Royall Tyler's The Algerine Captive: A Study in Contrasts

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THE Algerine Captive, like Royall Tyler's more famous play, derives its humor as well as its serious themes from a series of calculated contrasts. As even his protagonist's name-Updike Underhill-suggests, Tyler, in this novel, pursues a strategy of juxtaposition, undercutting, and comic reversal. But he still sustains a narrative voice which unifies the disparate episodes of his plot. In fact, the form and effect of much of Volume I derive directly from the perspective the author employs. older Underhill's retrospective narration emphasizes the contrast between his earlier adolescent romantic visions regarding the life of the scholar, schoolmaster, or physician and his decidedly mundane existence while practicing those same professions. And even though Volume II is narrated in a more sober fashion and deals with a more serious subject, it too analyzes the incongruity between Updike's expectations and his actual experiences. Furthermore. the bipartite structure of the novel itself emphasizes certain contrasts. Near the end of Volume I, Underhill, disappointed, somewhat bitter, almost an exile, departs from his country. But in a foreign land, enduring six years of painful slavery and constantly threatened with death, he comes to re-evaluate his earlier life in America. What seemed monstrous faults to the naively idealistic Updike are ultimately seen as mostly minor flaws. by the end of the novel, Underhill, as a protagonist, gains a wider perspective on both himself and the young United States and comes gradually to achieve the maturity and magnanimity which characterize him as a narrator. Algerine Captive is, consequently, a Bildungsroman but

one in which Updike Underhill's education, both as citizen and slave, proceeds in a circuitous and sporadic manner.¹

Perhaps the most significant contrast in the novel and certainly the most educational experience—derives from the dramatic change in status which Underhill undergoes when he passes from freeman to slave. sentially, his personal experiences as an Algerine captive confirm the observations earlier made, from the perspective of a surgeon on a slave ship, regarding the inhumanity of bondage. Moreover, enslaved because he is white, American, and Christian, he is forced to confront, in obverse form, the same rationalizations white Christian Americans, his former countrymen, employ to justify the enslavement of others. And an American enslaved in Africa is not only, for other Americans, an anomaly, he is also one who can voice persuasive evaluations of his own society. Something is rotten in the United States. The "freest country in the universe" sanctions an institution inimical to freedom.² The gently humorous satire on American manners and mores that pervades the first volume thus foreshadows a more devastating condemnation of another country which, nevertheless, is what the author's beloved United States might become. Writing twenty years after the Revolution, Tyler still stresses the fundamental importance of freedom, which should be the foundation of a Christian republic and is the "unalienable birth-right of man" (I, 189).

However, if the end of Volume I and most of Volume II enunciate the value of liberty and thereby imply that the American revolution against tyranny must be extended to the "sable friend" in the South, the first part of Volume I has different emphases and objectives. Tyler, examining more subtle kinds of slavery before he portrays Underhill's graphic confinement in a foreign land, first explores the limits of liberty in even an ambitious new republic. In other words, Underhill's early trials and disillusionment are designed to prepare him—and the

reader—to comprehend more fully the philosophical and political implications both of personal captivity and slavery in general. In a sense that the young protagonist cannot suspect but that the matured narrator retrospectively comprehends, his jejune adventures anticiplate development of a theoretically viable notion of "freedom" which is of fundamental importance with respect to the fledgling democracy that Underhill himself, in his fumbling attempts to discover his own place in life, aptly represents. Although this protagonist's attempts at selfimprovement inevitably lead him into a series of disappointments and even to an early disillusionment with his homeland and fellow citizens, he never overtly renounces his love for his country. Furthermore, his journey from rural New England, to Boston, and then into the South allows him, even before captivity, a broad perspective on America. Employing his character's early experiences as well as the delicate detachment of the satirist and the satirist's implicit desire to suggest a better way, Tyler effectively begins the book with a subtle critique of the newly established American freedom.

His evaluation actually begins with the novel's Preface. Here Tyler elucidates his own fictional purpose by having his narrator, the at last enlightened Underhill, propound objectives contrary to those of the typical writers of the time. Besides introducing the artifice of the personal narrative, this tactic establishes Underhill as a serious, sage observer of changing American manners, an obvious contrast to the bumpkin we see throughout much of the first volume. One alteration of which the citizen approves is the new public taste. "Some dreary somebody's Day of Doom" (I, vi) has been superseded by "books designed to amuse rather than to instruct" (I, vii). Underhill also flatters his audience with the observation that in "no other country are there so many people, who, in proportion to its numbers, can read and write" (I, viii), and humorously notes the popular

interest in the "gay stories and splendid impieties of the traveller and the novelist":

Dolly the dairy maid, and Jonathan the hired man, threw aside the ballad of the cruel step-mother, over which they had so often wept in concert, and now amused themselves into so agreeable a terror with the haunted houses and hobgobblins of Mrs. Radcliffe, that they were both afraid to sleep alone. (I, ix)

Yet one aspect of the new literacy elicits a definite Tyler, through Underhill, warns against those English books which are so much in vogue among Americans and which, because they are of English "manufacture." tend to teach the reader to "admire the levity, and often the vices, of the parent country" (I, The author's incipient nationalism is evident in argument that these English novels present an "erroneous idea of the world in which [the reader] is to live"; that this portrait of the "manners, customs, and habits, of a strange country . . . excites a fondness for false splendor; and renders the homespun habits of [one's] own country disgusting" (I, xi). Of course, it is young Underhill himself who, in the course of Volume I, falls victim to precisely these kinds of misconceptions. The older narrator thus has personal as well as philosophical reasons for demanding an aesthetic revolution against the tyranny of English tastes. Consequently, Underhill, as author, stresses that his own narration will "display a portrait of New England manners" as well as "the manners of that ferocious race [of Algerines]" (I, xii). The Algerine Captive may amuse, but it shall do so in an American vein, for Tyler's comedy, subtle or slapstick, serves the patriotic purpose of instilling in his readers a greater appreciation for all that they take too much for granted in their individual lives and rarely encounter in their customary reading.3 As the novel proceeds, we can also observe that Tyler's didactic message parallels his protagonist's growing awareness that much of what initially seemed crude and simple in America is nevertheless preferable to the life actually led in Algeria, an exotic environment appropriate for some fictional romance but a land where he would remain a captive.

After this Preface, the reader well might anticipate a panegyric on the greatness and glory of the United States. But Tyler's prevailing mode is satire, not jingoistic encomium. Although the author obviously believes in his country's promise, he equally obviously intends to help it fulfill that promise by pointing out, in as congenial a manner as possible, its faults and shortcomings.4 Thus, in Volume I. Tyler mocks Puritanical pieties, derides local prejudices, condemns the South's economic reliance on slavery, and satirizes Harvard—the supposed center of American learning. Significantly, America excels only by contrast to other ways of life explored and portraved in Volume II. Yet Tyler, as a number of scholars have observed, never intrudes with an omniscient, authorial consciousness but rigorously maintains the pose of the originally naive and often foolish physician who aspires and fails, cogitates and is proved wrong, evaluates and then reevaluates.⁵ Such a protagonist must judge his world mostly by contrast and, consequently, in retrospect.

Yet Updike Underhill does not sally forth to encounter his country until Chapter Four. The book actually begins with a witty digression on the fictitious narrator's real (i.e. historical) ancestor. The primogenitor of Tyler's protagonist, Captain John Underhill, a Pilgrim of uncertain renown, resembles his equally undistinguished descendant. Robust and unpretentious, Captain Underhill also shares his offspring's convictions about the value of individual liberty. But, from the point of view of Church fathers such as Cotton Mather, the elder Underhill is most noted for his supposed libertinism:

At a certain lecture in Boston, instead of noting in his Bible the texts referred to . . . this gallant soldier had fixed his eyes steadfastly, and perhaps inordinately, upon one Mistress Miriam Wilbore; who it seems was, at that very time, herself in the breach of the spirit of an existing law, which forbad women to appear in public with

uncovered arms and necks, by appearing at the same lecture with a pair of wanton open worked gloves, slit at the thumbs and fingers, for the conveniency of taking snuff. (I. 11)

Accused of "adultery of the heart," Underhill is banished from Boston, hounded in Dover, and finally forced to take up residence with the more charitable Dutch in Albany.

The opening digression is thematically significant to the rest of the novel. Captain Underhill's fate parallels Updike's and foreshadows the various ostracisms, comic and tragic, that will be inflicted upon his physician descendant. Just as the narrowness of Puritan piety forces this less-than-saintly (but fully human) soldier to leave his former community, so too do the parochial attitudes and quackeries of Federalist America encourage the protagonist's expatriation and cause, indirectly, his enslavement. In a sense, both versions of provincialismcolonial and early Federalist, pre- and post-Revolutionary —contribute to a type of "enslavement." The reader should also see-in the life of each Underhill-that "law" can entail rule by the prominent and powerful rather than some abstract concept of justice.7 In fact, when Tyler quotes from John Underhill's humorous account of his own kangaroo trial, he demonstrates that-in this particular instance—American justice can be as capriciously unjust as any edict from an English monarch:

I sayd, "Where is the law by which you condemne me?" Winthrop said, "There is a committee to draught laws. Brother Peters, are you not on that committee? I am sure you have maide a law againste this cryinge sin." Hugh Peters replyed, "that he had such a law in his minde, but had not written it downe." Sir Harry Vane said, "It is sufficient." (I, 17-18)

The entire episode certainly justifies one sympathetic observer's comment that "I came from England... because I did not like the lords bishops; but I have yet to praye to be delivered from the lords bretherenne" (I, 19). The metaphor of "deliverance" is here, as

throughout, significant. One can be enslaved by one's fellow countrymen as well as by "ferocious" Algerines.

Tyler's Preface and introductory genealogy set the stage for a critique of those aspects of American behavior that too much stray from ideals enunciated in the Declaration of Independence or implied by the coming of the Pilgrims to the New World. But Tyler's satirical method, as G. Thomas Tanselle has argued, is effectively double-edged.8 Although the author admittedly mocks (often through Underhill's eyes) various American "types," he also implicitly criticizes Underhill himself for his unreasonable expectations and his unrealistic preconceptions about humanity. For example, in the account of Updike's brief career as a school teacher, Tyler clearly disapproves of local ruffians-both students and parentsand their propensity to a characteristically American form of self-reliance. Underhill's inflated image of himself as a master in a one-room schoolhouse is, however, equally dubious. His vision of his "scholars, seated in awful silence around me, my arm-chair, and my birchen sceptre of authority (I, 43-44) soon yields to a suspicion that his charges are mere "savages" (I, 53). But Underhill's first flattering illusion—obviously compromised by aspirations to kingly sovereignty—should have indicated that reality would not accord with expectation. And neither does his allusion to his later release from slavery adequately—or rationally—sum up the case: sometimes led to believe, that my emancipation from real slavery in Algiers did not afford me sincerer joy than (I, 52-53) when released from oblig-I experienced" ations as a schoolmaster. In brief. Underhill's first "enslavement" reflects negatively on captive and captors alike.

This initial episode is paradigmatic of Tyler's method and establishes a pattern employed throughout the novel. Underhill's stint at schoolmastering marks his first real venture away from home. He moves, throughout the course of Volume I, further and further away, repudiating, in the process, his ideological roots as well. The stoical ideals of agrarian New Hampshire, which demand common sense, honest labor, and fair dealing, give way, first, to the lure of scholarship. One shallow parson applauds young Updike's "genius" and the boy is Harvard bound. Of course, his college preparatory study hardly prepares him for life back home on the farm. His classical reading "quite eradicated a love for labour" (I, 41). intimates that "learning" can also have other deleterious effects when he has his protagonist, in imitation of a Virgilian rite, ritualistically slaughter the heifer that was to provide the family's winter meat. But most suspect is Updike's sudden inability to identify with his native American origins and his new desire for a life of imagined urbanity and culture.

He finds neither. After his abortive attempt to play the pedagogue, he switches to medicine and nearly starves to death in a Northern city. So again Underhill is a "captive," but this time to the ignorance of those he should serve as a physician. Ironically, the foibles of his potential patients in many ways mirror the shortcomings of the doctor whose services they do not seek. Like Underhill, these Americans smugly assume an intellectual superiority and sophistication they do not possess. Thus, they are ripe for fleecing. No honest practitioner can support himself, while a fast-talking quack lives in relative opulence and enjoys the esteem of the community.9 So Underhill can finally put to use his otherwise impractical knowledge of the classics but only as a means of verbal chicanery. Reciting, irrelevantly, from Lily's Grammar, he becomes, as a doctor, "the most learned man, because the most unintelligible" (I, 116).

Disappointed by urban New Englanders, Underhill next attempts to seek his fortune in the South and thereby strays still further from the author's implicit ideals. For example, he had earlier, when challenged to a duel, found in the comments of his Southern "fellow student," little difference "between a man of honour and a vulgar murderer" (I, 82). Yet he then naively agreed to abide by a questionable code and was saved from encountering his opponent only because of the other's cowardice or common sense. And if a Carolinian's concept of honor raises certain basic questions, the whole institution of slavery is infinitely more problematic. Underhill, however, responds to both in the same uncertain fashion. sider his reactions when confronted with such an illustrative sequence as the parson who "all the way . . . to the church door" mercilessly beat a negligent slave boy; then delivered a sermon on keeping the Sabbath holy; and afterwards, with his congregation, "hastened to the horse race," where he-"as much respected on the turf as upon the hassock"-held the bets and "was one of the judges of the race" (I, 136-138). Underhill merely hints that he does not understand such matters as a minister's "belaboring" a slave, then demures when his companion fails to see the contradiction. Yet, clearly, he does not like the South. "The very decorum, prudence, and economy, which would have enhanced my character at home, were here construed into poverty of spirit" (I, 143). His solution to this problem, however, is typical: he will resolve his predicament by fleeing from it.

This escape brings him to the nadir of his career. He signs on as a surgeon aboard a slave ship and thereby participates—now actively—in the despised system of slavery. On, first, the ironically named "Freedom," then on the "Sympathy," Underhill admittedly attempts to be sympathetic and to deal charitably with his patients. Yet such kindness does not run counter to the larger purpose the ship serves and does not jeopardize the profits that owners and crew intend to obtain. However, even the considerate performance of his duties so revolts Dr. Underhill that he finally dramatically reverses his previous moral decline. He explicitly repudiates slavery and goes

so far as to declare that he "would sooner suffer servitude than purchase a slave" (I, 166). Soon he is given that chance.

The preceding paragraphs should indicate something of Tyler's method and intent in Volume I of The Algerine Captive. A "typical" American youth, misled by a fallacious assessment of his capabilities, aspires to various forms of success (an early version of many subsequent "American dream" novels) and necessarily falls short of his objectives. But, once inspired, there seems turning back, and, throughout this section of the novel. we see Underhill progressively abandoning the ideals of his childhood and all that is best in New England: kind of unpretentious goodwill, stalwartness, and independence. Yet Tyler, as earlier observed, works a double satire. If Underhill's vision of success merits criticism. so too do the circumstances-mostly occasioned by his fellow citizens—that keep him from achieving it. They too are naive and gullible, ready to praise any charlatan and generally blind to real merit such as that exhibited by Underhill's physician-teacher. Americans, Prefatory injunctions make clear, need to be more circumspect in their actions, attitudes, and enthusiasms. Furthermore, Tyler suggests, they must not struggle against or oppress one another since, in the final analysis. the gap between learned professional and unlettered husbandman is not that great. From the perspective of one forcibly retained in another country, differences in education, geographical background, class, and race should hardly matter in a democracy.

This new perspective is what Underhill achieves in the second volume of *The Algerine Captive*. Just as Volume I provides a catalogue of America's shortcomings (as reflected, in complementary fashion, by both Underhill and those who prompt him to flee America), Volume II provides a contrasting situation against which to assess America's virtues. And here too Tyler avoids excessive

chauvinism as he tempers his explicit commendations of his country with obvious suggestions that there is still room for improvement. For example, despite Underhill's high praise of American freedom while he is a slave in Algiers, we, as readers, should remember that, in America, he was not as free as he might later romantically imagine. Even more significantly, certain Algerine experiences suggestively parallel American ones. Puritan intolerance of other religions, as seen in the digression on Captain Underhill, is matched by Moslem insistence that only the way of Mohammed is right. Furthermore, just as whites are enslaved in northern Africa, so too are blacks enslaved in the southern United States. Moreover, the latter form of slavery is generally portrayed as a more inhuman, "unchristian" form of bondage. When the Musselman who attempts to convert Underhill to Islam makes precisely this point—that Moslems, when a slave converts to Islam, "knock off his fetters and receive him as a brother" whereas Christians "baptize the unfortunate African into [their] faith, and then use [their] brother Christians as brutes of the desert"--- Underhill "was so abashed for my country, I could not answer him" (II, 50). Clearly, Tyler wishes the reader to have a similar reaction.10 Furthermore, in each land we see clergymen who fail to practice what they preach. And, ironically, in both home and foreign territory, Underhill must forgo making full use of his medical skills in order to satisfy those he treats. Quackery seems the preferred practice in either land.

Unfortunately, Volume II does not sustain these thematically intriguing parallels. Although frequently artful, at times almost lyrical (especially in its denunciation of slavery), this section also descends into travelogue and tends, as a number of critics have noted, to be the weaker half of a surprisingly effective early novel. ¹¹ But, I would argue, Volume II effectively serves a valid social purpose and thereby partly transcends its occasional prosaicness. Through the overt, explicit comments that the now wiser

Underhill addresses to his audience, Tyler attempts to instill in the readers of this post-revolutionary work a sense of *constructive* patriotism:

A slave myself, I have learnt to appreciate the blessings of freedom. May my countrymen ever preserve and transmit to their posterity that liberty which they have bled to obtain; and always bear it deeply engraven upon their memories, that, when men are once reduced to slavery, they can never resolve, much more achieve, any thing that is mainly, virtuous, or great! (II, 67)

And the second section of the novel also serves a second function. It is in the interrelationship of the two volumes that we begin to see a meaning beyond the satirical method Tyler employed in Volume I. The carefully wrought contrasts, the Prefatory asides, the account of Underhill's ancestry, and his description of his progress through the new world take on political and moral dimensions when contrasted with the subsequent volume. The novel then becomes more than a Bildungsroman centering on the growth and education of a particular character. It also becomes an account of a developing democracy, a country in many ways epitomized by Updike Underhill. As earlier observed, his efforts at self-definition parallel America's attempts, both in Colonial and early Federalist times, to find a sensible mode of self-government somewhere between the two unacceptable poles represented, in the novel, by King George on the one hand and Robespierre on the other.

The balance is hard to achieve. But Tyler's contrapuntal method does help to delimit the general area in which it might be established. Perhaps significantly, Tyler himself, a decade before he wrote *The Algerine Captive*, had participated in the suppression of Shays' Rebellion.¹² In his novel, too, he suggests that revolution against tyranny—aesthetic, moral, and, most obviously, political—is necessary but that, after a break, independence, order, and stability must be re-established. Ben Franklin, moderate revolutionary that he was, thus receives near deification in the novel, while Thomas Paine, for all his

eloquence and intellectual astuteness, is portrayed as capricious, wrongheaded, and even absurd.¹³

Underhill's own progress into adulthood (and, implicitly, authorhood) is, appropriately, more "evolution" than "revolution." We do not encounter the wise narrator as a character until the final passages of the book. Significantly, we then see him back where he began, back in his parent's house. But to come full circle is not to retrace paths earlier followed and found wanting. Updike Underhill returns to the United States with an expanded appreciation of what home—America—can mean and can offer. No longer smugly willing to condemn New England values, he now sees how sound the principles (from which he had become estranged in the first book) really were. No true New Englander (at least according to Tyler's fictionalized definition) would enslave another—or allow himself to be enslaved.

Freed from foreign captivity, Underhill stands firm in his commitment to a land which, after all, had not been hospitable to him. But at the end of the book, the aware narrator of the Preface also has a perspective on his earlier self. He intends "to pursue my practice as a physician, which I hope will be attended with more success than when essayed with the inexperience and giddiness of youth" (II, 227). The only problem that remains is the fact that his own country still countenances slavery. The United States, especially the Southern states, must be forced to abandon a practice which, by its nature, violates the principles for which the Revolution was fought.

Underhill once promised, if he ever regained his own freedom, that he would do all that he could to free others similarly enslaved:

Grant me, I ejaculated, once more to taste the freedom of my native country, and every moment of my life shall be dedicated to preaching against this detestable commerce. I will fly to our fellow citizens in the southern states; I will on my knees conjure them, in the name of humanity, to abolish a traffic which causes it to bleed in every pore. If they are deaf to the pleadings

of nature, I will conjure them for the sake of consistency to cease to deprive their fellow creatures of freedom, which their writers, their orators, representatives, senators, and even their constitutions of government, have declared to be the unalienable birth-right of man. (I, 189)

Admittedly, he does not, when the time comes, fully redeem that pledge. But he does not conveniently forget it either. The final message of Volume I—that men are all created equal—is also the final message of *The Algerine Captive*. The last paragraphs again center on the basic contrast between freeman and slave that informs the whole novel and underlies its bipartite structure. This contrast itself suggests a social message. Tyler, in effect, argues that Americans must abide by the principles outlined in the Declaration of Independence and demand equal freedom for all the inhabitants of America. For only in "uniting our federal strength" (II, 228)—on all levels—can the new nation survive. That crucial word itself evolves into a final political pun which summarizes the meaning of the entire book and all Underhill's experiences:

For to no nation besides the *United* States can that ancient saying be more emphatically applied—BY UNITING WE STAND, BY DIVIDING WE FALL. (II, 228; italics added)

So one last contrast is finally emphasized. The United States can develop into a democracy where all are free and united in their freedom or it will decline into a chaos marked—at different levels—by slavery, subservience, and selfishness. But even by posing these two alternatives Tyler attempts to affect the outcome. His country, like his protagonist, must fulfill the promise implicit in its sometimes uncertain beginnings.

NOTES

- 1G. Thomas Tanselle, in his comprehensive critical biography, Royall Tyler (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), p. 158, argues that The Algerine Captive does not depict enough of Underhill's development to be considered a Bildungsroman, but he does admit that Tyler employs certain conventions of that form.
- ²Royall Tyler, The Algerine Captive; Or, The Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike Underhill, Six Years a Prisoner

Among the Algerines, ed. Jack B. Moore, (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1967), II, 227. Subsequent references to this facsimile reproduction of the London edition of 1802 will be made parenthetically within the text.

³Tyler's capability as a delineator of mores was early recognized. James Fenimore Cooper, for example, considered The Algerine Captive to be one of the best early American novels primarily because of its author's ability to portray American manners and morals. See Early Critical Essays (1820-22), ed. James F. Beard, Jr. (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1955), p. 97.

⁴Tanselle, p. 153.

⁵See Professor Moore's introduction to the facsimile edition of the novel, p. viii; Henri Petter, *The Early American Novels* (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1971), p. 295; and Don L. Cook's introduction to his edition of *The Algerine Captive* (New Haven: College and University Press, 1970), p. 9.

⁶Moore, p. x.

7Frederick Tupper, in his "Royall Tyler, Man of law and Man of Letters," Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, 5 (1926-28), 65-101, describes this author's career as a lawyer and thereby suggests that personal experience of the arbitrariness of justice in Federalist America partly prompted Tyler's satirical account of Captain Underhill's trial in colonial America.

⁸Tanselle, p. 162.

9Cook, p. 20, notes that Tyler's humorous description of American medicine is not a grotesque parody but an effective satire of actual medical practices in this country, including some methods employed by the "pioneer of American science.

Dr. Benjamin Rush."

Dr. Benjamin Rush."

10But the reader should not assume that Tyler preferred the Moslem to the Christian religion. In his Preface to the Second Edition of *The Bay Boy* (reprinted in Marius B. Péladeau, *The Prose of Royall Tyler* [Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1972], p. 46), Tyler himself countered charges by early reviewers who insisted that Christianity came off as "second best" in this debate in *The Algerine Captione* Captive.

¹¹For example, Petter, p. 295 and Tanselle, p. 164.

¹²Tanselle provides a detailed account of Tyler's role in this incident, pp. 19-23.

¹³Although Tyler praises Franklin in this novel, in a "Colon and Spondee" essay co-authored with Joseph Dennie in *The Port Folio* (Feb. 14, 1801), p. 53, he expressed quite a different view.

¹⁴Underhill himself intends to assure the continued survival of the Underhills through his resolve "to unite myself to some amiable woman" and—continuing the play on "union" and the parallel between protagonist and country—become "a good father" even while he is also a "worthy FEDERAL citizen" (II, 227-228).