ Note that two other scholars have attempted such a recovering of nationalism via the symbol. Lester C. Olson, *Emblems of American Community in the Revolutionary Era: A Study in Rhetorical Iconology* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991). Olsen’s motifs of American identity included only the baby, the Indian, and the snake, of which only the latter was really an American self-depiction. Also, Richard L. Merritt, *Symbols of American Community, 1735-1775* (Yale University Press, 1966). While truly commendable for its intentions, Merritt’s work just has an unfortunate tendency to overwhelm readers with data which is non-contextualized and non-comprehensive, the latter of which may have been fine for 1740-1760, but that same approach is highly problematic for accurately describing events during the tumultuous revolutionary period. On the Indian see also Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip’s War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: First Vintage Books Edition, 1999);

Data Trends among Nationalist Pseudonyms

Nationalist pseudonyms, as defined here, account for about 9% of the total sample collected, while regional pseudonyms, not pulled out for deeper discussion here, account for about 6%. Of the colonies, Boston and New York were more likely to publish under a national than a regional pseudonym, with New York almost twice as likely to do so. Of the colonies, only Virginians were more likely to choose regional symbols over national.⁷⁶

The first thing to become apparent when all nationalist manifestations across time are analyzed is the vast difference in quantity between nationalist pseudonyms which are strictly “American” and those which are “British” or those, like a “British American,” which used mixed symbols. As can be seen below, the only years in which colonists actively (though barely) self-identified more commonly as British or both was in 1766 and, by a very marginal difference, in 1775.

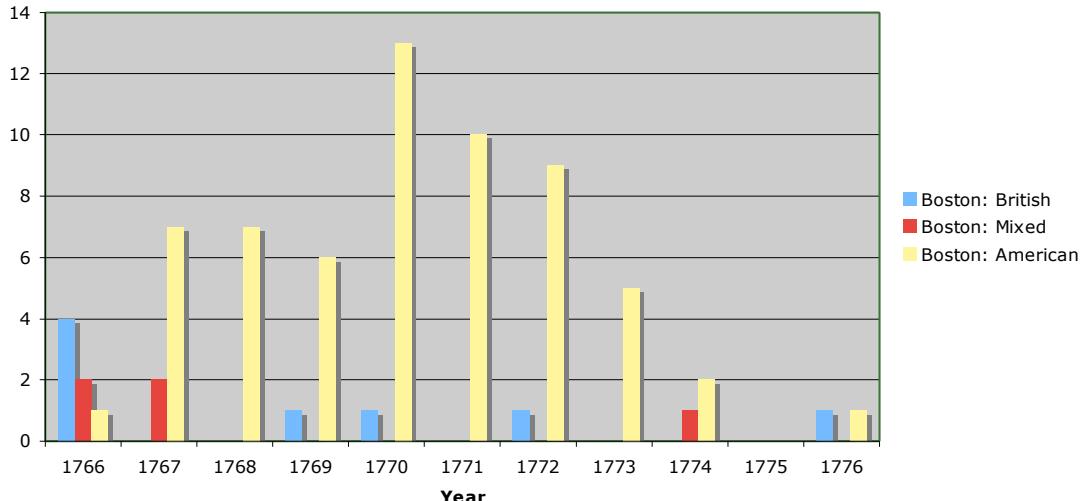
⁷⁶ Regional: VG 9.0%, BG, 6.9%, NYJ 4.7%. National: VG 7.1%, BG 9.7%, NYJ 9.5%. Data drawn from total, as found in the appendices, and excluding initialized articles as a category of pseudonymic analysis.



While it appears that colonists consistently preferred an American self-ascription, the sharp upward spike that began in 1767 can be attributed largely (and unsurprisingly) to Boston. Starting that year, the *Boston Gazette* began a steady outpouring of purely American pseudonymity that tripled between 1766 and 1767 and doubled again by 1770. The pattern is absolutely unique to Boston. Contributions to the *Virginia Gazette* were constant during nearly the entire period before an escalation in 1774. The *New York Journal* had more nationalist manifestations than Virginia, but generally remained steady except for two surges in the years 1770 and 1774. While authors in all colonies used this type of pseudonymity, only Boston steadily beat the drum with American self-description immediately following the Stamp Act crisis, and continued doing so with a particular intensity that doesn't closely follow actual ebb and flow of material disagreement between Britain and the colonies.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ See also Figure 3.

Figure 11: Boston Pseudonyms of National Identification



The rise and fall of concealed authorship under obliquely national titles bares a striking similarity to the results in Figure 3. As such, it further reveals the intentions of the Boston elite, especially during this period of relative quiet in its neighboring colonies. As I illustrate the way the nationalist pseudonym was used below, I would ask my reader to note that while a few key examples exist between 1774 and 1776, the most dramatic examples of “American” pseudonymity occurs between 1767 and 1771.

The Nation as Symbol on the Eve of the Revolution

To Benedict Anderson the nation is an “imagined community,” both limited and sovereign, which originated toward the end of the eighteenth-century. “It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” This communion flourishes because of the spread of the novel and the newspaper, which “provided the technical means for ‘re-presenting’ the *kind* of imagined

community that is the nation” in homogenous, empty time. To Anderson, the juxtaposition of articles written on every topic of news and market creates an imagined linkage between readers. In reading the paper each morning “each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion.”⁷⁸

Anderson’s rendering of the imagined community among readers unnecessarily rests its laurels upon the simultaneous consumption of news, which was not the only, or even the primary, purpose of the colonial American paper. As has been noted, by the late eighteenth-century, and specifically before revolution, the paper had become the platform for citizens to air their views on a variety of political subjects in the public sphere. That those citizens primarily corresponded using pseudonyms, by which they constructed and stylized national identities to describe themselves, and rendered pasts which included fictive ancestors, confirms and enriches Anderson’s model of nationalism.⁷⁹

Before nationalism can be practiced within institutions it must be conceived among the body politic. In the case of a colonial independence movements, such as that of colonial Americans, it is useful to reach for the idea of “nation” before any such formal codified body exists. In this way, a group of different, disparate people gain a mutual rallying symbol, useful, when the collective intent is the rebuffing of the world’s foremost military power. To advance oneself as a concealed essayist under an assumed identity was a very symbolic act. To choose to use the word “America,” or its variations,

⁷⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1983), 4-11; 26; 33-35.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 26-64. Far from being a criticism, I believe this whole study adds data in support of Anderson’s conclusions.

at this time in particular, had consequence, and was pregnant with meaning for writer and reader. It was loaded, and it was powerful, and these authors knew it.

One of the most incredible of these authors was “America Solon,” who styled himself after the famed Athenian lawmaker and published in Boston during their critical output period in 1771. Though he expressed hope that “union between Great-Britain and America, may never be dissolved,” he suggested the writing of a “system of civil policy...that will establish the union, and connect the interest of the United Provinces, in such a manner as to lay a sure foundation for a righteous government.” “America Solon’s” suggestion is both fascinating and remarkably premature, even for Boston. He adds that he has “begun to write a system of government, and civil policy, for the united provinces in America, which will be published as soon as it is compleated.” Further, he has begun to gather information regarding the political systems of other nations and their theorists, past and present, but hopes to use the paper as a forum and touchstone for local gentlemen “distinguished for knowledge in government and political transactions” to debate and discuss it. This author thus ties an imagined lineage, symbolized by his name “Solon,” to an imagined protonational community, and completes the concept by suggesting the actual creation of laws for a yet non-existent republic!⁸⁰

“North America,” in a tactic similar, but not identical, to the author of “Elizabeth Barebones,” anthropomorphizes the relationship between Britain and the colonies to drive home a point. “O Britannia! can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb?” the author asks, painting Britain as a neglectful mother. “Yea, they may forget; but when this is the case such ‘mothers

⁸⁰ “America Solon” Boston *Boston Gazette* 23 December, 1771.

monsters prove,”” and “forfeit the character of true mothers.” “We own our decent from thee; we glory in being the sons of Britannia,” the Virginia author insists, painting colonists as loyal, but abused children. It is a notion echoed by “*Brittanus Americanus*” of Boston, when he writes “forebear, my good old Matron, any longer to give heed to the lies that are told you of your own children,” because “they venerate you as their parent” and are bound to her “by ties of blood.”⁸¹

When that same “North America” launched an objection that just because the English were “older and more numerous than we” it gave them “no greater right to our property, or to deprive us of the disposal of it,” it evoked a sense of brotherhood, not of dependency or origination, and reflects the very different way that the American colonists communicated the relationship between themselves and Great Britain. Colonists were not the children or dependents of the English or even of England. They were the children of the symbol, “Great Britain,” from which *both* the English and the Americans came, a metaphor which rhetorically undermined assertions of authority.⁸²

A few concealed authors spliced together characters from antiquity with the emergent imagined nation, allowing colonists to develop a national mythology emerging from a classical past. “An American Cato,” objecting to British assertions of treason, reminded the public that it was “in Times of Necessity, that with the Sword our Forefathers obtained their constitutional Rights, and by the Sword it is our Duty to defend them.” A troubling assertion, perhaps, when one considers that Cato died upon his own sword. “*Juba Americanus*” was undoubtedly a reference to the virtuous character Juba

⁸¹ “North America”: Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 8 December, 1768. (“*Brittanus Americanus*”) Boston *Boston Gazette* 7 September, 1767. This does lend some support to Olsen’s “child” motif.

⁸² “North America” Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 8 December, 1768.

from Addison's *Cato*. "Gracchus Americanus," meanwhile, might have signaled quite a different concept of American identity, as it connects the Roman friend of the people, Tiberius Gracchus, to the idea of America as a nation. The Roman statesman was best known as the progenitor of a policy which would have distributed publicly-owned land among the landless.⁸³

More than a few concealed authors used their pseudonyms to express a patriotic sentiment that was nationally-focused and even unmistakably jingoistic in the years before 1772. An author who addressed the *Virginia Gazette* directly as "Philo Americanus" in 1771, observed that "we possess a wide extended continent, so large that we have room enough to settle all the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland." "What a *substratum* for empire!" the author exclaimed, "compared with which the foundations of the Macedonian and Roman empires sink into nothing." As American colonists "are known to double our number every twenty five years...in one century more this continent will, probably, contain more subjects than the three kingdoms can boast." Indeed, the unanimity of the assemblies "through the long tract of two thousand miles, harmoniously agree, as if one mighty mind inspired the whole." A similar pride and patriotism seemed to animate "A Citizen of America" in 1770, who recoiled with indignation at "the *Island* that would enslave us." One year later, "An American" thought that it would take an act

⁸³ Juba, the Nubian prince and son-in-law of Cato with the "roman soul" may actually add to ideas of nationality and classical republicanism in ways not fully explored here. See Julie Ellison, "Cato's Tears," *ELH* 63 (Fall, 1996): 571-601. 582, 591-594. "An American Cato" Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 28 July, 1774, ("Gracchus Americanus") 27 January, 1776, ("Juba Americanus") Boston *Boston Gazette* 8 October, 1770.

of the “wildest imagination” to suppose a continent “more than three thousand miles long” could be “oppressed by an Island not one hundredth part so big!”⁸⁴

Predictably, that same tone is carried in Boston. One “American” said in 1771 that “it is impossible in the nature of things, that such a vast people so advantageously situated for independence, should long submit to impositions.” Audaciously, “‘tis contrary to the nature of power to bear insults,” and “it is clear, to every rational mind, that the Americans will soon have it in their power to be independent of Great Britain.” As if there were any lack of clarity in the message of “An American,” ambiguity is further dispelled by the insistence that “whoever is acquainted with the history of mankind,” will see “Great Britain in a perilous situation; and America near an independent state.” Indeed, “should France and Spain league in a war against England, would Americans assist her before all their liberties were restored, and their demands complied with? Surely no.” This, the “Americans now call all the World to witness, that they have faithfully warned you this 5th day of November, 1771.” That the date was Guy Fawkes Day was not explicit, but it was certainly deliberate. The holiday, while it celebrates the foiling of the plot to destroy parliament, contains within it the reminder of the plot, itself, and the sort of crowd action that could be mobilized and turned to ends in the colonies.⁸⁵

Finally, as events escalated another “American,” this one from New York, used both the essay and the pseudonym as an attempt to bracket social status in pursuit of common action. “You must all unite to guard your rights,” he called to his fellow

⁸⁴ “Philo Americanus” Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 9 November, 1769, (“A Citizen of America”) Boston *Boston Gazette* 16 July, 1770, (“An American”) 25 November, 1771. Italics original.

⁸⁵ “An American” Boston *Boston Gazette* 9 December, 1771.

“Americans” and “brothers.” Solidarity was “not the merchants only but the farmer, and *every order of men* who inhabit this noble continent.” This is similar to what Benedict Anderson was implying when he stated that the nation “is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each,” it is “always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship,” a compelling symbol under which actual social status surrenders to a status as an imagined community of co-nationals. A “fraternity that makes it possible...not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.”⁸⁶

This selection demonstrates the ways in which the colonial essayists, especially in Boston, used the pseudonym to generate not just an individual, but a group identity in the crucial years before that identity became a material reality. Further, the hard data from these papers has absolutely demonstrated a preference for an American national description among colonists during the ten years prior to independence. This is remarkably surprising considering the degree to which colonists repeatedly insisted that they were, in fact, British, and were born with all the rights thereof. If one wanted to drive home this point to a presumably British (that is to say metropolitan) reading audience, then a national self-ascription which communicated your allegiance and participation in *that* imagined community would be both prudent and wise. This is not what happened. Instead of using the pseudonym to communicate participation in a British

⁸⁶ “American” New York City *New York Journal* 26 May, 1774. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7, 5-12.

nation, authors repeatedly conceived of themselves as participating in an American nation, and they did so with frequency, militancy, and gusto.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ For colonial perception on British consumption of their press see, for example, Williamsburg, *Virginia Gazette* 26 May, 9 September, 1774 in which accounts of the *Boston Gazette* being read in parliament and the *New York Journal* being read in London may be found.

Aspect-Invocation and the Interest-Group Pseudonym

John Dickinson's "Farmer's Letters" are the quintessential example of an Aspect-Invoking Pseudonym, and his status as a "Farmer" served to define this author before his identity became common knowledge toward the end of the series. "Humphrey Ploughjogger" is another example of a pseudonym used to falsely convey an aspect of the author's character. As "Ploughjogger," John Adams was able to fictively appear as a common ruffian, whose poor grammar and veiled implications regarding blackened faces and Guy Fawkes' Day was intended to warn authorities of the potential destructiveness of Boston's lower classes. These two were lying about their identities. Perhaps I should say, instead, that they were creatively constructing a different identity. Nevertheless, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that many authors claiming particular statuses or livelihoods were actually telling the truth. While remaining concealed authors they chose to make an aspect of themselves known. Not all followed this model, of course, but some did, and both types of authors exited and interacted in the colonial newspapers.⁸⁸

The use of aspect in the pseudonym was either a deliberate fiction or a stylized aspect of self. There are a myriad of examples in which persons writing in the public sphere as merchants seemed genuinely concerned with merchant affairs, or planters with the short and long-term interests of planters, etc. The examples below illustrate both real

⁸⁸ Here, I owe a conceptual debt to Lloyd Humberstone, "Names and Pseudonyms," *Philosophy* 70, no. 274 (October 1995): 487-512, whose "aspect-evoking" pseudonym, though not identical, served to inspire the classification of this type of discourse. Saltman, "John Adams' Earliest Essays," 126-142. Aside from spikes which occurred in 1768 and 1772, caused by single prolific authors at those times, the general frequency for this type of pseudonymity is between 6% and 9%. It was consistently more popular in Virginia (about 12.6%) and least popular in New York (about 6.5%).

and fictive Aspect-Invoking pseudonymity, types which existed simultaneously in the colonial American public sphere.

Aspect in Action in the Public Sphere

In late October, 1773, a pseudonymous author in Louisa, Virginia, referring to himself simply as “A Planter” conceived of utilizing the *Virginia Gazette* as a forum in which he, and others of his class, could form a group whose intention was the protection of their own class interests. “*To the* Tobacco Planters in Virginia,” it begins, “I doubt not but you are all alarmed at the sudden fall in tobacco and also the rise in the price of goods, which doubtless is occasioned by the policy of the merchants in general.” He queries, “if it is not high Time for us, the planters, to fall upon some political and speedy plan,” to keep their fortunes and estates “from falling into the hands of that ungenerous set of men called merchants.” Having identified the problem, he goes on to make the following proposition: “Let the planters in every county join in one mind and appoint four respectable men of their body, unconnected with the merchants, to act with respect to the sale of their tobacco, and bind themselves in a bond to abide by whatever contract they shall make therein.” The *Virginia Gazette* was the public forum in which the author suggests these planters organize, and it was in it that he hopes “to have an answer to this letter from some honest planter in every county wherein tobacco is made, signifying their approbation to the proposal,” or adjustments to the suggestion. For his own part, this planter has found that “those I have talked with in my county would be very fond of some

such plan,” and hopes others will both write publicly and organize locally to accomplish the scheme.⁸⁹

Two weeks later, the first response emerged in the *Virginia Gazette*, penned by “A Planter in Caroline.” It was “with pleasure I read your piece in Mr. Purdie’s last paper, and with equal Pleasure can assure you that the planters in general in this county are willing to associate and adopt such measures as may seem most adviseable to frustrate the ungenerous designs of the merchants.” Having insisted that for their part the planters of Louisa had shared this common concern, the author strongly chastises those who were elected to serve property owners. He wonders aloud at the purpose of those “who are chosen to represent and redress the grievances,” if they remain silent while their liberty and property “fall to the direction of a set of mercenary *Scotch Factors*.” Having assumed the position of speaker for the planters of his county, the author succeeds in identifying the reason that Virginia planters feel compelled to act, essentially, as an interest group *outside* the established government: the perceived failure of representatives to redress tobacco prices before this time.⁹⁰

The scheme made it no further, however, than a final contribution by “Another Planter” a few weeks later. Approving of the efforts “for keeping up the price of our staple commodity,” this planter shares a concern that might be widely shared regarding the prospect of collective bargaining. “I am apprehensive at the proposals made to put our tobaccoes generally into the hands of a few of our number to dispose of,” as it would be “contrary to justice, unless we first of all...pay off any engagements we have entered into

⁸⁹ “A Planter” Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 21 October, 1773. Italics original.

⁹⁰ “A Planter in Caroline” Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 4 November, 1773. Italics original.

with merchants or others.” This planter admits that he, for one, is in debt, but plans to sell of a part of his estate to clear this debt before entrusting his crop to a collective body. This planter expresses confidence that it is by these means alone that planters entering into such an agreement would gain the desired result from the merchants, who would probably take a smaller profit in exchange for a faster return on investment, and desist from the tendency to “dun and harass us by lawsuits, &c.” Thus, from beginning to end, this brief suggestion of collective bargaining publicly passed from a group who had met and decided to put forward, and receive, suggestions about collective bargaining via print, to the failure of representative government as a claim for such group organization, to the termination of the plan due to fear of pooling resources with debt-holders. It is quite possible that the last contribution to the Virginia planter affair might, in fact, have been the wolf in sheep’s clothing: a merchant posing as one of the planters in order to disrupt an effort at collective bargaining, an effort which would have hurt merchant interests.⁹¹

Planters were one of the most vocal groups writing during the period and tended to express their class solidarity and outrage over similar perceived ills across the examined regions. “A Planter” from New Jersey, republished here in the *Boston Gazette*, complained that several hundred “industrious farmers” had been “entirely ruined by the malpractices of the public officers of government, and the extortion of those vultures the lawyers.” To demonstrate the ways in which debt-related lawsuits had been “gorging on the vitals” of that region, he inserted 6 concurrent bills of cost imposed by the court on one North Carolina planter, totaling a sum of sixty pounds. The petition of another New

⁹¹ “Another Planter” Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 16 December, 1773.

Jersey planter was republished in the *New York Journal* in 1769. Noting that the legislature was meeting later that month, “A Plantation Man” hopes they will “lay before that body, all those grievances which you apprehend this province has groaned under for some years past, thro’ the oppression of some lawyers” who acquired estates from the “toil” and “labor” of the planters. Hoping that “some little property remains as yet out of their reach,” the author suggests that planters “beg for some relief against the extortions in their bills of cost.” Quite different from the attempt to organize change via extra-governmental means, like the planters in the original Virginia example, this author seeks to use the press as a device to rally class interests outside of government in order to place pressure on the legislature to correct a perceived harm. “For God’s sake gentlemen, for your own sakes,” and for posterity, “petition! petition! your united voices will be heard.” As a “great Man” and “poet” once said, “The voice of the people is, and it is not, the voice of God.” Yet another “Farmer” encouraged his class to use their power as producers to withhold goods from New York City as punishment for their decision to break the trade embargo. “Stop your cattle and sheep which filled their markets with so great plenty...” he suggested. After all, “you can live without them, and well too, but they cannot live without you.” Aside from the final “farmer” from Boston, most of these examples seem quite genuinely to be planters organizing and agitating for their own interests via the press. Individually concealed, yes, but in bringing forward an aspect of identity these individuals gain power and visibility as an interest group.⁹²

⁹² “A Planter” Boston *Boston Gazette* 23 September, 1773, (“J.P. A Farmer”) 6 August, 1770. (“A Plantation Man”) New York City *New York Journal* 5 October, 1769. The tendency to include an initialization, as part of the pseudonym, was a hybrid tendency unique to New York, including such strange fictions as “T.J. Pauper” in 1768.

In addition to vocational or interest group identification, many writers also used aspect-invoking pseudonymity to appeal to larger class interests: either *to* the lower class, or *from* lower classes to the more advantaged. “A Farmer” in Virginia pragmatically suggested that the cost of building rails for the protection of land from roaming hogs required action, as the scarcity of timber “demands the most serious consideration of all who have any regard to posterity.” While this was an upper class or rising planter concern, indicating that “A Farmer” was probably of the former statuses, he appeals to “the poorer sort of people,” who are threatened with “ruin” or, perhaps, “emigration” to escape the devastation caused by roaming animals. “If the lower rank of people would consider how their little estates are torn to pieces and destroyed by the hogs of those who have large fortunes in their neighbourhood,” and, he writes with exasperation, “if they would exercise their reason for a moment,” then he is sure “they would give instructions to their representatives to endeavour to procure a law to restrain hogs from going at large.” Thus, this “Farmer” recommends an initiative which would have compelled the actual owners of hogs to build fences for their enclosure, presumably enacting a social policy to benefit the poor, although the selfsame policy would certainly discourage the poor from owning pigs. “Farmer” writes with the presumption that the poorer landholder possessed the capacity to both receive his message and act in concert to seek a change in policy via concerted pressure upon the local legislature. While he is using pseudonymity to close the difference in status between himself and those he addresses, he is also addressing a population presumably ignored in the old model public sphere to maneuver a sort of class and trade-based pressure politics.⁹³

⁹³ Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 21 April, 1774. See also Stephen Aron, *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky From Daniel Boone to Henry Clay* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University

In another case, “A Tradesman” writing in 1767, expressed distress that public attention seemed to have moved on to other matters after the Stamp Act crisis had passed since, in his opinion, the conditions affecting tradesmen had not yet been remedied.

“Though I am a tradesman, and depend upon my daily labour for the support of myself and family, yet, I commonly read your paper.” This is, for one, another interesting statement about class and readership. Similar to “A Farmer,” directly above, who had assumed that lower classes would read and understand him, “A Tradesman” actually writes as a citizen of the lower classes. This author goes on to insist that he and his neighbors are “more amused and instructed by the useful pieces in it, than with the articles about the Poles or Corsicans,” by which he means he favors the political essay over foreign news. “Have our circumstances altered,” he asks, “is money grown more plenty” or “have our tradesmen more employment?” To which the rhetorical answer was no. Why then has public attention to the crises moved on? “The Tradesman” laments the recent loss of a feeling of “society,” by which he means the solidarity of all classes facing resistance to the Stamp Act, and he believes that one of the purposes for which that solidarity had been achieved was left incomplete. He notes unaddressed concerns of those of his station, such as “a long winter, and no work, many unprovided with fire-wood, or money to buy it,” and “house-rent and taxes high.” Lamenting an incomplete mission that had not addressed the needs of the working tradesmen, he suggests that “surely it is high time for the middling people to abstain from *every superfluity*, in *dress, furniture*, and *living*,” instead of being “envied and talked of.” “A Tradesman’s” sense that the solidarity created for Stamp Act resistance had been abandoned before the project was

Press, 1996); or Rachel N. Klein, *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760-1808* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1990).

finished indicates that those of his station had possibly come to believe that their own station would improve as a result of resistance. Money had not grown more plentiful, and employment prospects had not improved, both of which the author connects with that former sense of “community” and mission. Frustrated at the unfulfilled promises of resistance, and bothered by that some of his neighbors had once again begun adorning themselves with luxuries while “A Tradesman,” and others like him, faced a lack of food, fire, or work, this pseudonymous author volleys a class and trade interest into the public sphere. Moreover, the sort of unfulfilled promise of resistance anticipated by “A Tradesman” anticipates the later unfulfilled promises of revolution postulated elsewhere.⁹⁴

Sometimes it is quite evident that ordinary farmers were the object of attention by those who sought to control their opinion using the vehicle of the press. In 1772, “A Husbandman” fought over the ownership of that pseudonymous title in a battle with another “Husbandman” from Mr. Draper’s *Massachusetts Gazette*. The latter author had bemoaned those “poor ignorant souls” who had foolishly denied themselves and their families tea during a period of boycott. In a attempt to recapture public opinion from a competing set of politicians and polemicists, Mr. Edes’ “Husbandman” fired back that “it was not decent in that writer to represent us country-folks as dupes,” thus turning the comment of an opponent to non-importation into an insult against the poor, while (of course) praising the “patriotic spirit” of tea abstainers and the merchants who encouraged them.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ New York City *New York Journal* 17 December, 1767. Gordon Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

⁹⁵ “Husbandman” Boston *Boston Gazette* 18 May, 1772.

A similar, and even more vitriolic article designed to retake the sentiment of the poor was addressed “to the city and country inhabitants of the province of New York” by “A Weaver” in 1774. Objecting to a loyalist pamphlet by a “Country Farmer,” designed to “throw all into confusion, & no other end,” the “Weaver” calls the author out as a liar, writing that he chose his newspaper identity to “artfully to gain his point,” thus pretending himself a farmer to “the farmers, and their wives.” Playing off of an assertion within the Draper article that farmers would be unable to pay for many things, including their weavers, if they follow the patriot lead, the second author assumes that identity to rebuff him. “Being a *Weaver* myself, and tho’ they be generally poor, still they are as useful set of men, as any in the world...I therefore, would beg leave to say a word in answer to our pretended Farmer.”⁹⁶

In “A Weaver’s” attempt to win over the opinion of the “country people,” he reminds them of the rescinding of the *Snipe Act* (probably an act regulating the killing of snipe, which reside in Massachusetts in the summer). It was withdrawn “because the country people were very unanimous in opposition to it” though its repeal came at the “loss of individuals, myself for one.” In that instance, the country people had “stood out” which compelled “the framers of that act, to consider closely the consequences which would attend to its continuance,” ultimately culminating in the decision to remove it. Thus, “A Weaver,” who almost certainly wasn’t of that profession, used his fictive identity to remind the poor of previous sacrifices by the wealthy in favor of country brethren. Among the more fascinating revelations of this article is that the author

⁹⁶ “A Weaver” New York City, *New York Journal* 22 December, 1774.

expected to reach this class of persons via this written essay, either intending that it would be read, or that they would be read to, presumably in a public space. Further, we learn that when the poor “stand out” with unanimity their needs are addressed. While they are asked to “stand out” in favor of non-importation, it has here been transformed by “A Weaver” from a literal to a symbolic act; it is expressed no longer as direct action but as passive acquiescence to an existing merchant-driven policy. It is fair to say that they are not so much being asked to “stand out” so much, as to stay in.⁹⁷

Now, it would be disingenuous to suggest that every aspect-invoking pseudonym drew upon these weightier issues of class conflict and representation. Those selected and demonstrated above are certainly among the most interesting. The Aspect-Invoking pseudonym might also be used to communicate how things are made, such as “A Linnen-Draper” did in the manufacturing of linen, or “A Manufacturer” did with saltpeter. Someone claiming to be “A Soldier” might wax effusive on the glory of Sparta and Rome, or a heated conflict between “A Tenant” and “A Landlord” might be fired from the pages of the *Boston Gazette* and *Boston Newsletter*, not specifically on the issues suggested by their pseudonyms, but on the conduct and virtue of public officials, in general.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Ibid. Importantly, this material is explicitly said and, in a sense, “shown” to have been transcribed for the weaver in a footnote attached to the bottom of the article. While I can not yet locate the Snipe Act to which the author refers, I do not believe it to be an allusion to the Stamp Act, as claiming to have suffered loss at its repeal in Boston would have immediately invalidated the authors other arguments. Similar snipe acts were passed in Massachusetts in 1870, and the snipe has always been a game animal in that region, especially in the low marsh. Ralph W. Tiner, *In Search of Swampland: a Wetland Sourcebook and Field Guide* (Rutgers University Press, 1998), 210. 1879 Act: *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts*, Secretary of the Commonwealth, ed. (Bond, Aberg, & Co., 1879), 545-546.

⁹⁸ “A Linnen-Draper” Boston *Boston Gazette* 22 February, 1768, (“A Tenant”) 9, 16, 30 November, 1772, (“A Manufacturer”) 18 February 1775. (“A Soldier”) Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* 23 December, 1775.

Yet, the presence of interest group and class politics in the print public sphere strongly suggests that colonial Americans used concealed authorship creatively to advance personal or group agendas. The attempts to organize outside of government to accomplish profession-related ends, or – conversely – attempts to organize in order to pressure government as an interest group, really highlight the dynamism of the periodical public sphere in this period. Moreover, both the articles addressed to the poor, or lower class farmers, and the print battles over their loyalty demonstrate clearly that this was an avenue by which concealed colonial authors intended to reach them as readers, or more likely hearers, in taverns or other public spaces. As such, this type of concealed authorship offers a rare glimpse into the way the public sphere and material public spaces may have interacted.

Associative Pseudonymity and Community Pressure: The Pseudonym of Surveillance

Pseudonyms were also used during this period to assert that “the community” was watching and regulating its own behavior. They were used to enforce the oversight of revolutionary committees of association and to control the behavior of both the purveyors and buyers of goods. Further, and more often, they were employed by their authors to rhetorically coerce an unseen number of potentially-hostile neighbors into conformity and obedience, a phenomenon which increased as actual authority collapsed.

In 1772, the “People” informed port city denizens in Rhode Island and Boston that “all persons having any GREEN or BOHEA TEA to sell, in this colony, are requested to sell at the late usual prices.” Prices, the “People” insisted, “which they can certainly afford to do or sell none at all.” Tea merchants were warned in print against disobeying this directive, for if they did not comply they would soon feel “the effects of their ill-judged policy,” in the loss of custom income. Not just sellers were threatened, but buyers as well: “Every one who gives more than 4/6 lawful money for the best BOHEA, by the single pound, will be deemed an enemy to *this* country.” Moreover, every buyer with opportunity to spy upon the activity of their neighbors is told to “take particular notice” of anyone who asks for more. In a similar attempt to regulate the market of buyers and sellers the following year, “Vox Populi,” the voice of the people, instructed “committees throughout the continent” to “take down the Names of any Person or Persons who shall...refuse to receive the circulating Paper Currency of any Colony in Payment of Debts, Goods, Wares or Merchandise.” They were to record the

names of such persons upon oath, and submit them to the colonial congress, “that they may take the Measures accordingly.”⁹⁹

In like fashion, “The People” of Boston sought to light a fire under their local committee for not doing its job by publicly exposing their failure via the press. In 1770, The Committee of Inspection was reminded that they “were appointed at a late general Meeting” of merchants to “examine certain Stores” of specific persons in the town and, if any had gone missing, they “were immediately “to advertise the Names of such Persons” and organize a meeting. “The People” had heard it “reported that some Tea and other Articles have been clandestinely carried off,” which would have meant that the committee had been grossly negligent in its job. Therefore, these unnamed persons stepped forward and exercised what they perceived to be their duty by acting as the community watchdog and, having done so, insisted to the committee that “you would this Day do *your* Duty,” as well.¹⁰⁰

Even more often than the regulation of the market or of revolutionary committees, the Associative Pseudonym was simply used as a tool for fear-mongering and coercion. “The Free Citizens,” in a notice from New York and reprinted in the *Boston Gazette*, informed the public that two men, Francis Post and Jonathan Hampton, had seriously erred by manufacturing for British troops. Their actions were deemed by the “Citizens,” to have been of ignorance, not willfulness, which means that Post and Hampton were most likely forced into compliance and apology outside the press. The two men were drawn forward by the authors to illustrate that the public (as it were) was aware of the

⁹⁹ “People” *Boston Gazette* 28 September, 1772 (“People”) 20 December 1773 (“Vox Populi”) 14 August, 1775. Italics original.

¹⁰⁰ “The People” *Boston Gazette* 15 January, 1770. Italics Original.

activity of its fellows. It also shows how a few citizens, posing as the public, could monitor and control the activity of their neighbors. Having demonstrated their authority, this group of authors concluded their essay with a threat to other would-be collaborators: “should any sordid miscreant be found amongst us,” who would “aid the enemies of this country,” he should not be surprised if “vengeance overtakes him.”¹⁰¹

In 1773, The *New York Journal*/republished a notice that had been “pasted up in many parts of this town” by “The People.” This broadside reminded citizens that “the aiding or assisting in procuring or granting any such permit” for landing a ship carrying tea which had lately arrived, or any ship at all in similar circumstances, “must betray an inhuman thirst for blood” which would culminate in civil war. Ominously, the notice of “The People” was reported to have appeared all over town with this warning: “This is to assure such public enemies of this country, they will be considered and treated as wretches unworthy to live, and be made the first victims of our just resentment.” The threat was not empty. As events spiraled out of control and moved rapidly to public disorder, the day upon which “The People” could execute their “just resentment” against those who defied the will of the patriot majority may have seemed fast-approaching.¹⁰²

A person or group self-ascribing as “The Committee for Tarring and Feathering” released a handbill in Philadelphia in 1773 to inform the Delaware pilots of an approaching English tea ship. After a short, rather mild-mannered treatise on rights and taxation, this pseudonymous author concluded with a more direct, and probably more effective method: threat. “But this you may depend on, that whatever Pilot brings her into

¹⁰¹ “The Free Citizens” Boston *Boston Gazette* 26 September, 1774

¹⁰² “The People” New York *New York Journal* 16 December, 1773.

this River, such Pilot will be marked for his *Treason*, and will never after meet with the least Encouragement of his Business.” Indeed, “Like *Cain*, he will be hung out as a Spectacle to all Nations,” and will singled out as “the *damned traitorous Pilot, who brought up the Tea Ship.*” Of course, in addition to being “hung out” as a spectacle, another type of violence is communicated within the pseudonym, itself: the very public and excruciatingly painful act of tarring and feathering by mob. The author goes on to assure all those who use violence to coerce their neighbors extra-legally that their behavior was approved and that they would receive favor from “The Committee.”¹⁰³

Finally, another handbill “circulated through this city,” was published in the *New York Journal* with a note to the printer, John Holt, attached. It read, “Let the inclosed be published in your next Paper. In this fail not at your Peril.” It was signed by “Legion,” invoking not only a multitude, but of an armed multitude. According to the date of the handbill, it was released about two weeks earlier, at noon, on November 5th: Guy Fawkes Day. “Legion’s” essay consisted of two parts. The first was the handbill which had circulated around the city and which recounted the perfidy of one William Kelly, “late of this place, where he got his the Means of his present Importance.” It was rumored that Kelly had received a commission for the sale of East India Tea by assuring authorities that “there was no Danger from the Resentment of the People of New York” and that, if they objected, Governor Tyron would “cram the Tea down their Throats.” True or not, Kelly had been publicly named as an traitor to his colony and he, and anyone buying or selling the tea, would be singled out as public enemies. The handbill was signed “By Order of the Legion’s Committee,” again conveying a multitude – this a smaller part of

¹⁰³ “The Committee for Tarring and Feathering” New York City *New York Journal* 2 December, 1773. Italics original. “Fail not at your Peril” is also the terminology of a warrant.

the whole – and beneath this was the signature of the member of the “committee” appointed to actually author the handbill, “Cassius.” That “Cassius” would be interpreted by readers as a potential assassin of a British tyrant and, perhaps, as one of many secret plotters against a standing regime is more than likely.¹⁰⁴

The second part of the announcement of “Legion” in Holt’s paper, was an account of the public demonstration which transpired that night as a result of the handbill. An effigy was prepared of Kelly, suspended “with a Halter in the Middle of a Gallows” with his hands bound. To his right was the grinning Devil holding a harpoon to his heart and the effigy was lit by lanterns, indicating that while the handbill was circulated at noon, the public demonstration was gathered after sunset, in November sometime after 5pm. Pinned to his chest was the sign, “The just reward of that black and horrid Crime, Ingratitude,” again indicating that punishment for Kelly’s crimes was death, while in his bound hands was a tea canister. “A vast Multitude” of New Yorkers were reported by “Legion” to have paraded “through most of the principle Streets,” punctuated by loud Huzzas. The effigy was ultimately “carried to the Coffee House, where it was burnt in the Presence of many Thousands of the Inhabitants,” who signaled approval in their acclamations. Afterward, an unnamed gentleman addressed the people, “that he wished he had the base original, that they would treat him in the same Manner,” after which the people dispersed in “the most orderly manner.” The “Legion” thus demonstrated their power, not only as the community watchdog, but as the force which could summon and wield an indignant, if ordered, mob.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ “Legion” New York City *New York Journal* 18 November, 1773.

¹⁰⁵ New York City *New York Journal* 18 November, 1773. The demonstration is very much like those described by Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fêtes*. Also, the orderly nature of the crowd dispersal

As with the example above, some of the most interesting phenomena related to concealed authorship are the occasions in which the created character and the theatre of public spectacle interact. In doing so, the boundaries of performative public sphere discourse and the crowd demonstration of public theatre were blurred, becoming, at once, something of both. It is also a tendency observed by David Waldstreicher when he noted that “the connection between political tracts and street politics was not lost on rebel crowds. When a stamp man or an author was not available, they often tarred and feathered a pamphlet instead.” Given the predominance of the concealed essay, this meant tarring and feathering of pseudonymous authors whose actual identity was unknown.¹⁰⁶

One colorful example of this effect was put into action by The Committee of Observation and Inspection in Monmouth, New Jersey. Having read a pamphlet by “A. W. Farmer,” and having deemed it scandalous, it was “handed back” to the people, who were presumably gathered outside their meeting place. They “immediately bestowed upon it a suit of tar and turkey-buzzard’s feathers” and afterward it was “nailed up firmly to the pillory post,” a “proper emblem of the author’s odiousness to every advocate for true freedom.” These sorts of rituals, in which the essays of fictive persons were subjected to the same punishments as actual persons, help to demonstrate the central role

follows the patterns noted by Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776* (New York: Norton and Company, 1972). For other accounts of this demonstration see originally William Dunlap, *History of the New Netherlands, Province of New York, and State of New York, to the Adoption of the Constitution in Two Volumes* Vol. II (New York: Carter and Thorp, Exchange Place, 1840), more recently Joseph S. Tiedemann, *Reluctant Revolutionaries* (Cornell University Press, 1997).

¹⁰⁶ Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 27; 1-52.

of concealed authorship in the political theatre of revolution, “so that it becomes hard to tell where the ritual or the reportage begins or ends.”¹⁰⁷

There were other ways that the pseudonym could leave the paper and enter the real-life public square, sometimes with bizarre consequences. Historian Thomas J. Humphrey recounts a story in which Henry Van Schaack, rumored volunteer stamp tax collector of Albany, New York, became a target of popular justice in 1766. After word spread that Van Schaak wanted to accept this hated and “unpatriotic” position, he was “invited” to a local tavern by a crowd of about 40 or 50 who encouraged him to sign an oath that he would never volunteer for stamp master. Declining the request, Van Schaack retreated home before the crowd “invited” him back to the tavern an hour later. While it certainly would have been an unsettling experience to be harassed into obedience by an increasingly drunken mob, Van Schaack once again managed to evade the oath. The next night, however, Van Schaack heard the din of an angry crowd headed for his house and fled to the woods where he spent the night. Upon returning home the next day he found his house ransacked and a note tacked to his door, demanding that he comply with the will of the mob or suffer more consequences. It was signed “Freedom,” and was accompanied by a cartoon of a dead Mr. Van Shaack dangling lifeless from the gallows underneath. “Freedom” here was something of an Associative Pseudonym extraordinaire. To the crowd it represented the collective freedom to take measures against British taxes and their proponents. To Van Shaack it was the freedom of the mob to openly threaten his murder without fear of individual consequence.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ “A. W. Farmer” New York City *New York Journal* 6 April, 1775.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas J. Humphrey, “Crowd and Court: Rough Music and Popular Justice in Colonial New York” in *Riot and Revelry in Early America*, Pencak et al eds. (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 111-114.

One final case illustrates the ways in which the pseudonym could leave the printed page and enter political theatre by other means. In 1770, a group of Bostonians who were dispatched to Salem by the Committee of Merchants were unexpectedly drawn from their quarters in the middle of the night. They were startled by news that there was a crowd assembled at Long-Wharf prepared to tar and feather them unless they departed immediately. Accompanying this alarm was a mysterious note dropped in their entryway. It read, “You are come to this Town (who are present in a peaceable state) to Raise a Spirit of Sedition.” “As a Friend to Mankind in general, I would Advise you immediately to depart this Place, with all those that have enlisted under your Piraticle Banners.” Otherwise, they were warned, they were to suffer the same fate as a Boston shopkeeper who had recently suffered “Unparrallell’d Barbary.” The note concluded with this message: “Two hours are only allow’d You to Consider of this matter and You are Surrounded with Spys to know the Effect.” The representative of this mob signed the letter “Philanthrop,” and a postscript threatened that changing their lodgings would not hide them. They were being watched. The Bostonians promptly sent for a local reassurances of their safety, which they received, and went on to tell the tale of their victory over adversity in the *Boston Gazette*. But for all their bravado, the situation must have been unsettling, as it would for anyone finding a strange note in their entryway in the middle of the night. This gained attention and advertisement because the men assaulted were aligned with Edes, Adams, and the patriot resistance in Boston. In a

culture fully accustomed to hidden identities, it is interesting to consider how many more events such as this one passed unrecorded.¹⁰⁹

Concealed authors did not just pen essays as individuals in the weekly gazettes. By signing “The People” or “The Citizens,” authors could depict themselves as the omnipresent community. They could nail notices around town warning rule breakers that they were watching. If powerful and connected, a group of concealed authors could use their works to summon a crowd of demonstrators, thus validating their role as community monitors. In an environment in which this type of authorship and interaction was quite common, a pseudonym could become the unaccountable avatar for a murderous mob or the name attached to a dramatic warning in your entryway in the middle of the night. Associative Pseudonyms thus add to the dynamic and powerful reality of concealed eighteenth-century authorship by demonstrating its equally coercive, violent, and dangerous utility.

¹⁰⁹ Boston *Boston Gazette* 20 August, 1770.

Conclusion

Concealed authorship played a vital role in the critical ten years prior to American independence by allowing authors to utilize printers as cover while they volleyed political essays seditious and disruptive to British authority into the print public sphere. These were attacks and criticisms which, if spoken without the aid of a mask, would have exposed them to risk and ruin in an uncertain time. Concealed authorship enabled resistance to spread underneath British authority while pseudonymity, in particular, allowed authors who would never meet to identify each other in public and wed themselves to a similar cause, using similar symbols in addition to similar language and principles.

A study such as this one must compel us to reimagine the way the public sphere operated during this critical period in colonial America. First, the documentary evidence suggests that all three newspaper printers preferred to insert material from local authors. This stands in stark relief against an impression of press literature which imagines the works of single actors, such as John Dickinson, dominating the discourse via projection to a broad and inter-colonial audience. Authors such as Dickinson do stand out as exceptional, and they were widely printed and read. However, a myriad of lesser-known and generally local authors are what compelled the American colonists to return to their newspapers each week. Under the guise of pseudonymity they appeared as an entire cast of characters challenging or upholding the status quo, and not just on the subject of British authority, taxation, and revolt. Colonial American writers were profoundly imaginative when writing for their fellow readers. There was certainly never any rule or

understanding in place which insisted that they creatively manipulate their signatures to convey meaning, or mark affiliation, or generate characters with separate personalities, tones, genders, backgrounds, and so on. That was an innovation they adapted and toyed with, and used to various and novel ends.

Among those ends was the construction of national identity in a period before the nation, itself, existed. Colonial American authors repeatedly cast themselves *as* Americans, and used unmistakably forward-looking language during the entirety of the decade preceding 1776. As has been shown, the lions share of this effort came unmistakably from Boston. Their output during years of comparative calm is marked, and their repeated use of the national pseudonym to describe themselves was unmatched by their contemporaries. Yet, Boston was not alone. That colony might have done so most assertively, but all colonies had authors who shared this perspective and wrote aggressively under national monikers. For a people so insistent to be British, the cacophony voices which insisted repeatedly, and loudly, that they were Americans is, if not surprising, perhaps more than a little telling.

Colonial Americans also used concealed authorship in a way that does not entirely conceal identity. Many planters, in particular, adapted the popular convention of pseudonymity to speak to one another and to organize via the public media. This was an equally creative endeavor to that of national ideation. Using the newspaper to organize their interests and call for pressure (as a class) upon the government was a remarkably innovative use of the media for that period, and demonstrates the manifest flexibility of the periodical to suit the imaginative renderings of its users. Further, while it is interesting that writers used concealed authorship to try to close the gap between

themselves and the poorer classes, it is even more interesting that they wrote with the intention and belief that they were going to reach those classes, that they would be heard. This, too, sheds light on the way concealed authors in the print public sphere might have interacted with the public square of taverns and open spaces, thereby reaching a considerable audience of contemporaries.

Authors were also using pseudonyms to appear in public space as women during this critical period. In some cases, these were actually women participating in discourse deemed acceptable during that period: as churchgoers, wives, and mothers, for example. But there were also women appearing as consumers and as arbiters of taste, as producers of goods, and as moral commentators on institutions such as slavery. The widespread phenomenon of concealed authorship also allowed some men, such as “Sally Tickle,” to appear in public as women and subvert the accepted gender order by introducing more liberal perspectives regarding women and their capability into public discourse.

Finally, and most especially in the years between 1774 and 1776, concealed authors used pseudonyms to convey the impression of a vast and unknowable number of fellow neighbors exercising surveillance upon the behavior of their fellow citizens. For the core of the patriots’ movement this would probably have been a boon, and a novel application of the concealed authorship with which they were all familiar. For others, for loyalists, or the marginalized, or those on the unhappy end of an angry mob, this would have been a new nightmare, and a frightening extension of the power of concealed authors to act as the new authorities when the existing British order began to come apart. No one could have been held accountable if Mr. Van Schaack had turned up dead a few weeks after his life was threatened by “Freedom.” Freedom was an idea, not a person. No

one in particular would be responsible for punitive actions taken by “Legion,” in New York, or the brutal torture orchestrated by the “Committee for Tarring and Feathering” in Philadelphia. They were protected by their lack of identity. For a brief time, at least, the familiarity of concealed authorship lent its prerogative to a system of authority with no face.

It is disingenuous to say that the public sphere was any *one* thing on the eve of independence in colonial America. As has been demonstrated, it was an incredibly dynamic realm that was malleable enough to change with the ideas and intentions of all who used it. American colonists were drawn to their newspapers week after week. Those papers were part and parcel of their daily lives. More than the simultaneous consumption of news, as we might imagine it, to pick up the paper was instead to encounter opinion pages brought to life by an endless series of character types, re-imagined each week. The identity which concealed authors chose can, and did, say as much as the argument, itself. Collectively, they add to our understanding of the way colonial Americans during this period interpreted both their world and themselves.

Appendices

Some Notes on Methodology

Unless otherwise noted, the data for this study was drawn exclusively from the *Boston Gazette*, *Virginia Gazette* and *New York Journal*. Before choosing to embark on this study I thought it ideal to draw samples from New England, Southern, and Middle Colonies. Without exception, every extant and preserved issue of the three newspapers was examined. Numbering systems found on the tables below work on the same numbering adopted by the editor, including Holt's decision to briefly serialize his paper between 1770 and 1773.

Each page of every issue was scanned for a pseudonymic essay or the mention of a pseudonymic character. The contemporary trend was to organize papers in such a way as to maximize information content into 3 or 4 parallel columns, without significant spacing or headers to distinguish news from advertisement, essays, etc. This did contribute to a method of reading at least one contemporary thought jarring, as it produced such an "abrupt transition...between one paragraph and another," that it would "overload and confuse the memory so much that, when you are questioned, you can never give a tolerable account of what you have been reading."¹¹⁰ Indeed, the method of organization can be a little disorienting. However, contemporary editors did often organize and section-off particular parts of the paper, they just would not use space to announce the logic. News was printed with news, advertisement with advertisement, and essays were generally organized, intentionally or not, into native and borrowed material,

¹¹⁰ Williamsburg Virginia Gazette 2 April, 1767.

with British material even more strictly segregated. Further, pseudonymous authorship is somewhat easier to distinguish from the surrounding literature than other types of material because the trend, on both sides of the Atlantic, was to capitalize all signatures, pseudonymous or not. This is equally applicable to the mention of persons within the articles themselves.

As evident in the appendices, information documented for each article includes the paper, date, pseudonym, and place of origin. Additional data not included in these tables but nevertheless documented include editor, page number, title, pseudonymous correspondent (not always present), and research notes. Information on place of origin is organized under the title “native,” in which native means an article addressed directly to the editors, or otherwise indicated to have come to that paper *first*, instead of reprinted in the paper after appearing somewhere else first (non-native). This material will eventually be supplemented by the actual place of origin which will yield a database demonstrating how many articles came from what region, and when, but for now provides valuable data on native essaying versus imported that has heretofore not been recorded.

Method of Organizing Pseudonyms

Obviously, no method of organizing pseudonymic essays has existed until this point. In addition to the writing of this thesis, I have felt very strongly that one of my duties was to organize these previously unrecorded pseudonyms for other interested scholars. While I could have made an editorial choice to leave this data unsorted, it quickly appeared to me that with so much available, data organization was more than advisable, it was necessary. By no means do I think this is the final form of organization

this data should take. As more samples are added it will become increasingly practical, I believe, to add secondary categories of description and/or non mutually-exclusive categories of analysis.

Finally, Since the object of this study is a symbol, it seemed logical to categorize data from least to most specific symbol, or from the most abstract symbol, to the most specific manifestation. To prevent my choices from seeming esoteric, my system of analysis is produced below as a table in which these unspecific symbols yield (cede) to the more specific. Below this, some specific reasons are enumerated.

From least to most specific:

Obvious Intent cedes to Latinized
Obvious Intent cedes to Classical
Obvious Intent cedes to National
Obvious Intent cedes to Regional
Obvious Intent cedes to Gender
Obvious Intent cedes to Associative

Latinized cedes to Classical
Latinized cedes to National
Latinized cedes to Regional
Latinized cedes to Gender
Latinized cedes to Associative

Classical cedes to National
Classical cedes to Regional
Classical cedes to Gender
Classical cedes to Associative

National cedes to Aspect-Invoking
National cedes to Associative

Regional cedes to Aspect-invoking
Regional cedes to Associative

Categories that Require Brief Explanation

I. National and Regional to Aspect-Invoking

While not a large enough portion of either sample to strongly affect results, both national and regional articles ceded to an aspect, such as a profession, when the author clearly intends to convey to his audience that he is a member of a trade or pressure group. For example, “An Old English Merchant” is conveying his nationality, his age, and his trade. For the purposes of organizing these samples the latter qualifier is thought the most specific, and thus serves as the means for organization.

II. All to Gender

For the purposes of this study classical female figures will cede to gender identification in cases where the identity of the author is, or is purported to be, female. In all reality, the incidences here are so limited as to not skew studies of comparison in any tangible way. Similarly, National and Regional pseudonymic markers will also yield to female voices, and are even less common than the former. The simple logic is that the novelty of female authorship is such that it supercedes the ubiquity of classical allusions or national identification.

III. All to Associative

Once again, the novelty of this pseudonym, which intends to convey the impression of a body of persons, supercedes other structures of organization while its small sample size ensures that it does not significantly skew other results.

When dealing with a period of both concealed and open rebellion against

established authority it is hoped that the importance of very carefully classifying this type of pseudonym is obvious.

IV. A Special Case in Obvious Intent

Those pseudonyms labeled as obvious intent will always cede to National and Regional unless preceded by a qualifier such as “friend to,” “admirer of,” etc. The reasoning here is that the preceding qualifier distances the individual from identification with that place by virtue of the qualifier. In essence, it is not uncommon for a London author to claim to be a friend to America, or a New York merchant to claim to be a friend to Great Britain. But, it is not common for a London writer to identify himself as “A Bostonian,” unless he is (or means to convey the impression) that he claims this city as his home. This works in a somewhat similar manner for the Latinized pseudonym when the Latin modifier is *Philanthropos* (“*Philanthropos Americanus*,” for example). However, in two cases the qualifier *philo-* has been deemed acceptable for inclusion because it is thought that the several connotations in which it can be read, including tendency toward, and strong affinity for, resemble the nationalist sentiment.

Obviously, in all of these cases the other markers of identification could very simply be extricated from the existing categories to form a new sample for study. In other words, if another author’s intention was merely to measure all examples of Latin, classical person or otherwise, that could very easily be accomplished with the data in the tables below. One of the purposes of this research was not only to record, but to provide

categories of organization to apply to an voluminous and under-studied type of ephemera.

I believe this form of organization to be logical and usable, and as it moves from the general to the specific, it simultaneously moves from the most-commonly recorded pseudonym to the least.

The Unexamined Self: Pseudonymic Categories Not Included in this Thesis

There are a few classifications of pseudonyms that have not been addressed on the preceding pages but which were recorded and which can be clearly distinguished from other types. The religious pseudonym, such as “Puritan” or “A Church of England Man,” confirms a well-known religious dimension to colonial life. Their comparative infrequency in this sample may indicate that these were not effective fictive symbols for these readers, or, on the contrary, that they were considered inappropriate fictive symbols for use by writers. Since there was a religious tone to a considerable number of these political essays, I frankly expected to find more religious figures as fictive identities. Their rarity leads me to favor the latter suggestion: the religious figure was largely an inappropriate fictive identity, be it as sacrilege or, because figures associated with peace were divisive and inappropriate vehicles for the conveyance polemicized messages.

Two additional categories, the political and the historical, were used so infrequently that inclusion in this thesis seemed premature. The former is a category designed to absorb all pseudonyms that directly affiliated with a political faction, be it Whig or Tory, while the latter captured any pseudonym that represented an actual historical character, English or otherwise. While the former certainly contains a few “Independent Whig’s,” “Whig’s,” and “Tory’s,” these numbered even fewer than gender as a category of analysis. In all, only twenty essays were signed with an overtly faction-oriented moniker, though, as I’ve noted and demonstrated, far more than twenty were factious.

I opted to withhold an in-depth study the regional pseudonym due to the sporadic nature in which it appeared. It is possible, though not yet provable, that there was an

increase in the regional fictive identity from 1774 to 1776, but after conducting a deeper investigation it became clear to me that this conclusion was too heavily skewed by the contribution of two especially prolific authors during this period, John Adams and Arthur Lee. If it can be proven it would be quite an interesting find, but I feel the only responsible course is to wait for additional data from papers outside my current sample before making that assertion. As was obvious from the section on classicism, the Latinized pseudonym was also not discussed here as it is not of much interest to me. While possibly of interest to Carl Richard and other scholars intent on reiterating the classical foundation of American thought during this period, I have opted to not analyze it here, and must continue to insist that there is a distinction between the classical character and the macaronic invention. As can be seen in the appendices, the pseudonyms that I have labeled as Latinized lean quite heavily toward macaronic twists on English nouns or adjectives. When this is not the case, they are essentially Latin versions of the pseudonym of obvious intent, more akin to a statement than a symbol.

Appendix A: Edes' *Boston Gazette*

| Date | Pseudonym | Imported | Type |
|-----------|------------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|
| 1/6/1766 | Friend | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/6/1766 | Thy Friend | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/13/1766 | A Son of Liberty | yes | Associative |
| 1/13/1766 | Freeborn Armstrong | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/13/1766 | Z.A.Y.B. | no | Initialization |
| 1/27/1766 | Freeborn Armstrong | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/3/1766 | Freeborn Armstrong | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/3/1766 | A Countryman | no | Regionalism |
| 2/10/1766 | Rationalis | yes | Latinized |
| 2/17/1766 | A.B. | yes | Initialization |
| 2/17/1766 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 2/24/1766 | Magna Britannia | yes | National Identification: British |
| 2/24/1766 | A Colonist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/24/1766 | Phileleutherus | yes | Latinized |
| 3/3/1766 | A True Briton, C.P.G. | yes | National Identification: British |
| 3/3/1766 | A Colonist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/3/1766 | Z.A. | no | Initialization |
| 3/10/1766 | Clarissa | yes | Gender |
| 3/10/1766 | F.A. | yes | Initialization |
| 3/17/1766 | Britanus Americanus | no | National Identification: Mixed |
| 3/17/1766 | F.A. | no | Initialization |
| 3/24/1766 | Algernon Sidney | no | European History |
| 3/31/1766 | A Countryman | no | Regionalism |
| 4/7/1766 | Z.A. | no | Initialization |
| 4/14/1766 | A Friend to Good Men | no | Obvious Intent |
| 4/14/1766 | B.W. | no | Initialization |
| 4/21/1766 | X.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 4/21/1766 | Filius Libertatis, Neo Hantonensis | no | Latinized |
| 4/28/1766 | The People | yes | Associative |
| 4/28/1766 | Veritas | no | Classicism |
| 5/5/1766 | Z.A. | no | Initialization |
| 5/5/1766 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 5/5/1766 | X.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 5/5/1766 | Veritas | no | Classicism |
| 5/5/1766 | A Partizan for Honesty | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/19/1766 | No Bigot | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/19/1766 | A True North American | no | National Identification: American |
| 6/2/1766 | Paskalos | no | Latinized |
| 6/2/1766 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 6/9/1766 | Paskalos | no | Latinized |
| 1/6/1766 | Tabitha Strawbonnet | no | Gender |
| 6/16/1766 | Paskalos | no | Latinized |
| 6/16/1766 | X. | no | Initialization |
| 7/14/1766 | Ego | no | Obvious Intent |
| 7/21/1766 | Morus | no | Latinized |
| 7/21/1766 | T.S. | no | Initialization |
| 7/28/1766 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 8/4/1766 | No. Forty-Five | yes | Obvious Intent |

| | | | |
|------------|--------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 8/11/1766 | A British American | yes | National Identification: Mixed |
| 8/18/1766 | Algernon Sidney | no | European History |
| 9/15/1766 | O. | no | Initialization |
| 9/29/1766 | Englishman | yes | National Identification: British |
| 10/27/1766 | F.B. | no | Initialization |
| 11/3/1766 | A Candid Man | unknown | Obvious Intent |
| 11/10/1766 | Paskalos | no | Latinized |
| 11/17/1766 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 12/1/1766 | John Hampden | no | European History |
| 12/8/1766 | An Englishman | yes | National Identification: British |
| 12/8/1766 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 12/8/1766 | Paskalos | no | Latinized |
| 12/15/1766 | W.B. | no | Initialization |
| 12/22/1766 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 12/29/1766 | A.A. | no | Initialization |
| 12/29/1766 | Y. | no | Initialization |
| 12/29/1766 | Philopatrie | no | Latinized |
| 12/29/1766 | Paskalos | no | Latinized |
| 1/5/1767 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 1/5/1767 | B.B. | no | Initialization |
| 1/5/1767 | C. | no | Initialization |
| 1/5/1767 | H. Ploughjogger | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/5/1767 | Brutus | no | Classicism |
| 1/12/1767 | C.C. | no | Initialization |
| 1/12/1767 | Philopatriæ | no | Latinized |
| 1/12/1767 | Cassius | no | Classicism |
| 1/19/1767 | D.D. | no | Initialization |
| 1/19/1767 | Paskalos | no | Latinized |
| 1/19/1767 | Y.B. | no | Initialization |
| 1/19/1767 | H. Ploughjogger | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/26/1767 | C. | no | Initialization |
| 1/26/1767 | E.E. | no | Initialization |
| 1/26/1767 | Winthrop | no | European History |
| 1/26/1767 | George Fox | no | Religion |
| 2/2/1767 | Paskalos | no | Latinized |
| 2/2/1767 | F.F. | no | Initialization |
| 2/9/1767 | Freeborn American | no | National Identification: American |
| 2/9/1767 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 2/16/1767 | Winthrop | no | European History |
| 2/23/1767 | Paskalos | no | Latinized |
| 3/9/1767 | Philalethes | no | Classicism |
| 3/9/1767 | Freeborn American | no | National Identification: American |
| 3/16/1767 | Paskalos | no | Latinized |
| 3/16/1767 | Libertas | no | Latinized |
| 3/23/1767 | Philalethes | no | Classicism |
| 3/30/1767 | Anthony Afterwrit | no | Obvious Intent |
| 4/6/1767 | Philalethes | no | Classicism |
| 4/13/1767 | Populus | no | Latinized |
| 4/20/1767 | Dic Puzzle | no | Latinized |
| 4/27/1767 | Freeborn American | no | National Identification: American |
| 5/4/1767 | A.W. | no | Initialization |
| 5/4/1767 | Modus | no | Latinized |
| 5/4/1767 | Populus | no | Latinized |
| 5/4/1767 | Paskalos | no | Latinized |

| | | | |
|------------|---------------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 5/11/1767 | Philaethes | no | Classicism |
| 5/18/1767 | T.W. | no | Initialization |
| 5/25/1767 | Philo Physic | no | Latinized |
| 6/8/1767 | Philo Physic | no | Latinized |
| 6/22/1767 | A Friend to Both Countries | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 6/22/1767 | Philo Physic | no | Latinized |
| 6/22/1767 | A Friend to Both Countries | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 6/29/1767 | A Friend to Science | unknown | Obvious Intent |
| 7/6/1767 | Philo Physic | no | Latinized |
| 7/13/1767 | Sophistes | no | Latinized |
| 7/20/1767 | A concerned Looker on W. | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 7/20/1767 | W. | no | Initialization |
| 7/27/1767 | Philo Physic | no | Latinized |
| 7/27/1767 | X. | yes | Initialization |
| 8/3/1767 | Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 8/3/1767 | A Tin-Man | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/10/1767 | Philoverus | no | Latinized |
| 8/17/1767 | Britanus Americanus | no | National Identification: Mixed |
| 8/31/1767 | Sui Imperator | no | Latinized |
| 8/31/1767 | A.F. | no | Initialization |
| 8/31/1767 | Foresight | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 9/7/1767 | Britannus Americanus | no | National Identification: Mixed |
| 9/21/1767 | Phillo Patriæ and Pacis | no | Latinized |
| 9/21/1767 | Determinatus | no | Latinized |
| 9/28/1767 | Hyperion | no | Classicism |
| 9/28/1767 | Nestor | no | Classicism |
| 9/28/1767 | Vespasian | no | Classicism |
| 9/28/1767 | Conciliator | no | Latinized |
| 10/5/1767 | Hyperion | no | Classicism |
| 10/5/1767 | G. | no | Initialization |
| 10/5/1767 | S.T. | no | Initialization |
| 10/5/1767 | Anonymous | no | Obvious Intent |
| 10/12/1767 | Civis | no | Latinized |
| 10/12/1767 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 10/19/1767 | A Friend to the Constitution | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 10/19/1767 | Pelopidas | no | Classicism |
| 10/26/1767 | Pelopidas | no | Classicism |
| 10/26/1767 | Pro Rege et Grege | no | Latinized |
| 11/2/1767 | A. Tea-Drinker | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/2/1767 | Probus | no | Classicism |
| 11/9/1767 | Pelopidas | no | Classicism |
| 11/9/1767 | Benevolus | no | Latinized |
| 11/9/1767 | G.J. | no | Initialization |
| 11/16/1767 | Tacitus | no | Classicism |
| 11/16/1767 | Vadis | no | Religion |
| 11/16/1767 | A Country Man | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/23/1767 | Americus | no | National Identification: American |
| 11/23/1767 | Charta | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/30/1767 | Gulliveriana | no | Literary |
| 11/30/1767 | Liberty | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/7/1767 | G. | yes | Initialization |
| 12/7/1767 | A calm spectator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/7/1767 | Lovepeace | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/7/1767 | A friend to this town, and the colony | yes | Obvious Intent |

| | | | |
|------------|-----------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 12/14/1767 | No Ghost | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/14/1767 | Ovid. De Tristibus. | no | Latinized |
| 12/14/1767 | Philo-Patriæ | yes | Latinized |
| 12/21/1767 | Tacitus | no | Classicism |
| 12/21/1767 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 12/21/1767 | Philoveritati | no | Latinized |
| 12/21/1767 | Constitution | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/21/1767 | A Young American | no | National Identification: American |
| 12/21/1767 | Tacitus | no | Classicism |
| 12/21/1767 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 12/21/1767 | Philoveritati | no | Latinized |
| 12/21/1767 | Constitution | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/21/1767 | A Young American | no | National Identification: American |
| 12/28/1767 | Aspacia, Belinda, Corinna | no | Gender |
| 12/28/1767 | Ovid. De Tristibus. | no | Latinized |
| 12/28/1767 | Mangrove Manly | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/28/1767 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 12/28/1767 | Duc de Sul | no | European History |
| 12/28/1767 | Tacitus | no | Classicism |
| 1/4/1768 | Pro Lege | no | Latinized |
| 1/4/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/4/1768 | A Tradesman | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/11/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/11/1768 | Ovid. De Tristibus. | no | Latinized |
| 1/11/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/18/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/18/1768 | Americus | no | National Identification: American |
| 1/18/1768 | No Beam No Mote | no | Religion |
| 1/18/1768 | A Number of Customers | yes | Associative |
| 1/18/1768 | A.E. | no | Initialization |
| 1/18/1768 | Patriæ Amator | no | Latinized |
| 1/25/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/25/1768 | G.J. | no | Initialization |
| 1/25/1768 | Just. Pacis | yes | Latinized |
| 1/25/1768 | A Well-Wisher to the Public | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/1/1768 | W.W. | no | Initialization |
| 2/1/1768 | Populus | no | Latinized |
| 2/1/1768 | A Well-Wisher to the Public | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/1/1768 | J. --- | no | Initialization |
| 2/8/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/8/1768 | A.Q. | no | Initialization |
| 2/8/1768 | Benignus | no | Religion |
| 2/15/1768 | Moses Meek | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/15/1768 | Peter Moderation | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/15/1768 | A Citizen | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 2/22/1768 | Cal. ad Cic. | no | Unknown |
| 2/22/1768 | A Linnen Draper | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/29/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/29/1768 | A True Patriot | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/29/1768 | X. | yes | Initialization |
| 2/29/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/7/1768 | A True Patriot | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/7/1768 | Democritus | no | Classicism |
| 3/7/1768 | W.B. | yes | Initialization |

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|-----------|---------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 3/7/1768 | A Freeborn American | yes | National Identification: American |
| 3/7/1768 | F.B. | no | Initialization |
| 3/14/1768 | X.K. | no | Initialization |
| 3/14/1768 | A True Patriot | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/14/1768 | Populus | no | Latinized |
| 3/14/1768 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 3/21/1768 | Democritus | no | Classicism |
| 3/28/1768 | Q. | yes | Initialization |
| 3/28/1768 | A Son of Liberty | no | Associative |
| 4/4/1768 | A Puritan | no | Religion |
| 4/11/1768 | A Puritan | no | Religion |
| 4/11/1768 | Pro Lege Rege Et Rege | no | Latinized |
| 4/11/1768 | M.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 4/18/1768 | A Puritan | no | Religion |
| 4/18/1768 | F[t]S | yes | Initialization |
| 4/25/1768 | Edvardes Non-Episcaparius | no | Religion |
| 4/25/1768 | Anti-Pope | no | Religion |
| 4/25/1768 | A Farmer | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 4/25/1768 | G. | yes | Initialization |
| 5/2/1768 | A Friend to America | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/9/1768 | N. | yes | Initialization |
| 5/9/1768 | Marmaduke Myrmidon | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/9/1768 | T.N. | no | Initialization |
| 5/9/1768 | F.E. | no | Initialization |
| 5/9/1768 | R.S. | no | Initialization |
| 5/9/1768 | A Son of Liberty | yes | Associative |
| 5/16/1768 | R. | yes | Initialization |
| 5/23/1768 | W. | yes | Initialization |
| 5/23/1768 | Sui Juris | no | Latinized |
| 5/23/1768 | Marmaduke Myrmidon | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/23/1768 | A North American | no | National Identification: American |
| 5/30/1768 | A.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 6/6/1768 | Hopkintonius | no | Regionalism |
| 6/6/1768 | A Spectator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/6/1768 | Thomas Steady | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/15/1768 | L.Q. | no | Initialization |
| 7/11/1768 | Cincinnatus | no | Classicism |
| 7/11/1768 | M.M. | no | Initialization |
| 7/11/1768 | Orthod Oxus | no | Religion |
| 7/11/1768 | Orthodoxus | no | Religion |
| 7/18/1768 | D. | yes | Initialization |
| 7/18/1768 | æquus | no | Latinized |
| 7/25/1768 | M.M. | no | Initialization |
| 7/25/1768 | Agricola | no | Classicism |
| 7/25/1768 | Foresight | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/1/1768 | F.F. | no | Initialization |
| 8/1/1768 | Loyalty | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 8/1/1768 | A Freeholder | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/1/1768 | Jacob | no | Religion |
| 8/8/1768 | Determinatus | no | Latinized |
| 8/8/1768 | F.A. | no | Initialization |
| 8/15/1768 | Publicola | no | Classicism |
| 8/15/1768 | Orthodoxior | no | Latinized |
| 8/15/1768 | T.Q. | no | Initialization |

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| 8/15/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/15/1768 | A Son of Liberty | yes | Associative |
| 8/15/1768 | A Salemmite | no | Regionalism |
| 8/22/1768 | Common Sense | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 8/22/1768 | W. | no | Initialization |
| 8/29/1768 | Orthodoxissimus | no | Religion |
| 8/29/1768 | Wyman | no | Unknown |
| 8/29/1768 | A Countryman | no | Regionalism |
| 8/29/1768 | Charta Massachuse-tensis | no | Regionalism |
| 8/29/1768 | Peter | no | Religion |
| 8/29/1768 | N.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 8/29/1768 | Sidney | no | European History |
| 8/29/1768 | F.F. | no | Initialization |
| 9/5/1768 | Son of Liberty | no | Associative |
| 9/5/1768 | Probus | yes | Classicism |
| 9/5/1768 | Clericus Americanus | no | National Identification: American |
| 9/12/1768 | Honestus | no | Latinized |
| 9/26/1768 | A Friend to Constitutional Liberty | no | Obvious Intent |
| 9/26/1768 | W. | no | Initialization |
| 9/26/1768 | Hyperion | no | Classicism |
| 9/26/1768 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 10/3/1768 | A.B.C. | no | Initialization |
| 10/3/1768 | H. | no | Initialization |
| 10/3/1768 | Hyperion | no | Classicism |
| 10/10/1768 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 10/10/1768 | P.O. | no | Initialization |
| 10/17/1768 | An American | no | National Identification: American |
| 10/17/1768 | Tranquillus | yes | Latinized |
| 10/24/1768 | A North-American | yes | National Identification: American |
| 10/24/1768 | Legipotens | no | Latinized |
| 10/31/1768 | Caius Memmius | yes | Classicism |
| 10/31/1768 | Anti-Boutefeu | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 10/31/1768 | A friend to all his Majesty's dominant | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 10/31/1768 | A.B.C. | no | Initialization |
| 10/31/1768 | Legipotens | no | Latinized |
| 11/7/1768 | Caius Memmius | yes | Classicism |
| 11/7/1768 | North America | yes | National Identification: American |
| 11/7/1768 | Veritas | no | Classicism |
| 11/7/1768 | W. | no | Initialization |
| 11/14/1768 | Pro Republica Semper | yes | Latinized |
| 11/14/1768 | Benevolus | yes | Latinized |
| 11/14/1768 | Lucius | yes | Classicism |
| 11/14/1768 | Whole Truth | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/14/1768 | W. | no | Initialization |
| 11/14/1768 | Peace and Courage | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/21/1768 | Strip-Mask | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/21/1768 | No Mask | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/21/1768 | Patricola | no | Classicism |
| 11/28/1768 | L.Q. | no | Initialization |
| 11/28/1768 | Crito | no | Classicism |
| 11/28/1768 | N. | no | Initialization |
| 11/28/1768 | Christopher Spencer | no | Unknown |
| 12/5/1768 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 12/5/1768 | A Lover of Britain | yes | Obvious Intent |

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| 12/5/1768 | N. | no | Initialization |
| 12/5/1768 | Verax | no | Latinized |
| 12/5/1768 | Vigilator | no | Latinized |
| 12/5/1768 | Justice & Humanity | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/12/1768 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 12/12/1768 | Grey-Unguentum | no | Unknown |
| 12/12/1768 | Tranquillus | yes | Latinized |
| 12/12/1768 | T.J. Pauper | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 12/19/1768 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 12/19/1768 | A true son of Liberty | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/26/1768 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 12/26/1768 | Agricola | no | Classicism |
| 12/26/1768 | Q. | no | Initialization |
| 1/2/1769 | New England | yes | Regionalism |
| 1/2/1769 | Caius Memmius | yes | Classicism |
| 1/9/1769 | T.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 1/16/1769 | A.A. | no | Initialization |
| 1/16/1769 | P. | no | Initialization |
| 1/16/1769 | T.H. | no | Initialization |
| 1/23/1769 | S.F. | no | Initialization |
| 1/23/1769 | W.O. | no | Initialization |
| 1/23/1769 | T.B. | no | Initialization |
| 1/23/1769 | C.L. | yes | Initialization |
| 1/23/1769 | A Disciple of Walpole | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 1/23/1769 | R. | yes | Initialization |
| 1/30/1769 | An Independent | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/30/1769 | R. | no | Initialization |
| 2/6/1769 | A Freeman | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/6/1769 | M.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 2/6/1769 | Alfred | no | European History |
| 2/6/1769 | Urbanus | no | Latinized |
| 2/6/1769 | Leon | yes | Classicism |
| 2/13/1769 | Y. | no | Initialization |
| 2/13/1769 | Agricola | no | Classicism |
| 2/20/1769 | A.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 2/20/1769 | An Englishman | yes | National Identification: British |
| 2/20/1769 | Your injured country | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/27/1769 | E.A. | no | Initialization |
| 3/6/1769 | Elzivir | no | Unknown |
| 3/6/1769 | A.Y. | yes | Initialization |
| 3/13/1769 | Timothy Tickle, Esq. | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/13/1769 | Probus | yes | Classicism |
| 3/13/1769 | H.T. | no | Initialization |
| 3/13/1769 | Argus | yes | Classicism |
| 3/27/1769 | A Layman | yes | Religion |
| 3/27/1769 | Americus | no | National Identification: American |
| 3/27/1769 | Philanthrop | no | Latinized |
| 3/27/1769 | T.N. monument-maker | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/27/1769 | A Son of Liberty | no | Associative |
| 4/3/1769 | Curtius | yes | Classicism |
| 4/3/1769 | Americus | no | National Identification: American |
| 4/3/1769 | Cassius | yes | Classicism |
| 4/10/1769 | N.L. | yes | Initialization |
| 4/17/1769 | Protographos | no | Latinized |

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| 4/17/1769 | B. | yes | Initialization |
| 4/17/1769 | Another London Merchant | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 4/17/1769 | Caius Memmius | yes | Classicism |
| 4/24/1769 | A Linnen Draper | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 4/24/1769 | A Tory | no | Political |
| 4/24/1769 | Nov-Anglus | no | Regionalism |
| 5/1/1769 | Marcus Terentius | no | Classicism |
| 5/1/1769 | A Tory | no | Political |
| 5/8/1769 | Serious Truth | unknown | Obvious Intent |
| 5/8/1769 | B.P. | yes | Initialization |
| 5/15/1769 | A Son of Liberty | no | Associative |
| 5/22/1769 | Atticus | yes | Classicism |
| 5/22/1769 | Censor | yes | Latinized |
| 5/29/1769 | Junius | yes | Classicism |
| 5/29/1769 | Atticus | yes | Classicism |
| 5/29/1769 | A Bridgwaterian | no | Regionalism |
| 6/12/1769 | E.F. | yes | Initialization |
| 6/19/1769 | Atticus | yes | Classicism |
| 6/19/1769 | Legion | no | Associative |
| 6/26/1769 | L. | no | Initialization |
| 6/26/1769 | Americo-Corsicanus | no | National Identification: American |
| 6/26/1769 | Carduous Benedictus | no | Latinized |
| 6/26/1769 | A.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 7/17/1769 | Morus | no | Latinized |
| 7/24/1769 | Jonathan Freebody | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/7/1769 | Cantharides | yes | Latinized |
| 8/7/1769 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 8/14/1769 | Plain Sailing | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/21/1769 | A.B. | yes | Initialization |
| 8/21/1769 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 8/28/1769 | Intrepidus | no | Latinized |
| 8/28/1769 | Populus | no | Latinized |
| 9/4/1769 | A Countryman | no | Regionalism |
| 9/4/1769 | Philo Patriæ | no | Latinized |
| 9/11/1769 | Pro Aris Et Focis | no | Latinized |
| 9/18/1769 | A Friend to Truth | no | Obvious Intent |
| 9/18/1769 | Humanus | no | Latinized |
| 9/25/1769 | Impartialist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 10/2/1769 | Alfred | no | European History |
| 10/2/1769 | Carduous Benedictus | no | Latinized |
| 10/2/1769 | The People! | no | Associative |
| 10/9/1769 | Pacificus | no | Latinized |
| 10/16/1769 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 10/16/1769 | C.B. | no | Initialization |
| 10/16/1769 | A Fearful Spirit | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 10/16/1769 | A. | yes | Initialization |
| 10/16/1769 | Z.A. | no | Initialization |
| 10/23/1769 | A.M. | no | Initialization |
| 10/23/1769 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 10/23/1769 | A subscriber for the Boston chronicle, which I intend to drop | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 10/23/1769 | A New-England Man | no | Regionalism |
| 11/6/1769 | Determinatus | no | Latinized |
| 11/6/1769 | Cato | no | Classicism |
| 11/13/1769 | Good-Measure | no | Obvious Intent |

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|------------|-------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 11/20/1769 | Goffe & Whaley | no | European History |
| 11/20/1769 | Rachal Armstrong | no | Gender |
| 11/27/1769 | A Friend | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/11/1769 | Publius | yes | Classicism |
| 12/11/1769 | O.A. | no | Initialization |
| 12/18/1769 | America | no | National Identification: American |
| 12/18/1769 | T.Q. | no | Initialization |
| 12/18/1769 | Junius Americanus | no | National Identification: American |
| 12/18/1769 | Consideration | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/18/1769 | Detector | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/25/1769 | Philadelphos | no | Regionalism |
| 1/8/1770 | Determinatus | no | Latinized |
| 1/8/1770 | A Son of Liberty | no | Associative |
| 1/8/1770 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 1/8/1770 | Agricola | no | Classicism |
| 1/15/1770 | Tom Sturdy | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/15/1770 | The People | no | Associative |
| 1/15/1770 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 1/29/1770 | Your Sincere Compatriot | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 2/5/1770 | Civis | no | Latinized |
| 2/5/1770 | Honestus | no | Latinized |
| 2/12/1770 | Junius | yes | Classicism |
| 2/12/1770 | Modestus | yes | Latinized |
| 2/12/1770 | An Independent | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/12/1770 | From a Friend | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/12/1770 | Rusticus | no | Latinized |
| 2/12/1770 | O.G. | no | Initialization |
| 2/19/1770 | Brutus | no | Classicism |
| 2/19/1770 | Verax | no | Latinized |
| 2/19/1770 | An Honest Bostonian | no | Regionalism |
| 2/19/1770 | Minos | no | Classicism |
| 2/26/1770 | A Mourner | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/26/1770 | An Independent | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/26/1770 | P. | no | Initialization |
| 3/5/1770 | Americanus | no | National Identification: American |
| 3/12/1770 | An Independent | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/19/1770 | P. | no | Initialization |
| 3/19/1770 | A Whig | no | Political |
| 4/2/1770 | Consideration | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 4/9/1770 | P. | no | Initialization |
| 4/16/1770 | Americanus | no | National Identification: American |
| 4/16/1770 | A Grand-Jury Man | no | Obvious Intent |
| 4/23/1770 | A Militia Man | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 4/30/1770 | S.P. | no | Initialization |
| 5/7/1770 | P. | no | Initialization |
| 5/7/1770 | Americanus | no | National Identification: American |
| 5/14/1770 | Junius | yes | Classicism |
| 5/21/1770 | Festus | no | Classicism |
| 5/28/1770 | Elutherus | no | Religion |
| 5/28/1770 | Sol-di-er | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 6/11/1770 | Junius | yes | Classicism |
| 6/18/1770 | Portius | yes | Classicism |
| 6/25/1770 | Honestus | no | Latinized |
| 7/2/1770 | A Fox-Hunter | no | Obvious Intent |

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|------------|--------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 7/9/1770 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 7/9/1770 | Rationalis | yes | Latinized |
| 7/9/1770 | Rationalis | yes | Latinized |
| 7/9/1770 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 7/16/1770 | G. | yes | Initialization |
| 7/16/1770 | A Citizen of America | no | National Identification: American |
| 7/23/1770 | An American | no | National Identification: American |
| 7/23/1770 | J.R. | no | Initialization |
| 7/30/1770 | A Pennsylvanian | yes | Regionalism |
| 7/30/1770 | X.Y.Z. | yes | Initialization |
| 7/30/1770 | Q. | no | Initialization |
| 9/3/1770 | Thomas Adidimus | no | Religion |
| 9/3/1770 | Veritas | no | Classicism |
| 8/6/1770 | Brutus | no | Classicism |
| 8/6/1770 | Camilla | yes | Gender |
| 8/6/1770 | J.P. a Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/6/1770 | An Old Man | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/6/1770 | An Honest Ploughjogger | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/13/1770 | A Chatterer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/20/1770 | A Chatterer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/20/1770 | Philanthrop | yes | Latinized |
| 8/27/1770 | A Chatterer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/27/1770 | A Society of Observation | no | Associative |
| 8/27/1770 | A Boston Merchant | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 9/17/1770 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 9/17/1770 | Heraclius | no | Classicism |
| 10/8/1770 | Juba Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 10/8/1770 | Cyphax | no | Classicism |
| 10/8/1770 | Cynthio | no | Unknown |
| 10/15/1770 | Barneveldt | yes | European History |
| 10/15/1770 | Scævola | yes | Classicism |
| 10/15/1770 | A Tory | no | Political |
| 10/22/1770 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 10/22/1770 | Pennsylvanianus | yes | Regionalism |
| 10/29/1770 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 11/5/1770 | Constitutionalis | no | Latinized |
| 11/5/1770 | Nottinghamshire | no | Regionalism |
| 11/19/1770 | T.W. | no | Initialization |
| 11/26/1770 | A Tory | no | Political |
| 11/26/1770 | An American | no | National Identification: American |
| 12/3/1770 | A Chatterer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/3/1770 | Somers | no | European History |
| 12/3/1770 | An Englishman | yes | National Identification: British |
| 12/3/1770 | V.W. | no | Initialization |
| 12/3/1770 | Z.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 12/10/1770 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 12/17/1770 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 12/24/1770 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 12/24/1770 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 12/31/1770 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 12/31/1770 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 1/7/1771 | A Protestant | no | Religion |
| 1/7/1771 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 1/14/1771 | Vindex | no | Classicism |

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|-----------|----------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 1/14/1771 | Sidney | no | European History |
| 1/21/1771 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 1/28/1771 | Junius | yes | Classicism |
| 1/28/1771 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 2/4/1771 | Johannes in Eremo | yes | Religion |
| 2/11/1771 | Brutus | no | Classicism |
| 2/11/1771 | A friend to the Distressed | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/11/1771 | Philo Patriæ | no | Latinized |
| 2/11/1771 | Philalethes | no | Classicism |
| 2/11/1771 | Brutus | no | Classicism |
| 2/18/1771 | A Military Countryman | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/18/1771 | A Whig, and an Englishman | yes | Political |
| 2/18/1771 | Socia | no | Latinized |
| 2/25/1771 | A Dissenter | no | Religion |
| 2/25/1771 | Oliver Cromwell | yes | European History |
| 2/25/1771 | Philo-Patriæ | no | Latinized |
| 3/4/1771 | An American | no | National Identification: American |
| 3/4/1771 | Johannes in Eremo | yes | Religion |
| 3/4/1771 | A Mechanic | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/11/1771 | A Dissenter | no | Religion |
| 3/18/1771 | Veritas | yes | Classicism |
| 3/25/1771 | ab Amico Patriæ | no | Latinized |
| 3/25/1771 | Cautus | no | Latinized |
| 4/8/1771 | Johannes in Eremo | yes | Religion |
| 4/15/1771 | Junius | yes | Classicism |
| 4/22/1771 | Johannes in Eremo | yes | Religion |
| 4/22/1771 | Clitus | no | Classicism |
| 4/29/1771 | An Elector | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 4/29/1771 | A Layman | no | Religion |
| 5/6/1771 | An Elector in 1771 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 5/6/1771 | T.Q. | no | Initialization |
| 5/13/1771 | An Elector in 1771 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 5/13/1771 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 5/20/1771 | An Elector in 1771 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 5/20/1771 | E. 1771 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 5/20/1771 | Tertius In Nubibus | no | Religion |
| 5/27/1771 | Felton | no | European History |
| 5/27/1771 | Leonidas | unknown | Classicism |
| 6/3/1771 | The Freeholder | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 6/10/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 6/17/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 7/1/1771 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 7/1/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 7/1/1771 | An American | no | National Identification: American |
| 7/1/1771 | Rusticus | no | Latinized |
| 7/8/1771 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 7/15/1771 | Z.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 7/29/1771 | X. | no | Initialization |
| 8/5/1771 | Constitutionalis | no | Latinized |
| 8/5/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 8/19/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 8/26/1771 | An American | yes | National Identification: American |
| 8/26/1771 | Moonsick | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 9/2/1771 | Atlanticus | yes | Latinized |

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|------------|-------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 9/2/1771 | Detector | no | Obvious Intent |
| 9/9/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 9/16/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 9/23/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 9/23/1771 | A Planter | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 9/23/1771 | Junius | yes | Classicism |
| 9/30/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 9/30/1771 | Junius | yes | Classicism |
| 10/7/1771 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 10/7/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 10/14/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 10/21/1771 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 10/28/1771 | Valerius Poplicola | no | Classicism |
| 11/4/1771 | Christian | no | Religion |
| 11/4/1771 | Sincerus | no | Latinized |
| 11/4/1771 | A friend to lawful government | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/11/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 11/11/1771 | Fidelus | no | Latinized |
| 11/18/1771 | G. | yes | Initialization |
| 11/18/1771 | A.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 11/18/1771 | Ambidexter | no | Latinized |
| 11/18/1771 | Ebutius | no | Classicism |
| 11/25/1771 | An American | no | National Identification: American |
| 11/25/1771 | Cotton Mather | no | Religion |
| 11/25/1771 | Hyperion | no | Classicism |
| 11/25/1771 | S.C. | no | Initialization |
| 12/2/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 12/2/1771 | Mucius Scævola | yes | Classicism |
| 12/9/1771 | An American | no | National Identification: American |
| 12/9/1771 | Fidelis | no | Latinized |
| 12/9/1771 | Detector | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/9/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 12/16/1771 | An American | no | National Identification: American |
| 12/23/1771 | America Solon | no | National Identification: American |
| 12/23/1771 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 12/23/1771 | Chronus | no | Classicism |
| 12/30/1771 | R.F. | no | Initialization |
| 12/30/1771 | B.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 1/6/1772 | T.Q. | no | Initialization |
| 1/6/1772 | K. | no | Initialization |
| 1/6/1772 | An American | no | National Identification: American |
| 1/6/1772 | B.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 1/13/1772 | A.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 1/13/1772 | B.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 1/20/1772 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 1/27/1772 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 1/27/1772 | America Solon | no | National Identification: American |
| 1/27/1772 | A Military Countryman | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/27/1772 | Eleutherina | no | Gender |
| 2/3/1772 | An Elector | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/3/1772 | B.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 2/3/1772 | Humanus | no | Latinized |
| 2/10/1772 | G.B. | no | Initialization |
| 2/10/1772 | J.F. | no | Initialization |

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| 2/10/1772 | Callisthenes | no | Classicism |
| 2/10/1772 | An Elector in 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/17/1772 | Z.A. | no | Initialization |
| 2/17/1772 | Verax | yes | Latinized |
| 2/17/1772 | An Elector in 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/17/1772 | E. 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/17/1772 | Junius | yes | Classicism |
| 2/17/1772 | Chronus | yes | Classicism |
| 2/24/1772 | X.Y.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 2/24/1772 | B.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 2/24/1772 | An Elector in 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/24/1772 | Tempus | no | Latinized |
| 3/2/1772 | Foresight | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 3/2/1772 | An Elector in 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/2/1772 | E. 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/9/1772 | An Elector in 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/16/1772 | An Elector in 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/16/1772 | Fervidus | no | Latinized |
| 3/16/1772 | E. 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/23/1772 | B.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 3/23/1772 | An Elector in 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/23/1772 | E. 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/23/1772 | J.F. | no | Initialization |
| 3/30/1772 | Vulcan | no | Classicism |
| 3/30/1772 | An Elector in 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 4/6/1772 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 4/20/1772 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 5/4/1772 | Hyperion | no | Classicism |
| 5/11/1772 | An Instructor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/11/1772 | Junius Brutus | no | Classicism |
| 5/11/1772 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/18/1772 | Fervidus | no | Latinized |
| 5/18/1772 | An Husbandman | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 5/18/1772 | An Instructor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/18/1772 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 5/25/1772 | Joel | no | Religion |
| 5/25/1772 | Algidus | no | Classicism |
| 6/1/1772 | A Spectator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/8/1772 | Marchmont Nedham | no | European History |
| 6/8/1772 | Mucius Scævola | no | Classicism |
| 6/8/1772 | Concordance | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/8/1772 | Aristides | no | Classicism |
| 6/15/1772 | Humanity | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/15/1772 | Marchmont Nedham | no | European History |
| 6/15/1772 | Marchmont Nedham | no | European History |
| 6/22/1772 | Marchmont Nedham | no | European History |
| 6/29/1772 | Marchmont Nedham | no | European History |
| 6/29/1772 | Primrose | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 7/6/1772 | Marchmont Nedham | no | European History |
| 7/6/1772 | A Lover of Truth | no | Obvious Intent |
| 7/20/1772 | A Committee of Observation | yes | Associative |
| 7/27/1772 | An Elector in 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 7/27/1772 | T.H. | no | Initialization |
| 8/3/1772 | A Justice of a County Court | no | Aspect-Invoking |

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| 8/10/1772 | T.P. | no | Initialization |
| 8/10/1772 | Q. | no | Initialization |
| 8/10/1772 | Detector | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/10/1772 | A Committee of Observation | yes | Associative |
| 8/17/1772 | Humanity | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/17/1772 | Foresight | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/17/1772 | An Elector in 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/17/1772 | W.E. | no | Initialization |
| 8/24/1772 | An Elector in 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/24/1772 | An Antiministerial Loyalist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/24/1772 | Old Truth | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/31/1772 | Millions | yes | Associative |
| 8/31/1772 | An Elector in 1772 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/31/1772 | Americus | no | National Identification: American |
| 9/14/1772 | Z.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 9/14/1772 | A New-England Man | yes | Regionalism |
| 9/21/1772 | A Military Countryman | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 9/28/1772 | People | no | Associative |
| 9/28/1772 | Britania | yes | National Identification: British |
| 9/28/1772 | Callisthenes | no | Classicism |
| 10/5/1772 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 10/5/1772 | The Whig Proselyte | no | Political |
| 10/5/1772 | Valerius Poplicola | no | Classicism |
| 10/12/1772 | Edward Sexby | no | European History |
| 10/12/1772 | Edward Sexby | no | European History |
| 10/12/1772 | American Merchant | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 10/12/1772 | X. | yes | Initialization |
| 10/12/1772 | America Solon | no | National Identification: American |
| 10/19/1772 | Oliver Cromwell | no | European History |
| 10/19/1772 | Civis | no | Latinized |
| 10/19/1772 | A Trader | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 10/26/1772 | A Con-- W-- | no | Unknown |
| 10/26/1772 | L. | no | Initialization |
| 10/26/1772 | Eccho | no | Classicism |
| 11/2/1772 | Lucius | yes | Classicism |
| 11/2/1772 | An American | no | National Identification: American |
| 11/2/1772 | Z.Z. | yes | Initialization |
| 11/2/1772 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 11/9/1772 | A Tenant | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 11/9/1772 | L. | no | Initialization |
| 11/9/1772 | Humanity | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/16/1772 | A Town Born Child | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/16/1772 | A Tenant | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 11/23/1772 | Atticus | yes | Classicism |
| 11/23/1772 | Brutus | yes | Classicism |
| 11/23/1772 | Demostenes | yes | Classicism |
| 11/30/1772 | Vindex | no | Classicism |
| 11/30/1772 | Tenant | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 11/30/1772 | A North American | yes | National Identification: American |
| 12/7/1772 | An Israelite | yes | Religion |
| 12/7/1772 | An American Merchant | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 12/7/1772 | Christopher Columbus | yes | European History |
| 12/7/1772 | Scarron | no | European History |
| 12/7/1772 | Tenant | no | Aspect-Invoking |

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|------------|----------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 12/14/1772 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 12/21/1772 | Middlesex | no | Regionalism |
| 12/21/1772 | A Lover of Truth and his Country | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/28/1772 | Thick Skull | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/28/1772 | Philadelphus | no | Regionalism |
| 1/4/1773 | M.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 1/4/1773 | Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 1/11/1773 | An Elector, 1773 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/11/1773 | Age & Experience | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/1/1773 | Speculator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/8/1773 | A Friend to the Community | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/8/1773 | Lover of Truth and his Country | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/8/1773 | A Commimtee Man | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/8/1773 | Old Friend | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/8/1773 | Speculator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/15/1773 | Civis | no | Latinized |
| 2/15/1773 | Speculator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/22/1773 | Speculator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/1/1773 | Speculator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/22/1773 | Clio. | no | Gender |
| 3/22/1773 | Speculator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/29/1773 | Phleghm | no | Obvious Intent |
| 4/5/1773 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 4/5/1773 | Tell Tale | no | Obvious Intent |
| 4/12/1773 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 4/26/1773 | An Elector, 1773 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 4/26/1773 | 92 Farmers | no | Associative |
| 5/3/1773 | A Bostonian | yes | Regionalism |
| 5/10/1773 | Modes I Y | yes | Unknown |
| 5/10/1773 | Justice | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 5/17/1773 | A Bostonian | yes | Regionalism |
| 5/24/1773 | Catgut | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/31/1773 | Catgut | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/14/1773 | A Bostonian | yes | Regionalism |
| 6/14/1773 | Verax | yes | Latinized |
| 6/14/1773 | The People | no | Associative |
| 6/21/1773 | Lucius | no | Classicism |
| 6/21/1773 | Rusticus | no | Latinized |
| 6/21/1773 | Y.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 6/28/1773 | Lucius | no | Classicism |
| 6/28/1773 | No Crown Lawyer Nor Crown Law | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 7/5/1773 | Philalethes | no | Classicism |
| 7/5/1773 | A Foe to Flatterers | no | Obvious Intent |
| 7/12/1773 | Cantabrigiensis | no | Latinized |
| 7/12/1773 | Philalethes | no | Classicism |
| 7/19/1773 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 7/26/1773 | Y. | no | Initialization |
| 7/26/1773 | Constitution | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 7/26/1773 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 9/6/1773 | E. 1773 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/2/1773 | Time and Judgment | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/2/1773 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 8/2/1773 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 8/9/1773 | A. | no | Initialization |

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| 8/23/1773 | R.D. | no | Initialization |
| 8/23/1773 | A Friend to the Community | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/30/1773 | Another of the People | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/30/1773 | An Elector, 1773 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/30/1773 | Irenæas | no | Latinized |
| 9/13/1773 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 9/13/1773 | A Consistent Whig | no | Political |
| 9/20/1773 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 9/27/1773 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 9/27/1773 | A Friend to the Community | no | Obvious Intent |
| 9/27/1773 | Observation | no | Obvious Intent |
| 9/27/1773 | A Military Countryman | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 9/27/1773 | One of your Constant Readers | no | Obvious Intent |
| 9/27/1773 | W. | no | Initialization |
| 10/4/1773 | An American | yes | National Identification: American |
| 10/11/1773 | Z. | no | Initialization |
| 10/11/1773 | D.E. | no | Initialization |
| 10/11/1773 | More Hereafter | no | Obvious Intent |
| 10/11/1773 | Scepticus | no | Latinized |
| 10/18/1773 | Prædicus | no | Classicism |
| 10/18/1773 | X.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 10/25/1773 | Scævola | no | Classicism |
| 10/25/1773 | Brutus | no | Classicism |
| 11/1/1773 | Philleleutheros | yes | Latinized |
| 11/1/1773 | Prædictus | no | Classicism |
| 11/8/1773 | A Countryman | yes | Regionalism |
| 11/8/1773 | Determinatus | no | Latinized |
| 11/8/1773 | A Poor Old Man | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 11/15/1773 | A Military Countryman | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 11/15/1773 | Unchanged | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/15/1773 | Truth | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/22/1773 | Casca | yes | Classicism |
| 11/22/1773 | Hampden | yes | European History |
| 11/22/1773 | An Old Cadet | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 12/13/1773 | X.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 12/13/1773 | A Friend to the Community | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/13/1773 | Honoronchrotonthologos | no | Latinized |
| 12/20/1773 | An Impartial Observer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/20/1773 | Marchmont Nedham | no | European History |
| 12/20/1773 | Legion | yes | Associative |
| 12/20/1773 | People | yes | Associative |
| 12/20/1773 | Tiewaghnodago | no | Unknown |
| 12/27/1773 | Marchmont Nedham | no | European History |
| 1/3/1774 | Marchmont Nedham | no | European History |
| 1/3/1774 | A Conformist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/3/1774 | Marlborough | no | European History |
| 1/10/1774 | Marchmont Nedham | no | European History |
| 1/10/1774 | Cornelius Nepos | no | Classicism |
| 1/17/1774 | Marchmont Nedham | no | European History |
| 1/17/1774 | R.S. | no | Initialization |
| 1/17/1774 | Felton | no | European History |
| 1/17/1774 | Probus | no | Classicism |
| 1/17/1774 | A Countryman | no | Regionalism |
| 1/24/1774 | Your Constant Reader | no | Obvious Intent |

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| 1/31/1774 | Marchmont Nedham | no | European History |
| 1/31/1774 | A Traveller | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/31/1774 | A.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 2/7/1774 | Marchmont Nedham | no | European History |
| 2/14/1774 | A Friend to the Liberties of Mankind | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/21/1774 | A Patagonian | no | Regionalism |
| 2/21/1774 | America Solon | no | National Identification: American |
| 2/21/1774 | Alfred | no | European History |
| 2/28/1774 | Philo-Junius Americanus | yes | Latinized |
| 3/21/1774 | Hortensius | no | Classicism |
| 3/28/1774 | G. | no | Initialization |
| 3/28/1774 | A Former Justice | no | Obvious Intent |
| 4/11/1774 | America Solon | no | National Identification: American |
| 4/11/1774 | The Preacher | no | Religion |
| 4/11/1774 | Cautulus | no | Classicism |
| 4/18/1774 | A Lover of Truth | no | Obvious Intent |
| 4/18/1774 | B.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 4/18/1774 | Vigorniensis | no | Latinized |
| 5/2/1774 | A Bostonian | yes | Regionalism |
| 5/2/1774 | A Bostonian | yes | Regionalism |
| 5/2/1774 | A Bostonian | yes | Regionalism |
| 5/2/1774 | A Bostonian | yes | Regionalism |
| 5/2/1774 | A Bostonian | yes | Regionalism |
| 5/9/1774 | An Elector, 1774 | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 5/9/1774 | A Bostonian | yes | Regionalism |
| 5/16/1774 | Justice | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 5/16/1774 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 5/16/1774 | Rhadamanthus | no | Classicism |
| 5/23/1774 | T. | yes | Initialization |
| 5/23/1774 | W.K. | no | Initialization |
| 5/23/1774 | G. | no | Initialization |
| 5/23/1774 | An Old Commoner | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 5/30/1774 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 5/30/1774 | Cato of Utica | no | Classicism |
| 6/20/1774 | P.P. | yes | Initialization |
| 6/27/1774 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 6/27/1774 | A Country Man | no | Obvious Intent |
| 7/4/1774 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 7/4/1774 | A freeholder in the county of Suffolk | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 7/11/1774 | A Countryman | no | Regionalism |
| 7/11/1774 | G. | no | Initialization |
| 7/11/1774 | G.H. | no | Initialization |
| 7/18/1774 | Histor | no | Unknown |
| 7/18/1774 | A freeholder in the county of Suffolk | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 7/18/1774 | Miltoniensis | no | Regionalism |
| 7/18/1774 | A Soldier | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 7/25/1774 | Prædicus | no | Classicism |
| 8/1/1774 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 8/1/1774 | Anglus Americanus | yes | National Identification: Mixed |
| 8/1/1774 | Prædicus | no | Classicism |
| 8/1/1774 | A freeholder in the county of Suffolk | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/8/1774 | Hampden | no | European History |
| 8/15/1774 | Vox Vociferantis in Eremo | yes | Latinized |
| 8/15/1774 | Diotogenes Pythagoras | no | Classicism |

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| 8/15/1774 | A Contributor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/15/1774 | J.L. | no | Initialization |
| 8/15/1774 | Sons of Liberty | no | Associative |
| 8/29/1774 | Massachusettensis | yes | Regionalism |
| 8/29/1774 | Micaiah | no | Religion |
| 8/29/1774 | S.M. | no | Initialization |
| 9/5/1774 | A Juryman | no | Obvious Intent |
| 9/5/1774 | An Independent Whig | no | Political |
| 9/12/1774 | A freeholder in the county of Suffolk | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 9/19/1774 | Novang | no | Regionalism |
| 9/26/1774 | The Free Citizens | yes | Associative |
| 9/26/1774 | A Military Countryman | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 10/10/1774 | A Military Countryman | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 10/10/1774 | Harmonius & Aristogiton | yes | Classicism |
| 10/24/1774 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 10/24/1774 | Observator | no | Latinized |
| 12/5/1774 | A Yorkshireman | no | Regionalism |
| 12/5/1774 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 12/26/1774 | A Lover of Order | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 1/2/1775 | An Independent Whig | no | Political |
| 1/2/1775 | Q. | no | Initialization |
| 1/9/1775 | An Old Acquaintance | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/9/1775 | Plebeius | no | Latinized |
| 1/16/1775 | Plebeius | no | Latinized |
| 1/16/1775 | An Inhabitant | no | Regionalism |
| 1/23/1775 | Novanglus | no | Regionalism |
| 1/30/1775 | Novanglus | no | Regionalism |
| 2/6/1775 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 2/6/1775 | Novanglus | no | Regionalism |
| 2/13/1775 | Novanglus | no | Regionalism |
| 2/20/1775 | Novanglus | no | Regionalism |
| 2/27/1775 | Novanglus | no | Regionalism |
| 2/27/1775 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 3/6/1775 | Novanglus | no | Regionalism |
| 3/13/1775 | Novanglus | no | Regionalism |
| 3/20/1775 | Novanglus | no | Regionalism |
| 3/27/1775 | Novanglus | no | Regionalism |
| 4/3/1775 | Novanglus | no | Regionalism |
| 4/10/1775 | Novanglus | no | Regionalism |
| 4/17/1775 | Novanglus | no | Regionalism |
| 4/17/1775 | H.B.T. | no | Initialization |
| 6/5/1775 | Massachusettensis | no | Regionalism |
| 7/17/1775 | Johannes in Eremo | no | Religion |
| 7/31/1775 | J.P. | no | Initialization |
| 7/31/1775 | Lapdarius | yes | Latinized |
| 8/7/1775 | A Traveller | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/7/1775 | J.P. | no | Initialization |
| 8/14/1775 | Vox Populi | unknown | Associative |
| 8/28/1775 | Ignotus | yes | Latinized |
| 9/11/1775 | Philo-Patria | no | Latinized |
| 9/11/1775 | A.B. | yes | Initialization |
| 9/25/1775 | Philo-Patria | no | Latinized |
| 9/25/1775 | Hystapes | yes | Classicism |
| 9/25/1775 | Eugenio | no | Unknown |

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| 11/6/1775 | Casca | yes | Classicism |
| 12/25/1775 | Minos | yes | Classicism |
| 1/22/1776 | Juvenis | yes | Latinized |
| 2/26/1776 | R. | no | Initialization |
| 3/11/1776 | Probus | no | Classicism |
| 3/18/1776 | Cassandra | yes | Gender |
| 3/18/1776 | Benignus | yes | Religion |
| 3/25/1776 | A plain Countryman | no | Regionalism |
| 4/1/1776 | A Lover of Order | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 4/8/1776 | I. F. Behind the Curtain | no | Obvious Intent |
| 4/15/1776 | J.S. | no | Initialization |
| 4/29/1776 | F.A. | no | Initialization |
| 5/13/1776 | One of Your Number | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/27/1776 | Demophilus | no | Latinized |
| 6/10/1776 | Semper Eadem | no | Latinized |
| 6/24/1776 | Armatus | no | Latinized |
| 9/16/1776 | A Berkshire Man | no | Regionalism |
| 9/23/1776 | Speculator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 10/14/1776 | G. | yes | Initialization |
| 10/14/1776 | A Freeman | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 10/21/1776 | Judæus Apella | yes | Latinized |
| 10/21/1776 | Oliver Oldfashioned | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 10/28/1776 | A Financier | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 10/28/1776 | Calara Quidnunc | yes | Latinized |
| 11/11/1776 | Gratitude | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 11/11/1776 | No Friend of Dr. Foster | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 11/25/1776 | Matter of Fact | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/9/1776 | Humanitis | yes | Latinized |
| 12/16/1776 | An Englishman | yes | National Identification: British |
| 12/16/1776 | Scourge | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/30/1776 | An American | no | National Identification: American |

Appendix B: Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*

| Date | Pseudonym | Imported | Type |
|------------|-------------------------------|----------|----------------------------------|
| 3/21/1766 | An Independent Whig | yes | Political |
| 4/4/1766 | An Honest Buckskin | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 4/25/1766 | Honestus | no | Latinized |
| 7/4/1766 | An Unbiassed Virginian | no | Regionalism |
| 7/11/1766 | Tit For Tat | no | Obvious Intent |
| 7/18/1766 | An Enemy to Hypocrisy | no | Obvious Intent |
| 7/25/1766 | Philautos | no | Classicism |
| 8/1/1766 | An Honest Buckskin | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/22/1766 | Philanthropos | no | Latinized |
| 8/29/1766 | Dikephilos | no | Latinized |
| 9/12/1766 | Marcus Fabius, Marcus Curtius | no | Classicism |
| 10/10/1766 | Dikephilos | no | Latinized |
| 10/17/1766 | A Freeholder | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 10/24/1766 | A Foe to False Prophets | no | Obvious Intent |
| 10/30/1766 | A Friend to the Constitution | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/6/1766 | Dikephilos | no | Latinized |
| 11/27/1766 | Elizabeth Barebones | no | Gender |
| 12/4/1766 | Elizabeth Barebones | no | Gender |
| 12/11/1766 | Philo Meritus | yes | Latinized |
| 12/18/1766 | D. M. | no | Initialization |
| 1/1/1767 | Curtius | no | Classicism |
| 1/8/1767 | Curtius | no | Classicism |
| 1/29/1767 | Hector | yes | Classicism |
| 2/12/1767 | Philanthropos | no | Latinized |
| 2/19/1767 | Philanthropos | no | Latinized |
| 2/26/1767 | Jacob Holdfast | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/5/1767 | Amicus | no | Latinized |
| 3/12/1767 | X.Y.Z. | yes | Initialization |
| 4/2/1767 | Papyrius Cursor | yes | Classicism |
| 4/9/1767 | C. | no | Initialization |
| 4/16/1767 | Caleb Seebright | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 5/14/1767 | Philanthropos | no | Latinized |
| 5/21/1767 | A Citizen of London | yes | Regionalism |
| 5/28/1767 | Populus | no | Latinized |
| 6/4/1767 | An English Traveller | yes | National Identification: British |
| 6/11/1767 | Benevolence | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/25/1767 | Benevolus | yes | Latinized |
| 7/9/1767 | Loveit | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 7/30/1767 | Amicus Superbiæ | no | Latinized |
| 8/13/1767 | A Pennsylvanian | yes | Regionalism |
| 8/27/1767 | Another Pennsylvanian | yes | Regionalism |
| 10/1/1767 | Brittanus Americanus | yes | National Identification: Mixed |
| 10/22/1767 | Socratissa | yes | Gender |
| 11/5/1767 | A Friend to Society | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/19/1767 | An Old Bachelor | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/17/1767 | Papyrius Cursor | yes | Classicism |
| 12/24/1767 | A Traveller | yes | Obvious Intent |

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|------------|----------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 1/7/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/14/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/21/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/28/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/4/1768 | A Brother | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/18/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/25/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/3/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/10/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/17/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/24/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/31/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 4/7/1768 | Old England, in its senses | yes | National Identification: British |
| 4/21/1768 | Nequid Nimis | yes | Latinized |
| 5/19/1768 | Amicus | yes | Latinized |
| 6/2/1768 | Old England | yes | National Identification: British |
| 7/7/1768 | Freeman | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/11/1768 | A.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 9/8/1768 | J.C. | no | Initialization |
| 10/20/1768 | Machaon | no | Classicism |
| 10/27/1768 | D.Y. | yes | Initialization |
| 11/17/1768 | J.D. | no | Initialization |
| 11/24/1768 | A.B.C. | yes | Initialization |
| 12/1/1768 | Tranquillus | yes | Latinized |
| 12/8/1768 | North America | yes | National Identification: American |
| 12/15/1768 | Caledoniensis | no | Regionalism |
| 12/22/1768 | K.H. | yes | Initialization |
| 12/29/1768 | Kalophilos | no | Latinized |
| 1/12/1769 | One of the Community | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 1/26/1769 | A Customer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/9/1769 | Caledoniensis | no | Regionalism |
| 3/16/1769 | Caledoniensis | no | Regionalism |
| 3/23/1769 | A Briton | yes | National Identification: British |
| 3/30/1769 | T.V. | no | Initialization |
| 4/13/1769 | A British American | no | National Identification: Mixed |
| 4/20/1769 | A Constant Customer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 4/27/1769 | Brutus | yes | Classicism |
| 5/4/1769 | Atticus | yes | Classicism |
| 5/11/1769 | Atticus | yes | Classicism |
| 5/25/1769 | T.V. | no | Initialization |
| 6/1/1769 | X.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 6/15/1769 | A Son of Liberty | yes | Associative |
| 6/29/1769 | T.V. | no | Initialization |
| 7/6/1769 | An Old Customer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 7/13/1769 | Cethegus | yes | Classicism |
| 7/27/1769 | X.Y. | no | Initialization |
| 8/3/1769 | T.V. | no | Initialization |
| 8/17/1769 | V.A. | yes | Initialization |
| 9/28/1769 | A Bystander | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 11/2/1769 | T.M. | no | Initialization |
| 11/9/1769 | Mutius Scævola | yes | Classicism |
| 11/23/1769 | H.D. | no | Initialization |
| 12/7/1769 | H.D. | no | Initialization |
| 12/14/1769 | Cellanies Triplex | no | Latinized |

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|------------|---|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 12/28/1769 | A Second Junius | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 2/15/1770 | Libertal | yes | Latinized |
| 2/22/1770 | Atticus | yes | Classicism |
| 3/8/1770 | A Planter | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/22/1770 | Philo Patiræ Doctorumque Virorum | no | Latinized |
| 6/7/1770 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 6/14/1770 | A Citizen of the World | unknown | Obvious Intent |
| 8/30/1770 | Pro Rege et Lege | yes | Latinized |
| 9/20/1770 | Another Customer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 9/27/1770 | The Customer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 10/4/1770 | Mercator | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 10/25/1770 | Cethagus | yes | Classicism |
| 11/8/1770 | J.D. | no | Initialization |
| 1/17/1771 | D.R. | no | Initialization |
| 1/31/1771 | C.R. | no | Initialization |
| 3/7/1771 | Moro-Mastix | no | Latinized |
| 4/4/1771 | Eirenopoios | no | Latinized |
| 4/11/1771 | No Party Man | yes | Political |
| 4/25/1771 | Philo-Dicaios | no | Latinized |
| 5/30/1771 | Mad Tom of Bedlam | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 6/20/1771 | A Real Layman | no | Religion |
| 6/27/1771 | The Country Gentleman | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 7/4/1771 | Martin Luther | no | Religion |
| 7/11/1771 | Disinterested | no | Obvious Intent |
| 7/18/1771 | Associator Humanus | no | Latinized |
| 7/25/1771 | Leonidas | yes | Classicism |
| 8/22/1771 | Timoleon | no | Classicism |
| 9/17/1771 | A Subscriber | no | Obvious Intent |
| 10/10/1771 | A Church of England Man | no | Religion |
| 10/24/1771 | Philo Virginiae | no | Latinized |
| 10/31/1771 | Junius | yes | Classicism |
| 11/7/1771 | Atticus | no | Classicism |
| 11/21/1771 | An American | no | National Identification: American |
| 11/28/1771 | A Friend to that Province | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/5/1771 | Phocion | yes | Classicism |
| 12/12/1771 | Philo Patriæ | no | Latinized |
| 12/19/1771 | A Country Farmer | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/2/1772 | Arthur Haselrig | yes | European History |
| 1/9/1772 | The Church of Englandman's Amanuensis, J.H. | no | Religion |
| 1/16/1772 | Chaldeas | no | Religion |
| 1/23/1772 | Junius | yes | Classicism |
| 2/6/1772 | G.S. | yes | Initialization |
| 2/13/1772 | Phocion | no | Classicism |
| 2/20/1772 | Academicus | yes | Latinized |
| 3/5/1772 | An Episcopalian | no | Religion |
| 5/21/1772 | Toleration | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 6/18/1772 | A Believer | no | Religion |
| 6/25/1772 | A Virginian | no | Regionalism |
| 7/2/1772 | A Christian Layman | no | Religion |
| 7/16/1772 | A Christian Layman | no | Religion |
| 8/6/1772 | An Orthodox Layman | no | Religion |
| 8/13/1772 | A Christian Layman | no | Religion |
| 8/27/1772 | A Christian Layman | no | Religion |
| 9/10/1772 | Coriolanus | no | Classicism |

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|------------|---|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 9/17/1772 | Incognito | no | Obvious Intent |
| 10/1/1772 | A Man-Midwife | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 10/22/1772 | An Orthodox Layman | no | Religion |
| 11/19/1772 | John Downright | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 1/14/1773 | A Customer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/21/1773 | An Admirer of the Manners of the Last Age | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 2/4/1773 | Another Customer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/18/1773 | Benevolus | no | Latinized |
| 3/25/1773 | Theodorus | no | Latinized |
| 4/29/1773 | Huphrey Clinker | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 5/13/1773 | An Orthodox Layman | no | Religion |
| 5/20/1773 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 5/27/1773 | Anagrammatist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/24/1773 | J.B. | no | Initialization |
| 7/1/1773 | A Very Great Patriot | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 8/5/1773 | Academicus | no | Latinized |
| 9/16/1773 | A Virginian | no | Regionalism |
| 9/23/1773 | A Customer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 10/21/1773 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 11/4/1773 | A Planter in Caroline | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 11/11/1773 | Hampden | yes | European History |
| 11/25/1773 | Hampden | yes | European History |
| 12/2/1773 | Corporal Trim | no | Literary |
| 12/16/1773 | A Parishioner of Bruton | no | Religion |
| 12/23/1773 | Thousands | no | Associative |
| 12/30/1773 | An Inhabitant of Bruton | no | Regionalism |
| 1/6/1774 | An Old Prophet | unknown | Religion |
| 1/13/1774 | Philo-Aletheias | unknown | Latinized |
| 1/20/1774 | L.H. | no | Initialization |
| 1/27/1774 | Quartus Cunctius Pedanticus Philologus | no | Latinized |
| 2/3/1774 | Inspector | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/10/1774 | Philalethes | no | Classicism |
| 3/3/1774 | Thousands | no | Associative |
| 3/17/1774 | Q.C.P.P. | no | Latinized |
| 3/31/1774 | A Lover of Candor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 4/21/1774 | A Farmer | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 4/28/1774 | R. | yes | Initialization |
| 5/12/1774 | Cleomenes | no | Classicism |
| 5/19/1774 | Rationalis | yes | Latinized |
| 5/26/1774 | A New Englandman | yes | Regionalism |
| 6/16/1774 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 6/30/1774 | A Lover of the Constitution | no | Obvious Intent |
| 7/7/1774 | P.P. | yes | Initialization |
| 7/21/1774 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 7/28/1774 | Experience | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/4/1774 | A Member of the Late and Present House of Burgesses | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/18/1774 | D.R. | no | Initialization |
| 8/25/1774 | Juridicus | yes | Latinized |
| 9/15/1774 | A Scotchman | yes | Regionalism |
| 10/6/1774 | Tribunus | yes | Classicism |
| 10/13/1774 | A Scotchman | yes | Regionalism |
| 10/20/1774 | The Watchman | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 10/27/1774 | A Carolinian | yes | Regionalism |
| 11/3/1774 | D.C. | no | Initialization |

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|------------|--------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 11/10/1774 | A General Association | yes | Associative |
| 11/17/1774 | Doctus Sum Vel -?- | yes | Latinized |
| 11/24/1774 | Benevolus | yes | Latinized |
| 12/8/1774 | An Associator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/15/1774 | A Real Associator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/22/1774 | D.C. | no | Initialization |
| 12/29/1774 | An Old Fellow | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/7/1775 | Sidney | no | European History |
| 1/14/1775 | Neutralis | yes | Latinized |
| 1/21/1775 | The Real Associator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/28/1775 | Neutralis | yes | Latinized |
| 2/11/1775 | A Scotch Associator | no | Regionalism |
| 2/18/1775 | A Manufacturer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/25/1775 | Downright | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/11/1775 | A Virginian | no | Regionalism |
| 4/15/1775 | A. B. & C. | no | Initialization |
| 4/29/1775 | Civis | no | Latinized |
| 5/20/1775 | D.C. | no | Initialization |
| 6/17/1775 | An Old Soldier | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 7/8/1775 | An Old English Merchant | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 8/26/1775 | Memento | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 9/2/1775 | Charactacus | yes | European History |
| 9/9/1775 | A Customer | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 9/23/1775 | The Whigs | yes | Associative |
| 10/21/1775 | An Englishman | yes | National Identification: British |
| 11/11/1775 | A Constant Reader | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/18/1775 | Luther | no | Religion |
| 12/23/1775 | A Soldier | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/27/1776 | Plus Ultra | no | Latinized |
| 2/10/1776 | A Bostonian | yes | Regionalism |
| 2/17/1776 | A British American | no | National Identification: Mixed |
| 3/16/1776 | A Friend to Truth | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/23/1776 | Rationalis | yes | Latinized |
| 3/30/1776 | American | yes | National Identification: American |
| 4/6/1776 | A Planter | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 4/13/1776 | A Planter | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 4/20/1776 | Cato | yes | Classicism |
| 4/27/1776 | Cato | yes | Classicism |
| 5/4/1776 | B.A. | no | Initialization |
| 5/18/1776 | Civis | no | Latinized |
| 5/25/1776 | Cato | yes | Classicism |
| 6/8/1776 | A Native | no | Regionalism |
| 6/15/1776 | A Native | no | Regionalism |
| 7/6/1776 | A Customer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 7/13/1776 | Pennsylvaniensis | yes | Regionalism |
| 8/3/1776 | Juvenis | no | Latinized |
| 8/24/1776 | W.P. | no | Initialization |
| 9/21/1776 | Civis | no | Latinized |
| 9/27/1776 | Juvenis | no | Latinized |
| 10/11/1776 | A Preacher of the Gospel | no | Religion |
| 10/18/1776 | A Plain Dealer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/22/1776 | Matter of Fact | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 11/29/1776 | Humanitas | yes | Latinized |
| 12/13/1776 | Philoepiscopus | no | Religion |

Appendix C: Holt's *New York Journal*

| Date | Pseudonym | Imported | Type |
|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| 10/16/1766 | Marcus Aurelius | no | Classicism |
| 10/23/1766 | Marcus Aurelius | no | Classicism |
| 10/30/1766 | Theosebemimos | no | Latinized |
| 11/13/1766 | Britannicus | no | National Identification: British |
| 11/20/1766 | Oeconomy | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/27/1766 | Amity | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 1/1/1767 | A. | no | Initialization |
| 1/8/1767 | A Virginia Planter | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/15/1767 | Tyro Senectuti | no | Latinized |
| 1/29/1767 | A Citizen of New York | no | Regionalism |
| 2/12/1767 | Americanior | no | National Identification: American |
| 2/19/1767 | Erasmus | yes | Religion |
| 2/26/1767 | Papyrius Cursor | yes | Classicism |
| 3/19/1767 | Americanior | no | National Identification: American |
| 3/26/1767 | Varronius | yes | Classicism |
| 4/2/1767 | W. | no | Initialization |
| 4/9/1767 | Rationalis | yes | Latinized |
| 4/23/1767 | Thunomastix | no | Latinized |
| 4/24/1767 | J.H. | yes | Initialization |
| 4/30/1767 | A Citizen of London | yes | Regionalism |
| 5/21/1767 | H.I. | yes | Initialization |
| 5/28/1767 | S. | no | Initialization |
| 6/11/1767 | Benevolus | yes | Latinized |
| 6/18/1767 | Granticola | yes | Latinized |
| 7/2/1767 | Time | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 7/9/1767 | Atticus | yes | Classicism |
| 7/16/1767 | X. | yes | Initialization |
| 7/23/1767 | Compassion | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 8/6/1767 | A Pennsylvanian | yes | Regionalism |
| 8/27/1767 | Foresight | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 9/10/1767 | Sui Imperator | yes | Latinized |
| 9/17/1767 | G. | no | Initialization |
| 9/24/1767 | G. | yes | Initialization |
| 10/1/1767 | Sobrius | yes | Latinized |
| 10/8/1767 | Z. | yes | Initialization |
| 10/15/1767 | Conciliator | yes | Latinized |
| 10/22/1767 | S.T. | yes | Initialization |
| 10/27/1767 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 10/29/1767 | A.A. | yes | Initialization |
| 11/5/1767 | Pelopidas | yes | Classicism |
| 11/12/1767 | Pelopidas | yes | Classicism |
| 11/19/1767 | Christopher Columbus | yes | European History |
| 11/26/1767 | Agrippa | yes | Classicism |
| 12/3/1767 | A Traveller | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/10/1767 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 12/12/1767 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 12/17/1767 | A Tradesman | no | Aspect-Invoking |

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|------------|------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 12/31/1767 | Phileleutheros | no | Latinized |
| 1/7/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/14/1768 | Philanthropos | no | Latinized |
| 1/16/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/21/1768 | Philander | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/23/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 1/28/1768 | Philander | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/4/1768 | Philander | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/6/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/11/1768 | Philander | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/18/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/20/1768 | A Freeman | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/25/1768 | Philanthropos | no | Latinized |
| 2/26/1768 | A Farmer | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/3/1768 | Democritus | no | Classicism |
| 3/17/1768 | X. | yes | Initialization |
| 3/24/1768 | Otho | yes | Classicism |
| 3/26/1768 | A true patriot | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 4/7/1768 | A Son of Liberty | no | Associative |
| 4/9/1768 | Belinda | no | Gender |
| 4/14/1768 | Monitor | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 4/19/1768 | Aristides | no | Classicism |
| 4/21/1768 | G. | no | Initialization |
| 4/30/1768 | F x S | no | Initialization |
| 5/5/1768 | A.B. | yes | Initialization |
| 5/19/1768 | T.S. | yes | Initialization |
| 5/26/1768 | Monitor | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 6/2/1768 | Fair-Play | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/30/1768 | G. | no | Initialization |
| 7/7/1768 | Old England | yes | National Identification: British |
| 8/4/1768 | O. | yes | Initialization |
| 8/11/1768 | Lamento | no | Latinized |
| 8/18/1768 | Legion | yes | Associative |
| 9/1/1768 | Nomotimos | yes | Latinized |
| 9/5/1768 | Pro Grege | yes | Latinized |
| 9/8/1768 | Innuendo | no | Obvious Intent |
| 9/15/1768 | Regulus | yes | Classicism |
| 9/22/1768 | Z. | yes | Initialization |
| 9/24/1768 | G. | no | Initialization |
| 9/29/1768 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 10/3/1768 | Philanthropos | no | Latinized |
| 10/6/1768 | A North-American | no | National Identification: American |
| 10/13/1768 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 10/20/1768 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 11/3/1768 | H.Z. | yes | Initialization |
| 11/10/1768 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 11/17/1768 | D.Y. | yes | Initialization |
| 11/18/1768 | Caius Memmius | yes | Classicism |
| 11/24/1768 | N.M.C.N.P.C.H. | yes | Initialization |
| 12/1/1768 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/8/1768 | Caius Memmius | yes | Classicism |
| 12/15/1768 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/22/1768 | New-England | yes | Regionalism |
| 12/29/1768 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |

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|------------|-------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 1/5/1769 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 1/12/1769 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 1/19/1769 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 2/2/1769 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 2/9/1769 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 2/16/1769 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 2/23/1769 | The Anatomist | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 3/2/1769 | Quidnunc | yes | Latinized |
| 3/16/1769 | A Countryman | no | Regionalism |
| 3/30/1769 | Curtius | yes | Classicism |
| 4/27/1769 | A Son of Liberty | yes | Associative |
| 5/4/1769 | A Merchant | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 5/18/1769 | Ratio | yes | Latinized |
| 5/25/1769 | Atticus | yes | Classicism |
| 6/1/1769 | Atticus | yes | Classicism |
| 6/8/1769 | S.S.S. | no | Initialization |
| 6/15/1769 | J.P. | yes | Initialization |
| 6/22/1769 | A Tory | no | Political |
| 6/29/1769 | Legion | yes | Associative |
| 7/6/1769 | Monitor | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 7/13/1769 | Philo-Britaniæ | yes | Latinized |
| 7/20/1769 | Pacificus | yes | Latinized |
| 7/27/1769 | Cantharides | yes | Latinized |
| 8/3/1769 | Modicus | yes | Latinized |
| 8/10/1769 | Philadelphiensis | yes | Regionalism |
| 8/17/1769 | P.S. | no | Initialization |
| 8/24/1769 | Marcus | no | Classicism |
| 8/31/1769 | Brutus | yes | Classicism |
| 9/21/1769 | A Bye-Stander | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 9/28/1769 | A.G. | yes | Initialization |
| 10/5/1769 | R.H. | no | Initialization |
| 10/12/1769 | Phalaris | yes | Classicism |
| 11/2/1769 | T.S. | no | Initialization |
| 11/9/1769 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 11/16/1769 | A.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 11/17/1769 | Detector | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 11/23/1769 | Dubious | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/7/1769 | A Freeholder | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 12/21/1769 | An Episcopalian | no | Religion |
| 12/28/1769 | J.C. | yes | Initialization |
| 1/4/1770 | W.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 1/11/1770 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 1/18/1770 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 1/25/1770 | Determinatus | yes | Latinized |
| 2/1/1770 | An Occasional Remarker | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/8/1770 | O.R. | yes | Initialization |
| 2/15/1770 | A Friend to his Country | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 3/1/1770 | Brutus | no | Classicism |
| 3/8/1770 | Vespasian | no | Classicism |
| 3/15/1770 | Britannicus | yes | National Identification: British |
| 3/22/1770 | C. | no | Initialization |
| 3/29/1770 | P. | yes | Initialization |
| 4/5/1770 | Americanus | no | National Identification: American |
| 4/12/1770 | A Citizen | no | Obvious Intent |

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|------------|------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 4/26/1770 | Americanus | no | National Identification: American |
| 5/4/1770 | Gracchus | no | Classicism |
| 5/17/1770 | J.A. | no | Initialization |
| 5/24/1770 | Junius | yes | Classicism |
| 5/31/1770 | H.S. | no | Initialization |
| 6/7/1770 | Martial Impartial | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 6/14/1770 | Americanus | no | National Identification: American |
| 6/21/1770 | A Citizen | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/28/1770 | A Son of Liberty | no | Associative |
| 7/5/1770 | Portius | yes | Classicism |
| 7/12/1770 | Fabius | no | Classicism |
| 7/19/1770 | Connecticut | yes | Associative |
| 7/26/1770 | Rationalis | yes | Latinized |
| 8/2/1770 | New Jersey | no | Associative |
| 8/9/1770 | J.H. | yes | Initialization |
| 8/16/1770 | The British Spy | yes | National Identification: British |
| 8/23/1770 | Rationalis | yes | Latinized |
| 9/6/1770 | Brutus | no | Classicism |
| 9/13/1770 | An Alarmed Briton | yes | National Identification: British |
| 9/20/1770 | Rusticus | no | Latinized |
| 9/27/1770 | Brutus | yes | Classicism |
| 10/4/1770 | G. | no | Initialization |
| 10/11/1770 | H.S. | no | Initialization |
| 10/25/1770 | New-Cæsariensis | yes | Latinized |
| 11/8/1770 | Veritas | no | Classicism |
| 11/22/1770 | Jack Sprat | no | Literary |
| 11/29/1770 | Constitutionalis | yes | Latinized |
| 12/6/1770 | A Husband | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/20/1770 | The Impartialist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/27/1770 | S. | no | Initialization |
| 1/3/1771 | Critic | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/24/1771 | A Lady | no | Gender |
| 2/14/1771 | The Impartialist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/21/1771 | Hint | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 3/7/1771 | Causidicus | yes | Latinized |
| 3/14/1771 | Studens Medicinæ | no | Latinized |
| 3/28/1771 | The Impartialist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 4/18/1771 | The Impartialist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 4/25/1771 | A Citizen of the World | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/9/1771 | The Impartialist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/16/1771 | Æsop Junior | no | Literary |
| 5/23/1771 | A.B. | yes | Initialization |
| 5/30/1771 | Inimicus Tyrannis | yes | Latinized |
| 6/20/1771 | The Impartialist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/27/1771 | Poplicola | Unknown | Classicism |
| 7/4/1771 | M. | no | Initialization |
| 7/11/1771 | The Impartialist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 7/25/1771 | The Impartialist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/8/1771 | An Occasional Remarker | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/15/1771 | An Occasional Remarker | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/29/1771 | W.W. | yes | Initialization |
| 9/5/1771 | J.T. | yes | Initialization |
| 9/12/1771 | The Impartialist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 9/19/1771 | A Lover of Truth | no | Obvious Intent |

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|------------|--------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 10/3/1771 | The Impartialist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 10/10/1771 | A Layman | yes | Religion |
| 10/17/1771 | A Citizen of New York | no | Regionalism |
| 10/24/1771 | Æsculapius | no | Classicism |
| 10/31/1771 | The Impartialist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/7/1771 | The Impartialist | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/5/1771 | Mucius Scævola | yes | Classicism |
| 12/12/1771 | A Searcher | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/19/1771 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 12/26/1771 | Logophilos | no | Latinized |
| 1/9/1772 | A Yorkist | no | Regionalism |
| 1/16/1772 | A Lady | no | Gender |
| 1/30/1772 | Probus | yes | Classicism |
| 2/13/1772 | Scaëva | yes | Classicism |
| 2/20/1772 | A.Z. | no | Initialization |
| 3/19/1772 | Argestis Multitudo | yes | Latinized |
| 3/26/1772 | Z. | yes | Initialization |
| 4/9/1772 | Ganymede | no | Classicism |
| 4/23/1772 | A. B. C. | no | Initialization |
| 4/30/1772 | A Friend to Truth | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/28/1772 | Spectator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/4/1772 | Jus Humanum | yes | Latinized |
| 7/9/1772 | A Widow | yes | Gender |
| 8/20/1772 | A Citizen | no | Obvious Intent |
| 9/10/1772 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 9/17/1772 | Isaac the Scribe | no | Obvious Intent |
| 9/24/1772 | Isaac the Scribe | no | Obvious Intent |
| 10/8/1772 | A Citizen | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/12/1772 | Z.Z. | yes | Initialization |
| 11/19/1772 | Plain Truth | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 11/26/1772 | A Friend to the Fair Sex | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 12/24/1772 | Agricola | no | Classicism |
| 1/7/1773 | Sally Tickle | no | Gender |
| 1/14/1773 | Old Iron | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/21/1773 | Sally Tickle | no | Gender |
| 1/28/1773 | Cato | no | Classicism |
| 2/4/1773 | Honestus | no | Latinized |
| 2/11/1773 | A Freeman | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 2/18/1773 | Eleutheros | no | Latinized |
| 3/11/1773 | Age & Judgment | no | Obvious Intent |
| 5/6/1773 | Probus | yes | Classicism |
| 6/17/1773 | Philo Theatricus | no | Latinized |
| 6/24/1773 | Candidus | no | Classicism |
| 7/8/1773 | Lucius | yes | Classicism |
| 7/15/1773 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 7/22/1773 | Crito | no | Classicism |
| 8/19/1773 | A New-Yorker | no | Regionalism |
| 8/26/1773 | Cleora | no | Gender |
| 9/23/1773 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 10/14/1773 | Hampden | yes | European History |
| 10/21/1773 | Hampden | Unknown | European History |
| 10/28/1773 | Hampden | Unknown | European History |
| 11/4/1773 | H.B. | no | Initialization |
| 11/11/1773 | A Citizen | no | Obvious Intent |

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|------------|----------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| 11/18/1773 | Hampden | | Unknown | European History |
| 11/25/1773 | Z. | no | Initialization | |
| 12/2/1773 | Sentinel | Unknown | Obvious Intent | |
| 12/9/1773 | An Old Prophet | no | Obvious Intent | |
| 12/16/1773 | Americanus | no | National Identification: American | |
| 12/23/1773 | Zeno | no | Classicism | |
| 1/6/1774 | Tacitus | no | Classicism | |
| 1/13/1774 | Maria | no | Gender | |
| 1/27/1774 | T. | no | Initialization | |
| 2/3/1774 | A Son of Esculapius | no | Obvious Intent | |
| 2/10/1774 | P.D. | no | Initialization | |
| 2/24/1774 | Americanus | no | National Identification: American | |
| 3/17/1774 | P. | no | Initialization | |
| 3/24/1774 | A Lady | no | Gender | |
| 3/31/1774 | An Observer | no | Obvious Intent | |
| 4/14/1774 | An Observer | no | Obvious Intent | |
| 4/21/1774 | An Observer | no | Obvious Intent | |
| 4/28/1774 | An Observer | no | Obvious Intent | |
| 5/5/1774 | A King's Friend | yes | Obvious Intent | |
| 5/12/1774 | An Englishman | yes | National Identification: British | |
| 5/19/1774 | Sidney | yes | European History | |
| 5/26/1774 | Justice | yes | Obvious Intent | |
| 6/2/1774 | P.P. | Unknown | Initialization | |
| 6/9/1774 | G. | yes | Initialization | |
| 6/16/1774 | Z. | no | Initialization | |
| 6/23/1774 | A Loyal American, A.B. | Unknown | National Identification: American | |
| 6/30/1774 | A Freeman | yes | Aspect-Invoking | |
| 7/7/1774 | A Younger Brother | yes | Obvious Intent | |
| 7/14/1774 | Civis | yes | Latinized | |
| 7/21/1774 | A Plain Dealer | no | Obvious Intent | |
| 7/28/1774 | Non Quis Sed Quid | yes | Latinized | |
| 8/4/1774 | Prædicus | yes | Latinized | |
| 8/18/1774 | Reflector | yes | Obvious Intent | |
| 8/25/1774 | A British American | yes | National Identification: Mixed | |
| 9/1/1774 | E.B. | yes | Initialization | |
| 9/8/1774 | Mercator | no | Aspect-Invoking | |
| 9/15/1774 | Micaiah | yes | Religion | |
| 9/29/1774 | Tribunus | yes | Latinized | |
| 10/6/1774 | A Carolinian | yes | Regionalism | |
| 10/13/1774 | America's Friend | yes | Obvious Intent | |
| 10/20/1774 | Brutus | yes | Classicism | |
| 10/27/1774 | Veritas | yes | Classicism | |
| 11/3/1774 | A lover of just regal government | no | Obvious Intent | |
| 11/10/1774 | Fiat Justicia | yes | Latinized | |
| 11/24/1774 | Junius Americanus | yes | National Identification: American | |
| 12/1/1774 | Americanus | no | National Identification: American | |
| 12/8/1774 | W. | yes | Initialization | |
| 12/15/1774 | The Remembrancer | no | Obvious Intent | |
| 12/22/1774 | The Remembrancer | no | Obvious Intent | |
| 12/29/1774 | The Remembrancer | no | Obvious Intent | |
| 1/5/1775 | A Citizen | no | Obvious Intent | |
| 1/11/1775 | A Lady | no | Gender | |
| 1/12/1775 | Benevolus | yes | Latinized | |
| 1/19/1775 | Y. | no | Initialization | |

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| 2/2/1775 | A Friend to Constitutional Liberty | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/9/1775 | An Observer | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/16/1775 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 3/2/1775 | Britannicus | no | National Identification: British |
| 3/9/1775 | A Freeman of Newtown | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 3/16/1775 | Spectator | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/23/1775 | A Neighbor of the Accused | no | Obvious Intent |
| 3/30/1775 | Britannicus | no | National Identification: British |
| 4/6/1775 | A Member of the Lower house of Assembly, Connecticut | yes | Aspect-Invoking |
| 4/13/1775 | Memento | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 4/20/1775 | Essex | no | Associative |
| 5/4/1775 | Anti-Puff | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 5/11/1775 | A Deserter | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/8/1775 | Philodemos | no | Latinized |
| 6/22/1775 | Paddy | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 7/6/1775 | A Friend to Truth | no | Obvious Intent |
| 7/27/1775 | A Citizen | no | Obvious Intent |
| 8/3/1775 | Veritas | no | Classicism |
| 8/24/1775 | R.T. | no | Initialization |
| 8/31/1775 | A.B. | no | Initialization |
| 9/14/1775 | A Freeholder | no | Aspect-Invoking |
| 9/21/1775 | Obadiah | no | Religion |
| 9/28/1775 | Civis | no | Latinized |
| 10/5/1775 | The National Wish | yes | Obvious Intent |
| 10/12/1775 | B. | no | Initialization |
| 10/19/1775 | Amicus Constitutionis | no | Latinized |
| 10/26/1775 | Crito | yes | Classicism |
| 11/2/1775 | Philo Patriæ | no | Latinized |
| 11/9/1775 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/16/1775 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/23/1775 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 11/30/1775 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/5/1775 | A Lady | no | Gender |
| 12/7/1775 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/14/1775 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/21/1775 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 12/28/1775 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/4/1776 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/11/1776 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/18/1776 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 1/25/1776 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/1/1776 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/8/1776 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/22/1776 | The Monitor | no | Obvious Intent |
| 2/29/1776 | An Independent Whig | no | Political |
| 3/7/1776 | Essex | no | Associative |
| 3/15/1776 | An Independent Whig | no | Political |
| 3/21/1776 | Dialogus | no | Latinized |
| 3/26/1776 | Salus Populi | yes | Latinized |
| 4/4/1776 | Essex | no | Associative |
| 4/11/1776 | I.L.B. | no | Initialization |
| 4/18/1776 | W.B. | no | Initialization |
| 5/2/1776 | Cimon | yes | Classicism |
| 5/9/1776 | Nitribicus | no | Latinized |

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| 5/16/1776 | Hermina | no | Gender |
| 5/23/1776 | B. | no | Initialization |
| 5/30/1776 | Spartanus | no | Classicism |
| 6/6/1776 | A Lover of Propriety | no | Obvious Intent |
| 6/13/1776 | Columbus | no | European History |
| 6/20/1776 | Spartanus | no | Classicism |
| 6/27/1776 | Humanitas | no | Latinized |
| 7/4/1776 | A Commoner | no | Obvious Intent |
| 7/11/1776 | Americus | yes | National Identification: American |
| 8/8/1776 | C.D. | no | Initialization |
| 8/15/1776 | T.W. | no | Initialization |
| 12/4/1776 | A Well-wisher to the aggrieved | yes | Obvious Intent |

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