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VOLUME VI.



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*Philadelphia, July 28, 1789.*

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CONSCIOUS of the imperfections of this publication, he solicits a continuation of that indulgence which he has hitherto experienced from his candid readers.

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 Jesse Taylor, esq. Alexandria.  
 Col. J. Taylor, New Brunswic, *N. J.*
- Capt. Richard Taylor, Hampton, *V.*  
 William Taylor, esq. Falmouth, *V.*  
 Col. Willoughby Tebbs, Dumfries, *V.*  
 Sir John Temple, bart. his Britannic  
 majesty's consular general, New York,  
 Mr. Cornelius Ten Broeck, New-  
 Brunswic, *N. J.*  
 Dirck Ten Broeck, esq. Albany, *N. Y.*  
 Mr. Bart. Terraffon, Philadelphia,  
 Mr. Benjamin Thaw, Philadelphia,  
 Messrs. Thayer, Bartlett, and co.  
 Charleston, *S. C.*  
 Mr. James Theus, do.  
 Dr. Philip Thomas, Frederickn. *Md.*  
 Richard Thomas, esq. Chester co. *P.*  
 Mr. Richard Thomas, George town,  
 Patowmac.  
 Messrs. Thompson and Taylor, near  
 Leesburg, *V.*  
 Hon. Chas. Thomson, esq. N. York,  
 Mr. J. H. Thomson, Charleston, *S. C.*  
 Col. J. Thomson, Q. Ann's co. *Md.*  
 Mr. Joseph Thornburgh, Carlisle, *P.*  
 Rev. Sydenham Thorne, Milford, *D.*  
 John Threlkeld, esq. George town,  
 Patowmac.  
 Mr. John Thurman, New York,  
 Mr. Daniel Thuun, Philadelphia,  
 Joseph Tidball, esq. Lancaster co. *P.*  
 Mr. Silvester Tiffany, Albany, *N. Y.*  
 W. Tilghman, esq. Chestertown, *Md.*  
 Major R. Tilghman, Eastern shore, *Md.*  
 Mr. T. R. Tilghman, Baltimore,  
 Dr. James Tillary, New York,  
 Mr. Charles Tillinghast, do.  
 Col. Nehemiah Tilton, Dover, *D.*  
 Jer. Tinker, esq. New Providence,  
 Messrs. John Tittermary and sons,  
 Philadelphia,  
 Mr. C. Tod, near Fredericksburg, *V.*  
 Mr. Henry Toland, Philadelphia,  
 Mr. Thomas Tom, New York,  
 Mr. Jesse Townsend, Yale college, *Ct.*  
 Mr. Solomon Townsend, New York,  
 Mr. James Trenchard, Philadelphia.  
 Edw. Trescott, esq. Charleston, *S. C.*  
 Mr. James Triplett, Dumfries *V.*  
 Col. Simon Triplett, Alexandria,  
 Mr. Hore Browse Trist, Philadel.  
 Luther Trowbridge, esq. Albany.  
 Hon. Charles T. Tucker, esq. *N. Y.*  
 Wm. Tudor, esq. Boston,  
 Dr. A. Tumball, Charleston, *S. C.*  
 Mr. George Tunno, ditto.  
 Sam. Turbett, esq. Lancaster, *P.*  
 Major George Turner, Philadelphia,  
 Mr. John Turner, jun. New York,  
 Mr. T. Turner, G. town, Patowmac.  
 Dr. J. Tyler, Fredericktown, *Md.*  
 Messrs. Tyson & Anderson, Baltim.

- Mr. John Underwood, Carlisle, *P.*  
 Robert Underwood, esq. New York,  
 Uraman society, ditto,  
 Mr. Cha. Urquhart, Fredericshg. *V.*  
 Mr. Abraham Usher, Baltimore,  
 Mr. Thomas Usher, ditto,  
 Mr. William Ulick, New York,
- Adrian Valck, esq. consul from the  
 united Netherlands, Baltimore, *two*  
*copies,*
- Andrew Van Bibber, esq. Baltimore,  
 Mr. Isaac Van Bibber, ditto,  
 Rev. Hugh Vance, Martinsburg, *V.*  
 Mr. J. W. Vancleve, Princeton, *N. J.*  
 Mr. John Vandegrift, Trenton,  
 Capt. Isaac Vanhorne, Bucks co. *P.*  
 D. Van Ingen, esq. Schenectady, *N. Y.*  
 Mess. M. & W. Vanlear, Hagerst-  
 own, *Md.*
- W. Van Murray, esq. Cambridge, *Md.*  
 Mr. John Van Reed, Philadelphia,  
 John J. Van Rensselaer, esq. Green-  
 bush, *N. Y.*
- K. K. Van Rensselaire, esq. Clave-  
 rac,  
 Stephen Van Rensselaire, esq. Al-  
 bany, *N. Y.*
- Mr. S. P. Van Rensselaire, *N. Y.*  
 Mr. James Vanuxem, Philadelphia,  
 Mr. Viner Van Zandt, Newark, *N. J.*  
 Richard Varick, esq. New York,  
 Charles Vaughan, esq. Philadelphia,  
 Samuel Vaughan, jun. esq. ditto,  
 D. C. Verplanck, esq. New York,  
 Gulian Verplanck, esq. speaker of the  
 assembly of New York,  
 Messrs. Vos & Graves, Charleston,  
*S. C.*
- Mr. Edward Vofs, Richmond,  
 Major H. Vowles, Falmouth, *V.*
- Mess. Wadsworth & Turpin, Charle-  
 ston, *S. C.*
- Peter Wagener, esq. Colchester, *V.*  
 Mr. Philip Wager, Philadelphia,  
 Mr. A. Waldron, New York,  
 Mr. D. Waldron, ditto,  
 George Walker, esq. ditto,  
 Mr. George Walker, Georgetown,  
 Patowmac,  
 Mr. Jas. Wallace, Wilmington, *N. C.*  
 Mr. William Wallace, Carlisle, *P.*  
 Mr. Thomas Walley, Boston,  
 Gerard Walton, esq. New York,  
 Rev. James Walton, St. Inigo, *Md.*  
 Mr. William Walton, New York,  
 Mr. Richard Ward, ditto,  
 Dr. Waring, Charleston, *S. C.*
- Messrs. M. & H. Waring, George-  
 town, Patowmac,  
 Felix Warley, esq. Charleston, *S. C.*  
 Dr. John Warren, Bolton,  
 Mr. John Warren, Frederica, *D.*  
 Bulhrod Washington, esq. Alexand.  
 Col. Warner Washington, Frederic  
 county, *V.*
- Mr. Francis Waters, Dorset co. *V.*  
 Mr. Owen Waters, Philadelphia,  
 Mr. Richard Waters, Dorset co. *V.*  
 Thomas Waties, esq. Charleston, *S. C.*  
 Francis Watkins, esq. Prince Ed-  
 ward county, *V.*
- Thomas Watkins, esq. Augusta, *G.*  
 John Watson, esq. New York,  
 Mr. Joseph Watson, Winchester, *V.*  
 Hon. Frederic Watts, esq. member  
 of the supreme executive council of  
 Pennsylvania,
- Jacob Weaver, esq. Philadelphia,  
 Mr. C. R. Webster, Albany, *N. Y.*  
 Major gen. Weedon, Fredericshg. *V.*  
 Mr. Casparus Weiberg, Philad.  
 Mr. Joseph Weisiger, Petersburg, *V.*  
 Mr. Anthony Weis, Philadelphia,  
 Mr. Cyprian Wells, Baltimore,  
 Mr. John Wells, *New Providence,*  
 Mr. Robert Wells, Winchester, *V.*  
 Mr. Jacob Welsh, jun. Baltimore,  
 Mr. James Welsh, Philadelphia,  
 Roger West, esq. Alexandria,  
 Mr. John Westcott, Philadelphia,  
 Mr. Joseph Westmore, Peterlbg, *V.*  
 Prosper Wetmore, esq. New York,  
 William Wetmore, esq. Bolton,  
 Mr. John Wharton, Accomack, *V.*  
 Mr. Patrick White, Peterlburg, *V.*  
 Capt. Peter White, Lewes, *D.*  
 R. White, jun. esq. Winchester, *V.*  
 Right rev. William White, bishop of  
 the protestant episcopal church in  
 the commonwealth of Pennsylvania,  
 Col. W. Whiteley, Caroline co. *Md.*  
 Mrs. Eliza Whiting, Cottage, Berke-  
 ley county, *V.*
- Mr. Conway Whittle, Petersburg, *V.*  
 Mr. W. Wightman, Charleston, *S. C.*  
 Mr. Henry Wikoff, Philadelphia,  
 William Wilcocks, esq. New York,  
 Mark Wilcox, esq. member of the  
 general assembly of Pennsylvania,  
 Chester county,  
 John Wilkes, esq. New York,  
 Brian Wilkinson, esq. Philadelphia,  
 Col. Marinus Willet, New York,  
 Mess. Williams, Cary & co. Alexan.  
 Dr. Ed. Williams, Shepherdstown, *V.*  
 Mr. John Williams, Dumfries, *V.*

Gen. Otho H. Williams, Baltimore,  
 Mr. Samuel Williams, Boston,  
 Mr. Thomas Williams, Richmond,  
 Mr. William Williams, Boston,  
 W. C. Williams, esq. Woodstock, *V.*  
 Hon. Richard Willing, esq. member  
 of the supreme executive council of  
 Pennsylvania,  
 Thomas Willing, esq. Philadelphia,  
 Mr. Seth Willis, ditto,  
 Mr. Thomas Willock, Norfolk, *V.*  
 Mr. Pate Wills, York, *V.*  
 Wilmington library, *D.*  
 Mr. S. Wilmore, Chelertown, *Md.*  
 Mr. David Wilson, Winchester, *V.*  
 James Wilson, esq. Philadelphia,  
 Mr. John Wilson, ditto,  
 Rev. Matt. Wilson, D. D. Lewes, *D.*  
 Dr. Sam. Wilson, Charleston, *S. C.*  
 S. Wilson, jun. esq. Easternshore, *Md.*  
 Stephen Wilson, esq. Baltimore,  
 Wm. Wilson, esq. Northumberland  
 county, *P.*  
 Mr. Wm. Wilson, Baltimore,  
 Mr. Olney Winsor, Alexandria,  
 Mr. Joseph Winter, New York,  
 Mr. Peter Wise, Alexandria,  
 Mr. Wm. Wiseham, Richmond,  
 Mr. James Withy, Chester, *P.*  
 Oliver Wolcot, jun. esq. Hartford, *Ct.*  
 Mr. John Wood, Philadelphia,  
 Captain John Woods, ditto,  
 Turner Wootton, esq. Baltimore,  
 James Wormeley, esq. Berkeley co. *V.*  
 J. Tolly Worthington, esq. Baltimore,  
 Mr. Joseph Wright, New York,  
 Matthew Wright, esq. Winchester, *V.*  
 Mr. Stephen Wright, Norfolk, *V.*  
 Thos. Wright, esq. Wilmington, *N. C.*  
 John C. Wynkoop, esq. Kinderhook,  
 New York.

Donnaldson Yeats, esq. Kent co.  
 Capt. J. Yellot, Baltimore,  
 Rev. dr. G. Young, Hagerstown, *Md.*  
 Mr. Hugh Young, Norfolk, *V.*  
 Moses Young, esq. *Trinidad.*  
 Notley Young, esq. Georgetown, *Md.*  
 Samuel Young, esq. Philadelphia,  
 Mr. Samuel Young, ditto,  
 Dr. S. Young, Hagerstown, *Md.*

Messrs. Zacharie, Coopman, and co.  
 Baltimore,  
 Col. I. Zane, Marlborough works,  
 near Winchester, *V.*  
 Mr. Adam Zantzing, Philadelphia.  
 Paul Zantzing, esq. Lancaster, *P.*  
 Mr. John C. Zollikoffer, Baltimore.

*Names omitted in the preceding list.*  
 Mr. P. Campbell, jun. Franklin co. *P.*  
 Mr. Derrick Lefferts, New York,  
 Mr. John Bradford, Lexington, *K.*  
 Mr. Rice, Baltimore,  
 Mr. Solomon M'Nair, Philadelphia,  
 Mr. W. H. Beaumont, Pitsburg.  
 Uz Gaunt, esq. Springfield township,  
 Burlington county,  
 M. le Chevalier de la Terriere, Bor-  
 denton,  
 Miles Philips, esq.

#### ERRORS.

Page 6. line 1, for Joseph Antho-  
 ny, esq. *Lunenburg*, read Joseph An-  
 thony, esq. *Lynchburg*.

Page 11, line 46, for mr. James  
 Hacket, *Baltimore*, read, mr. James  
 Hacket, *Queen Ann's county. Md.*

Should any other errors or omissions  
 be discovered in the above list, the  
 printer requests to be informed of  
 them, that they may be corrected in a  
 future one.

Mr. R. Yarborough, Cumberland, *V.*  
 Richard Yates, esq. New York,



## A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For JULY, 1789.

*To the printer of the Amer. Museum,*

<sup>S I R,</sup>  
**T**HE solution of the following queries involving much valuable information, you will oblige many of your readers by giving them a place in your Museum. From the spirit of enquiry and observation, which has lately extended itself through the united states, I flatter myself, answers will be obtained to them, through the medium of the same channel, in which the queries are made.

Are there any facts which prove, that longevity and fruitfulness have been promoted, by emigration to America from European countries?

Are there any facts which prove, that there is a diminution of the size of the human body, in successive generations in America?

What ages do horses usually attain in this country, under different kinds of treatment? and what is the greatest age, any of them have been known to attain to?

Are there any instances, in which wheat, rye, oats, or barley, have been found wild in any parts of America? or, are there any instances of apples, peaches, or pear trees, being found wild in the woods? What are the effects of cultivation upon the common crab apple?

Are there any instances of the influence of transplanting the whortle and blackberry into a garden, upon the quality of those fruits? Has a wine of any kind ever been made from them, and if so, what is its quality?

Is population among the Indians, out of the sphere of the European settlements, on the increase, or the contrary? or is it stationary?

In a late number of the Museum, I saw a letter from William Penn, in London, requesting the loan of a sum of money from his friends in Pennsylvania. Query—Did they comply with that request?

I have several times heard and read of doubts being suggested, whether Carver made the extensive tour he has described; or whether his book be not compiled from those of Charlevoix, Hennepin, &c. I wish some of your correspondents would so far gratify my curiosity, which I suppose similar to that of many of your readers, as to inform me whether or no this point has ever been satisfactorily ascertained?

*Address of the governor and council of North Carolina, to his excellency general Washington.*

*To his excellency George Washington, esq. president of the united states.*

<sup>S I R,</sup>

**A**MIDST the congratulations, which surround you from all quarters, we, the governor and council of the state of North Carolina, beg leave to offer ours, with equal sincerity and fervency, with any which can be presented to you. Though this state be not yet a member of the union, under the new form of government, we look forward, with the pleasing hope of its shortly becoming such; and, in the mean time, consider ourselves bound in a common interest and affection, with the other states, waiting only for the happy event of such alterations being proposed, as will remove the apprehensions of many of the good citizens of this state, for those liberties, for which they have fought and suffered, in common with others; This happy event, we doubt not, will be accelerated by your excellency's appointment to the first office in the union; since we are well assured, that the same greatness of mind, which in all scenes has so eminently characterised your excellency, will induce you to advise every measure, calculated to compose party divisions, and to abate any animosity, that may be excited by a mere difference in opinion; Your excellency will consider (however others may forget) how extremely difficult it is to unite all the people of a great country in one common sentiment, upon almost any political subject, much more upon a new form

of government, materially different from one they have been accustomed to; and will therefore rather be disposed to rejoice, that so much has been effected, than regret, that more could not all at once accomplished. We sincerely believe, America is the only country in the world, where such a deliberate change of government could take place, under any circumstances whatever.

We hope, your excellency will pardon the liberty we take, in writing to particularly on this subject: but this state, however it may differ in any political opinions from the other states, cordially joins with them, in sentiments of the utmost gratitude and veneration, for those distinguished talents, and that illustrious virtue, which we feel a pride in saying we believe, under God, have been the principal means of preserving the liberty, and procuring the independence of your country. We cannot help considering you, sir, in some measure, as the father of it; and hope to experience the good effect of that confidence you so justly have acquired, in an abatement of the party spirit, which so much endangers a union, on which the safety and happiness of America can alone be founded. May that union, at a short distance of time, be as perfect, and more safe than ever! and in the mean while, may the state of North Carolina be considered, as it truly deserves to be, attached, with equal warmth with any state in the union, to the true interest, prosperity, and glory of America, differing only, in some particulars, in opinion, as to the means of promoting them!

SAMUEL JOHNSTON.

*By order and on behalf of the council,*  
JAMES IREDEL, *president.*

*By order,*  
WILLIAM J. DAWSON,  
*Clerk council.*

May 10, 1789.

ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

IT was scarcely possible for any address to have given me greater pleasure, than that which I have just received from you: because I consider it not only demonstrative of your approbation of my conduct in accepting the first office in the union, but

also indicative of the good dispositions of the citizens of your state, towards their sister states, and of the probability of their speedily acceding to the new general government.

In justification of the opinion, which you are pleased to express, of my readiness, "to advise every measure, calculated to compose party divisions, and to abate any animosity that may be excited by mere difference of opinion," I take the liberty of referring you to the sentiments communicated by me to the two houses of congress. On this occasion, I am likewise happy in being able to add the strongest assurances, that I entertain a well grounded expectation, that nothing will be wanting, on the part of the different branches of the general government, to render the union "as perfect, and more safe, than ever it has been."

A difference of opinion, on political points, is not to be imputed to freedom, as a fault; since it is to be presumed, that they are all actuated by an equally laudable and sacred regard for the liberties of their country. If the mind is so formed in different persons, as to consider the same object to be somewhat different in its nature and consequences, as it happens to be placed in different points of view; and if the oldest, the ablest, and the most virtuous statesmen have often differed in judgment, as to the best forms of government—we ought, indeed, rather to rejoice, that so much has been effected, than to regret, that more could not, all at once, be accomplished.

Gratified by the favourable sentiments, which are evinced in your address to me, and impressed with an idea, that the citizens of your state are sincerely attached to the interest, the prosperity and the glory of America, I most earnestly implore the divine benediction and guidance, in the councils, which are shortly to be taken by their delegates, on a subject of the most momentous consequence, I mean the political relation, which is to subsist hereafter between the state of North Carolina, and the states now in union under the new general government.

G. WASHINGTON.

*New York, June 19, 1789.*

*Account of the climate of Pennsylvania, and its influence upon the human body. From medical enquiries and observations.—By Benjamin Rush, M. D. professor of chemistry in the university of Pennsylvania.—Printed and sold by Prichard and Hall.*

THE state of Pennsylvania lies between  $39^{\circ} 43' 25''$  and  $42^{\circ}$  north latitude, including, of course,  $2^{\circ} 16' 35''$ , equal to 157 miles, from its southern to its northern boundary. The western extremity of the state is in the longitude of  $5^{\circ} 23' 40''$ , and the eastern, in that of  $27'$  from the meridian of Philadelphia, comprehending, in a due west course, 311 miles, exclusive of the territory lately purchased by Pennsylvania from the united states, of which, as yet, no accurate surveys have been obtained. The state is bounded on the south by part of the state of Delaware, by the whole state of Maryland, and by Virginia to her western extremity. The last named state, the territory lately ceded to Connecticut, and Lake Erie, (part of which is included in Pennsylvania) form the western and north-western boundaries of the state. Part of the state of New York, and the territory lately ceded to Pennsylvania, with a part of Lake Erie, compose the northern, and another part of New-York, with a large extent of New Jersey (separated from Pennsylvania by the river Delaware) compose the eastern boundaries of the state. The lands, which form these boundaries (except a part of the states of Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey) are in a state of nature. A large tract of the western, and north-eastern parts of Pennsylvania, is nearly in the same uncultivated situation.

The state of Pennsylvania is intersected and diversified with numerous rivers and mountains. To describe, or even to enumerate them all, would far exceed the limits I have proposed to this account of our climate. It will be sufficient only to remark, that one of these rivers, viz. the Susquehannah, begins at the northern boundary of the state, twelve miles from the river Delaware, and winding several hundred miles through a variegated country, enters the state of Maryland on the southern line, fifty-eight miles

westward of Philadelphia; that each of these rivers is supplied by numerous streams of various sizes; that tides flow in parts of two of them, viz. in the Delaware and Schuylkill; that the rest rise and fall alternately in wet and dry weather; and that they descend with great rapidity, over prominent beds of rocks in many places, until they empty themselves into the bays of Delaware and Chesapeake on the east, and into the Ohio on the western parts of the state.

The mountains form a considerable part of the state of Pennsylvania. Many of them appear to be reserved, as perpetual marks of the original empire of nature in this country. The Allegany, which crosses the state about two hundred miles from Philadelphia, in a north, inclining to an east course, is the most considerable and extensive of these mountains. It is called by the Indians, the backbone of the continent. Its height, in different places, is supposed to be about one thousand three hundred feet from the adjacent plains\*.

The soil of Pennsylvania is diversified, by its vicinity to mountains and rivers. The vallies and bottoms consist of a black mould, which extends from a foot to four feet in depth. But, in general, a deep clay forms the surface of the earth. Immense beds of limestone lie beneath this clay, in many parts of the state. This account of the soil of Pennsylvania is confined wholly to the lands on the east side of the Allegany mountain. The soil, on the west side of this mountain, shall be described in another place.

The city of Philadelphia lies in the latitude of  $39^{\circ} 57'$ , in longitude  $75^{\circ} 8'$  from Greenwich, and fifty-five miles west from the Atlantic Ocean.

It is situated about four miles due-north from the conflux of the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill. The buildings, which consist chiefly of brick,

#### NOTE.

\* The author is happy in being able to inform the public, that a correct view of these mountains and rivers, with their heights, distances, and courses, will be published in a few months by Mr. Reading Howell, of the city of Philadelphia, in a large map of Pennsylvania.

extend nearly three miles, north and south, along the Delaware, and above half a mile, due west, towards the Schuylkill, to which river the limits of the city extend; the whole including a distance of two miles from the Delaware. The land near the rivers, between the city and the conflux of the rivers, is, in general, low, moist, and subject to be overflowed. The greatest part of it is meadow ground.

The land to the northward and westward, in the vicinity of the city, is high, and, in general, well cultivated. Before the year 1778, the ground between the present improvements of the city, and the river Schuylkill, was covered with woods. These, together with large tracts of wood to the northward of the city, were cut down during the winter that the British army had possession of Philadelphia. I shall hereafter mention the influence, which the cutting down of these woods, and the subsequent cultivation of the grounds in the neighbourhood of the city, have had upon the health of its inhabitants.

The mean height of the ground, upon which the city stands, is about forty feet above the river Delaware. One of the longest and most populous streets in the city, rises only a few feet above the river. The air is much purer at the north, than at the south end of the city; hence the lamps exhibit a fainter flame in its southern than in its northern parts.

The tide of the Delaware seldom rises more than six feet. It flows four miles an hour. The width of the river, near the city, is about a mile.

The city, with the adjoining districts of Southwark and the Northern Liberties, contains between forty and fifty thousand inhabitants.

From the accounts, which have been handed down to us by our ancestors, there is reason to believe, that the climate of Pennsylvania has undergone a material change. Thunder and lightning are less frequent; the cold of our winters, and the heat of our summers, are less uniform, than they were forty or fifty years ago. Nor is this all: the springs are much colder, and the autumns more temperate, than formerly, inasmuch that cattle are not housed so soon, by one month, as they were in former years. Within

the last eight years, there have been exceptions to part of these observations. The winter of the year 1779—80, was uniformly and uncommonly cold. The river Delaware was frozen near three months, during this winter; and public roads, for waggons and sleighs, connected the city of Philadelphia, in many places, with the Jersey shore. The thickness of the ice in the river, near the city, was from sixteen to nineteen inches; and the depth of the frost in the ground was from four to five feet, according to the exposure of the ground and the quality of the soil. This extraordinary depth of the frost in the earth, compared with its depth in more northern and colder countries, is occasioned by the long delay of snow, which leaves the earth without a covering, during the last autumnal and the first winter months. Many plants were destroyed by the intenseness of the cold, during that winter. The ears of horned cattle, and the feet of hogs exposed to the air, were frost-bitten; squirrels perished in their holes, and partridges were often found dead in the neighbourhood of farm-houses. In January, the mercury stood for several hours at  $5^{\circ}$  below 0, in Fahrenheit's thermometer; and during the whole of this month, (except on one day) it never rose, in the city of Philadelphia, to the freezing point.

The cold, in the winter of the year 1783—4, was as intense, but not so steady as it was in the winter that has been described. It differed from it materially in one particular, viz. there was a thaw in the month of January, which opened all our rivers for a few days.

The summer, which succeeded the winter of 1779—80, was uniformly warm. The mercury in the thermometer during this summer, stood on one day, the 15th of August, at  $95^{\circ}$ , and fluctuated between  $93^{\circ}$  and  $80^{\circ}$  for many weeks. The thermometer, in every reference, that has been, or shall be made to it, stood in the shade in the open air.

I know, it has been said by many old people, that the winters in Pennsylvania are less cold, and the summers less warm, than they were forty or fifty years ago. The want of thermometrical observations, before and during those years, renders it

difficult to decide this question. Perhaps the difference of clothing and sensation between youth and old age, in winter and summer, may have laid the foundation of this opinion. I suspect, the mean temperature of the air in Pennsylvania has not altered; but that the principal change in our climate consists in the heat and cold being less confined, than formerly, to their natural seasons. I adopt the opinion of dr. Williamson\*, respecting the diminution of the cold in the southern, being occasioned by the cultivation of the northern parts of Europe; but no such cultivation has taken place in the countries, which lie to the north-west of Pennsylvania; nor do the partial and imperfect improvements, which have been made in the north-west-parts of the state, appear to be sufficient to lessen the cold, even in the city of Philadelphia. I have been able to collect no facts, which dispose me to believe, that the winters were colder before the year 1740, than they have been since. In the memorable winter of 1739—40, the Delaware was crossed on the ice in sleighs, on the 5th of March, old style, and did not open till the 13th of the same month. The ground was covered, during this winter, with a deep snow; and the rays of the sun were constantly obscured by a mist, which hung in the upper regions of the air. In the winter of 1779—80, the river was navigable on the 4th of March; the depth of the snow was moderate, and the gloominess of the cold was sometimes suspended, for a few days, by a cheerful sun. From these facts, it is probable, the winter of 1739—40, was colder than the winter of 1779—80.

Having premised these general remarks, I proceed to observe, that there are seldom more than twenty or thirty days, in summer or winter, in Pennsylvania, in which the mercury rises above 80° in the former, or fall below 30° in the latter season. Some old people have remarked, that the number of extremely cold and warm days, in successive summers and winters, bears an exact propor-

## NOTE.

\* American Philosophical Transactions, vol. i.

tion to each other. This was strictly true in the years 1787 and 1788.

The warmest part of the day in summer is at two o'clock, in ordinary, and at three in the afternoon, in extremely warm weather. From these hours, the heat gradually diminishes till the ensuing morning. The coolest part of the four-and-twenty hours is at the break of day. There are seldom more than three or four nights in a summer, in which the heat of the air is nearly the same, as in the preceding day. After the warmest days, the evenings are generally agreeable, and often delightful. The higher the mercury rises in the day time, the lower it falls the succeeding night. The mercury from 80° generally falls to 68; while it descends, when at 60°, only to 56°. This disproportion between the temperature of the day and night, in summer, is always greatest in the month of August. The dews, at this time, are heavy, in proportion to the coolness of the evening. They are sometimes so considerable, as to wet the clothes; and there are instances, in which marsh-meadows, and even creeks which have been dry during the summer, have been supplied with their usual waters, from no other source than the dews which have fallen in this month, or in the first weeks of September.

There is another circumstance connected with the one just mentioned, which contributes very much to mitigate the heat of summer; and that is, it seldom continues more than two or three days, without being succeeded by showers of rain, accompanied sometimes by thunder and lightning, and afterwards by a north-west wind, which produces a coolness in the air, that is highly invigorating and agreeable. [*To be continued.*]

Correspondence between Noah Webster, esq. and the rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D. president of Yale college, respecting the fortifications in the western country.

## LETTER I.

From Noah Webster, esq. to the rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D.

Philadelphia, Oct. 22, 1787.

Reverend sir,

YOU will recollect that, when I came to Philadelphia, last win-

ter, you wrote to dr. Franklin, requesting his opinion of the fortifications, which have been discovered in Kentucky and Muskingum, and particularly described by general Parsons and others, who have travelled into that country. The doctor could give no certain account of the time when they were raised, or by what nation; but mentioned the celebrated expedition of Ferdinand de Soto, who penetrated into that country as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, in search of gold mines; and thought it probable, the forts might have been erected by this commander, to secure his troops from the savages. The doctor's mind is a rich treasure of knowledge; but although he retained the principal facts respecting the expedition, yet he could not recollect, in what collection of voyages he had found the account. I took pains to examine several collections in his library, but without effect.

A few days ago, I was in a bookstore in this city, and accidentally laid my hands upon a small quarto volume, entitled the history of Florida, compiled by mr. William Roberts. It gave me much pleasure and surprise, on opening the book, to see the name of Ferdinand de Soto. I immediately procured the book, in expectation of satisfying myself, respecting the original construction of the fortifications west of the Allegany, which have caused so much speculation among the curious. This work contains a particular account of Ferdinand's expedition into Florida, which I have read with some attention. But I find it very difficult to determine, by this account, and the maps that accompany the work, how far he penetrated into the country, or in what particular places he wintered; for very few of the names of rivers and Indian towns, here mentioned, are used in modern times, in describing this part of the country. I will, however, abridge the account, and submit it to your superior knowledge of the geography of that quarter of America, to determine, where the places mentioned are situated, and how far Ferdinand must have travelled from the gulf of Florida.

Ferdinand de Soto had served under Francis Pizarro, in his conquest

of Peru. His good conduct recommended him to the emperor Charles V. who conferred on him the government of Cuba, with the rank of general of Florida, and marquis of the lands in it, which he should conquer. He sailed from the Havanna, on the 12th of May, 1539, with nine vessels, three hundred and fifty horse and nine hundred foot. On the 25th he anchored in the bay of Spiritu Santo. The troops were landed, and Ferdinand began to march in quest of gold mines, the principal object of all the Spanish expeditions to the new world. He directed his course first to the province of Paracoxi, a powerful Indian chief, which is said to be thirty leagues distant; but the course is not mentioned. He then went to Cale, which is said to be westward, but the distance is not noticed. On his way, he passed a rapid river, but its name is not mentioned. It is said that, seven leagues beyond Cale, is Palache, a province abounding in maize. Ferdinand left Cale, on the 11th of August, for Palache, which I take to be a river, that falls into the gulf of Mexico, on the north east, about fifty miles from the great river, now called Apalachicola, and (as it is laid down on the map before me) about one hundred and eighty miles from the bay of Spiritu Santo, where Ferdinand first landed. So far his march seems well ascertained. On his way from Cale, he passed through several Indian settlements, viz. Hara, Potano, Utimama, Malapaz, Cholupaba, and then through a desert of two days journey, to Coliquen. This must have been in the large province of Palache, which takes its name from the river, and from which the southern part of the Allegany mountains takes its name, Apalachian.

Ferdinand stayed at Coliquen some time, and collected the troops which were left behind. On the 20th of September he marched, and in five days arrived at Napetaca. The course is not mentioned: but it is most likely to be northward. From Napetaca he marched to Uzachil, and thence, in two days, to Axille. Here he passed a river, and arrived at Vitachuco, which is said to be in the province of Palache. This province is said to be fertile and well peopled, houses and

villages appearing on every side. By the time spent in marching, one would suspect, that Ferdinand must have by this time penetrated far into the country. Yet the account says, he was but ten leagues from the sea: which, supposing it to be on the river Palache, could not be more than two hundred or two hundred and fifty miles from Spiritu Santo. Another circumstance corroborates this conjecture; Ferdinand dispatched a body of horse to Spiritu Santa, with orders for the party left there, to join him at Palache. The horsemen arrived in six days, which, at forty miles a day, will make the distance, two hundred and forty miles.

The party, upon this order, left Spiritu Santo, and coasting along, arrived at Palache bay on the 25th of December. Ferdinand dispatched Maldonado to reconnoitre the country westward: he went to Ochuse, sixty leagues from Palache, and returned with a favourable account of the country. Ferdinand then dispatched Maldonado with the fleet to the Havanna, for a supply of warlike implements. On the information of an Indian, that the country Yupaha, to the eastward, abounded in gold, Ferdinand left Palache on the 3d of March 1540, passed through Capachiqui, and arrived at Toalli. On the 23d, he proceeded through Achese and Altaraca to Ocuta, where the cassique, or chief, furnished him with four hundred Indians for service. He left Ocuta, on the 12th of April, and proceeded to Cofaqui and to Patoso. Not finding the gold mines which he expected, Ferdinand was embarrassed; but being informed, that to the northwest lay a fertile, well peopled province, called Coca, he changed his route, and encountering all difficulties, he proceeded to Aymay and Catafachiui. Here he was told, that, at the distance of twelve days journey, lay the province of Chiacha, which, by its distance and direction, with the analogy of names, I am inclined to believe, was some part of the country of the Chastaws or Chikasaws. Hither Ferdinand determined to march. The distance from Ocuta to Catafachiui is said to be one hundred and thirty miles; from the latter to Xualli,

two hundred and fifty miles of mountainous country. This distance, reckoning from the river Apalache north west, will bring Ferdinand into the Chikasaw country, to the northward of the upper Creeks. The town of Chiaca is said to be situated at the forks of a river. Here the army reposed for some time; and Ferdinand was told, that, to the northward of this, lay the country of Chisca which abounded in ore. He marched for Chisca and arrived at Acosta on the 19th of July. He passed through Tali and Cofa, Tallimuchuse and Itava: at the last place he was detained by the overflowing of a river; then proceeded to Ulliballi, Toafi, Tallise, Tascaluca, Piacha, and Maville, where he had a severe engagement with the natives. Here he heard that Maldonado had arrived at Ochuse with the fleet from the Havanna; but he determined not to return, till he led his army into some rich country, where they might be rewarded for their toil and danger. He then marched to Pafallaya, and thence proceeded to Chicaca, where he wintered.

In April 1541, he left Chicaca, and passed seven days journey to Quizquiz, and then advanced to Rio Grande. This is undoubtedly the Mississippi, as it is described to be one and a half mile wide, very deep and rapid. Boats were constructed, and the army crossed into Quixo. Ferdinand marched to Pacaha, through Casqui; and was obliged, on his way, to cross an arm of the great river: he arrived at Pacaha in June. He then proceeded southward, to a great province called Quigate, then to Coligoa, Palifema, Tafalicoya and Cayas, to the province of Tulla, then to the province Autiamque, eighty leagues southeasterly, where he wintered.

He left Autiamque in March 1542, and proceeded to Nilco, a fertile and populous country, on the banks of a great river. This is the same river, that waters Cayas and Autiamque; it flows into a larger river, that waters Pacaha and Aquixo: their junction is near Guachaya. The great river is called at this place, Tamalifeu; at Nilco, Tapatu; at Cofa, Mico, and at the sea, Ri.

Ferdinand died of a fever at Guachaya, after having nominated Lewis

Masoso to succeed him. Soon after his death, Lewis attempted to travel by land south-west to Mexico; he marched one hundred and fifty leagues west of the great river, but meeting with insuperable obstacles, the army returned to Nilco, at some distance from which was the town Minoya, where the Spaniards determined to build themselves some vessels, and sail out of the river, for Mexico. Seven vessels were finished in June, and the rising of the water carried them off the stocks into the river. The army embarked, July 2d, 1543; arrived at the mouth of the river on the 16th; on the 18th proceeded to sea, and, after a passage of fifty-two days, arrived in the river Panico, on the Mexican coast, having endured every fatigue, and lost half their number of men.

This account is very imperfect, and, in some instances, contradictory, as it stands in the history; the course, and distance of places, are not always mentioned, and the dates of events are wholly irreconcilable.

These circumstances, however, do not prove, that there never was such an expedition; they only prove, that the original writers or transcribers have been negligent.

The truth of the expedition is unquestionable; and, on this fact, I have only to make the following remarks.

1st. That Ferdinand, with an army of one thousand or twelve hundred men, wintered two successive years in the country called Florida, or between the gulf of Mexico and the lakes on the east of Mississippi; the first winter he passed near the gulf, and the second at a great distance to the northward\*.

2d. That the remains of the fortifications, as they are described, are scattered in different parts of the country, and are of a size or extent, for securing and accommodating that number of men.

3d. The great river, mentioned in the relation, must be the Mississippi,

## NOTE.

\* "From the mouth of the Mississippi, to the Ohio, is about a thousand miles by water, and but five hundred by land." Jefferson.

which is deep and rapid, and from one and a quarter, to a mile and a half wide.

4th. Ferdinand must have been several hundred miles from the sea; for his troops were fourteen days navigating the river, from the place where the vessels were constructed, to the mouth.

5th. In the original, mention is several times made of salt-springs, which abound not only in Kentucke, but in Muskngum, and on the west of the Mississippi.

6th. It is said that several very large trees are grown out of the breastworks; this proves the antiquity of them; and Ferdinand's expedition was two hundred and forty-seven years ago,—a length of time, in which trees will grow to any size.

If this account can give any satisfaction to you or to other enquirers, it will gratify the wishes of,

Rev. sir, your most obedient,  
and very humble servant,

NOAH WEBSTER.

(Letter II. in our next.)



*An essay on the causes of the variety of complexion and figure in the human species. To which are added, strictures on lord Kaim's discourse, on the original diversity of mankind. By the reverend Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D. vice-president, and professor of moral philosophy, in the college of New Jersey; and M. A. P. S.*

IN the history and philosophy of human nature, one of the first objects that strikes an observer, is the variety of complexion, and of figure, among mankind. To assign the causes of this phenomenon, has been frequently a subject of curious speculation. Many philosophers have resolved the difficulties, with which this enquiry is attended, by having recourse to the arbitrary hypothesis, that men are originally sprung from different stocks, and are, therefore, divided by nature into different species. But as we are not at liberty to make this supposition, so I hold it to be unphilosophical to recur to hypothesis, when the whole effect may, on pro-

per investigation, be accounted for, by the ordinary laws of nature\*.

On this discussion I am now about to enter; and shall probably unfold, in its progress, some principles, the full importance of which will not be obvious, at first view, to those who have not been accustomed to observe the operations of nature, with minute and careful attention—principles, however, which, experience leads me to believe, will acquire additional evidence from time and observation.

Of the causes of these varieties among mankind, I shall treat under the heads—

I. Of climate.

II. Of the state of society.

In treating this subject, I shall not espouse any peculiar system of medical principles, which, in the continual revolutions of opinion, might be in hazard of being hereafter discarded. I shall, as much as possible, avoid using terms of art; or attempting to explain the manner of operation of the causes, where diversity of opinion among physicians has left the subject in doubt.

And, in the beginning, permit me to make one general remark, which must often have occurred to every judicious enquirer into the powers both of moral and of physical causes—that every permanent and characteristic variety in human nature, is effected by slow and almost imperceptible gradations. Great and sudden changes are too violent for the delicate constitution of man, and always tend to destroy the system. But changes, that become incorporated, and that form a character of a climate or a nation, are progressively carried on through several generations, till the causes, that produce them, have attained their utmost

NOTE.

\* It is no small objection to this hypothesis, that these species can never be ascertained. We have no means of distinguishing, how many were originally formed, or where any of them are now to be found. And they must have been long since so mixed by the migrations of mankind, that the properties of each species can never be determined. Besides, this supposition unavoidably confounds the whole philosophy of human nature,

operation. In this way, the minutest causes, acting constantly, and long continued, will necessarily create great and conspicuous differences among mankind.

I. Of the first class of causes, I shall treat, under the head of climate.

In tracing the globe from the pole to the equator, we observe a gradation in the complexion, nearly in proportion to the latitude of the country. Immediately below the arctic circle, a high and sanguine colour prevails. From this, you descend to the mixture of red in white: afterwards succeed the brown, the olive, the tawny, and, at length, the black, as you proceed to the line. The same distance from the sun, however, does not, in every region, indicate the same temperature of climate. Some secondary causes must be taken into consideration, as correcting and limiting its influence. The elevation of the land—its vicinity to the sea—the nature of the soil—the state of cultivation—the course of winds—and many other circumstances—enter into this view. Elevated and mountainous countries are cool, in proportion to their altitude above the level of the sea—vicinity to the ocean produces opposite effects, in northern and southern latitudes; for the ocean, being of a more equal temperature than the land, in one case, corrects the cold, in the other, moderates the heat. Ranges of mountains, such as the Appennines in Italy, and Taurus, Caucasus, and Imaus in Asia, by interrupting the course of cold winds, render the protected countries below them warmer, and the countries above them colder, than is equivalent to the proportional difference of latitude. The frigid zone in Asia is much wider, than it is in Europe; and that continent hardly knows a temperate zone. From the northern ocean to Caucasus, says Montesquieu, Asia may be considered as a flat mountain. Thence, to the ocean that washes Persia and India, it is a low and level country, without seas, and protected by this immense range of hills from the polar winds. The Asiatic is, therefore, warmer than the European continent, below the fortieth degree of latitude; and, above that latitude, it is much more cold. Climate also receives some dif-

ference from the nature of the soil ; and some from the degree of cultivation. Sand is susceptible of greater heat than clay ; and an uncultivated region, shaded with forests, and covered with undrained marshes, is more frigid in northern, and more temperate in southern latitudes, than a country laid open to the direct and constant action of the sun. History informs us, that, when Germany and Scythia were buried in forests, the Romans often transported their armies across the frozen Danube ; but, since the civilization of those barbarous regions, the Danube rarely freezes. Many other circumstances might be enumerated, which modify the influence of climate. These will be sufficient to give a general idea of the subject : and by the intelligent reader they may be easily extended, and applied to the state of particular countries.

From the preceding observations we derive this conclusion, that there is a general ratio of heat and cold, which forms what we call climate, and a general resemblance of nations, according to the latitude from the equator—subject, however, to innumerable varieties, from the infinite combinations of the circumstances I have suggested. After having exhibited the general effect, I shall take up the capital deviations from it, that are found in the world, and endeavour to shew that they naturally result from certain concurrences of these modifying causes.

Our experience verifies the power of climate on the complexion. The heat of summer darkens the skin, the cold of winter chafes it, and excites a sanguine colour. These alternate effects, in the temperate zone, tend in some degree to correct each other. But when heat or cold predominates in any region, it impresses, in the same proportion, a permanent and characteristic complexion. The degree, in which it predominates, may be considered as a constant cause, to the action of which the human body is exposed. This cause will affect the nerves, by tension or relaxation, by dilatation or contraction—it will affect the fluids, by increasing or lessening the perspiration, and by altering the proportions of all the secretions—it will peculiarly affect the skin, by the immediate ope-

ration of the atmosphere—of the sun's rays—or of the principle of cold, upon its delicate texture. Every sensible difference in the degree of the cause, will create a visible change in the human body. To suggest at present a single example—a cold and piercing air chafes the countenance and exalts the complexion—an air that is warm and milky, relaxes the constitution, and gives, especially in valetudinarians, some tendency to a bilious hue. These effects are transient, and interchangeable, in countries where heat and cold alternately succeed in nearly equal proportions. But when the climate constantly repeats the one or the other of these effects in any degree, then, in proportion, an habitual colour begins to be formed. Colour and figure may be styled habits of the body. Like other habits, they are created not by great and sudden impressions, but by continual and almost imperceptible touches. Of habits, both of mind and body, nations are susceptible, as well as individuals. They are transmitted to their offspring, and augmented by inheritance. Long in growing to maturity, national features, like national manners, become fixed, only after a succession of ages. They become, however, fixed at last. And if we can ascertain any effect, produced by a given state of weather or of climate, it requires only repetition during a sufficient length of time, to augment and impress it with a permanent character. The sanguine countenance will, for this reason, be perpetual in the highest latitudes of the temperate zone ; and we shall forever find the swarthy, the olive, the tawny, and the black, as we descend to the south.

The uniformity of the effect in the same climate, and on men in a similar state of society, proves the power and certainty of the cause. If the advocates of different human species suppose that the beneficent Deity created the inhabitants of the earth of different colours, because these colours are best adapted to their respective zones, it surely places his benevolence in a more advantageous light, to say, he has given to human nature the power of accommodating itself to every zone. This phancy of nature is favourable to the unions of the most

distant nations, and facilitates the acquisition and the extension of science, which would otherwise be confined to few objects, and to a very limited range. It opens the way particularly to the knowledge of the globe which we inhabit—a subject so important and interesting to man. It is verified by experience. Mankind are forever changing their habitations, by conquest or by commerce. And we find them, in all climates, not only able to endure the change, but so assimilated by time, that we cannot say with certainty, whose ancestor was the native of the clime, and whose the intruding foreigner.

I will here propose a few principles on the change of colour, that are not liable to dispute, and that may tend to shed some light on this subject.

In the beginning, it may be proper to observe, that the skin, though extremely delicate, and easily susceptible of impression from external causes, is, from its structure, among the least mutable parts of the body\*. Change of complexion does for this reason continue long, from whatever cause it may have arisen. And if the causes of colour have deeply penetrated the texture of the skin, it becomes perpetual. Figures, therefore, that are stained with paints inserted by punctures made in its surface, can never be effaced†. An ardent sun is able entirely to penetrate its texture. Even in our climate, the skin, when first

#### NOTES.

\* Anatomists inform us, that, like the bones, it has few or no vessels, and therefore is not liable to those changes of augmentation or diminution, and continual alteration of parts, to which the flesh, the blood, and the whole vascular system is subject.

† It is well known, what a length of time is required to efface the freckles, contracted in a fair skin, by the exposure of a single day. Freckles are seen of all shades of colour. They are known to be created by the sun; and become indelible by time. The sun has power equally to change every part of the skin, when equally exposed to its action. And it is, not improperly, observed by some writers, that colour may be justly considered as an universal freckle.

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exposed to the direct and continued action of the solar rays, is inflamed into blisters, and scorched through its whole substance. Such an operation not only changes its colour, but increases its thickness. The stimulus of heat exciting a greater flux of humours to the skin, tends to incrassate its substance, till it becomes dense enough to resist the action of the exciting cause‡. On the same principle, friction excites blisters in the hand of the labourer, and thickens the skin, till it becomes able to endure the continued operation of his instruments. The face or the hand, exposed uncovered during an entire summer, contracts a colour of the darkest brown. In a torrid climate, where the inhabitants are naked, the colour will be as much deeper, as the ardor of the sun is more constant and more intense. And if we compare the dark hue, that, among us, is sometimes formed by continual exposure, with the colour of the African, the difference is not greater, than is proportioned to the augmented heat and constancy of the climate||.

The principle of colour is not, however, to be derived solely from the action of the sun upon the skin. Heat, especially, when united with putrid exhalations, that copiously impregnate the atmosphere in warm and uncultivated regions, relaxes the nervous system. The bile, in consequence, is augmented, and shed through the whole mass of the body. This liquor tinges the complexion of a yellow colour, which assumes by time a darker hue. In many other instances, we see, that relaxation, whether it be caused by the vapours of stagnant waters, or by sedentary occupations, or by loss of blood, or by indolence, subjects men to disorders of the bile, and discolours the skin. It has been proved,

#### NOTES.

‡ Anatomists know, that all people of colour have their skin thicker than people of a fair complexion, in proportion to the darkness of the hue.

|| If the force of fire be sufficient, at a given distance, to scorch the fuel, approach it as much nearer, as is proportional to the difference of heat between our climate and that of Africa, and it will burn it black.

E

by physicians, that, in fervid climates, the bile is always augmented in proportion to the heat\*. Bile exposed to the sun and air, is known to change its colour to black—black is therefore the tropical hue. Men, who remove from northern to southern regions, are usually attacked by dangerous disorders, that leave the blood impoverished, and shed a yellow appearance over the skin. These disorders are perhaps the efforts of nature, in breaking down and changing the constitution, in order to accommodate it to the climate; or to give it that degree of relaxation, and to mingle with it that proportion of bile, which is necessary for its new situation†. On this dark ground, the hue of the climate becomes, at length, deeply and permanently impressed.

On the subject of the physical causes of colour, I shall reduce my principles to a few short propositions, derived chiefly from experience and observation, and placed in such connexion, as to illustrate and support each other. They may be enlarged and multiplied by men of leisure and talents, who are disposed to pursue the inquiry farther.

1. It is a fact, that the sun darkens the skin, although there be no uncommon redundancy of the bile.

2. It is also a fact, that a redundancy of bile darkens the skin, although there be no uncommon exposure to the sun‡.

3. It is a fact equally certain, that,

#### NOTES.

\* See dr. M'Clurg on the bile.

† Physicians differ in their opinions, concerning the state of the bile in warm countries. Some suppose that it is thrown out to be a corrector of putridity. Others suppose, that, in all relaxed habits, the bile is itself in a putrid state. I decide not among the opinions of physicians. Whichever be true, the theory I advance will be equally just. The bile will be augmented; it will tinge the skin; and there, whether in a sound or putrid state, will receive the action of the sun and atmosphere, and be, in proportion, changed towards black.

‡ Redundancy of bile long continued, as in the case of the black jaundice, or of extreme melancholy, creates a colour almost perfectly black.

where, both causes co-operate, the effect is much greater, and the colour much deeper||.

4. It is discovered by anatomists, that the skin consists of three lamellæ, or folds—the external, which, in all nations, is an extremely fine and transparent integument—the interior, which is also white—and an intermediate, which is a cellular membrane, filled with a mucous substance.

5. This substance, what ever it be, is altered in its appearance and colour, with every change of the constitution—as appears in blushing, in fevers, or in consequence of exercise. A lax nerve, that does not propel the blood with vigour, leaves it pale and fallow—it is instantly affected with the smallest surcharge of bile, and stained of a yellow colour.

6. The change of climate produces a proportionate alteration in the internal state and structure of the body, and in the quantity of the secretions\*. In southern climates particularly, the bile, as has been remarked, is always augmented.

7. Bile, exposed to the sun and air, in a stagnant, or nearly in a stagnant state, tends in its colour towards black.

8. The secretions, as they approach the extremities, become more languid in their motion, till at length they come almost to a fixed state in the skin.

9. The aqueous parts escaping easily by perspiration through the pores of the skin, those that are more dense and incassated remain in a mucous or glutinous state, in that cellular membrane between the interior skin and the scarf, and receive there, during a long time, the impressions of external and discolouring causes.

#### NOTES.

|| This we see verified in those persons, who have been long subject to bilious disorders, if they have been much exposed to the sun. Their complexion becomes in that case extremely dark.

\* This appears from the disorders, with which men are usually attacked, on changing their climate; and from the difference of figure and aspect, which takes place in consequence of such removals. This latter reflexion will hereafter be further illustrated.

10. The bile is peculiarly liable to become mucous and incrassated†; and in this state, being unfit for perspiration, and attaching itself strongly to that spongy tissue of nerves, it is there detained for a length of time, till it receives the repeated action of the sun and atmosphere.

11. From all the preceding principles taken together, it appears, that the complexion, in any climate, will be changed towards black, in proportion to the degree of heat in the atmosphere, and to the quantity of bile in the skin.

12. The vapours of stagnant waters, with which uncultivated regions abound—all great fatigues and hardships—poverty and nastiness—tend, as well as heat, to augment the bile. Hence, no less than from their nakedness, savages will always be discoloured, even in cold climates. For, though cold, when assisted by succulent nourishment, and by the comfortable lodging and clothing furnished in civilized society, propels the blood with force to the extremities, and clears the complexion; yet when hardships and bad living relax the system, and when poor and shivering savages, under the arctic cold, do not possess those conveniencies, that, by opening the pores, and cherishing the body, assist the motion of the blood to the surface, the florid and sanguine principle is repelled; and the complexion is left to be formed by the dark-coloured bile; which, in that state, becomes the more dark, because the obstruction of the pores preserves it longer in a fixed state in the skin. Hence, perhaps, the deep Lapponian complexion, which has been esteemed a phenomenon so difficult to be explained.

13. Cold, where it is not extreme\*, is followed by a contrary effect. It corrects the bile, it braces the consti-

tution, it propels the blood to the surface of the body with vigour, and renders the complexion clear and florid†.

Such are the observations, which I propose, concerning the proximate cause of colour in the human species. But I remark, with pleasure, that, whether this theory be well founded or not, the fact may be perfectly ascertained, that climate has all that power to change the complexion, which I suppose, and which is necessary to the present subject. It appears from the whole state of the world—it appears from obvious and undeniable events within the memory of history, and from events even within our own view.



*Account of the Society of Dunkards in Pennsylvania. Communicated by a British officer to the editor of the Edinburgh Magazine.*

SIR, *Edin. April 27, 1786.*

THE whole road, from Lancaster to Ephrata, affords a variety of beautiful prospects; the ground is rich and well cultivated, the wood (excepting upon the road, where it serves as a shelter from the piercing beams of the sun) thoroughly cleared, and the meadows abundantly watered by numerous refreshing springs. About twelve miles from Lancaster, we left the great road, and struck into the woods, through which we were led by "wildly devious paths" to the delightful spot where Ephrata stands. The situation of this place is most judiciously chosen; it is equally sheltered from the piercing cold winds of winter, and the beams of the sun in summer; an extensive orchard supplies the inhabitants with peaches, apples, cherries, &c. their beautiful gardens with every vegetable they can desire.

#### NOTES.

† In this state it is always copiously found, in the stomach and intestines, at least in consequence of a bilious habit of body.

\* Extreme cold is followed by an effect similar to that of extreme heat: it relaxes the constitution by overstraining it, and augments the bile. This, together with the fatigues,

hardships and other evils of savage life, renders the complexion darker beneath the arctic circle, than it is in the middle regions of the temperate zone, even in a savage state of society.

† Cold air is known to contain a considerable quantity of nitre; and this ingredient is known to be favourable to a clear and ruddy complexion.

The rivulet which serves as a boundary to their possessions upon one side, is, though small, of infinite advantage to their grounds; and, in its course, drives a paper-mill, from which they derive considerable profits.

We arrived about the hour of breakfast, and were most hospitably entertained by the prior, Peter Miller, a German. He is a judicious, sensible, intelligent man: he had none of that stiffness, which might naturally have been expected from his retired manner of life; but seemed easy, cheerful, and exceedingly desirous to render us every information in his power. While breakfast was preparing, he proposed to give us some account of their society; which, as it was the chief object of our journey, we very willingly acceded to.

He told us, that their society was established about fifty years ago, by a very worthy old man, by birth, a German, who had, from repeated and numerous misfortunes, formed a rooted disgust to society, and had retired from the world for some years. Several others, both male and female, from similar misfortunes, or other causes, had likewise retired; and, from their habitations being contiguous, they had sometimes opportunities of seeing and conversing with each other. As their dislike to society diminished, and their love of social harmony increased, these meetings became more and more frequent; they began to feel the inconvenience of total solitude; similarity of sentiment and situation attached them to each other; and they ardently wished for the suggestion of some scheme, which might tend to link them together still more closely. The sagacious old German, whom they revered as a father, at length proposed the present society. He pointed out to them the many and great advantages, which would be derived from such a scheme; and, with very great pains, wrote out a code of laws for the regulation of their future conduct. His rules, though rigid, were admirably contrived, to preserve order and regularity in such a numerous society; he held forth to them, how absolutely necessary it was, to submit with implicit obedience to the rules prescribed: at length, by his eloquence, which seems to have been very great,

he formed a perfect union; and, having obtained a grant of land, they began their work with ardour and activity. A spirit of enthusiasm seems to have inspired the whole; unassisted by any thing but their own labour, they in three weeks erected the three buildings which yet remain, and which, from their present sound state, prove them to have been built of substantial materials. Their whole society, at this period, amounted to about fifty men and thirty women; they lived in harmony, innocence, and peace, nor had any of them ever expressed the smallest disgust, at the severe and rigid discipline they had sworn to observe. The most remarkable vows, and upon which all the other depended, were chastity, poverty, and obedience; a desire to encroach upon the first of these, and an impatience of the last, proved the first source of contention, and occasioned a temporary revolution, which at one time threatened to exterminate them for ever.

Among those who had last joined them, were two brothers, men of active, daring spirits; bold and enterprising, but headstrong and obstinate. These men had experienced a multiplicity of adventures: they had been alternately rich and poor, happy and miserable; they had traversed the whole continent of America; had been engaged in innumerable pursuits, and been exposed to a variety of dangers: from some unlucky hits, however, or suspicious dealings, they found it necessary to abscond. They conceived a rooted disgust for a world, which would no longer be the dupe of their villainy; they became hermits, and professed to be the warmest enthusiasts in religion: they had resided for a considerable time in the back parts of New England; in which retreat, they heard of the dunkards, and seemingly from motives of pure piety, were induced to join them.

For some time after their arrival, their behaviour was most exemplary; they were active and industrious, and were constantly the first in their numerous religious exercises; they were universally esteemed, and in very high estimation with the original founder, who had now attained the title of spiritual father. This good

man seems really to have been a most finished character: he saw the necessity there was for a president or ruler to this numerous body; but saw likewise, that a strict attendance upon this duty would too much interfere with the acts of devotion, in which he so much delighted: he therefore fixed upon an old German, a man of profound sense and exemplary piety, to perform this office— This man was invested with unlimited authority: his voice was a law, but he did not abuse his power; his whole behaviour was truly noble.

One of the brothers already mentioned had attained to the place of treasurer to the society; for notwithstanding their vow of poverty, they had always a stock of cash by them, in case of particular exigencies. Some failures here first created suspicions of this man: he was aware of his danger, and had been tampering with some of the weaker brethren for some time; the prior interfered; an investigation took place, and they soon found that he had embezzled the cash to a very considerable amount; they likewise discovered, that he had been guilty of some most infamous debaucheries in the adjacent country, and that he had formed a party in the society, to depose the present prior, and be elected in his room. An immediate confusion commenced; parties were formed; and it seemed as if a final end was to be put to this innocent and industrious society. This scoundrel had polluted the minds of many of the brethren, with ideas of independence, and with rebellious notions, perfectly inconsistent with their original constitution: he was an artful, cunning, designing man: he displayed, in the strongest colours, the servility they were held in, and argued the natural freedom of mankind in support of his opinion. He was listened to with attention, and he did not fail to make use of his good fortune: that enthusiasm, which at first inspired them, arose chiefly from novelty of situation, or respectful adoration of the good old German; these feelings, in many of them, were blunted, in some, totally subsided; which proved no small assistance to him in his endeavours. Things seemed approaching to a crisis; business

was at an end; even their religious duties were for a while suspended, and, an immediate revolution was expected. This little society was an epitome of the most celebrated revolutions; fears, jealousies, suspicions, invaded the heart of each member of the community: the good brothers were intimidated by the greatness of the danger; the bad were not yet prepared for a general revolt.

Things had continued in this situation for five days; upon the sixth, in the morning, the old prior, Peter Miller the present prior, who was at that time printer, and ten more of the original institutors, went and boldly seized the brothers. Resistance was vain; they carried them into the great hall; the whole brotherhood was soon collected, and the spiritual father made his appearance. The venerable figure of this good man, his rigid devotion, his exemplary piety, his numerous virtues, struck at once upon their minds, and they listened to him with attention, whilst he made a very long and pathetic harangue. He lamented the melancholy occasion of this meeting; recounted the causes, which had first brought them together; gave them a clear view of their original institution, of the oath which they had made to obey implicitly the rules prescribed, the happiness they had experienced, previous to the admission of these wicked brothers, and the fatal consequences, which would inevitably arise from being left to themselves, or the still more dreadful alternative of submitting to be governed by such a reprobate: he then finished, by proposing to banish this vagabond from their society; to permit any other discontented members to depart in peace; and, finally, that the great power of the prior should be somewhat limited.

This speech had the desired effect; the instigator of this rebellion was banished; and Peter told me, he retired to Canada; the other brother, with a few of the members who were discontented, left them, and all things remained upon the same footing as before. Thus was this dangerous revolution, which seemed to threaten their destruction, finally ended, and their former happiness re-established. What is most extraordinary, the women were entirely passive in this affair, and

received the acknowledgments of the society for their behaviour.

For some time previous to this resolution, the good old spiritual father had retired to a hut about a mile from Ephrata, chiefly with a view of indulging himself more freely in his devotions. After this period, he became more and more attached to his solitude, and seldom made his appearance in public; a settled melancholy seemed to oppress him, and he died, poor man, in the course of the year, eleven years from their institution. He was buried at the door of his cabin; a flat stone is laid over his grave, but at his own desire there is no inscription. The hut yet remains; and Peter tells me, he often retires to it, and waters the good man's grave with his tears. Some few years after this, the prior died, and Peter Miller was unanimously elected in his room. They have lived in harmony and peace ever since; they never quarrel: indeed, Peter says, his office is merely nominal, as he has never once had occasion to exert the authority vested in him.

They are now reduced to seven men and five women. Their original grant of lands consisted of several thousand acres: part was wrested from them by force, part was disposed of to settlers, who chose to live near them, and who entertain the same religious opinions, and attend at the place of public worship on Sundays and holidays, of which they have a great number.

The number of these people may amount to five hundred; but they have no manner of connexion with the dunkards at Ephrata (though they bear the same name,) farther than a similarity of religious opinion. Many of them, from choice, wear the same dress, and allow their beards to grow; which may have given rise to the mistake of several gentlemen, who have written upon this subject. It is likewise to be observed, that the monuments of Pennsylvania affect this mode of dress; and that many widowers in the back settlements assume no other mourning than a long beard; all which may have deceived cursory observers, and given rise to the opinion of these people being so very numerous.

The ground they at present possess, and where their town is built, is not above six acres. It is almost filled with fruit trees; the rivulet formerly mentioned, serves as a boundary on one side, and the rest is inclosed by a deep ditch and hornbeam hedge. The town consists of three wooden houses of three story high each, and a few outer houses: the cells of the brethren are exceedingly small, and the windows and doors extremely ill-contrived for a hot climate; the doors in particular are narrow and very low. I enquired, but could not discover, the cause of this awkward and inconvenient mode of building. Each brother has a cell with a closet adjoining; he is supplied with a table, a chair, and a bench for sleeping on; the bench is covered with a woolen mat, and a billet of wood for a pillow; the smallness and darkness of the rooms are extremely disagreeable, and they were by no means clean: their dress likewise is most unfavourable to cleanliness; and in fact, my friend Peter had a most unfavourable smell: his winter dress was not laid aside, though it was the middle of May, and very warm weather; and his gown of white flannel had attained a yellow hue from the perspiration, which really proved a most unseemly sight: the length and blackness of his beard, with the greasiness of his cowl or hood, for they wear no hats, added not a little to the uncouthness of his figure. They are most unsociable; they do not eat together, but each in his own cell, which literally serves him for kitchen, for parlour, and hall: they are continually engaged either in acts of devotion, or business; indeed, they seldom meet, excepting at worship, which they have twice a day, and twice during the night. Their churches, for they have two, were clean and neat, but perfectly unadorned, excepting by some German texts of very elegant penmanship by the females. They have no set form of service, but pray and preach extempore; and in this the females join them. Their church is supplied with a small but neat steeple and clock; this clock strikes the hours from one to twelve progressively, from the rising of the sun, and begins again at sun-set.

They have a paper-mill, formerly

mentioned, a printing-house, and a library: they derive a considerable profit from the mill; but they print little, and have but a trifling library. I expressed some surprise at this, and was informed by Peter, that, before the war, they had a very excellent one, and were possessed of many valuable books in sheets for binding; but that the rebels being at this period at a loss for paper to make cartridges, general Washington sent an officer to seize all the paper and books he could find at Ephrata: his orders were implicitly obeyed\*. In vain did poor Peter represent the inhumanity of this action; in vain did he offer to redeem them with a sum of money: in vain did he remonstrate: insult was added to inhumanity; and books were taken, which, from their smallness, were unfit for the use assigned. A similar ar-

## NOTE.

\* The writer of this account of the dunkards has shamefully misrepresented facts, and deviated from the truth in many particulars. The reverend Peter Miller, the worthy president of the dunkards, whose character is so indecently and unjustly aspersed by this illiberal writer, gives, in a letter to William Barton, esq. of this city, dated in April last, the following account of the transactions referred to, in opposition to the royalist's assertions.—“It is false,” says he, “that we ever had any library—the books, taken from us, were of one impression, unbound.” It is also false, that we offered money to release those books: much less is it true, that we had a woolen manufacture, except for our own exigency; and never was any woolen cloth demanded of us, except our blankets, when the militia went out first, for which we were paid. The truth is, that an embargo was laid on all our printed paper—also, that, for a time, we could not sell any book. At length, came one captain Henderson, with two waggons, to fetch away all our printed paper: he pretended to have an order from general Washington. As, at that time, the English army was in our vicinity—we remonstrated, and told the captain, that, as this would hurt our character, we would not consent, unless he would take them by

bitrary order was issued, to seize their woolen cloth, of which they generally have a large store; but fortunately a French frigate arrived in the Delaware, before this second order could be put in execution.

In the course of our walk, we met with one or two of the brethren, one in particular an Englishman, indeed the only one in the society; he was employed in making shingles, a business that requires both strength and dexterity; his head uncovered, and his venerable countenance exposed to the piercing rays of a mid-day sun. He was eighty five years of age, yet was hale and stout; he was affable and cheerful; he asked several questions about England and about the

## NOTE.

force, for which we should have a certificate; to which he consented. Accordingly, he ordered six men, with fixed bayonets, from the hospital, which was at that time at Ephrata: and they loaded two waggons full. The captain afterwards settled with us, paying us honestly, and we parted in peace; though we never asked from him a certificate, but trusted to providence. Whether the said captain acted herein, by an express or implied order of his excellency, I cannot say: I never saw any written one.” “You are right,” continues Mr. Miller, “when you say, the account was written by a British officer. They (the British officers) came here but once, when peace was concluded; but, being strong royalists, they found little satisfaction with us. I may have told them, that the paper was taken upon the general's order; for, all military orders were issued under that name, and we always obeyed such verbal orders, without seeing any written one. The gentleman is very liberal, in granting me new titles: I thank him for it; and wish that such greedy vultures, as he and his companions were, may never more come to America.”

Mr. Miller's statement of these facts may be relied on. The character of this venerable man needs no defence, against the slander, cast upon it by the man, who had been kindly and hospitably received under his roof.



ing, wandered down to a plantation among the back settlements in Virginia, and seeing a planter at his door, asked for a morsel of bread, for he was very hungry. The planter bid him begone, for he would give him none. 'Will you give me then a cup of your beer?' said the Indian. 'No, you shall have none here,' replied the planter. But I am very faint,' said the savage, 'will you give me only a draught of cold water?' 'Get you gone, you Indian dog, you shall have nothing here,' said the planter. It happened, some months after, that the planter went on a shooting party up into the woods, where, intent upon his game, he missed his company, and lost his way; and night coming on, he wandered through the forest, till he espied an Indian wigwam. He approached the savage's habitation, and asked him to shew him the way to a plantation on that side the country. 'It is too late for you to go there this evening, sir,' said the Indian: but if you will accept of my homely fare, you are welcome.' He then offered him some venison, and such other refreshment as his store afforded; and having laid some bear skins for his bed, he desired that he would repose himself for the night, and he would awake him early in the morning, and conduct him on his way. Accordingly in the morning they set off, and the Indian led him out of the forest, and put him in the road he was to go; but just as they were taking leave, he stepped before the planter, then turning round, and staring full in his face, bid him say, whether he recollected his features. The planter was now struck with shame and horror, when he beheld, in his kind protector, the Indian whom he had so harshly treated. He confessed that he knew him, and was full of excuses for his brutal behaviour; to which the Indian only replied: 'When you see poor Indians fainting for a cup of cold water, don't say again, 'Get you gone, you Indian dog!' The Indian then wished him well on his journey, and left him. It is not difficult to say, which of these two had the best claim to the name of christian.

[From the Gazette of the united states.]

*The importance of the protestant religion politically considered.*

*Tempora mutantur, et nos mutantur in illis.*

THE religion, which the citizens of America in general profess, is that, for the sake of which, our virtuous fore-fathers resigned all the honours, the pleasures, the comforts, and almost all the necessaries of life, which many of them enjoyed in abundance in the old world; and traversed the vast and perilous atlantic, to transplant themselves and families to this, then rude, uncultivated wilderness, swarming with savage beasts, and far more savage men. It is, therefore, that religion, which laid the foundation of this new and great empire: it is the religion, of all others, the most favourable to industry, commerce, the arts, science, freedom, and consequently the temporal happiness of mankind: it is the professed religion of the greatest, wisest, and best men this world has produced; and it is the religion, of which we acknowledge God to be the author. These will surely be admitted as powerful claims to our particular reverence and respect. To this religion, Britain is principally indebted, for that happy reformation and subsequent glorious revolution, which were the harbingers of her present distinguished greatness. To this religion and its worthy professors, it must be acknowledged, much is due, in bringing about the late glorious American revolution. Inspired by this religion, our truly patriotic clergy boldly and zealously stepped forth, and bravely stood our distinguished centinels, to watch, and warn us against approaching danger: they wisely saw, that our religious and civil liberties were inseparably connected; and therefore warmly excited and animated the people, resolutely to oppose and repel every hostile invader. These are some of the temporal blessings, flowing from our religion; and yet many of those pious christians, to whom, under God, we owe much of that fortitude, zeal, perseverance, and inspiration, which carried the American army through difficulties and dangers, apparently insurmountable—may at this day be ranked among

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the most needy and dependent men in the community : this is an evil greatly to be deplored ; and urgently demands every possible public and private exertion, for the sake of those, who have thus generously embraced a life of certain indigence, for the cause of religion and mankind—for the sake of their widows and offspring, who are often left in the most distressed circumstances, and for the honour and security of that religion, to which we are largely indebted for this happy country. The generality of mankind are more or less influenced and attracted by the power and splendour of riches ; and there are too many of all ranks, in every community, who annex an idea of contempt to the appearance of poverty. This is too evident, to be controverted. • If, therefore, poverty is often treated with contempt, and always with neglect, what may we not fear for that religion, of which, in this country, poverty is a distinguishing badge ? The mass of mankind are ever captivated by external appearances and shew—barren minds receive no light from within ; and therefore cannot be so easily informed and convinced, of the intrinsic worth of true religion, as they may be caught and ensnared by the tinsel and trappings of any other ; it is therefore worthy of consideration, what may be the probable effects of the introduction of other religions ; and how far their effects, if in any view dangerous, may be counteracted, consistently with the just and generous principles of toleration.

The ignorant and illiterate, constitute a large majority in all communities—these are awed, their excesses controled, and their opinions biassed, more from the exertions of religion, and the visible respect paid to it by those, whom they deem their superiors, than from its immediate, sensible influence on their own minds. It is therefore well worthy the attention of those, who assent to the importance of the protestant religion, politically considered, and who conceive, that it has had any share in producing the temporal blessings we now enjoy, to honour it with every possible distinguishing mark of pre-eminence and respect, not repugnant to the true spirit of toleration ; and liberally to aid our religious fathers, in the glorious

work of supporting this important bulwark of our constitution ; and in the commemoration of those great events, conducive to the revolution and independence of America. May the virtue, zeal, and patriotism of our clergy, be ever particularly remembered ; for it is a truth, as sacred as the idea is serious and alarming, that as our protestant clergy shall sink into contempt or neglect, however undeserved, the learned will decline the profession ; and then—adieu to religion, morality, and liberty ! While in conformity to the benevolent precepts of true religion, as well as the liberal principles of our constitution, Americans hold out religious liberty to all the various sects, who may be disposed to become our fellow citizens, let us not be wanting in that attention and respect, due to the religion we profess ; lest it should be suspected, that our tolerant spirit proceeded more from a total indifference to all religion, than from that liberality of sentiment and god-like charity, which true religion inculcates and inspires, and which (it is hoped) will never be dislodged from the generous and benevolent breasts of Americans.

May 9, 1789.

E. C.

[To the editor of the Gazette of the united States.]

S I R,

EVERY friend to the rights of conscience, equal liberty, and diffusive happiness, must have felt pain, on seeing the attempt made by one of your correspondents, in the gazette of the united states, No. 8, May the 9th, to revive, an odious system of religious intolerance. The author may not have been fully sensible of the tendency of his publication, because he speaks of preserving universal toleration. Perhaps he is one of those, who think it consistent with justice, to exclude certain citizens from the honours and emoluments of society, merely on account of their religious opinions, provided they be not restrained, by racks and forfeitures, from the exercise of that worship which their consciences approve. If such be his views, in vain then have Americans associated into one great national union, under the

express condition of not being shackled by religious tests; and under a firm persuasion, that they were to retain, when associated, every natural right, not expressly surrendered.

Is it pretended, that they, who are the objects of an intended exclusion from certain offices of honour and advantage, have forfeited, by any act of treason against the united states, the common rights of nature, or the stipulated rights of the political society, of which they form a part? This the author has not presumed to assert. Their blood flowed as freely (in proportion to their numbers) to cement the fabric of independence, as that of any of their fellow-citizens. They concurred, with perhaps greater unanimity, than any other body of men, in recommending and promoting that government, from whose influence America anticipates all the blessings of justice, peace, plenty, good order, and civil and religious liberty. What character shall we then give to a system of policy, calculated for the express purpose of divesting of rights, legally acquired, those citizens, who are not only unoffending, but whose conduct has been highly meritorious?

These observations refer to the general tendency of the publication, which I now proceed to consider more particularly. Is it true (as the author states) that our forefathers abandoned their native home; renounced its honours and comforts, and buried themselves in the immense forests of this new world, for the sake of that religion, which he recommends as preferable to any other? Was not the religion, which the emigrants to the four southern states brought with them to America, the pre-eminent and favoured religion of the country which they left? Did the Roman catholics, who first came to Maryland, leave their native soil, for the sake of preserving the protestant church? Was this the motive of the peaceable quakers, in the settlement of Pennsylvania? Did the first inhabitants of the Jerseys and New York, quit Europe for fear of being compelled to renounce their protestant tenets? Can it be even truly affirmed, that this motive operated on all, or a majority of those, who began to settle and improve the four eastern states?

Or, even, if they really were influenced by a desire of preserving their religion, what will ensue from the fact, but that one denomination of protestants sought a retreat from the persecution of another? Will history justify the assertion, that they left their native homes for the sake of the protestant religion, understanding it in a comprehensive sense as distinguished from every other?

This leading fact being so much mis-stated, no wonder that the author should go on, bewildering himself more and more. He asserts that the religion, which he recommends, laid the foundation of this great and new empire; and therefore contends, that it is entitled to pre-eminence and distinguished favour. Might I not say, with equal truth, that the religion, which he recommends, exerted her powers to crush this empire in its birth, and is still labouring to prevent its growth? For, can we so soon forget, or now help seeing, that the bitterest enemies of our national prosperity profess the same religion, which prevails generally in the united states?

What inference will a philosophic mind draw from this view, but that religion is out of the question—that it is ridiculous to say, the protestant religion is the important bulwark of our constitution—that the establishment of the American empire was not the work of this or that religion, but arose from a generous exertion of all her citizens, to redress their wrongs, to assert their rights, and lay its foundations on the soundest principles of justice and equal liberty?

When he ascribed so many valuable effects to his cherished religion, as that she was the nurse of arts and sciences, could he not reflect, that Homer and Virgil, Demosthenes and Cicero, Thucydides and Livy, Phidias and Apelles, flourished long before this nurse of arts and sciences had an existence? Was he so inconsiderate, as not to attend to the consequences, favourable to Polytheism, which flow from his reasoning—or did he forget, that the emperor Julian, that subtle and inveterate enemy of christianity, applied this very same argument to the defence of Heathenish superstition? The recollection of that circumstance may induce him to suspect the weight

of his observation, and perhaps to doubt of the fact, which he assumed for its basis.

But he tells us that Britain "owes to her religion her present distinguished greatness"—a gentle invitation to America to pursue the same political maxims, in heaping exclusive favours on one and depressing all other religions!

But does Britain indeed owe the perfection and extent of her manufactures, and the enormous wealth of many individuals, to the cause assigned by this writer? Can he so soon put it out of his mind, that the patient industry, so natural to English artificers, and the long monopoly of our trade, and that of their dependencies, by increasing the demand, and a competition among her artizans, contributed principally to the perfection of the manufactures of Britain; and that the plunder of Indian provinces poured into her lap the immense fortunes, which murder and rapacity accumulated in those fertile climes? God forbid, that religion should be instrumental in raising such greatness!

When the author proceeds to say, that the clergy of that religion, which operated such wonders in Britain, "boldly and zealously stepped forth, and bravely stood our distinguished centinels, to bring about the late glorious revolution"—I am almost determined to follow him no further: he is leading me on too tender ground, on which I choose not to venture. The clergy of that religion behaved, I believe, as any other clergy would have done in similar circumstances: but the voice of America will not contradict me, when I assert, that they discovered no greater zeal for the revolution, than the ministry of any other denomination whatever.

When men comprehend not, or refuse to admit, the luminous principles, on which the rights of conscience and liberty of religion depend, they are indolent to find out pretences for intolerance. If they cannot discover them in the actions, they strain to cull them out of the tenets of the religion, which they wish to exclude from a free participation of equal rights. Thus this writer attributes to his religion the merit of being the most favourable to freedom; and asserts that not

only morality, but liberty likewise must expire, if his clergy should ever be contemned or neglected: all which conveys a refined insinuation, that liberty cannot consist with, or be cherished by any other religious institution; which therefore, he would give to understand, it is not safe to countenance in a free government.

I am anxious to guard against the impression, intended by such insinuations; not merely for the sake of any one profession, but from an earnest regard to preserve inviolate for ever, in our new empire, the great principle of religious freedom. The constitutions of some of the states continue still to entrench on the sacred rights of conscience; and men, who have bled, and opened their purses as freely, in the cause of liberty and independence, as any other citizens, are most unjustly excluded from the advantages, which they contributed to establish. But if bigotry and narrow prejudices have hitherto prevented the cure of these evils, be it the duty of every lover of peace and justice to extend them no further. Let the author, who has opened this field for discussion, beware of silyly imputing, to any set of men, principles or consequences, which they disavow. He perhaps may meet with retaliation. He may be told, and referred to lord Littleton, as zealous a protestant as any man of his days, for information, that the principles of non-resistance scened the principles of that religion, which (we are now told) is most favourable to freedom; and that its opponents had gone too far in the other extreme\*.

He may be told farther, that a reverend prelate of Ireland, the bishop of Cloyne, has lately attempted to prove that the protestant episcopal church is best fitted to unite with the civil constitution of a mixed monarchy, while presbyterianism is only congenial with republicanism. Must America, then, yielding to these fanciful systems, confine her distinguishing favours to the followers of Calvin, and keep a jealous eye on all others? Ought she not rather to treat with contempt these

## NOTE.

\* See dialogues of the dead, 1st dialogue.

idle, and (generally speaking) interest-ed speculations, refuted by reason, history, and daily experience; and rest the preservation of her liberties, and her government, on the attachment of mankind to their political happiness, to the security of their persons and their property, which is independent of religious doctrines, and not restrained by any?

June 10, 1789. PACIFICUS.

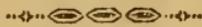


*The benefits of exercise, in preference to medicine, in chronic diseases, illustrated by an all-gory—extracted from a publication on temperance and exercise, printed by John Dunlap in the year 1772, and ascribed to dr. Rush.*

**I**N the island of Ceylon, in the Indian ocean, a number of invalids were assembled together, who were afflicted with most of the chronic diseases, to which the human body is subject. In the midst of them sat several venerable figures, who amused them with encomiums upon some medicines, which they assured them would afford infallible relief in all cases. One boasted of an elixir—another of a powder, brought from America—a third, of a medicine, invented and prepared in Germany—all of which, they said, were certain antidotes to the gout—a fourth, cried up a nostrum for the vapours—a fifth, drops for the gravel—a sixth, a balsam, prepared from honey, as a sovereign remedy for a consumption—a seventh, a pill for cutaneous eruptions—while an eighth cried down the whole, and extolled a mineral water, which lay a few miles from the place where they were assembled. The credulous multitude partook eagerly of these medicines, but without any relief of their respective complaints. Several of those who made use of the antidotes to the gout, were hurried suddenly out of the world. Some said, their medicines were adulterated—others, that the doctors had mistaken their disorders—while most of them agreed, that they were much worse than ever. While they were all, with one accord, giving vent, in this manner, to the transports of disappointment and vexation, a clap of thunder was heard over their heads,

Upon looking up, a light was seen in the sky. In the midst of this appeared the figure of something more than human—she was tall and comely—her skin was fair as the driven snow—a rosy hue tinged her cheeks—her hair hung loose upon her shoulders—her flowing robes disclosed a shape, which would have cast a shade upon the statue of Venus of Medicis. In her right hand she held a bough of an evergreen—in her left hand she had a scroll of parchment. She descended slowly, and stood erect upon the earth—she fixed her eyes, which sparkled with life, upon the deluded and afflicted company—there was a mixture of pity and indignation in her countenance—she stretched forth her right arm, and with a voice, which was sweeter than melody itself, she addressed them in the following language: “Ye children of men, listen for a while to the voice of instruction. You seek health where it is not to be found. The boasted specifics you have been using, have no virtues. Even the persons who gave them, labour under many of the disorders they attempt to cure. My name is Hygiea. I preside over the health of mankind. Discard all your medicines, and seek relief from temperance and exercise alone. Every thing, you see, is active around you. All the brute animals in nature are active in their instinctive pursuits. Inanimate nature is active too—air—fire—and water are always in motion. Unless this were the case, they would soon be unfit for the purposes, for which they were designed, in the economy of nature. Shun sloth—this unhinges all the springs of life. Fly from your diseases—they will not—they cannot pursue you.” Here she ended—she dropped the parchment upon the earth—a cloud received her, and she immediately ascended, and disappeared from their sight—a silence ensued, more expressive of approbation, than the loudest peals of applause. One of them approached, with reverence, to the spot where she had stood—took up the scroll, and read the contents of it to his companions. It contained directions to each of them, what they should do to restore their health. They all prepared themselves to obey the advice of

the heavenly vision. The gouty man broke his vial of elixir, threw his powders into the fire, and walked four or five miles every day before breakfast. The man, afflicted with the gravel, threw aside his drops, and began to work in his garden, or to play two or three hours every day at bowls. The hypochondriac and hyllic patients discharged their boxes of asafœtida, and took a journey on horseback, to distant and opposite ends of the island. The melancholic threw aside his gloomy systems of philosophy, and sent for a dancing master. The studious man shut up his folios, and sought amusement from the sports of children. The leper threw away his mercurial pills, and swam every day in a neighbouring river. The consumptive man threw his balsam out of his window, and took a voyage to a distant country. After some months, they all returned to the place they were wont to assemble in. Joy appeared in each of their countenances. One had renewed his youth—another had recovered the use of his limbs—a third, who had been half bent for many years, now walked upright—a fourth began to sing some jovial song, without being asked—a fifth could talk for hours together, without being interrupted with a cough—in a word, they all now enjoyed a complete recovery of their health. They joined in offering sacrifices to Hygiea. Temples were erected to her memory; and she continues, to this day, to be worshipped by all the inhabitants of that island.



*Letter of William Penn, to his friends in London, giving a description of Pennsylvania.*

*Philadelphia, the 16th of the 6th month, called August, 1683.*

*My kind friends.*

THE kindness of yours by the ship Thomas and Anne, doth much oblige me; for by it I perceive the interest you take in my health and reputation, and the prosperous beginning of this province, which you are so kind as to think may much depend upon them. In return of which, I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an

account of myself, and the affairs of this province, as I have been able to make.

In the first place, I take notice of the news you sent me, whereby I find, some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death; and to mend the matter, dead a Jesuit too. One might have reasonably hoped, that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against spite and envy; and indeed, absence being a kind of death, ought alike to secure the name of the absent, as the dead; because they are equally unable, as such, to defend themselves: but they that intend mischief, do not use to follow good rules to effect it. However, to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive, and no Jesuit, and, I thank God, very well. And without injustice to the authors of this, I may venture to infer, that they that wilfully and falsely report, would have been glad it had been so. But I perceive, many frivolous and idle stories have been invented, since my departure from England, which, perhaps, at this time, are no more alive, than I am dead.

But if I have been unkindly used by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough where I came—an universal kind welcome, every sort in their way. For here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments: nor were the natives wanting in this; for their kings, queens, and great men, both visited and presented me; to whom I made suitable returns, &c.

For the province, the general condition of it take as followeth.

I. The country itself, in its soil, air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be despised. The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as sand, yellow and black, poor and rich; also gravel both loamy and dusty; and in some places, a fast, fat earth, like to our best vales in England, especially by inland brooks and rivers; God in his wisdom having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided, the back lands, being generally, three to one, richer than those that lie by navigable waters. We have much of another soil, and that is a black

hasel-mould, upon a stony or rocky bottom.

II. The air is sweet and clear, the heavens serene, like the south parts of France, rarely overcast; and as the woods come, by numbers of people, to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

III. The waters are generally good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms, and in number hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, that operate in the same manner with Barnet and North-hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

IV. For the seasons of the year, having, by God's goodness, now lived over the coldest and hottest, that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

First, of the fall, for then I came in:—I found it, from the 24th of October, to the beginning of December, as we have it usually in England in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December, to the beginning of the month called March, we had sharp, frosty weather, not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them in England; but a sky as clear as in summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing, and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more cloaths, than in England. The reason of this cold is given, from the great lakes, that are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was as mild, scarce any ice at all; while this, for a few days, froze up our great river Delaware. From that month, to the month called June, we enjoyed a sweet spring, no gusts, but gentle showers, and a fine sky. Yet this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant, spring and fall, upon that turn of nature, than in summer or winter. From thence to this present month, which endeth the summer (commonly speaking) we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind, that ruleth the summer season, is the south-west; but spring, fall, and winter, it is rare to want the wholesome north-western, seven days together: and whatever mists, fogs, or vapours, foul the heavens by easterly or southerly winds, in

two hours time are blown away: the one is followed by the other—a remedy, that seems to have a peculiar providence in it to the inhabitants; the multitude of trees, yet standing, being liable to retain mists and vapours, and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

V. The natural produce of the country—of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note, are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chestnut, poplar, gunwood, hickory, fallafra, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as red, white and black, Spanish chestnut and swamp, the most durable of all: of all which, there is plenty for the use of man.

The fruits that I find in the woods, are the white and black mulberry, chestnut, walnut, plums, strawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape, now ripe, called by ignorance, "the fox-grape," (because of the relish it hath with unskillful palates,) is in itself an extraordinary grape, and by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the frontinac; as it is not much unlike in taste, ruddiness set aside; which in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much. There is a white kind of muskadel, and a little black grape, like the cluster-grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other; but they tell me, when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skilful vinerons to make good use of them. I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman this season, who shews some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches, very good, and in great quantities; not an Indian plantation without them: but whether naturally here at first, I know not: however, one may have them by bushels, for little. They make a pleasant drink, and, I think, not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to sining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems and sets, already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best, where it naturally grows, but will hardly be

equalled by another species of the same kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be as good wine, as any European countries, of the same latitude, do yield.

VI. The artificial produce of the country, is wheat\*, barley, oats, rye, pease, beans, squashes, pumpkins, water-melons, musk melons, and all herbs and roots, that our gardens in England usually bring forth.

VII. Of living creatures, fish, fowl, and the beasts, of the woods, here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only: for food, as well as profit, the elk, as big as a small ox; deer, bigger than ours; beaver, racoon, rabbits, squirrels: and some eat young bear, and commend it. Of fowl of the land, there is the turkey (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great; pheasants, beath-birds, pigeons; and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, white and grey; brands, ducks, teal; also the snipe and curlew, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel; nor to good have I ever eat in other countries. Of fish, there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, cathead, sheephead, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers, trout, some say salmon above the falls. Of shell fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs, and muscles; some oysters six inches long; and one sort of cockles, as big as the stewing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or fur, and that are natural to these parts, are the wild cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, mink, musk-rat; and of the water, the whale for oil, of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers, whose boats are

built, will soon begin their work, which hath the appearance of a considerable improvement: to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

VIII. We have no want of horses, and some are very good, and shapely enough; two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes with horses and pipe-slaves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle, and some sheep; the people plough mostly with oxen.

IX. There are divers plants, that not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove, by swellings, burnings, cuts, &c. that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient: and for sinell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the others, I know not what to call, but are most fragrant.

X. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers, for colour, greatness, figure, and variety. I have seen the gardens of London, best flored with that sort of beauty; but think they may be improved by our woods. I have sent a few to a person of quality this year, for a trial.

Thus much of the country; next of the natives, or Aborigines.

(To be continued.)



Medical society established in the state of Delaware.

THE physicians of the Delaware state had long regretted their unconnected situation. Despairing to obtain some of the most important objects of their profession, while thus detached from one another—and convinced, that experience has uniformly attested the advantages of literary association, they lately presented a memorial to the honorable legislature, on that subject. After duly considering the application, the general assembly, for the liberal purpose of fostering the interest of science, granted a charter of incorporation to a number of the said physicians, and their successors, for ever, under the name and stile of “the president and fellows of the medical society of the Delaware state.”

The object of this society is, to animate and unite its respective members, in the arduous work of cultivat-

#### NOTE.

\* Edward Jones, son-in-law to Thomas Wynn, living on the Schuylkel, had, with ordinary cultivation, from one grain of English barley, seventy stalks and ears of barley; and it is common in this country, from one bushel sown, to reap forty, often fifty, and sometimes sixty—and three pecks of wheat sow an acre here.

ing the science of medicine, and all its auxiliary branches; with an especial view to its practical use, the alleviating of human misery, the diminution of mortality, and the cure of diseases. To accomplish this interesting purpose, they will direct their endeavours—to investigate the endemical diseases of our own country—to trace their effects on its aboriginal inhabitants, and the successive variations they have undergone, in the progress of society from rudeness to refinement—to remark the general operations of political, moral, and natural causes, on the human body, and its diseases—and, particularly, observe and record the effects of different seasons, climates, and situations, and the changes produced in diseases, by the progress of science, commerce, agriculture, arts, population and manners—to explore our animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, and every accessible department of nature, in search of the means of enriching and simplifying our *Materia Medica*—to extend the substitution of our indigenons, for exotic remedies—to rescue from oblivion, and collect, for public view, the fugitive observations of intelligent physicians—to confer honorary rewards on the efforts of genius and industry—to superintend the education of medical students, and connect, with the elements of medicine, an adequate knowledge of all the kindred and subservient sciences—to enlarge our sources of knowledge, by importing and disseminating the discoveries and publications of foreign countries—to correspond with learned societies and individuals—to appoint stated times for literary intercourse and communications—to cultivate harmony and liberality among the practitioners of medicine—and, finally, to promote regularity and uniformity, in the practice of physic.

A quorum of the fellows of the society, in pursuance of the charter of incorporation, assembled at Dover, on Tuesday, the 12th of May 1789, adopted the following constitution:

1. The officers of the society shall consist of a president, a vice president, four censors, a secretary, and a treasurer, who shall be annually chosen by ballot, on the second Tuesday of May.

2. The president, or, in his absence, the vice-president, shall preside in all

the meetings, and subscribe all the public acts of the society. The president, or in case of his death, or incapacity, the vice-president, with the concurrence of two censors and four fellows, shall also have the power of calling a special meeting of the society, whenever they may judge it necessary.

3. The business of the censors shall be, to inspect the records, and examine the accounts and expenditures of the society, and to report thereon. And all communications, made to the society, after being read at one of their stated meetings, shall be referred to the censors, and such other fellows of the society, as shall be appointed for that purpose, to examine and report thereon to the society.

4. The secretary shall keep fair records of the proceedings of the society; and, under their direction, shall correspond with such persons and societies, as may be judged necessary, to promote the views and objects of the institution. He shall likewise receive and preserve all books and papers, belonging to the society, and letters addressed to them.

5. The treasurer shall receive all donations, and also the contributions, arising from such laws and regulations, as the society may, from time to time, make. He shall likewise keep all the monies and securities, belonging to the society; and shall pay all orders, signed by the president, or vice-president, which orders shall be his vouchers for his expenditures.

6. All questions shall be decided by a majority of votes. In those cases, where the society is equally divided, the presiding officer shall have a casting vote.

7. Every fellow shall subscribe the constitution, and annually pay a dollar, to defray the contingent expenses of the society.

The following gentlemen were unanimously elected officers of the society.

James Tilton, M. D.	<i>president.</i>
Jonas Preston, M. B.	<i>vice-president.</i>
Nicholas Wav, M. D.	} <i>censors.</i>
Mathew Wilson, D. D.	
Dr. Joshua Clayton,	
Dr. Nathaniel Luff.	} <i>secretary.</i>
Edward Miller, M. B.	
Dr. James Sykes,	<i>treasurer.</i>

Published by order of the society,  
Edward Miller, *secretary.*

*Medical history of the Cortex Ruber, or Red Bark; communicated to John Morgan, M. D. professor of the theory and practice of physic at Philadelphia, and F. R. S. London, &c.*

I HAVE lately received the following communications upon the cortex ruber, which I have found so efficacious, in the cure of obstinate remittent and bilious fevers, that I think it my duty to lay them before this society, in hopes of so valuable a medicine being thereby better known, and introduced more generally into practice.

*Extract of a letter from Thomas S. Duché, dated London, August 9, 1783.*

“I was lately at a lecture, delivered at Guy’s hospital, by dr. Saunders, upon the cure of intermittent fevers; and observing, the doctor spoke very much in favour of a new species of bark, which he had introduced into the practice of physic, I procured a specimen of it for you, thinking it might be agreeable to you, to hear of any new improvements in the healing art. It is called red bark. According to his account, it possesses so much virtue, and is of such certain efficacy, that, compared with it, the common bark is an inert mass. It contains a much larger portion of resin, has a much stronger aromatic taste than the common bark, and does not require half the quantity for a dose. Amongst other particulars, he mentioned the following proof of its superior virtue, namely, that, of this medicine, when administered in a simple cold infusion, any given quantity is much stronger and more effectual to remove the fever, than a chemical extract from the same quantity of the other. I now send you a specimen, by which you will be able to make a trial, and form some judgment of its virtues.”

T. S. DUCHÉ.

Soon after the receipt of the foregoing letter, I received the following valuable communications from dr. George Davidson of St. Lucia, which it affords me great pleasure to lay before this society.

St. Lucia, August 29, 1783,

To dr. John Morgan, at Philadelphia.

Sir,

If the subject, upon which I have the honour to write to you, should be found to merit attention, and prove in any respect useful and advantageous to mankind, I shall easily stand excused in addressing you, personally unacquainted as I am.

I have, by this opportunity, sent a small specimen of the Cinchona of this island, resembling the Peruvian bark in its botanical character, and, from the trial made here, surpassing it in medical virtues. It is now nearly four years, since the Caribæan bark was discovered upon the heights adjoining Morne Fortuné, and introduced into practice by dr. Young, physician to his Britannic majesty’s troops. The freshness of the bark, the little attention bestowed in drying it, and the large doses, in which it was exhibited, produced alarming fits of vomiting and purging, and deterred us, at that time, from the further prosecution of the subject, until the other day, that a treatise upon the red bark, by dr. Saunders of London, and a belief, which we entertained, that this was the same bark which he describes, induced us again to make a trial of it. Having properly dried it, and given it in the cold infusion, with greater caution, and in less doses, than at the first essay, we are now happy in assuring the public, that, in most instances, it has not disappointed us. Still, however, notwithstanding the utmost care in drying it, in some cases it still seems to retain its emetic and purgative qualities; as the stomach and first passages, in complaints here, are loaded with a quantity of putrid bile. These are not its least valuable properties. It will, however, be necessary, when these effects are produced, to check them afterwards by opiates.

With regard to its preparations; I have generally given it in the cold infusion, made either with lime or cinnamon water. An extract, made with spirits and water, fits easily on the stomach, and can be given in larger quantities.

In some late cases of tertians,

where I have been called to the patient, during the second fit—without watching for its going off, I have begun with this bark, which effectually cleansed the stomach and bowels, and paved the way for its future administration.

In putrid dysenteries, and in a remarkable species of dysentery, conjoined with an intermittent fever, which I have met with here, the bark has done more, than all the remedies, that I have seen employed. The purgative effects, which it produced, enabled us to throw it in earlier; the hardened scybula, the support of the disease, were removed, the stomach and bowels braced up, and, by the interposition of opiates, the spasms were removed.

Having sent several specimens of the bark, for a trial, to different parts of the continent of America, and particularly to my worthy friend, Dr. Hall, of Petersburg, Virginia, I impatiently wait the result of your trials, and will esteem myself particularly obliged by your communication. If you choose, I shall send you some of the young trees planted in tubs, with some of the seeds.

Should it be found to answer my expectation, the pleasure, resulting from the thoughts of having communicated something useful, will be to me ample enough recompense. I have the honour to be,

With the utmost respect,

Your most obedient humble servt.

GEORGE DAVIDSON,

P. S. Dr. Wright of Jamaica (in fifth vol. of medical commentaries,) describes a species of cinchona, with only one flower on a footstalk; the same was likewise found at the Havana. It differs, in that particular, from the old bark, which resembles the St. Lucia bark, in having several flowers on each footstalk.

*The following is a description of the cinchona caribaea sanctae luciae.*

The tree is commonly found in ravines, near springs, under the shade of a larger tree. It delights in places well shaded, and defended from the north-east trade-wind: the soil is commonly a stiff red earth, with a clayey substratum; quantities of small beautiful crystals, of a regular angular form, are found intermixed.

The tree is about the size of the cherry tree; seldom exceeding the thickness of the thigh, and twenty-five feet in height.

The flowers begin to appear, at the commencement of the rainy season, in beautiful tufts, upon pannicles branched out in threes and fours. I have never seen that species, described by Jacquin, and found at the Havana, *pedunculis unifloris*.

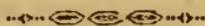
Before the corolla is fully expanded, and the stamina make their appearance without the tube of the corolla, the flower is white; but it afterwards turns to a beautiful purple. Then dropping off, the germen enlarges to the size of a hazle-nut, oblong and round. It gradually dries, bursts in two, and scatters the seeds, which fall to the ground and again take root.

The wood of the tree is light, spongy, and fit for no useful purpose. It has not the bitter taste of the bark. The leaves are very bitter, and the flowers, seeds, &c. seem to possess the bitterness and astringency in a more eminent degree.

An ounce of the bark, in fine powder, infused in a quart of cold water for twenty-four hours, and the infusion afterwards filtered, appears higher coloured, than a decoction made with double the quantity of the old bark. The colour, which it strikes with the *tinct. flor. martial.* and *sal martis*, is likewise of a deeper black. The spirituous tincture is of a deep red colour, and strikes a deep black, by the addition of the preparations of iron.

The taste of the Cinchona Caribæa is manifestly more astringent, than the taste of the old bark; an inference may therefore, *à priori*, be made, that its tonic powers are greater.

The quantity of resin, which it yields, is much more considerable; and an extract, made both with spirits and water, seems to possess the whole virtues of the bark.



*Hints on the measles.*

THE measles are an eruptive fever, attended with a general inflammation. In some constitutions, the measles give symptoms of their

approach, many days before they discover themselves, by a frequent and dry cough, such as commonly attends a slight cold, without any other complaint; though, for the most part, by shiverings, attended with alternate heat, which is accompanied with sneezing, swelling of the eyelids, and a constant sleepiness; a thin humour often distils from the eyes and nose; these last symptoms are the characteristics, which distinguish this disease from most other eruptive fevers. The tongue is white and foul, but not very dry: the heat and fever increase every hour, with a severe cough, vehement sickness, thirst, loss of appetite, sometimes attended with a vomiting, and often with a sneezing, with greenish stools; but this last symptom happens mostly to infants, and that, during the time of dentition. The symptoms generally grow more violent, until the fourth day, when there appear, upon the face, small eruptions, like flea-bites, which soon flow together in large spots: on the breast, they are broad and red, seldom rising above the surface of the skin; but may be easily felt, by pressing gently with the finger: they gradually extend from the face to the breast, and downwards to the thighs and legs; but are not so distinct pimples in the trunk and extremities, as in the face, but are equally as red. The symptoms do not abate, in this disease, when the eruption appears, as they do in the small-pox. The vomiting seldom continues after, but the cough and fever are generally more violent; the difficulty of breathing, the weakness and defluxion from the eyes, constant drowsiness, and loss of appetite, continue after the eruption. The eruptions generally disappear, about the fourth or sixth day from their first appearance; they begin to turn dry and scaly, upon the face first, and go gradually off, as they came on, about the eighth or ninth day; the whole body has sometimes the same kind of appearance, as if sprinkled over with bran. Those who die in the measles, generally perish on the ninth day, by a suffocation. The dangerous symptoms of this disease, are a great and sudden loss of strength, coldness of the extremities, restlessness, continual cough, a looseness, great difficulty in

breathing or swallowing, paleness of the eruptions, and sometimes purple spots, delirium, convulsions, and sometimes profuse sweats, especially in persons advanced in years. As the measles disappear and terminate, sooner than the small-pox, the vulgar generally think they are struck in before that time, though they have really run through their natural course; for which reason they often have recourse to warm cordials, which are highly improper, and often bring on direful symptoms. Such as die in the measles, generally die about the ninth day; and are certainly removed by a violent peripneumony, or inflammation of the lungs.

The patient ought to be treated much the same as in the small-pox, only not exposed to the cold air; but need not be confined to bed. Decoctions of barley-water, with liquorice and marshmallows, may be drank for ordinary drink; and infusions, made of linseed and elder flowers, sweetened with honey, or sugar-candy, may be used for a change; if the patient is collicive, a little manna may be given, or tamarinds infused in boiling water. With respect to medicines, nature ought to be particularly attended to, as indeed it ought to be in every other disease. If the fever be very high, with an inflammation or redness in the eyes, with a laborious difficult breathing, with a great thirst, and fulness of the pulse, bleeding largely for adults, and the same, or by leeches, for infants, is absolutely necessary, with the warm bath, as deep as can be done conveniently. It is often attended with remarkably good effects, in all inflammatory fevers, especially of the eruptive kind, to continue in the bath for some minutes, at least to bathe the feet and legs in warm water every night. If there be an inclination to vomit, it ought to be encouraged by drinking chamomile tea, or by giving a gentle vomit of a few grains of ipecacuanha, or a teaspoonful or two of antimonial wine to infants, or a larger dose in proportion to the age. The patient may hold his head over the steam of hot water, and receive it into his lungs, from the mouth of a tea pot, or an inhaler: every inspiration like this is an excellent remedy in any cough, provided it be not attended with a spit-

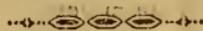
ting of blood. The patient may likewise frequently take a little spermaceti and sugar-candy, pounded together, and dissolve it gradually in the mouth; or a table-spoonful of the following linctus for an adult, and a tea-spoonful for an infant, every time the cough is troublesome: take of good fresh sweet oil and syrup of marshmallows, of each equal parts, mixed together with a little of the juice of a boiled lemon, to acidulate it a little, provided it is more agreeable. All these things may be done at any time of the disease, if the symptoms appear inflammatory. If the measles suddenly disappear, with a weak, slow pulse, paleness of the face, and universal languor, the patient ought to be supported by cordials, such as wine, or strong wine-why; blisters must be applied to the back, breast, or extremities, and warm cataplasms, with mustard and vinegar, to the soles of the feet; the same treatment is recommended in such circumstances, as in the small-pox. When they attack weak, relaxed habits, or hysteric, low-spirited women, Huxham's tincture of the bark is in this case of the most eminent service; as it answers both as a cordial and antiseptic, especially where purple spots, or other putrid symptoms appear; and it is proper to drink wine and water, acidulated with the sweet spirit of vitriol, or, where that cannot be got, the juice of lemons or oranges; but, indeed, some preparation of the bark, either in substance or decoction, is absolutely necessary. In case of great restlessness, an adult may take from twenty to fifty drops of liquid laudanum, every night, at bed time. From two to twelve drops of the same may be given to a child, from the birth to twelve or fourteen years old; begin with a small dose, and increase occasionally; but if the syrup of poppies is preferred, a tea-spoonful or two may be occasionally administered. The bowels ought to be kept open with clysters of gruel or milk, sugar, and a little oil. I have often given James's powders to adults, as prescribed in the printed directions, and, to infants the following: take of James's powder, six grains; sal prunellæ, one scruple; white sugar, one drachm; rub them well together; and give the

patient two, three, or four grains of this every five or six hours: the dose may be increased or diminished, according to its effects; if the fever runs high, these may be given after bleeding, in any state of the disease. Two or three doses of physic are necessary, when the disease is going off, as in the small-pox. If a violent purging comes on after the measles, a small dose of rhubarb may be given every second day in the morning, and the laudanum, as above, at bed-time; if the fever continues, with the purging, bleeding will often relieve, when nothing else avails. If, after the measles are gone off, the fever continues without the purging, bleeding is necessary, and the powders above-mentioned, with the linctus for the cough. Patients recovering from the measles ought to be cautious of exposing themselves too soon to the cold air, and eat what is light, and easy of digestion; buttermilk, or milk-why, and barley-water, is a proper drink. If a cough and difficulty of breathing, with a hectic fever, and other consumptive symptoms, come on, small bleedings, frequently repeated (especially if the blood is lizy)—a vegetable diet, and milk, as above recommended, with change of air, and riding on horseback, abstaining from all animal food, perpetual blisters, or issues, will likewise be necessary.

I am, &c.

WM. TURNBULL.

*Well-clofe Square, May, 13, 1786.*



*Account of the effects of electricity in paralytic cases. In a letter to dr. Pringle, from dr. Franklin.*

SOME years since, when the newspapers made mention of great cures performed in Italy or Germany, by means of electricity, a number of paralytics were brought to me from Pennsylvania, and the neighbouring provinces, to be electrified; which I did for them at their request. My method was, first to place the patient in a chair, on an electric stool, and draw a number of large strong sparks, from all parts of the affected limb or side. Then I fully charged two six gallon glass jars, each of which had about three square feet of surface coated; and I sent the united shock of

these through the affected limb or limbs, repeating the stroke commonly three times each day. The first thing observed was an immediate greater sensible warmth in the lame limbs, that had received the stroke, than in the others: and the next morning, the patients usually related, that they had, in the night, felt a pricking sensation in the flesh of the paralytic limbs; and would sometimes shew a number of small red spots, which, they supposed, were occasioned by these prickings. The limbs, too, were found more capable of voluntary motion, and seemed to receive strength. A man, for instance, who could not, the first day, lift the lame hand from off his knee, would the next day, raise it four or five inches, the third day higher, and, on the fifth day was able, but with a feeble languid motion, to take off his hat.

These appearances gave great spirits to the patients, and made them hope a perfect cure; but I do not remember, that I ever saw any amendment after the fifth day: which the patients perceiving, and finding the shocks pretty severe, they became discouraged, went home, and in a short time relapsed; so that, in palsies, I never knew any advantage from electricity, that was permanent. And how far the apparent temporary advantage might arise from the exercise of the patient's journey, and coming daily to my house, or from the spirits, given by the hope of success, enabling them to exert more strength in moving their limbs, I will not pretend to say.

Perhaps some permanent advantage might have been obtained, if the electric shocks had been accompanied with proper medicine and regimen, under the directions of a skilful physician. It may be, too, that a few great strokes, as given in my method, may not be so proper, as many small ones: since, by the account, from Scotland, of a case, in which two hundred shocks from a phial were given daily, it seems, that a perfect cure has been made. As to any uncommon strength, supposed to be in the machine used in that case, I imagine it could have no share in the effect produced; since the strength of the shock, from charged glass is in proportion to the quantity of surface of the glass coated; so that my shocks, from those large

jars, must have been much greater, than any that could be received from a phial held in the hand.

I am, with great respect, sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

London, December 21, 1757.



## THE REFORMER.

### NUMBER I.

*Virtue the happiness of a people.*

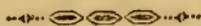
**M**EN often complain of those evils, which are wholly of their own procuring, and which it is in their own power to remove, whenever they please. There is nothing more evident from reason, revelation, and common experience, than the tendency of virtue to the happiness, and the tendency of vice to the misery of mankind, both in private and social life; but while this is generally acknowledged in speculation, it is much disregarded in practice. All expedients to relieve the burdens and distresses of the day, without a general reform of manners, will be but palliatives—this will effect a radical cure.

Let rulers, influenced by the fear of God, and by love to mankind, use all their power and authority, to encourage righteousness, protect innocence, redress wrongs, and banish iniquity—let laws be made, with a single design to advance the general interest, and be executed with diligence and fidelity—let people, in all ranks, conscientiously discharge the duties of their respective stations—let justice and integrity take place in all private intercourse—let benevolence operate, in all exigencies, to excite mutual aid and succour, so that no man shall be miserable, while it is in his neighbour's power to relieve him—in all controversies, between man and man, or in society, let condescension immediately step in, to adjust the difference—let every man, in his private capacity, maintain sobriety, purity, temperance, industry and self-government, and attend more to the culture of his mind, the improvement of his virtue, and the regulation of the manners of his domestics, than to the indulgence of pleasure, or the accumulation of wealth—let this be the general spirit and conduct of mankind—and what

will be wanting to make them as happy, as the condition of mortals will permit, or as beings in a state of probation can reasonably desire?

But if, on the contrary, pride, selfishness, and the love of pleasure, reign among all ranks; if injustice, fraud, idleness, luxury, oppression, and other vices, generally prevail, there is no need of special judgments, to make them miserable, and no need of a spirit of prophecy, to foresee their destruction. Every man, therefore, as he regards his own and the general happiness, is bound to practise virtue himself, and to promote it among others. This obligation immediately results from his present condition as a man, and from his relation to society, abstracted from the consideration of those more grand and solemn motives, which religion proposes.

We have seen the time, when the people of this country, alarmed at the dangers, which threatened them from an usurping and invading power, could unite in arms for the common defence. They thought no expense too great to be incurred, no sacrifice too dear to be made, that they might rescue their trembling liberties, from the devouring jaws of oppression. Our social happiness is now in danger, from another quarter—from the prevalence of vice and impiety, from our increasing luxury, extravagance, selfishness and injustice: let us exert ourselves, with the same united ardour, to extirpate this internal enemy, as we have done to repel a foreign enemy, and we may hope for equal success; and success, in this attempt, will give our liberties a firmer establishment and a more permanent security, than all the successes of war.



*Experiments on the cultivation of the poppy-plant, and the method of procuring opium. By Shadrach Richetson, of Dutchess county, New York.*

**O**PIUM is the produce of the *papaver somniferum* of Linnaeus, which, as a genus, comprehends two species, viz. 1. The double, 2. the single; each of which includes several varieties, as to the colour of the flowers, some being white, some red, others purple and variegated.

From history we learn, that in the several provinces of Asia, it is the large white poppy only, that is cultivated for the purpose of collecting opium; but, from the trials that I have made, I am of opinion, that it is a matter of indifference, which species or variety of the plant is cultivated for medicinal use; as they will afford, when tapped, a juice that is similar, as to quantity, colour, and every other respect, both when fresh and when dried; however, I have thought, that the large double species produces the greatest number of heads, and consequently the greatest quantity of juice from one seed; but of this I have not yet had sufficient trials, to be certain.

Among the poppies, cultivated with a view to make the present experiments, I had some, that had each thirty heads, all of which sprang from one seed, and from one original stalk.

The poppy seeds, in this country, should be sown or planted, about the middle of May, in rich, moist ground.

The ground should be formed into areas, of about four feet broad. The seeds should be planted, at about ten or twelve inches distance, in transverse rows, which should also be about the same distance from each other.

Shallow holes, of an inch in depth, should be made in the rows, at the distance mentioned; the seeds put in, and covered over, even with the ground; after which, they are suffered to remain, till the plants are grown about four inches high, when they may be frequently watered and manured, especially, if the land is dry and not fertile: the best manure is said to be a compost of dung, ashes, and a nitrous earth.

In the East Indies, they are said to water them again profusely, just before the flowers appear; but, as I have had them grow very luxuriant and succulent in good ground, without either manuring or watering, I am disposed to think, that the advantages, arising from this last particular, are not adequate to the trouble of doing it.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the plants, from their first coming up, should be kept clean from weeds, which may be done, with very little trouble, with a small hoe, especially

if the seeds are planted after the manner I directed, that is, in rows.

Having said all that is necessary, on the cultivation of the plant, I shall now proceed to describe the method of obtaining its juice, which, when inspissated to a pilular consistence, is called opium.

The states of the plants, wherein I have found them to yield the most juice, are just before, in the time of, and immediately after flowering.

The plants being arrived to one or other of the states above mentioned, we then proceed to that part of the process, called tapping, which, we are told, is done in Asia, by making two or three longitudinal incisions in the half grown capsules, without penetrating their cavities. This operation is performed at sunset, and the plants are suffered to remain till morning, when the juice is to be scraped off, and worked in a proper vessel, in a moderate heat, till it becomes of a pilular consistence: which method, with several others, I have tried; but none have ever succeeded so well with me, as, in a sunny day, to cut off the stalks, at about an inch distance from their flowers or capsules, and as soon as the juice appears (which it does at first equally well on the part of the stalk, cut off, with the capsule or flower, as on the standing part) to collect it with a small scoop or penknife, the last of which I have found to answer the purpose very well. After the juice ceases to appear on the top of the standing stalk, it should be cut off about an inch lower, when it will be found to yield almost as freely as before; and this is repeated, as long as any juice appears.

The juice, when collected, should be put into an evaporating pan placed in the sun's heat, and frequently stirred, till it becomes of a consistence to be formed into pills, or made into rolls, for keeping or transportation.

The quantity of opium, that may be procured; depends very much upon the largeness of our plants, and the care used in collecting it. From one poppy plant, I have procured seven grains of the inspissated juice.

If any would choose to have the opium freed from its impurities, it may easily be done, by pressing the juice through a linen strainer, before

it is evaporated; but if pains be taken, according to the foregoing directions, I believe there will be little or no occasion for it.

Here the following question presents itself, viz.

Does the opium, I have been describing, possess the same properties, as the Asiatic opium?

To determine which, I made the following experiments:

*Experiment 1. July 27, 1787.*

At six o'clock, A. M. I took one grain of this opium; at seven, breakfasted on chocolate; at a quarter after seven, I was called upon to visit a patient; I immediately mounted my horse, and rode two miles; and as I rode, I felt unusually cheerful; a tinged fulness and redness of my head and face, as if I had been drinking; ardent spirits also seemed to attend me.

At nine o'clock, while at my patient's house, I felt a slight sickness at my stomach, accompanied with a moist sweat. At ten o'clock, the sickness and sweat continuing to increase, I set off for home, and on the way it just occurred to me, that the opium I had been taking, was the cause of my illness; and before I reached home, I vomited my breakfast, which gave me a little ease.

After I got home, I was seized with a vertigo, slight tremors, stupor, attended with a small, contracted pulse: I went to bed, ate no dinner, and about two o'clock P. M. I vomited a considerable quantity of sour, watery fluid, after which I felt somewhat easier, and, in about an hour afterwards, I had several violent retchings, and raised some bile. Being now fatigued by the vomiting, &c. I took a large dose of the anti-emetic mixture, which, after a short sleep, seemed to give me remarkable relief, and after which, all the symptoms gradually vanished. I perceived my urine to be high-coloured: I had no stool, from the day before I took it, till the morning of the 29th; and between eleven and twelve o'clock of this day, I had three or four liquid stools, accompanied with considerable griping.

I think it proper to remark, that, during the above symptoms, I had no uncommon sleepiness.

*Experiment 2.* Unsatisfied with the preceding experiment, and not

knowing, whether the symptoms that I laboured under, were solely the effect of the opium—August 6, at six o'clock, A. M. I took half a grain of the same kind of opium. The effects that I perceived from it, were, in the forenoon a cheerfulness, and in the afternoon a loathing, and at times, a small degree of sickness.

*Experiment 3.* August 20. at seven o'clock in the morning, I took one grain of the above-mentioned opium: at eight o'clock, I breakfasted on tea; after breakfast, I felt an unconcernedness, my face felt turgid; I had some slight sickness and inclination to vomit, and about ten o'clock I had several retchings, and puked, and half after ten I puked again: in short I underwent very much the same series of symptoms, as in experiment 1st. indeed sufficiently so, to confirm me, that the complaints, I laboured under, were solely the effects of the opium.

*Experiment 4.* at half after seven o'clock in the morning, I took a full grain of the Asiatic opium; and at half after eight, I breakfasted on milk. I felt no unusual effects from it, till about twelve o'clock, when a flushing and a turgid fulness of my face, came on. I dined at one o'clock, after which I was attacked with considerable pain in my bowels, loathing and sickness (but not so much as to puke) which continued to remain, till I went to bed. I had no stool that day, as usual; no uncommon sleepiness.

*Quæritur.* Is the vomiting, that occurred after taking the opium, to be imputed and ascribed to the peculiar effect of it on the stomach; or is it to be considered as an effort of the *vis medicatrix naturæ*?

From what has been said, I think we may induce the following inferences, &c.

1. That the poppy plant is the same here as in Asia, and that the difference depends only on the climate, soil, and mode of cultivation.
2. That every species and variety of the plant, is equally capable of producing opium.
3. That the collecting of it might not only become an useful, but also a lucrative business.
4. And lastly, that the opium col-

lected here, is as strong, or stronger than the Asiatic opium; in confirmation of which, I shall beg leave to add the following passage of a letter I am favoured with, from my friend and former master, dr. Benjamin Anthony, to whom I gave some of the opium of my own procuring, for trial, and who had been accustomed to use opium, on account of the rheumatism. "Being in pain this morning, I took a grain of the opium: the operation appears to be the same, as that of the other opium, which I have commonly used; a grain is perhaps equal to two of the common."

Whether the virtues of opium reside in a fixed or volatile principle, is a matter that admits of a dispute: some late experiments seem to favour the latter opinion, which being admitted, one reason (I think) why the opium, collected here, is stronger than the Asiatic, is, that the latter loses greatly of its strength by the long keeping and transportation, which it undergoes.



*Relation or iournall of the beginning and proceedings of the English plantation settled at Plimoth in New England, by certaine English adventurers, both merchants and others. With their difficult passage, their safe arrival, their ioyfull building of, and comfortable planting themselves in the now well defended towne of New Plimoth. As also a relation of foure severall discoveries, since made by some of the same English planters there resident, &c.*

London, printed, 1622.

WEDnesday the sixt of September, the wind comming east north east, a fine small gale, we loosed from Plimoth, having bene kindly intertained and courteously vsed by diuers friends there dwelling, and after many difficulties in boysterous stormes, at length, by God's providence, vpon the ninth of November following, by breake of the day we espied land, which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved. And the appearance of it much comforted vs, especially, seeing so goodly a land, and woodded to the brinke of the sea, it caused vs to

H

reioyce together, and praise God, that had giuen vs once againe to see land. And thus wee made our course South South West, purposing to goe to a riuer, ten leagues to the South of the Cape; but at night, the winde being contrary, we put round againe for the Bay of Cape Cod: and vpon the 11. of Nouember, we came to an anchor in the Bay, which is a good harbour, and pleasant Bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about foure miles ouer, from land to land, compassed about, to the very sea, with okes, pines, iuniper, sassafras and other sweet wood; it is a harbour, wherein 1000. saile of ships may safely ride; there we relieved our selues, with wood and water, and refreshed our people, while our shallop was fitted, to coast the Bay, to search for an habitation: there was the greatest store of fowle, that euer we saw.

And euery day we saw whales playing hard by vs, of which in that place, if we had instruments, and means to take them, we might haue made a very rich returne, which, to our great grieffe, we wanted. Our master and his mate, and others experienced in fishing, professed, we might haue made three or foure thousand pounds worth of oyle: they preferred it before Greenland whale-fishing, and purpose the next winter to fish for whale here; for Cod we assayed, but found none; there is good store no doubt in their season. Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones on the shore. We found great mussels, and very fat and full of sea pearle; but we could not eat them; for they made vs all sicke that did eat, as well saylers as passengers; they caused to cast and scoure, but they were soone well againe. The bay is so round and circling, that, before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the compass. We could not come neere the shore, by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great preiudice to vs; for our people, going on shore, were forced to wade a bow-shot or two in going a-land, which caused many to get colds and coughs; for it was many times freezing cold weather.

This day, before we came to harbour, obseruing some not well affected to vnitie and concord, but gaue some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governours, as we should, by common consent, agree to make and chose, and set our hands to this that followes, word for word.

**I**N the name of God, amen. We, whose names are vnder-written, the loyall subiects of our dread, soveraigne lord, king James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, &c.

Having vnder-taken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the christian faith, and honour of our king and countrey, a voyage, to plant the first colony in the northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant, and combine our selues together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such iust and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient, for the generall good of the colony: vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnesse whereof we haue herevnder subscribed our names, Cape Cod 11. of Nouember, in the yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lord king James, of England, France, and Ireland, 18. and of Scotland 54. *anno domini* 1620.

The same day, so soone as we could, we set a-shore 15. or 16. men, well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we had none left: as also to see what the land was, and what inhabitants they could meet with: they found it to be a small neck of land: on this side, were we lay, is the Bay, and the further side, the sea; the ground or earth, sand hil, much like the Downes in Holland, but much better; the crust of the earth a spit's depth, excellent blacke earth: all wooded with okes, pines, sassafras,

iuniper, birch, holly, vines, some ash, walnut; the wood, for the most part, open and without vnderwood, fit either to goe or ride in: at night our people returned, but found not any person, nor habitation, and laded their boat with iuniper, which smelled very sweet and strong, and of which we burnt, the most part of the time we lay there.

Munday the 13. of November, we vnhipped our shallop, and drew her on land, to mend and repaire her, having bin forced to cut her downe, in bestowing her betwixt the decks; and she was much opened with the people's lying in her, which kept vs long there; for it was 16. or 17. dayes before the carpenter had finished her; our people went on shore to refresh themselves, and our women to wash, as they had great need; but whilest we lay thus still, hoping our shallop would be ready in five or sixe dayes at the furthest, but our carpenter made slow worke of it, so that some of our people impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance, to trauaile by land into the countrey, (which was not without appearance of danger, not having the shallop with them, nor meanes to carry provision, but on their hackes) to see whether it might be fit for us to seate in or no, and the rather, because, as we sayled into the harbour, there seemed to be a river, opening it selfe into the maine land: the willingnes of the persons was liked, but the thing it selfe, in regard of the danger, was rather permitted than approved; and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteene men were set out with every man his musket, sword, and corslet, vnder the conduct of capitaine Miles Standish, vnto whom was adioyned, for counsell and advise, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

Wednesday the 15. of November, they were set a-shore, and when they had ordered themselves in the order of a single file, and marched about the space of a myle, by the sea, they espyed five or sixe people, with a dogge, coming towards them, who were savages, who, when they saw them, ran into the wood, and whistled the dogge after them, &c. First, they supposed them to be mastie Iones,

the master and some of his men, for they were a-shore, and knew of their coming; but, after they knew them to be Indians, they marched after them into the woods, least other of the Indians should lie in ambush: but when the Indians saw our men following them, they ran away with might and mayne, and our men turned out of the wood after them, for it was the way they intended to goe; but they could not come neare them. They followed them that night about ten miles, by the trace of their footings, and saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning, perceived how they run vp an hill, to see whether they followed them. At length night came vpon them, and they were constrained to take vp their lodging, so they set forth three sentinells; and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched wood, and there held our rendezvous that night.

In the morning, so soone as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our iourney, and had the tracke, vntill we had compassed the head of a long creake, and there they tooke into another wood, and we after them, supposing to finde some of their dwellings; but we marched thorow boughes and bushes, and vnder hills and vallies, which tore our very armour in peeces, and yet could meete with none of them, nor their houses, nor finde any fresh water, which we greatly desired and stood in need off; for we brought neither beere nor water with vs; and our victuals was ouely bisket and Holland cheefe, and a little bottle of aqua-vitæ, so as we were sore a-thirst.

About ten a clocke, we came into a deepe valley, full of bruff, wood gaile, and long grasse, through which we found little paths or tracts, and there we saw a deere, and found springs of fresh water, of which we were heartily glad, and sat vs downe, and drunke our first New England water, with as much delight as euer we drunke drinke in all our liues. When we had refreshed our selves, we directed our course full South, that we might come to the shore, which, within a short while after, we did, and there made a fire, that they in the flup might see where wee

were (as we had direction) and so marched on towards this supposed river; and as we went in another valley, we found a fine cleere pond of fresh water, being about a musket shot broad, and twise as long; there grew also many small vines, and foule and deere haunted there; there grew much safafra: from thence we went on and found much plaine ground, about fiftie acres, fit for the plow, and some signes, where the Indians had formerly planted their corne; after this, some thought it best, for nearnesse of the river, to goe downe and travaile on the Sea sands, by which meanes some of our men were tyred, and lagged behind; so we slayed and gathered them vp, and strack into the land againe: where we found a little path to certaine heapes of sand, one whereof was covered with old mats, and had a wooden thing, like a mortar, whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot, layd in a little hole, at the end thereof; we, musing what it might be, digged and found a bow, and, as we thought, arrowes, but they were rotten; we supposed there were many other things, but, because we deemed them graues, we put in the bow againe, and made it vp as it was, and left the rest vntouched; because we thought, it would be odious vnto them, to ransacke their sepulchers.

We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten corne this yeare, and many wallnut trees full of nuts, and great store of strawberries, and some vines; passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had also bin new gotten, and there we found where an house had beene, and foure or five old planks layed together; also we found a great ketele, which had beene some ship's ketele and brought out of Europe; there was also an heape of sand made like the former, but it was newly done; we might see, how they had padled it with their hands: which we digged vp, and in it we found a little old basket, full of faire Ind an corne, and digged further and found a fine great new basket, full of very faire corne of this yeare, with some 36. goodly eares of corne, some yellow, and some red, and others mixt with blew,

which was a very goodly sight; the basket was round, and narrow at the top: it held about three or foure bushels, which was as much as two of vs could lif vp from the ground, and was very handfomely and cunningly made; but whilst wee were busie about these things, we set our men sentinell in a round ring, all but two or three, which digged vp the corne. We were in suspence, what to doe with it and the ketele; and at length, after much consultation, we concluded to take the ketele, and as much of the corne as we could carry away with vs; and when our shallop came, if we could finde any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would giue them the ketele againe, and sat shie them for their corne; so wee tooke all the cares, and put a good deale of the loose corne in the ketele, for two men to bring away on a staffe; besides, they that could put any into their pockets, filled the same; the rest wee buried againe, for we were so laden with armour, that we could carry no more.

Not farre from this place, we found the remainder of an old fort, or palizide, which, as we conceiued, had beene made by some christians; this was also hard by that place, which we thought had beene a river, vnto which wee went and found it so to be, deviding it selfe into two armes, by an high banke, standing right by the cut or mouth which came from the Sea: that, which was next vnto vs, was the lesse; the other arm was more than twise as big, and not vnlike to be an harbour for ships; but whether it be a fresh river, or onely an indraught of the Sea, we had no time to discover; for wee had commandement to be out but two dayes. Here also we saw two canoas, the one on the one side, the other on the other side; wee could not beleene it was a canoa, till we came neare it, so we returned, leaving the further discovery hereof to our shallop, and came that night backe againe to the fresh water pond, and there we made our randevous that night, making a great fire, and a baricado to windward of vs, and kept good watch with three sentinells all night, every one standing when his turn came, while five or sixe inches of match was burning. It



quired. If the laws can have a favourable introduction, they will derive some energy from that very circumstance. The power of habit is universally felt and acknowledged. It has even a stronger influence, in producing obedience to the laws, than a fear of punishment, where the penalties are severe, and rigorously inflicted. Both these causes, united, give a peculiar efficacy to government. They will, by their natural progress, create that additional tie, that is imposed by a sense of duty, and a regard to character.

Why have mankind, in general, discovered a stronger inclination, to defraud the public, than to wrong individuals? It is probably owing, in some degree, to their being able to do it, with less sting of conscience, and less injury to their reputation. But why do not the character, and the conscience of a man, require him to be honest to the public, as well as to individuals? It is, no doubt, because people have not been accustomed to feel to strong an obligation, in the one case, as in the other. But why do we practically make this distinction, when there is, in fact, no intrinsic difference? The most obvious reason is, that men, in the common intercourse of life, find a greater inconvenience, in countenancing dishonesty in private, than in public transactions. This circumstance induces a common consent, in favour of the practice of private justice; and fixes a stigma upon the violators of it. It seems, then, that common consent, or, to give it another name, public opinion, is one powerful tie, that holds men to their private duty. The same cause, did it equally exist in public affairs, would operate no less powerfully. It must have an existence, before it can have an application or an effect.

Has the public opinion, in times past, been in favour of rendering to government, what was due to it?—In many instances, the reverse has been the case; and people have, without any feelings of shame or remorse, evaded public obligations. If government has been generally defrauded, the fact itself proves, that the common consent of mankind was not withheld from it: for, had the public mind been opposed to the fraud, it could

not well have happened, or, at any rate, would have been detected and punished. It requires a considerable degree of force, to counteract the current of popular sentiment. Few violators of the rules of private honour and justice, escape reproach, if they do punishment.

There is no natural propensity in merchants, to defraud the public of its revenues, any more than there is, to deceive their customers, in the weight and measure of goods. The reason, as was before suggested, why they are honest in one case, and not in the other, is, that their reputation, their interest, and their conscience, do not equally require it, in both cases. One feels a confidence, that his banker, though he is not strictly watched, will render an exact account of the cash committed to his care. Government would have the same security, that justice would take place in public affairs, if the habits and feelings of the people were equally favourable to public honesty. The trader durst not impose on his customers, if he wished to do so, because he knows he will sustain a greater inconvenience, in the loss of custom, than he gains benefit, by a particular deception. I once more repeat, that if it would equally hurt his character, to cheat or injure the public, he would be equally restrained from doing it.

As the influence of public opinion is known to be so forcible; and as the honour and prosperity of our country require, that the laws and regulations should have a good beginning, it is worth while to bestow some pains, in predisposing the people, to give their aid and countenance, in carrying into effect the measures of government. Many persons pretend, that such a determination already exists. It seems not to be questioned, even by any refractory individual, that a revenue must be raised, and that it must proceed from imposts and excises. The current of opinion, it will be said, is now sufficiently in favour of such a system. But let us not be deceived. Those who set their hearts at rest, in this stage of the business, are in a delusion. The public discernment has suggested the eligibility of an impost; but still the public temper is not sufficiently roused into indignation against

smugglers, and other defrauders.—Men may be led, by reflexion, to judge of a measure with propriety, before they feel a disposition to exert themselves, in favour of its execution. In some cases, a change of principles precedes a change of manners; and men think of a subject a great while, before they act upon it, at all. The first difficulty is surmounted—we are in a right way of thinking; and it only remains, that we take an honest, spirited way of acting. Let us not only give the laws a kind reception, but suffer them, and even aid them, to proceed with vigour and success.

When the system is ripened into a proper state of maturity; the temptation to defraud the public treasury, will become weaker and weaker. Our opposition to the collection of impost, under the British government, was occasioned, in part, by circumstances, resulting from the case, and which no longer have an existence. Men do not transgress, till they are often tempted; and they will not be tempted to do wrong, when the balance of motives is in favour of doing right. It should be a leading object of legislative care, to destroy, or rather counteract the temptation to fraud, by increasing the causes, that induce men to think an honest conduct the most eligible. In proportion as men have been habituated to any vicious practice, or, as they will derive advantage by indulging the vice, should the restraints be multiplied to prevent it. Before this can well be effected, it should be known, what reasons originally operated, in establishing the habit: and whether the same causes still continue. For it must be observed, that we do not always relinquish a practice, precisely when the circumstance, that led to it, is removed. Our having been accustomed to it, becomes, of itself, a reason for its continuance. If we apply these reasonings to our present situation, with respect to the collection of the revenue, it will lead us to the following enquiry—what causes formerly induced us to connive at frauds on the public revenue?—Are these causes now in operation?—we shall find they are not wholly taken away. The impositions were unconstitutional. That

objection to the payment of the duties now ceases. But there are established causes, that render the collection of public monies, in all situations, a little precarious and difficult. The origin of the evil is not to be traced to any natural desire in men, to cheat the government, merely for the sake of cheating it—it results from temptations, that are suggested, by the practicability and safety of the thing. Our desire, to gain advantages over the public treasury, is not counteracted by so many causes, as restrain us from over-reaching private persons. The inclination of people, to promote their own interest, is the same, in both cases. From this view of the subject, I hope, the remarks, that have been offered in support of allocations, in the present crisis of affairs, will not be deemed uninteresting, or foreign to the point. I persuade myself, also, that a few observations, conveying to the legislature, some hints, respecting their proceedings, will not have too great an appearance of presumption.

The penalties, annexed to revenue laws, should be of such a nature, as will fix a disgrace upon the characters, on whom they are inflicted. There is an aptitude, in certain punishments, to restrain certain crimes. Great rigor does not produce the effect, that is proposed. This is apt to mitigate the abhorrence against the offence, and soften it down into pity towards the offender. The human mind is so constituted, that different affections counteract each other. There is, in many minds, an habitual temper of revenge, against government, for its severity. This can only be controlled, be exciting, in an higher degree, a detestation against crimes. Excessive fines, long imprisonments, and severe corporal punishments, indicate a very depraved state of society. The laws should appeal to the feelings of men, in such a manner, as to induce a sense of shame for the consequences of the punishment, no less than a lively fear of enduring the pains of it. This end may partly be promoted by stigmatizing offenders, in the stile of the laws, with epithets that imply odium and infamy. Men involuntarily associate their ideas; and words, that have usually conveyed an opprobrious meaning, will continue to make similar impres-

sions. I do not entertain a doubt, that great utility may be derived, from couching the laws, against smuggling, in a contemptuous language.

The defrauders of the public should likewise be debarred, from holding any office, or performing any service, that implied confidence or respect. Such an exclusion would stamp ideas of indignity on the public mind, against those who evade the payment of duties. If they were prohibited from serving on jury; or if their oaths were rendered invalid, it would have great effect in restraining the practice of smuggling. The receivers of smuggled goods should have a share, in the disgrace and punishment. Indeed the whole regulations, that relate to the collection of the revenue, should carry the marks of legislative disapprobation of every species of collusion. The contempt of government, expressed in a pointed manner, will be more efficacious, than its resentment.

It would much contribute to excite general derision against public dishonesty, if the law should direct a register to be published annually, containing the names of all, who had been detected in smuggling, or that any way advised or aided, in defrauding the revenue. The minds of men are differently wrought upon; and by diversifying the punishment, and frowns of government, the feelings of most people will be interested in observing the laws.

In my next number, the subject shall be resumed, and placed in another point of view.

[To be continued.]



*Theory of earthquakes.*

*From a lecture, delivered by John Winthrop, Esq. professor of mathematics and philosophy, at Cambridge in New England.*

**PHILOSOPHY**, like every thing else, has had its fashions; and the reigning mode of late has been, to explain every thing by electricity. It is not long, since we were amused with pompous accounts of the wonderful effects of electricity, in the practice of physic. It was extolled, as a perfect Catholicon; and represented, as affording the most easy, and, at the same time, the most effec-

tual means of conveying into the body, the active particles of all medicines, emetic, cathartic, alterative, &c. and as curing, or at least relieving, almost instantaneously, the most obstinate and intractable disorders, which the human body is liable to; gout, blindness, deafness, dumbness—and what not? But this affair is pretty well over for the present. Now, it seems, it is to be the cause of earthquakes. Electricity indeed is, at this day, certainly known to be a much more extensive principle in nature, than was suspected a few years ago; and to be instrumental in the production of effects, where it was thought to have no concern. It must not, however, be concluded from hence, that it is the sole principle of natural effects, and that it does every thing. It is true, the very ingenious dr. Franklin, of Philadelphia, has, with singular sagacity, and, in my opinion, with happy success, accounted, in this way, for the phenomena of thunder and lightning; and has made discoveries upon this subject, which are not only extremely curious in speculation, but of high importance in practice. But this is no argument, that electricity is also the cause of earthquakes.

“That the agents, which are able to produce effects, so extraordinary as those of an earthquake; which can heave up such enormous masses of matter, and put into the most vehement commotions vast tracts of land and sea, of many hundred miles in extent—that the agents, I say, which can do all this, and more, must be very powerful—will not admit of a doubt. Now we know of nothing in nature, more powerful than the particles of certain bodies, converted into vapour by the action of fire. Fire then, and proper materials for it to act upon, are probably the principal agents in this affair. And what greatly strengthens the probability, is, that those countries, which have burning mountains, are most subject to earthquakes; and that those mountains rage with uncommon fury, about the time when the circumjacent countries are torn with convulsions—an argument this, that earthquakes and the eruptions of such mountains, are owing to one and the same cause. But we must be more particular.

I. The earth is not solid throughout, but contains within it large holes, pits and caverns; as is agreed by all natural historians. There are very probably also long, crooked, unequal passages, which run winding through a great extent of earth, and form a communication between very distant regions. Some of these cavities contain nothing but air, or the fumes of fermenting minerals: in others, there are currents of water.

II. This globe is a very heterogeneous body. Besides the two grand divisions of it into solid and fluid parts, each of these is again divisible into an infinite number of those. Although our knowledge of the earth reaches but a little way below its surface, yet so far as we have penetrated, it appears to be a compages of a vast variety of solid substances, ranged in a manner, which to us seems to have not much of regularity in it. Here we find earths, stones, salts, sulphurs, minerals, metals, &c. and a great number of inferior species, under each of these general heads, blended and intermingled with each other. Many of these are combustible, or of a texture proper to be turned by fire into flame and vapour. And besides the pure elementary water, if there be any such, the aqueous parts of the globe receive peculiar tinctures, from the beds and veins through which they run; so that perhaps there may be almost as many sorts of waters, as there are of solid substances. Thus some waters are charged with sulphureous particles; some, with particles of iron; and others, with those of other minerals. And the subterraneous rivers and streams, thus impregnated with different particles, may, by their confluence, produce an almost infinite variety of mixtures in the earth.

III. Heat, it is well known, is a grand agent in most natural productions; and the inner parts of the earth are sufficiently furnished with it. Some parts indeed, as the volcanos, are actually on fire and burn; but there is moreover, a heat without flame, diffused through the interior regions of the earth. This is evident from the instance of hot springs, and from the warmth, which is always found at great depths, as in the bottoms of mines.

IV. There seems to be an inexhaustible source of this heat in the attractive powers, which sir Isaac Newton has shewn to belong to the particles of matter. For, heat consisting in a peculiar kind of intestine motion of the parts of bodies, whatever tends to produce this motion in bodies, will cause them to grow hot. Now such a motion may be produced, by the particles of different bodies rushing together, in virtue of their attractive powers; of which that great man has given a very copious collection of instances, in the 31st question, at the end of his optics, whither I must refer you. In some of them, not only a very sudden and violent heat, but an actual flame, is produced, by the bare mixing of two cold bodies together; and that, even without the presence of the air, which we find absolutely necessary to our culinary fires. There is so strong an attraction between iron and sulphur, that, even the gross body of sulphur, powdered, and with an equal weight of iron filings and a little water, made into paste, in a few hours grows too hot to be touched, and emits a flame. When iron is dissolving in a mixture of oil of vitriol and common water, there instantly arises a great heat and violent ebullition, with fumes copiously exhaling; which are so very inflammable, that being set on fire, they go off at once like a gun with a great explosion. Having thus seen, what a perpetual source of heat there is in these powerful, active principles, continually operating within the bowels of the earth—let us next inquire, what effects may be expected from it?

V. It is a known property of heat, to expand bodies, to rarify them, and enlarge their dimensions; and, when raised to a higher degree, to separate their parts, and make them fly from each other. And when the heat is intense, and the particles of the heated body are prevented from flying away, till they become thoroughly hot; it will require very strong vessels, to hinder their bursting forth with a violent explosion. Thus, a single drop of common water, inclosed in a glass bubble, and laid upon the fire, as soon as it becomes hot, will burst the bubble, with a report scarcely inferior to that of a pistol;

and water, in larger quantities, has been heated to that degree, as to rend asunder very strong vessels of iron, in which it has been endeavoured to be confined. What the consequence then would be, of a great body of water's suddenly making its way into a flaming cavern, whose sulphureous or bituminous fires are not extinguished but enraged, by water—and of its being there, almost instantaneously, converted into vapour—your own imagination may easily represent to you. This, it is very likely, has sometimes been the case, with respect to these famous volcanos, *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*, both which border on the sea. You see here, what water may do; but there are many other bodies, which cohere more strongly; as sulphur and nitre, for example, whose vapor is still more powerful than that of water. This is evident from the composition of gun-powder, a very small quantity of which, when turned into vapor, every one knows, is able to remove any obstacle that opposes its expansion, and to burst the firmest rocks. The paste above mentioned, made of powdered sulphur and iron filings, if put a few feet under ground, will by degrees cause the earth over it to heave and crack, to let out the flame; thus making an artificial earthquake. And therefore, if a water, saturated with sulphureous particles, should, in its passage under ground, soak into a large bed of iron ore, or a strong chalybeate water into a bed of sulphur; the mixture would doubtless perform in great, what this experiment does in miniature. A vitriolic water mixing with iron, if in sufficient quantities, would be followed by the like effect.

You have now, I suppose, before you the general causes of earthquakes. If those inflammable vapours be pent up in close caverns, so as to find no vent, till they are collected in a large quantity; so soon as they take fire in any part, the flame will spread itself, wherever it meets with materials to convey it, with as great rapidity, perhaps, as it does in a train of gun-powder; and the vapours, produced from hence, will rush along through the subterraneous grotts, as they are able to find or force for themselves a passage; and by heaving up the earth, that lies over them, will make a kind of pro-

gressive swell or undulation\*, in which we suppose earthquakes commonly to consist; and will at length burst the caverns with a great shaking of the earth, as in springing a mine; and so discharge themselves into the open air.

The extraordinary commotions of the sea, observed at Barbadoes and St. Martin's, within a few hours of the great earthquakes, one of which shook Spain and Portugal, and the other, New England, with some of the neighbouring parts of America; will

## NOTE.

“ \* Naturalists have distinguished earthquakes into two kinds; one, when the motion is horizontal, or from side to side; the other, when it is perpendicular, or right up and down. This distinction may, for aught I know, be just; and yet, perhaps, earthquakes more commonly consist in a kind of undulatory motion, which may include both the others. For as a wave of water, when raised to its greatest height, subsides, and, in subsiding, spreads itself horizontally; so, in like manner, a wave of earth, if I may be allowed the expression, must, in its descent, partake both of an horizontal and perpendicular motion at the same time: and, for the same reason, it must have had both these motions in its ascent; but those particles, which had been carried forward in one direction, in the ascent, will return in a contrary direction, in the descent. Hence, the velocity, wherewith buildings are agitated by an earthquake, appears different at different heights, they being rocked with a kind of angular motion, like that of a cradle; the upper parts of them moving swifter, or through greater spaces, in the same time, than the lower. This you may clearly conceive by turning your thoughts to the case of a vessel, floating at rest upon stagnant water, and then suddenly agitated by a great wave rolling under it. In the motion of ascent, the mass of the vessel would be thrown forward, in the same direction as the wave was moving; and in the motion of descent, backward, or in the contrary direction; and in both these cases, the top of the mass would move through greater spaces, than the bottom.”



some of the great departments of business, which must fall under the management of the great council of the union, and their officers.

The first thing, which naturally offers itself to consideration, is the expense of government; this is a *sine qua non* of the whole, and all its parts. No kind of administration can be carried on, without expense; and the scale, or degree of plan and execution, must ever be limited by it. Two grand considerations offer themselves here. (1.) The estimate of the expenses which government requires; and (2.) such ways and means of raising sufficient money to defray them, as will be most easy, and least hurtful and oppressive to the subject.

The first is not my present principal object; I shall therefore only observe upon it, that the wants of government, like the wants of nature, are few, and easily supplied: 'tis luxury that incurs the most expense, and drinks up the largest fountains of supply; and, what is most to be lamented, the same luxury, which drinks up the greatest supplies, does at the same time corrupt the body, enervate its strength, and waste those powers, which were designed for use, ornament or delight. The ways and means of supply are the object of my principal attention at present. I will premise a few propositions, which appear to me to deserve great consideration here.

I. When a sum of money is wanted, one way of raising it may be much easier than another. This is equally true in states, as in individuals. A man must always depend, for supply, on those articles, which he can best spare, or which he can diminish with least inconvenience: he should first sell such articles, as he has purposely provided for market: if these be not enough, then such articles of his estate as he can best spare, always sacrificing luxuries first, and necessities last of all.

II. Any interest or thing whatever, on which the burden of tax is laid, is diminished either in quantity or neat value; e. g. if money is taxed, part of the sum goes to pay the tax; if lands, part of the produce or price goes to pay it; if goods, part of the price, which the goods will sell for, goes to pay it, &c.

III. The consumption of any thing, on which the burden of tax is laid, will always be thereby lessened; because such tax will raise the price of the article taxed, and fewer people will be able or willing to pay such advance of price, than would purchase, if the price was not raised: and, consequently,

IV. The burden of tax ought to lie heaviest on those articles, the use and consumption of which are least necessary to the community; and lightest on those articles, the use and consumption of which are most necessary to the community. I think this so plain, that it cannot need any thing to be said on it, either by way of illustration or proof.

V. The staples of any country are both the source and measure of its wealth, and therefore ought to be encouraged and increased, as far as possible. No country can enjoy or consume more, than they can raise, make, or purchase. No country can purchase more than they can pay for; and no country can make payment beyond the amount of the surplus of their staples, which remains, after their their own consumption is subtracted. If they go beyond this, they must run in debt, i. e. eat the calf in the cow's belly, or consume, this year, the proceeds of the next; which is a direct step to ruin, and must (if continued) end in destruction.

VI. The great staples of the united states, are our husbandry, fisheries, and manufactures. Trade comes in, as the hand-maid of them all—the servant that tends upon them—the nurse, that takes away their redundancies, and supplies all their wants. These we may consider as the great sources of our wealth; and our trade, as the great conduit, through which it flows. All these we ought, in sound policy, to guard, encourage and increase, as far as possible, and to load them, as little as possible, with burdens and embarrassments.

VII. When any country finds, that any articles are growing into use, and their consumption increasing so far, as to become hurtful to the prosperity of the people, or to corrupt their morals and economy, it is the interest and good policy of such country, to check and diminish the use and consumption.

of such articles, down to such degrees, as shall consist with the greatest happiness and purity of their people.

VIII. This is done the most effectually and unexceptionably, by taxing such articles, and thereby raising their price so high, as shall be necessary to reduce their consumption, as far as is needful for the general good. The force of this observation has been felt by all nations; and sumptuary laws have been tried in all shapes, to prevent or reduce such hurtful consumptions: but none can do it so effectually, as raising the price of them. This touches the feelings of every purchaser, and connects the use of such articles with the pain of the purchaser, who cannot afford them, so closely and so constantly, as cannot fail to operate by way of diminution or disuse of such consumption. And as to such rich or prodigal people, as can or will go to the price of such articles, they are the very persons, whom I think the most able and suitable to pay taxes to the state. I think it would not be difficult to enumerate a great number of such articles of luxury, pride, or mere ornament, which are growing into such excessive use among us, as to become dangerous to the wealth, economy, morals, and health of our people, viz. distilled spirits of all sorts, especially whiskey, and country rum; all imported wines; silks of all sorts, cambricks, lawns, laces, &c. &c. superfine cloths and velvets; jewels of all kinds, &c. to which might be added, a large catalogue of articles, though not so capitally dangerous as these, yet such, as would admit a check in their consumption, without any damage to the state, such as sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, fine linens; all cloths and stuffs generally used by the richer class of people, &c. all which may be judiciously taxed at ten, twenty, fifty, or one hundred per cent. on their first importation: and to these might be added, a small duty of perhaps five per cent. on all other imported goods whatever.

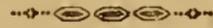
Two things are here to be considered and proved. 1. That this mode of taxation would be more beneficial to the community, than any other: and, 2d. That this mode is practicable.

If these two things are fairly and clearly proved, I think there can be

no room left for doubt, whether this kind of taxation ought to be immediately adopted and put in practice.

I will offer my reasons in favour of these propositions, as fully, clearly, and truly as I can; and hope they may be judged worthy of a candid attention. I will endeavour in the first place, to point out the benefits arising from this mode of taxation.

[To be continued.]



*Account of the settlement of New-Madrid;—in a letter to dr. John Morgan, Philadelphia.*

*New Madrid, April 14, 1789.*

Sir,

THE inclemency of the season, and the precautions necessary for the advantage and security of our party and enterprize, rendered our voyage, down the Ohio, a long though not a disagreeable one. We have now been in the Mississippi two months, most of which time has been taken up in visiting the lands, from cape St. Côme, on the north, to this place on the south; and westward to the river St. François, the general course of which is parallel with the Mississippi, and from twenty to thirty miles distant.

Colonel Morgan, with nineteen others, undertook to reconnoitre the lands, above or north of the Ohio: this gave him the earliest opportunity of producing his credentials to Don Manuel Perez, governor of the Illinois, who treated him, and those that accompanied him, with the greatest politeness. Their arrival, after their business was known, created a general joy throughout the country, among all ranks of its inhabitants:—even the neighbouring Indians have expressed the greatest pleasure at our arrival and intention of settlement. There is not a single nation or tribe of Indians, who claim, or pretend to claim a foot of the land, granted to colonel Morgan. This is a grand matter in favour of our settlement.

The governour very cheerfully supplied our party with every necessary, demanded by colonel Morgan, and particularly with horses and guides, to reconnoitre all the lands to the western limits, and from north to south in the interior country.

In an undertaking of this nature, it is not to be doubted, but different opinions have prevailed amongst us, with respect to the most advantageous situation to establish the first settlement of farmers and planters. A considerable number of reputable French families, on the American side of the Illinois, who propose to join us, wished to influence our judgments in favour of a very beautiful situation and country, about twelve leagues above the Ohio. A number of American farmers, deputed from post Vincent, and some others of our party, were delighted with the country opposite to the Ohio, one league back from the river, to which there is access by a rivulet, that empties itself into the Mississippi, about two and a half or three miles above the Ohio. Some declared for a situation, to which there is a good landing, at the highest floods, about nine miles below the Ohio, and in a very fine country: but after maturely considering every circumstance, and fully examining the country in this neighbourhood, we have united in the resolution, to establish our new city, whence this letter is dated, about twelve leagues below the Ohio, at a place formerly called L'Anse la Graisse, or the Greasy Bend, below the mouth of a river, marked in captain Hutchins's map, Chepousea or Sound river. Here the banks of the Mississippi, for a considerable length, are high, dry, and pleasant; and the soil, westward to the river St. François, is of the most desirable quality for Indian corn, tobacco, flax, hemp, cotton, and indigo; though by some it is deemed too rich for wheat—insomuch that we verily believe, there is not an acre of uncultivable or even indifferent land, within a thousand square miles.

The country rises gradually from the Mississippi, into fine, dry, pleasant and healthful grounds, superior (we believe) in beauty and quality, to every other part of America.

The limits of our new city of Madrid, are to extend four miles south, down the river, and two miles west from it, so as to cross a beautiful, living, deep lake of the purest spring water, one hundred yards wide, and several leagues in length, north and south, emptying itself by a constant,

rapid, narrow stream, through the centre of the city. The banks of this lake, which is called St. Anne's, are high, beautiful, and pleasant; the water deep, clear and sweet: the bottom a clean sand, free from wood, shrubs, or other vegetables, and well stored with fish. On each side of this delightful lake, streets are to be laid out, one hundred feet wide, and a road to be continued round it, of the same breadth: and the trees are directed to be preserved forever, for the health and pleasure of the citizens.

A street one hundred and twenty feet wide, on the banks of the Mississippi, is laid out; and the trees are directed to be preserved for the same purpose.

Twelve acres, in a central part of the city, are to be reserved in like manner, and to be ornamented, improved and regulated by the magistracy of the city, for public walks; and forty lots, of half an acre each, are appropriated to such public uses as the citizens shall recommend, or the chief magistrate direct; and one lot, of twelve acres, is to be reserved for the king's use. One city lot, of half an acre, and one out lot of five acres, to be a free gift to each of the six hundred first settlers.

Our surveyors are now engaged in laying out the city, and out lots, upon an extensive and approved plan, and in surveying the country into farms of three hundred and twenty acres each, previous to individuals making any choice or settlement. These farms, and the conditions of settlement, being also upon a plan universally satisfactory, will prevent the endless law-suits, which the different modes, established in other countries, have entailed upon the posterity of the first settlers.

We have built cabins, and a magazine for provisions; and are proceeding to make gardens, and to plough and plant one hundred acres of the finest *prairie* land in the world, with Indian corn, hemp, flax, cotton, tobacco, and potatoes.

The timber here differs, in some instances, from what you have in the middle states of America; yet we have white oaks of an extraordinary great size, tall and straight; also black oaks, mulberry, ash, poplar, pecumons, crab-apple in abundance, and

larger than ever we saw before, hickery, walnut, locust, &c. and fallafra trees of two feet diameter, and of an extraordinary length and straightness, are common here. The underwood is principally cane and spice.

The kinds of timber, unknown to you, are cypress, pacan, coffee, cucumber, and some others. The cypress grows on the low land, along the river, and is equal in quality to white cedar. We have a fine tract of this in our neighbourhood, which colonel Morgan has directed to be surveyed, into lots of a suitable size, to accommodate every farm.

We are pleased with the climate, and have reason to believe, that we have at last found a country, equal to our most sanguine wishes.

Several principal French gentlemen, at Ste. Genevieve, have offered to conduct colonel Morgan, or any person he pleases to send, to as fine iron and lead mines, as any in America, each within a small day's journey of the Mississippi, and within the bounds of his territory. It is intended to preserve these, for some person or persons of sufficient capital and knowledge, to undertake to work them,

Salt springs are said to be dispersed through all the country: as we have this information from the best authority, we believe it; but have not yet visited any.

The banks of the Mississippi, for many leagues in extent, commencing about twenty miles above the Ohio, are a continued chain of lime-stone; but we have not as yet found any in this neighbourhood.

We could mention many other particulars, which would be pleasing to our friends; but this would require more time to write, than we can spare from our other necessary employments. We must however add, that a thousand farms are directed to be surveyed, which will soon be executed, for the immediate choice and settlement of all families, who shall come here next fall; and that the months of September, October, November, December, and January, are the most proper to arrive here, as the farmer can begin to plough in February, and continue that work until christmäss.

After the surveys are completed, colonel Morgan and major M'Cully will proceed to New York, *via* New Orleans and Cuba; and colonel Shreve, captain Light, and captain Taylor, with all others, who conclude to return immediately for their families, will ascend the Ohio in time, to leave Fort Pitt again, for this place, in October.

Captain Hewling undertakes the direction of a number of single men, to plant a hundred acres of Indian corn, some tobacco, cotton, flax, and hemp—colonel Morgan has supplied him with horses, ploughs, &c. he will be able to build a good house and mill, against his father's and brother's arrival here, next fall.

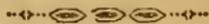
As not a single person of our whole party, consisting of seventy men, has been sick an hour, nor met with any accident; but, on the contrary, all enjoy perfect health, and are in high spirits on the discovery of this happy climate, we think it needless to mention the name of any one in particular. We are, sir,

Your obedient, humble servants.

Signed

*George M'Cully, John Ward,  
John Dodge, Israel Shreve,  
Peter Light, John Stewart,  
David Rankin, James Rhea,  
Samuel Stilman, jun.*

To dr. John Morgan, Philad.



*Whether it be most beneficial to the united states, to promote agriculture, or to encourage the mechanic arts and manufactures?—from a discourse, pronounced by John Morgan, M. D. F. R. S. at a meeting of the Shandean society of Newbern, North Carolina, March 15, 1789.*

**A**GRICULTURE is the oldest employment of man, even of our first parents and primitive ancestors. It has been ever held in the highest estimation, by wise men of every nation, for the innocence that attends it, and for the health and vigour of body it produces. It has had a great number of sovereign princes, amongst it patrons and cultivators, not only for the pleasures, but also for the profits, attendant on its pursuits, as well in administering to all

the most essential wants of individuals, as in producing riches to a nation. Some countries, from their high state of agriculture, becoming granaries to neighbouring nations, have abounded proportionably in wealth, population, the arts of peace and the magazines of war, as history shews to have been the case of Ægypt.

In new countries, in particular, and consequently at first but thinly inhabited, it becomes a primary object, to cultivate the earth, in preference to every other manual labour and pursuit. Wherever good lands abound, whatever can be raised from them, will be an article of worth. And whereas labour is dear from the scarcity of hands, the produce of the earth will yield greater emoluments to the husbandman, than any other species of labour. In this country especially, which is so extensive, and the number of settlers so small in proportion to the land they possess, agriculture will more abundantly supply our wants, than the manufacturing any kind of goods can do, whereof the chief value depends on the labour of many.

From the largest accounts we have, the number of inhabitants, in the united states of America, falls short of three millions; but the land, fit for tillage, pasturage and other purposes of rural life, is capable of furnishing above fifty millions of persons, without being over-crowded. Abounding with materials from the produce of the earth, the present generation can command a supply of the articles they require, in greater plenty, and of better quality, than it would be possible to manufacture ourselves. The necessaries of life are comparatively few. These are easily procured from our lands. But the articles of manufactures and commerce, which not only serve to supply our real wants, but contribute to our imaginary wants and luxury, are innumerable. In this our as yet infant state, we are therefore loudly called upon by our wants, by our interests, by the first law of nature, and good policy, to give our chief attention to agriculture: first, for the more immediate supply of our necessities, and secondly, to furnish us with the most effectual means of procuring, in the

way of barter and commerce, all those things, which we cannot expect or hope to obtain by our own labour.

Mechanic arts may be justly considered, as the offspring of that plenty, which agriculture begets; but they are generally slow in their progress at first, and take a long time, before they reach to any degree of eminence. It is sound policy then, and the true interest of this country, to encourage the natural disposition of the Americans to cultivate the ground, and draw from it the raw, but useful materials, of which it is so capable with little labour, and to supply the trans-atlantic nations of Europe, that depend upon their numbers, to manufacture for us whatever we stand in need of; which, from their skill and long experience, they can afford with greater ease and cheapness, than we can furnish ourselves.

To evince the truth of this assertion, let us reflect, with what success these states, when they were yet but colonies of Britain, pursued this plan of conduct, in adhering to their fisheries, and in clearing and cultivating the ground: thus furnishing the West Indies with lumber, iron, flour and other provisions; and Great Britain herself, and, through her, the countries subject to her dominion, and connected with her by treaties of friendship and commerce, with fish, naval stores, tobacco, pot-ash, rice, indigo, silk, hemp, flax-seed, and other materials for their different manufactures.

It requires no great extent of acquaintance with the products and exports of the different united states of America, to perceive, that our most certain and substantial riches flow from agriculture, hunting, fishing, exploring the earth, and furnishing those raw materials for commerce, which, in return, bring in the wealth and conveniences of other nations.

The plenty of codfish on the coasts of New England, as well as salmon, herring, and a variety and abundance of other species of fish, which employ a great number of their sea-faring people to catch, salt, barrel, and transport them to Portugal, Spain, Italy and the Levant, is to be considered as a rich mine, from which

they derive great wealth, with comparatively little labour. The business of ship-building, the cheapness of which depends upon the quantity and convenience of timber with which the country abounds, and the interest of the husbandman to clear his ground—is another great source of power and riches. By these means, and the making of pot-ash, from the trees, they burn to clear their lands, (which is a valuable article of export) together with their lumber and naval stores, they are enabled to supply foreigners with those articles, from which they acquire ample and valuable returns. Hence, too, they are furnished with active and healthy seamen, for manning their vessels, and for carrying on their commerce with different and distant parts of the world.

The middle states, viz. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, are, in general, fertile in their soil, and abound in all kinds of excellent grain. They also abound in mines of iron ore, from which pig and bar iron are made, and afford valuable articles of remittance to different countries, by furnishing materials for their casting and various mechanic arts. It is not my intention to enlarge upon trade, farther than to point out the raw materials, produced from agriculture and working of the earth, which may be employed to greater advantage by us, in our present state, as articles of commerce, than as mere objects of manufactures for ourselves.

I must here observe, that, where I have referred some particular products of the earth, to some states only, it is to be understood, that the same, or several of those articles, may likewise be the productions of others, or cultivated in them with advantage; although, for the sake of brevity, I have made no mention or repetition of them, as your superior knowledge of the subject will readily enable you to supply my omissions.

Tobacco has been justly considered as the great staple, and standing commodity, of Maryland and Virginia, which states are to the southward of Pennsylvania and Delaware: and it may be also raised in the three remaining states to the southward of Virginia, viz. the two Carolinas and Georgia. The tobacco, which was annu-

ally shipped to Great Britain, before the revolution, fell little short of one hundred thousand hogsheads; and the amount of the customs was above a million of pounds sterling. The three great staples of the Carolinas and Georgia, consisting of rice, indigo, and naval stores, were then computed at near half a million more. Besides which, Georgia has produced great quantities of raw silk, which, being exported to England, came into competition with, and indeed obtained the pre-eminence over, the finest silk of Piémont, for which half a million per annum had been paid. Georgia has been also engaged in making and exporting pot-ash, an article of great demand in bleaching, and in a variety of other trades and manufactures.

From this narrative it appears, of what amazing consequence it has been to North America, to confine her chief views to the improvement of her fisheries and agriculture; and to depend upon the exportation of those raw materials, which she has derived from the waters, the surface and bowels of the earth, to draw from the nations of Europe, and their dependencies, every article of commerce and manufacture, which she stood in need of, and which she could not obtain, by turning the labour of her inhabitants to manufactures and the mechanic arts. The employment of hunting, and a trade with the native Indians employed in hunting, has a connexion with this subject. Hence, we procure furs, and peltries of all sorts, which are exported, as raw materials for the manufactures of other countries, and prove a new source of wealth.

The riches not only of America, but of every other country, depend chiefly upon the product of their lands, and upon the quantity and value of the articles exported from it, above what are imported, which gives the balance of trade in favour of such country. Should we then attempt, by turning our thoughts unseasonably, and beyond what we are capable of executing with ease, to manufacture more than our necessities require, and export less of our produce, we should soon find the balance of trade against us, and ourselves greatly impoverished. Such would be the natural consequence of checking agriculture, from

which our wealth immediately flows, and making it give way to mechanic arts, which cannot be carried on here with the same ease and advantage, as in older and more populous countries.

Let me repeat, that the principal articles of arts and commerce are the productions of agriculture, by means of which, after we have supplied our own demands, we are enabled to bring to us the manufactures, and productions of other countries, that we stand in need of. From a due attention to our agriculture, our fisheries and hunting, and the commerce we establish on them, the means of living become easy, early marriages are promoted, and population is increased—witness the coasts and fishing towns of New England, and the rapid encrease of the children of the industrious husbandmen. This is the consequence of the greater ease of rearing and maintaining large families. It also invites a greater number of foreigners to visit and settle in the country, who mix with us and become one people; the same in their interests, pursuits and manners.

Whenever a country is fully stocked with inhabitants, it is then in a situation to require and encourage manufactures, beyond what is practicable or prudent to attempt, in its early state. But I mean not, in denying a preference to the mechanic arts in our present circumstances, to exclude from a proper share of attention to this object, all such hands as can be well spared from agriculture and commerce, or such as may be necessary for cloathing, for building ships and houses, and for working up those materials, which can be manufactured, with more ease and profit to ourselves, than they can be imported. I even think, as grapes are the natural produce of our country, that planting vineyards, and making wines, at least for our own use and consumption, would be beneficial; and that, while the southern states give their attention to the raising of cotton, the more populous states to the northward might employ many hands and proper machines in carding, spinning and weaving it, which would be a great saving to the inhabitants of America.

I conclude, as a consequence of what I have advanced, that, whilst

older and more thickly inhabited countries are employed in manufactures, the Americans ought to lay themselves out to raise all sorts of commodities, to fit them for a market, and thus to furnish other nations with the materials, of which they stand in need for carrying on their established manufactures, and so derive greater advantages from trading with them, than it is possible by following the mechanic arts and manufacturing for ourselves, till we are more capable, from our numbers and wealth, of carrying on such undertakings.



*Speech of William Pinckney, esq. of Hartford county, Maryland, in the assembly of that state, at their last session, when the report of a committee of the house, favourable to a petition for the relief of the oppressed slaves, was under consideration.*

MR. SPEAKER,

**B**EFORE I proceed to deliver my sentiments, on the subject matter of the report, under consideration, I must entreat the members of this house to hear me with patience, and not to condemn what I may happen to advance, in support of the opinion I have formed, until they shall have heard me out. I am conscious, sir, that upon this occasion, I have long-established principles to combat, and deep-rooted prejudices to defeat; that I have fears and apprehensions to silence, which the acts of former legislatures have sanctioned, and that (what is equivalent to a host of difficulties) the popular impressions are against me: but, if I am honoured with the same indulgent attention, which the house has been pleased to afford me on past subjects of deliberation, I do not despair of surmounting all these obstacles, in the common cause of justice, humanity, and policy. The report appears to me to have two objects in view: to annihilate the existing restraints on the voluntary emancipation of slaves, and to relieve a particular offspring from the punishment, heretofore inflicted on them for the mere transgression of their parents. To the whole report, separately and collectively, my hearty assent, my cordial assistance, shall be given. It was the

policy of this country, sir, from an early period of colonization, down to the revolution, to encourage an importation of slaves, for purposes, which (if conjecture may be indulged) had been far better answered, without their assistance. That this inhuman policy was a disgrace to the colony, a dishonour to the legislature, and a scandal to human nature, we need not at this enlightened period labour to prove. The generous mind, that has adequate ideas of the inherent rights of mankind, and knows the value of them, must feel its indignation rise against the shameful traffic, that introduces slavery into a country, which seems to have been designed by providence, as an asylum for those whom the arm of power had persecuted, and not as a nursery for wretches, stripped of every privilege which heaven intended for its rational creatures, and reduced to a level with—may become themselves—the mere goods and chattels of their masters.

Sir, by the eternal principles of natural justice, no master in the state has a right to hold his slave in bondage for a single hour; but the law of the land—which (however oppressive and unjust, however inconsistent with the great ground-work of the late revolution, and our present frame of government) we cannot, in prudence, or from a regard to individual rights, abolish—has authorised a slavery, as bad, or perhaps worse than, the most absolute, unconditional servitude, that ever England knew, in the early ages of its empire, under the tyrannical policy of the Danes, the feudal tenures of the Saxons, or the pure villanage of the Normans. But, mr. Speaker, because a respect for the peace and safety of the community, and the already injured rights of individuals, forbids a compulsory liberation of these unfortunate creatures, shall we unnecessarily refine upon this gloomy system of bondage, and prevent the owner of a slave from manumitting him, at the only probable period, when the warm feelings of benevolence, and the gentle workings of commiseration dispose him to the generous deed?—Sir, the natural character of Maryland is sufficiently sullied, and dishonoured, by barely tolerating slavery; but when it is found,

that your laws give every possible encouragement to its continuance to the latest generations, and are ingenious to prevent even its slow and gradual decline, how is the die of the imputation deepened?—It may even be thought, that our late glorious struggle for liberty, did not originate in principle, but took its rise from popular caprice, the rage of faction, or the intemperance of party. Let it be remembered, mr. Speaker, that, even in the days of feudal barbarity—when the minds of men were un-expanded by that liberality of sentiment, which springs from civilization and refinement—such was the antipathy, in England, against private bondage, that, so far from being studious to stop the progress of emancipation, the courts of law (aided by legislative connivance) were inventive to liberate, by construction. If, for example, a man brought an action against his villain; it was presumed, that he designed to manumit him; and, although perhaps this presumption was, in ninety-nine instances out of a hundred, contrary to the fact, yet, upon this ground alone, were bondmen adjudged to be free.

Sir,—I sincerely wish, it were in my power, to impart my feelings, upon this subject, to those who hear me—they would then acknowledge, that, while the owner was protected in the property of his slave, he might at the same time be allowed to relinquish that property to the unhappy subject, whenever he should be so inclined. They would then feel, that denying this privilege was repugnant to every principle of humanity—an everlasting stigma on our government—an act of unequalled barbarity—without a colour of policy, or a pretext of necessity, to justify it.

Sir, let gentlemen put it home to themselves, that after providence has crowned our exertions, in the cause of general freedom, with success, and led us on to independence through a myriad of dangers, and in defiance of obstacles crowding thick upon each other, we should not so soon forget the principles upon which we fled to arms, and lose all sense of that interposition of heaven, by which alone we could have been saved from the grasp of arbitrary power. We may

talk of liberty in our public councils; and fancy, that we feel a reverence for her dictates—we may declaim, with all the vehemence of animated rhetoric, against oppression, and flatter ourselves, that we detest the ugly monster—but so long as we continue to cherish the poisonous weed of partial slavery among us, the world will doubt our sincerity. In the name of heaven, with what face can we call ourselves the friends of equal freedom and the inherent rights of our species, when we wantonly pass laws inimical to each—when we reject every opportunity of destroying, by silent, imperceptible degrees, the horrid fabric of individual bondage, reared by the mercenary hands of those, from whom the sacred flame of liberty received no devotion?

Sir, it is pitiable to reflect, to what wild inconsistencies, to what opposite extremes we are hurried, by the frailty of our nature. Long have I been convinced, that no generous sentiment of which the human heart is capable, no elevated passion of the soul that dignifies mankind, can obtain an uniform and perfect dominion—to day we may be aroused as one man, by a wonderful and unaccountable sympathy, against the lawless invader of the rights of his fellow-creatures: to-morrow we may be guilty of the same oppression, which we reprobated and resisted in another. Is it, Mr. Speaker, because the complexion of these devoted victims is not quite so delicate as ours—is it, because their untutored minds (humbled and debased by the hereditary yoke) appear less active and capacious than our own—or, is it, because we have been so habituated to their situation, as to become callous to the horrors of it—that we are determined, whether politic or not, to keep them, till time shall be no more, on a level with the brutes? For “nothing” says Montesquieu, “so much assimilates a man to a brute, as living among freemen, himself a slave.”

Call not Maryland a land of liberty—do not pretend, that she has chosen this country as an asylum—that here she has erected her temple, and consecrated her shrine—when here also her unhallowed enemy holds his heli-  
 ophish pandæmonium, and our rulers of-

fer sacrifice at his polluted altars. The lilly and the bramble may grow in social proximity—but liberty and slavery delight in separation.

Sir! let us figure to ourselves, for a moment, one of these unhappy victims, more informed than the rest, pleading, at the bar of this house, the cause of himself and his fellow-sufferers—what would be the language of this orator of nature?—Thus, my imagination tells me, he would address us.

“We belong, by the policy of the country, to our masters; and submit to our rigorous destiny—we do not ask you to divest them of their property; because we are conscious you have not the power—we do not intreat you to compel an emancipation of us or our posterity, because justice to your fellow-citizens forbids it—we only supplicate you, not to arrest the gentle arm of humanity, when it may be stretched forth in our behalf—not to wage hostilities against that moral or religious conviction, which may at any time incline our masters to give freedom to us, or our unoffending offspring—not to interpose legislative obstacles to the course of voluntary manumission.—Thus shall you neither violate the rights of your people, nor endanger the quiet of the community, while you vindicate your public councils from the imputation of cruelty, and the stigma of causeless, unprovoked oppression.—We have never (would he argue) rebelled against our masters—We have never thrown your government into a ferment, by struggles to regain the independence of our fathers—We have yielded our necks submissive to the yoke, and, without a murmur, acquiesced in the privation of our native rights. We conjure you then, in the name of the common parent of mankind—reward us not, for this long and patient acquiescence, by shutting up the main avenues to our liberation,—by withholding from us the poor privilege of benefiting by the kind indulgence, the generous intentions of our superiors.”

What could we answer to arguments like these?—Silent and peremptory, we might reject the application—but no words could justify the deed.

In vain should we resort to apologies, grounded on the fallacious suggestions of a cautious and timid poli-



us, or think us proper subjects of a fordid commerce. Yet, strong as the prejudices against us are, it will not, I hope, on this side of the Atlantic, be considered as a crime, for a poor african not to confess himself a being of an inferior order to those, who happen to be of a different colour from himself; or be thought very presumptuous, in one who is but a negro, to offer to the happy subjects of this free government, some reflexions upon the wretched condition of his countrymen. They will not, I trust, think worse of my brethren, for being discontented with so hard a lot as that of slavery; nor disown me for their fellow creature, merely because I deeply feel the unmerited sufferings, which my countrymen endure.

It is neither the vanity of being an author, nor a sudden and capricious gull of humanity, which has prompted the present design. It has been long conceived, and long been the principal subject of my thoughts. Ever since an indulgent master rewarded my youthful services with freedom, and supplied me at a very early age with the means of acquiring knowledge, I have laboured to understand the true principles, on which the liberties of mankind are founded, and to possess myself of the language of this country, in order to plead the cause of those who were once my fellow slaves, and if possible to make my freedom, in some degree, the instrument of their deliverance.

The first thing then, which seems necessary, in order to remove those prejudices, which are so unjustly entertained against us, is to prove that we are men—a truth which is difficult of proof, only because it is difficult to imagine, by what arguments it can be combated. Can it be contended, that a difference of colour alone can constitute a difference of species?—if not, in what single circumstance are we different from the rest of mankind? what variety is there in our organization? what inferiority of art in the fashioning of our bodies? what imperfection in the faculties of our minds?—Has not a negro eyes? has not a negro hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?—fed with the same food; hurt with the same weapons; subject to the same diseases;

healed by the same means; warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter, as a white man is? if you prick us, do we not bleed? if you poison us, do we not die? are we not exposed to all the same wants? do we not feel all the same sentiments—are we not capable of all the same exertions—and are we not entitled to all the same rights, as other men?

Yes—and it is said we are men, it is true; but that we are men, addicted to more and worse vices, than those of any other complexion; and such is the innate perverseness of our minds, that nature seems to have marked us out for slavery.—Such is the apology, perpetually made for our masters, and the justification offered for that universal proscription, under which we labour.

But I supplicate our enemies, to be, though for the first time, just in their proceedings towards us; and to establish the fact, before they attempt to draw any conclusion from it. Nor let them imagine, that this can be done, by merely asserting, that such is our universal character. It is the character, I grant, that our inhuman masters have agreed to give us, and which they have too industriously and too successfully propagated, in order to palliate their own guilt, by blackening the helpless victims of it, and to disguise their own cruelty under the semblance of justice. Let the natural depravity of our character be proved—not by appealing to declamatory invectives, and interested representations, but by shewing, that a greater proportion of crimes have been committed by the wronged slaves of the plantations, than by the luxurious inhabitants of Europe, who are happily strangers to those aggravated provocations, by which our passions are every day irritated and incensed. Shew us, that, of the multitude of negroes, who have, within a few years, transported themselves to this country\*, and who are abandoned to themselves; who are corrupted by example, prompted by penury, and infli-

## NOTE.

\* This letter was originally published in England, where the number of negroes is considerably increased, since the late war in America.

gated, by the memory of their wrongs, to the commission of every crime—shew us, I say, (and the demonstration, if it be possible, cannot be difficult) that a greater proportion of these, than of white men, have fallen under the animadversion of justice, and have been sacrificed to your laws. Though avarice may slander and insult our misery, and though poets heighten the horror of their fables, by representing us as monsters of vice—the fact is, that, if treated like other men, and admitted to a participation of their rights, we should differ from them in nothing, perhaps, but in our possessing stronger passions, nicer sensibility, and more enthusiastic virtue.

Before so harsh a decision was pronounced upon our nature, we might have expected—if sad experience had not taught us, to expect nothing but injustice from our adversaries—that some pains would have been taken, to ascertain, what our nature is; and that we should have been considered, as we are found in our native woods, and not as we now are—altered and perverted by an inhuman political institution. But, instead of this, we are examined, not by philosophers, but by interested traders: not as nature formed us, but as man has depraved us—and from such an enquiry, prosecuted under such circumstances, the perverseness of our dispositions is said to be established. Cruel that you are! you make us slaves; you implant in our minds all the vices, which are, in some degree, inseparable from that condition; and you then impiously impute to nature, and to God, the origin of those vices, to which you alone have given birth; and punish in us the crimes, of which you are yourselves the authors.

The condition of slavery is in nothing more deplorable, than in its being so unfavourable to the practice of every virtue. The surest foundation of virtue, is the love of our fellow-creatures; and that affection takes its birth, in the social relations of men to one another. But to a slave these are all denied. He never pays or receives the grateful duties of a son—he never knows or experiences the fond solicitude of a father—the tender names of husband, of brother, and of friend,

are to him unknown. He has no country to defend and bleed for—he can relieve no sufferings—for he looks around in vain, to find a being more wretched than himself. He can indulge no generous sentiment—for, he sees himself every hour treated with contempt and ridicule, and distinguished from irrational brutes, by nothing, but the severity of punishment. Would it be surprising, if a slave, labouring under all these disadvantages—oppressed, insulted, scorned, and trampled on—should come at last to despise himself—to believe the calumnies of his oppressors—and to persuade himself, that it would be against his nature, to cherish any honourable sentiment, or to attempt any virtuous action? Before you boast of your superiority over us, place some of your own colour (if you have the heart to do it) in the same situation with us; and see, whether they have such innate virtue, and such unconquerable vigour of mind, as to be capable of surmounting such multiplied difficulties, and of keeping their minds free from the infection of every vice, even under the oppressive yoke of such a servitude.

But, not satisfied with denying us that indulgence, to which the misery of our condition gives us so just a claim, our enemies have laid down other and stricter rules of morality, to judge our actions by, than those by which the conduct of all other men is tried. Habits, which in all human beings, except ourselves, are thought innocent, are, in us, deemed criminal—and actions, which are even laudable in white men, become enormous crimes in negroes. In proportion to our weakness, the strictness of censure is increased upon us; and as resources are withheld from us, our duties are multiplied. The terror of punishment is perpetually before our eyes; but we know not, how to avert it, what rules to act by, or what guides to follow. We have written laws, indeed, composed in a language we do not understand, and never promulgated: but what avail written laws, when the supreme law, with us, is the capricious will of our overseers? To obey the dictates of our own hearts, and to yield to the strong propensities of nature, is often to incur severe punish-

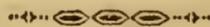
ment; and by emulating examples, which we find applauded and revered among Europeans, we risk inflaming the wildest wrath of our inhuman tyrants.

To judge of the truth of these assertions, consult even those milder and subordinate rules for our conduct, the various codes of your West India laws—those laws, which allow us to be men, whenever they consider us as victims of their vengeance, but treat us only like a species of living property, as often as we are to be the objects of their protection—those laws, by which (it may be truly said) that we are bound to suffer, and be miserable, under pain of death. To resent an injury, received from a white man, though of the lowest rank, and to dare to strike him, though upon the strongest and grossest provocation, is an enormous crime. To attempt an escape from the cruelties exercised over us, by flight, is punished with mutilation, and sometimes with death. To take arms against masters, whose cruelty no submission can mitigate, no patience exhaust, and from whom no other means of deliverance are left, is the most atrocious of all crimes; and is punished by a gradual death, lengthened out by torments, so exquisite, that none, but those who have been long familiarized, with West Indian barbarity, can bear the bare recital of them without horror. And yet I learn from writers, whom the Europeans hold in the highest esteem, that treason is a crime, which cannot be committed by a slave against his master; that a slave stands in no civil relation towards his master, and owes him no allegiance; that master and slave are in a state of war; and if the slave take up arms for his deliverance, he acts not only justifiably, but in obedience to a natural duty, the duty of self-preservation. I read in authors, whom I find venerated by our oppressors, that to deliver one's self and one's countrymen from tyranny, is an act of the sublimest heroism. I hear Europeans exalted, as the martyrs of public liberty, the saviours of their country, and the deliverers of mankind—I see their memories honoured with statues, and their names immortalized in poetry—and yet when a generous negro is animated by the

same passion, which ennobled them—when he feels the wrongs of his countrymen as deeply, and attempts to revenge them as boldly—I see him treated by those same Europeans, as the most execrable of mankind, and led out, amidst curses and insults, to undergo a painful, gradual, and ignominious death\*: and thus the same Briton, who applauds his own ancestors, for attempting to throw off the easy yoke, imposed on them by the Romans, punishes us, as detested parricides, for seeking to get free from the cruellest of all tyrannies, and yielding to the irresistible eloquence of an African Galgacus or Boadicea.

Are then the reason and the morality, for which Europeans so highly value themselves, of a nature so variable and fluctuating, as to change with the complexion of those, to whom they are applied?—Do the rights of nature cease to be such, when a negro is to enjoy them?—Or does patriotism, in the heart of an African, rankle into treason?

*A free negro.*



*The farmer and his thirteen sons, an allegory.*

NOT long ago, a certain farmer settled on a new piece of land, which he was in hopes, by his industry and the assistance of his healthy boys, to be able to cultivate to advantage. Unfortunately he was of a morose, tyrannical and selfish disposition; and often irritated his boys, by his austerity; and as they grew older, he used them more like slaves, than children. They being hardy, resolute, and not easily reconciled to rigorous government, and finding that their reputed father was not their natural parent, but only a step-father; and also that he had not so good a title to the farm, as they would have when they came of age, determined with one consent, that, if he persisted in his tyrannical conduct, they would attempt to eject him, and set up for themselves. Accordingly, on a certain day, when the choleric old gen-

NOTE.

\* For a remarkable instance of this species of barbarous cruelty—see vol. 1. of this work, page 210.

tleman had begun to enforce his unreasonable commands with a cudgel, they manfully returned his blows. After an obstinate struggle, he was forced to retreat; and with a broken pate, and sore sides, he betook himself, muttering and resentful, to his paternal estate, on the other side of the water. The lads, being thirteen in number, and of a sanguine, vigorous and enterprising turn, concluded they could easily manage their joint interest, so as very soon to make their fortunes. They had sense enough to know, that, as their united efforts had ejected their father-in-law, so their united affections and efforts would be necessary, for their future establishment and prosperity. They had only a small spot cultivated on their new farm, upon which they had a crop of wheat: of this they had selected, for seed, a choice sheaf a-piece, larger or smaller, in proportion to the age, ability and industry of each brother; and as they had no shelter for the preservation of their grain, it was judged necessary, that all their sheaves should be compacted together into one shock. But the difficulty was, how to compact them, so as that the whole should be secure from injury and depredation. At length, with joint contrivance and industry, they formed, with straw and other materials, a kind of covering, which they placed over their sheaves, to keep them together, and to screen them from storms and from birds of prey. But it was soon found to be inadequate to the purpose. So weak and loose was it in its contexture, that it could neither shelter the sheaves from the weather, nor keep them from falling apart. Nay, it evidently sunk down, so that most of the sheaves stuck out above it; and by unnatural pressure against one another, they began to be intertangled, to lose their fine shape and proportion, and threatened the bursting their bands, and becoming like a heap of threshed straw. The brothers were soon convinced, that something more effectual must be done, or all their past labour, and fine prospects of future crops, would be lost; and their grain, appearing like a neglected, broken shock, and free plunder for all, would be pillaged, not only by birds and beasts

of prey, but by rapacious farmers around them. But, though the case appeared urgent, it was difficult to find out, or to agree among themselves, what was best to be done. There was a growing uneasiness and anxiety; and, especially as blackbirds and vermin had begun to make disorder and waste in many of the sheaves,—some thought it was best, that each one should take care of his own bundle separately—some, through want of spirit and fraternal affection and generosity, seemed not to care, whether any thing was done for mutual advantage—and some were so abject and base, as to wish to go back again to their step-father, and ask his pardon, with a promise to submit to all his orders and impositions for the future, if he would take their bundles into his custody. But the most of them having cherished their original independent and generous spirit, and being fully persuaded, that they had wit and ability enough among themselves, if they would but jointly exert it, to preserve their own sheaves, without meanly suing to others for assistance, manfully determined to lay their heads and their hands together, and shew what they could do. Accordingly, the brethren all except one or two, entered into close consultation, to strike out some plan, for the joint security of their precious grain. The youngest boy, indeed, having been neglected in his education, and accustomed to low company, was ignorant, obstinate, and knavish; and ungenerously refused to join with his brothers, in any well judged, interesting expedient. But this discouraged not the rest.

The most active, and penetrating among them, at length devised the following scheme, as the most likely to answer the intended purpose, viz. That a handful of the tallest, strongest, and straightest of the straws, should be culled out of each bundle—the bigness of the handfuls to be determined by the bigness of their respective bundles—and that these handfuls, so selected, should, by proper interwoven threads and constricting bands, be ingeniously formed into a cap-sheaf, to unite and cover the whole. Every one saw that this, if faithfully

executed, was a judicious expedient; that thirteen sheaves, well bound, and set close and upright, under such a cap-sheaf, would help to support each other; and would remain safe and well shaped, uninjured by storms, and undiminished by birds of prey; and, moreover, would comprise and convey the ideas of unity, security and comely proportion. And that no apprehensions, jealousies, or discussions might be entertained amongst the brothers, it was provided, that each one should have the culling of his own bundle, for the forming and repairing the cap sheaf, and might aid, with his own ingenuity, in the construction of it. But, though common sense could not but acknowledge the justice and propriety of this measure; and also, that it was much better to spare a handful of grain, for the preservation of the rest, than to risk the loss of the whole, for want of such a sheaf, yet some were fearful, and others were obstinate. Some pretended they had as good run the venture of losing all at once, as to have all the best of it picked away by little and little. Some feared, that the cap-sheaf would be made so heavy, as to crush their sheaves flat to the ground. Others pretended, that the cap-sheaf, being composed of the tallest and strongest of the straws, might be made so stiff and tight, as to compress and pinch the heads of their sheaves too close: or at least, might enclose them so effectually, as to prevent their inspecting and handling them, or taking them out, whenever they should think fit. In short, notwithstanding the union of interest, honour and safety, that demanded the united sentiments, exertions and affections of these thirteen brethren, divers of them objected to the proposed measure. So that those who had the most extended views, and felt the warmest emotions of brotherly kindness, as well as of self-love, dreaded the consequences of disunion. The subject had been so long in debate, and was so interesting to this rising family, that it engaged the attention of older farmers, though at a distance. Those among them, who had a sense of honour and humanity, were grieved at the dissensions of these brethren; and wished

they might have wisdom to coalesce, and preserve their precious seed, upon which all their hopes of a succession of increasing harvests depended. Others, that were selfish and unfriendly, endeavoured to create a misunderstanding between these brothers, in hopes they would be obliged to separate one from another, and become tenants upon their farms, or servants in their families. And particularly their old step father listened, with malignant pleasure, to every account, that was brought him, of their quarrels and dangers; and hoped soon to see the time, when he should get these rebellious Jacks into his hands again, when he would keep their noses effectually to the grindstone, and make them repent of their audacity in resisting his authority. In fine, the most sanguine hopes, that the most benevolent of these brothers, or of their friends, dared to entertain, were, that nine of them would pretty soon be induced to secure their sheaves in the method proposed, and that the rest would see cause after a while, to follow their example; except the youngest; and he, they expected, would become a vagabond and a highway-robber, and soon be brought to an inglorious end; and that if there remained any scattered straws of his sheaf, worth picking up, they would be collected, and tucked into some of the other bundles.



*Striking instance of the shocking effects of fanaticism, in the account of a tragical event, which happened in South Carolina, in 1724.*

THE family of Durartes, consisting of four sons and four daughters, were descendents of French refugees, who came into Carolina, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. They lived in Orange quarter, and though in low circumstances, always maintained an honest character, and were esteemed, by their neighbours, persons of blameless and irreproachable lives. But, at the period above-mentioned, a strolling Moravian preacher happening to come to their neighbourhood, insinuated himself into the family, and partly by conversation, and partly by the writings of Jacob Behmen, which he put into

their hands, filled their heads with wild and fantastical ideas. Unhappily for the poor family, these strange notions gained ground on them, in such that, in one year, they began to withdraw themselves from the ordinances of public worship, and all conversation with the world around them, and strongly to imagine that they were the only family upon earth, who had the knowledge of the true God, and whom he vouchsafed to instruct, either by the immediate impulses of his spirit, or by signs and tokens from heaven. At length, it came to open visions and revelations: God raised up a prophet among them, "*like unto Moses*," to whom he taught them to hearken. This prophet was Peter Rombert, who had married the eldest daughter of the family, when a widow. To this man the Author and Governor of the world deigned to reveal, in the plainest manner, that the wickedness of man was again so great in the world, that he was determined again, as in the days of Noah, to destroy all men from off the face of it, except one family, whom he would save for raising up a godly seed upon earth. This revelation Peter Rombert was sure of, and felt it as plain as the wind blowing on his body; and the rest of the family, with equal confidence and presumption, firmly believed it.

A few days after this, God was pleased to reveal himself a second time to the prophet, saying: "put away the woman thou hast for thy wife; and when I have destroyed this wicked generation, I will raise up her first husband from the dead, and they shall be man and wife as before; and go thou and take to wife her youngest sister, who is a virgin: so shall the chosen family be restored entire, and the holy seed preserved pure and undefiled in it."

At first, the father, when he heard of this revelation, was staggered at so extraordinary a command from heaven: but the prophet assured him, that God would give him a sign, which accordingly happened. Upon this, the old man took his youngest daughter by the hand, and immediately gave her to the wife prophet, who, without further ceremony, took the damsel, and deflowered her. Thus, for some time, they

continued in acts of adultery and incest, until that period, which made the fatal discovery, and introduced the bloody scene of blind fanaticism and madness. These deluded wretches were so far possessed with the false conceit of their own righteousness and holiness, and of the horrid wickedness of all others, that they refused obedience to the civil magistrate, and to all laws and ordinances of men. Upon pretence, that God had commanded them to bear no arms, they not only refused to comply with the militia law, but also the law for repairing the highways. After long forbearance, Mr. Simmons, a worthy magistrate, and the officer of the militia in that quarter, found it necessary to issue his warrants, for levying the penalty of the laws upon them. But by this time, Judith Dutatre, the wife whom the prophet had obtained by revelation, proving with child, another warrant was issued, for bringing her before the justice, to be examined, and bound over to the general sessions, in consequence of a law of the province, framed for preventing bastardy. The constable having received his warrants, and being apprehensive of meeting no good usage in the execution of his office, prevailed on two or three of his neighbours to go along with him. The family observed the constable coming; and being apprized of his errand, consulted their prophet, who soon told them, that God commanded them to arm, and defend themselves against persecution, and their substance against the robberies of ungodly men; assuring them at the same time, that no weapon formed against them, should prosper. Accordingly they obeyed their prophet, and laying hold of their arms, fired on the constable and his followers, and drove them out of their plantation.

Such behaviour was not to be tolerated; wherefore captain Simmons gathered a party of the militia, and went to protect the constable, in the execution of his office. When the deluded family saw the justice and his party approaching, they shut themselves up in their house, and firing from it like furies, shot captain Simmons dead on the spot, and wounded several of the party. The militia returned the fire,

killed one woman within the house; and afterwards forcibly entering it, took the rest prisoners, six in number, and brought them to Charleston.

At the court of general sessions, held in September, 1724, three of them were brought to trial, found guilty, and condemned—they pretended they had the spirit of God, leading them to all truth; they knew it and felt it: but this spirit, instead of influencing them to obedience, purity, and peace, commanded them (forsooth) to commit rebellion, incest and murder.

What is still more astonishing, the principal persons among them, I mean the prophet, the father of the family, and Michael Boneau, never were convinced of their delusion, but persisted in it, to their latest breath. During their trial, they appeared altogether unconcerned and secure, affirming that God was on their side, and therefore they feared not what man could do unto them. They freely told the incestuous story in open court, in all its circumstances and aggravations, with a good countenance; and very readily confessed the facts, respecting the rebellion and murder, with which they stood charged; but pleaded their authority from God, in vindication of themselves, and insisted, that they had done nothing in either case, but by his express command.

As it is customary with clergymen, to visit persons under sentence of death, both to convince them of their error and danger, and to prepare them for death, by bringing them to a penitent disposition; the rev. Alexander Garden, the episcopal minister of Charleston, by whom this account is handed down to us, attended those condemned persons with great diligence and concern. What they had affirmed in the court of justice, they, in like manner, repeated and confessed to him, in the prison. When he began to reason with them, and explain the heinous nature of their crimes, they treated him with disdain. Their constant phrase was: “answer him not a word: who is he, that he should presume to teach them, who had the spirit of God, speaking inwardly to their souls?”—in all they had done, they said they had obeyed the voice of

God, and were now about to suffer martyrdom for his religion. But God had assured them, that he would either work a deliverance for them, or raise them up from the dead on the third day.

These things the three men continued confidently to believe; and notwithstanding all the means used to convince them of their mistake, persisted in the same belief, until the moment they expired. At their execution, they told the spectators, with seeming triumph, they should soon see them again, for they were certain, they should rise from the dead on the third day.

With respect to the other three—the daughter Judith, being with child, was not tried; and the two sons, David and John Dutartre, about eighteen and twenty one years of age, having been also tried and condemned, continued fullen and reserved, in hopes of seeing those that were executed, rise from the dead: but being disappointed, they became, or at least seemed to become sensible of their error, and were both pardoned. Not long afterwards, however, one of them relapsed into the same snare, and murdered an innocent person, without either provocation or previous quarrel; and for no other reason, as he confessed, but that God had commanded him so to do. Being a second time brought to trial, he was found guilty of murder, and condemned. Mr. Garden attended him again, under the second sentence, and with great appearance of success. No man could appear more deeply sensible of his error and delusion, or die a more sincere penitent for his horrid crimes. With great attention, he listened to mr. Garden, while he explained to him the terms of pardon and salvation, proposed in the gospel; and seemed to die, in the humble hopes of mercy, through the all-sufficient merits of a Redeemer.

Thus ended that tragical scene of fanaticism, in which seven persons lost their lives; one being killed, two murdered, and four executed for the murders.—A signal and melancholy instance of the weakness and frailty of human nature, and to what giddy heights of extravagance and madness an inflamed imagination will carry unfortunate mortals!

## A N O D E,

*Most respectfully inscribed to his excellency, general Washington, on being chosen president of the united states.*

## I.

WHERE fair Columbia spreads her wide domain,  
O'er many a lengthen'd hill and sylvan plain,  
In mystic vision wrapt, far to the south,  
Array'd in all the bloom of rosy youth,

A cherub form arose.

O'er the blue heav'ns her snowy pinions spread,  
Celestial tints illum'd her starry head.

Bright as the radiant God of day,  
Soft as the fleecy cloud, or milky-way,

Her shining vestment flows.

Her hand sustains the trump of fame ;  
Its blasts aloud her will proclaim.—

As high in air she hung,

O'er where Mount Vernon's odours breathe,  
She dropt immortal glory's wreath,

Then, northward soaring, sung—

The music of the spheres resounding to her tongue :

## II.

“ Heav'n-born freedom, sent to save,

“ By actions, glorious as brave,

“ With every Godlike virtue fraught,

“ Which either peace or war has taught,

“ Behold your hero come !—

“ Call'd by his country's urgent voice,

“ O'er her high councils to preside ;

“ By ev'ry breast's united choice,

“ Call'd, the storm-beat helm to guide,

“ He leaves his rural dome.

“ On all his steps see smiling concord wait,

“ And harmony pervade each happy state—

“ See public confidence her arms expand,

“ While gladning gratulations echo o'er the land.

## III.

“ With soul at unambitious rest,

“ Yet glowing for the public weal ;

“ Still must Columbia's dear bequest

“ O'er philosophic ease prevail,

“ To hold with steady hand,

“ A free, a just, restricting rein,

“ Wild, jarring discord to restrain ;

“ As government's revolving car,

“ Through placid peace, or horrid war,

“ Obeys his mild command.

“ Thine be the bliss, great son of Fame !

“ (As still hath been thy only aim)

“ To bid strict justice poise her equal scale—

“ Reviving commerce spread the swelling sail,

“ With golden prospects fraught from ev'ry gale.

## IV.

“ Those laurel trophies, won through seas of blood,

“ Unequall'd in historic fame,

“ Those priceless labours for the public good,

“ Had well immortaliz'd thy name,

" And claim'd a world's applause.  
 " Now all the honours of the field,  
 " All splendid conquest e'er could yield,  
 " Combine with universal praise,  
 " On high thy matchless worth to raise,  
 " The guardian of our laws.  
 " Not rear'd by tumult in a giddy hour,  
 " The crested idol of despotic pow'r ;  
 " But sacred Freedom's delegated voice,  
 " Thy grateful country's uncorrupted choice.

## V.

" No Alexander's mad career,  
 " No Cæsar's dictatorial reign,  
 " No daz'ling pomp that sceptres wear,  
 " Thy soul with thirst of pow'r could stain.  
 " A greater honour's thine—  
 " Approving millions place in you,  
 " That pow'r, they would reflective view—  
 " Diffusing all that's good and great  
 " Through each department of the state,  
 " Thy bright'ning virtues shine,  
 " With more effulgence round thy head,  
 " With more essential honours spread,  
 " Than sparkling toys that gild the tyrant's brow ;  
 " Worn but to court his cringing slaves to bow.

## VI.

" As yon bright spheres, that circling run  
 " With lucid splendor round the sun,  
 " Diffuse their borrow'd blaze ;  
 " So may that senatorial band,  
 " Assembled by a virtuous land,  
 " (As on thy worth they gaze)  
 " Reflect the light thy virtues yield,  
 " The sword of justice bid thee wield,  
 " And anarchy erase.  
 " The fed'ral union closer bind ;  
 " Firm public faith restore ;  
 " Drive discord from the canker'd mind ;  
 " Each mutual blessing pour.—  
 " Then, when the glorious course is run,  
 " Which heav'n assign'd her Washington,  
 " His soul let cherub choirs convey  
 " To all the triumphs of eternal day."

*Bladenburgh, April 16, 1789.* SAMUEL KNOX.



*An epitaph—intended for the monument of major general  
Greene. By William Pierce, esq. of Savannah.*

**L**IKE other things, this marble must decay,  
 The cypher'd characters shall fade away,  
 And nought but ruin mark this sacred spot,  
 Where Greene's interr'd,—perhaps the place forgot.  
 But time, unmeasur'd, shall preserve his name,  
 Through distant ages shall roll on his fame,  
 And, in the heart of ev'ry good man, raise  
 A lasting monument of matchless praise.





## FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

## LONDON.

*April 23.* The diet of Poland has at length nearly finished its sitting, which has been the longest and most violent ever known in that kingdom. The result of their deliberations on the state of the nation, are to the following effect :

Military establishment—one hundred thousand men.

Annual expense—computed at forty-eight millions, five hundred and thirty-one thousand Polish florins, or about four millions sterling.

Additional revenue to pay it—A tax of ten per cent. on the revenues of the clergy, and church lands, excepting such as belong to hospitals and convents.

*April 24.* Pamphlets, chiefly in the form of dialogue, are disseminating among the French peasantry, treating on the natural rights and liberties of mankind. To this practice no opposition is made by the government.

The French have, with their usual gallantry, gone further than ourselves in the plan of their representation. They have given to ladies the right of voting, and of sending representatives to the general assembly.

*April 25.* The benevolent institutions in this kingdom, for the relief of distress, and the encouragement of virtue, are, it must be allowed, very numerous, and supported with a spirit that does honour to the humanity of the inhabitants at large. In addition to those, one has lately been instituted in this metropolis, called the philanthropic society, for the effectual relief of those who are justly termed the out-casts of society—that is, the children of the vagrant and profligate poor, who, in their present condition, are destined to succeed to the hereditary vices of their parents, and to become, in the next race, beggars and thieves.

The latest reports announce the death of the emperor.

The king of Sweden has obtained all his views of the diet, the equestrian order having not only agreed to the act of union and safety, but to all the other resolutions taken, by the secret committee, and the other three

orders, whereby the crown debts, from Charles XII. to the present, and all in future, are guaranteed and secured, as payable by the nation.

*April 30.* The clergy of the Vermandois, have spontaneously and unanimously renounced all their exemptions and pecuniary privileges. Many other religious confraternities have followed so laudable and generous an example.

On Wednesday last the gold medal was voted by the society for the encouragement of arts, to capt. Peckingham of the navy, for his valuable invention of steering a ship, by an apparatus that can be fitted to the mast in a second, in the event of a rudder being carried away in a storm.

*Progress of English arts.* The amphitheatre, on which Humphreys and Mendoza are to box, is entirely finished;—it forms an octagon, and will contain two thousand persons; but there are only fifteen hundred tickets worked off, at half a guinea each.

Such were the shows, that erst in

Rome,

Prefag'd her rapid, final doom :

What Rome now is, shall Britain be :  
For scenes like these unnerve the free.

The Venetians have met with a great loss at the isle of Corfu. The arsenal accidentally, it is supposed, took fire on the 11th of March, which communicated to the powder magazine. A terrible explosion then took place, by which a fleet of gallees was almost entirely destroyed, together with all the stores, and the wall that surrounded the arsenal. The number of lives lost was one hundred and sixty, besides the prisoners; and there have been a multitude wounded.

*May 12.* One objection to the new government in America, is the expense of it. But a gentleman from that country assures us, that the annual expense of the president and congress will not amount to so much, as is annually allowed here to the prince of Wales. Surely that people must be poor indeed—or their complaints are groundless. [The annual income of the prince of Wales is ninety thousand pounds sterling—four hundred thousand dollars—and at the rates agreed to by congress, supposing that body to sit all the year round, the salaries of

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the president, vice-president, senate, representatives, secretaries of departments, and the judiciary, would not amount to near two thirds of the sum allowed to one lavish young fellow—two hundred and sixty thousand dollars being the extent of it, from an accurate calculation.]

*House of commons, May 20.*

*Slave trade.*

Alderman Newnham presented a petition against the abolition of the slave trade, from the merchants and ship owners of the city of London, desiring to be heard by counsel.

Lord Penrhyn presented petitions against the abolition, from the planters in the British plantations; the planters' mortgagees, and annuitants from the town of Liverpool; the merchants of Liverpool trading to Africa; the manufacturers of, and dealers in, iron, copper and brass, of the town of Liverpool; the sail-makers of Liverpool; the coopers of Liverpool; the shipwrights of Liverpool; the gun-makers of Liverpool; the block-makers of Liverpool; and from the bakers of Liverpool; all desiring to be heard by counsel, against the abolition of the African trade.

Mr. Blackburn presented a petition from the manufacturers of goods for the African trade, resident in and about Manchester, against the abolition.

Mr. Gascoyne presented a petition against the abolition of the trade, from the mayor, aldermen, and corporation of Liverpool.

Mr. Alderman Watson presented a petition against the abolition, from the merchants, mortgagees, and other creditors of the sugar colonies; and he took that opportunity of declaring his opinion to be, that a speedy abolition would be repugnant to humanity, to justice, and to sound reason.

Lord Maitland presented a petition from messrs. Burton and Hutchinson, agents for the island of Antigua, against the abolition.

These petitions were all received, read, and ordered to lie on the table.

*Paris, April 16.*

A deputation, it is said, is arrived from the French American colonies, to demand a discussion of their rights, by the *etats generaux*. This deputation consists of thirty-two members,

who will be reduced to a more convenient number.

## AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE,

*New York, July 6.*

Saturday last, being the fourth of July, when America entered on the fourteenth year of her independency, the same was observed here with every demonstration of joy; at sun-rise, a salute was fired from the fort; at six o'clock, the legionary troops of general Malcom's brigade, under the command of lieutenant colonel Chrystie, paraded; then they marched to the fields; where, in the presence of a large and respectable concourse of spectators, they went through a number of manœuvres, in a manner that would reflect credit on disciplined troops. At twelve o'clock, a feu-de-joie was fired by col. Bauman's regiment of artillery and the legion: at the same hour, the honourable society of the Cincinnati marched in procession to St. Paul's church, where an eulogium, on the memory of the late general Greene, was delivered by the hon. col. Hamilton, in the presence of both houses of congress, and a number of other personages of distinction; after which, they returned in the same form to the city-tavern, where they partook of an entertainment provided for the occasion, drank a number of patriotic toasts, (a discharge of cannon to each), and spent the day and evening in a manner that ever distinguishes the sons of Columbia on this memorable anniversary.

With pleasure we announce, that the president is considerably recovered from his late indisposition, and has for these few days past, been able to take an airing in his carriage; but still we are sorry to say, that his excellency was not sufficiently recovered, to partake of the joys of that auspicious day.

*Boston, July 23.*

The society of the Cincinnati of the state of Rhode Island, at their annual meeting at Newport, on the 4th inst. expressed their disapprobation of the iniquitous tender-law of that state, by erasing the name of Joseph Arnold, of Warwick, from the list of their members, for discharging a specie debt with their depreciated paper currency.

A letter from Seneca, South Carolina, dated June 4, says, "About three days ago, three men were killed and scalped by the Creeks, at a place called the Mulberry, on the frontiers of Georgia: it is also reported here, that a large number of Creeks are on their way for Tugaloo, in consequence of which, guards are posted there, in order to protect the inhabitants. Yesterday, I heard that four hundred were seen on their march towards that place: God only knows what the event will be."

A prospectus has been published at Paris, offering to report the proceedings of the three estates, in the same manner, as the debates in the two houses of parliament are done in the English prints. Speaking, in these proposals, of the liberty of the press, the writer expresses himself in a manner the most singular. "It is on this palladium alone" says he, "that France is to rely, for all her future greatness; it was through the freedom of the press, that Ireland was impelled to make those successful efforts, by which she released herself from the subjugation, in which she was held by the English parliament; and it is to this alone" continues this Frenchman, of the eighteenth century, "that England herself is indebted for the small remains of liberty, which exist at present in that kingdom!!!"

*July 22.* The legislature of the united states has, at length, finally determined on the salaries of the great officers of state, viz. to the president, twenty-five thousand dollars, to the vice-president, five thousand dollars, per annum—to each senator and representative, six dollars, per diem—and to the chairman or speaker of the house of representatives, twelve dollars, per diem.

*July 29.* The president of the united states was so well, as to receive visits of compliment from many official characters and citizens yesterday.

*Baltimore, July 28.*

The legislature of the state of New York have passed a law for appointing seven commissioners, with full power to declare their assent, that a certain territory, (Vermont) within the jurisdiction of that state, should be formed or erected into a new state; and Robert Yates, Rufus

King, and Gulian Verplanck, esquires, are appointed for that purpose; to whom are added, Robert R. Livingston, Richard Varick, Simon De Witt, and John Lansing, jun. esquires, who were chosen by the senate.

*Georgetown, July 22.*

A letter from a gentleman in Kentucke, dated June 22, says, "The Indians have lately paid a visit to our new settlement on Green river, and murdered five persons, who had only arrived there a few weeks before. As this settlement lies at a considerable distance from the inhabited parts, it is feared, that the new settlers will be much exposed to the fury of the savages—who take every opportunity to distress our country, where they find us weak, and off our guard.

"Sad experience has fully convinced us, that treaties with those people have only lulled us into an imaginary state of safety, for which hundreds have paid with their lives: in a word, as long as we remain weak as we are, without support and aid from the Atlantic states, Kentucke must remain the theatre of murder and devastations."

*Petersburg, July 9.*

Virginia cloth—of excellent quality, and very cheap—may be purchased, almost every day, of the country people who come to town, for the purpose of making sale of it. It is infinitely superior to any thing of the kind imported, and wears remarkably well. This cloth is made of cotton, woven with great taste, and by the ingenuity of our fair, has been brought to such perfection, as to be preferred by many to the European manufactures. Several gentlemen have furnished themselves with full suits of this cloth: and, as many others are anxious to obtain it, we hope that every one, who professes himself to be a Virginian, will be distinguished by his cloth, as it will be promoting the manufactures of our country, and giving that encouragement to industry, which it ought ever to meet with.

D I E D.

*In Philadelphia.*—Laur. Keene, esq.—Mrs. Mary Procter.—Colonel Benjamin G. Eyres.—Mr. Armitage.

*In Baltimore.*—T. Ruffel, esq.

*At Alexandria.*—Mr. G. Richards.

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ESSAY on drunkenness—Presentments of the grand jury of Washington county—Descriptio novi generis plantae—&c. &c. are under consideration.

AN American's remarks on a passage in the life of Capt. Cooke—remarks on the cause and cure of the gout—&c. &c. shall appear in our next.

SUNDRY other favours are received.

## A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For AUGUST, 1789.

*Observations on the utility of funding the public debts of the united States.*

IT appears that a committee of ways and means has been lately appointed by congress, to whom is referred the report of the committee on the supplies.

The result of their investigations, it was expected, would form an important consideration, as affecting the public interests. But the general expectation will be most cruelly defeated, as the committee, who were to report to congress the business that was necessarily to be attended to, previous to a recess, have abandoned all consideration of this essential object.

I must therefore be indulged in conveying to my fellow-citizens, some serious remarks on the subject, hoping they may stimulate some patriot pen to treat the subject in a more masterly manner; and that they may induce the president of the union, to recommend to the consideration of the federal councils, a point of legislative attention, so intimately connected with public justice and private rights, the dignity and independence of government, both at home and abroad.

It must be confessed, that the citizens of these states possess a constitution and form of government, far surpassing the most celebrated that human wisdom ever before established; a country, stretching through a great variety of climates, furnishing almost every article that can gratify the wishes of man; abounding in inhabitants of an industrious, intelligent, and enterprising character; a country, too, already rich in resources, but having the means of multiplying them to a much ampler extent, and far beyond the demands that the union will probably have occasion for.

It becomes, therefore, an obvious question, why an effectual provision has not been made for fulfilling all the public engagements, as it appears from the most accurate estimation, that not above half of the requisite

supplies to the federal treasury, will be drawn from the impost system?

The government will not certainly carry into effect the purposes for which it was instituted, if an adjournment of congress should take place, without the most unequivocal measures being taken to restore public credit, which can alone establish private confidence.

This can only be effected by funding the public debts, by providing a sufficient revenue to pay the interest, and gradually to extinguish the capital.

The reasons, that may be adduced in favour of this system, as drawn from policy, detached from the more weighty consideration of justice, must, to every enlightened statesman, appear very conclusive.

They will perhaps be more impressive, if arranged under different heads, where each reason will have its own support, and may be dispassionately contemplated; and from the force of the individual arguments, a general result may be formed.

I shall commit them to paper, as they occur, without order or connexion, for they want no adventitious help, to enforce their conviction.

11. Because the funding a debt is the creation of an artificial capital, which, circulating through the different orders of society, invigorates and enlivens industry. It is acknowledged, that the produce of land and labour constitutes the riches of every country; but then the produce of labour is augmented, in proportion to the capital employed in setting it in motion, and maintaining it. The debt of the union, when the interest is secured on specific appropriations, will constitute a capital, which will increase the stock of the country, and consequently the national revenue of the society, and will raise the value of real property: or, as Mr. Hume happily expresses it, "our public securities, become a kind of money, and pass as readily at the current price, as gold and silver.

“Our national debts furnish our merchants with a species of money that is continually multiplying on their hands, and produces sure gain, besides the profit of their commerce.”

They will constitute as valuable a representative of alienable property, as the precious metals, and will save an immense expense to the country, by the substitution of a cheap, instead of a very costly medium of circulation.

2dly. Because the unequal portion of the public debt, possessed by the citizens of the respective states, points out the necessity of immediate measures being taken to render the public securities an available property. A suspension of justice, due to such claims, would operate very partially, by exonerating one part of the union at the expense of the other. Such attachment to local interests might disturb the tranquility of the states, by creating discontents and dissensions on the side of the suffering parties, who would have reason to complain of sustaining an undue proportion of the public burdens.

3dly. Because public credit is a mine of wealth, which will supply the exigencies of the country with money, attracted from abroad, on the terms of usual interest, which, when employed in the various pursuits of commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, will yield a profit, far superior to the rate of interest that is paid: the balance will be clear gain to the country, and will give it a contributive faculty in supporting additional taxes: foreigners, who have once deposited their wealth in these states, will be interested in their welfare, will be attached to their interests, and will more easily be led to migrate here with their families, and thereby make a valuable acquisition to our population and resources: for nothing is more true, than that “where your treasure is, there is your heart also.”

4thly. Because the critical situation of the united states, in the neighbourhood of the valuable possessions of the great maritime powers of Europe, will expose them to the necessity of an active interference in the quarrels of those nations, if they are not in so respectable a state, as to support

their neutrality, and to become formidable to the power that attempts to provoke them to hostilities.

A very deranged state of her finances (laid open at the *assemblée des notables*) occasioned all the calamities that France recently experienced, when she was compelled to abandon her allies, the patriots, in Holland, and suffer Great Britain to dictate the most humiliating terms to her, and force her silently to view a total revolution in the politics, and government of that country; by which arrangement, France lost, in one day, all the advantages, which, by the terms of her treaty, she might expect to derive from the naval force of the united provinces; an object which, for near a century, she had been endeavouring to secure.

The war of 1739 was brought on Great Britain by Spain, from an expectation of taking advantage of the debilitated state of the British funds, and gratifying her resentments. It terminated in the peace of Aix la Chapelle, which increased the national debt of Great Britain, upwards of £.30,000,000 sterling.

The necessity of shutting up the *Caisse d'Amortissement*, and withholding the regular interest due to the public creditors in 1759, ruined the credit of France, deprived her of the power of anticipating her revenues, to support the expense of the war, and thereby gave an opportunity to Great Britain to achieve so glorious a campaign.

In the preamble of the late edict of the king of France, for the negotiation of loans to discharge the demands due on the royal treasury, for interest, &c. he evinces a most pointed attention to this object: he thus expresses himself; “From every operation of finance, which might tarnish the fidelity of our engagements, we feel ourselves severely interdicted, not only because we shall always regard the obligations to their religious discharge, as one of our most sacred duties, but because, since the property of individuals is involved with the property of the state, it is impossible that it should experience the slightest concussion, without that concussion causing itself to be felt to the extremities of the kingdom.”

The united states cannot expect to be exempted from the calamities that other nations have experienced, from a loss of public credit, and a feeble administration of their affairs. Political misconduct, and a misapplication of their means, will inevitably degrade them in the scale of empire.

5thly. Because no argument, in favour of a suspension of the establishment of public credit, by funding the national debt, can be drawn from the inability of the country; as the united states evidently possess resources far beyond the demands that can be made on them, to satisfy every just and equitable claim. It has become a point of serious speculation amongst the politicians of Europe, how far a country, with a government well administered, will support taxes without the people feeling the weight as oppressive, and what portion of the produce of their land, of the profits of their labour, and of their flock, may be appropriated to public purposes, without diminishing their future contributive faculty. The exigencies of the British government have occasioned a greater relative demand on the people, than in any other country; and let their case be taken for an example. The best informed writers estimate the annual produce of the lauds of Great Britain to be worth

The annual profits of manufactures,	20,000,000
The annual profits of commerce,	20,000,000

£.100,000,000

which sum constitutes the full amount of the revenue of Great Britain, drawn from every source.

The payment of the interest of the public debt, and the amount of the peace establishment, require a contribution of sixteen millions sterling. See Zimmerman's political survey, page 226. Peace establishment, including civil list expenditure, £.6,676,000

Interest of debt, 9,275,769

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£.15,951,769

which is nearly a sixth part of the annual revenue of the whole society.

In order to form a comparative view between the revenue of the two countries, and the respective demands

on them for national purposes, it will be necessary to provide an estimate of the amount of the produce of the united states, drawn from every source of profit. This pursuit will rather lead into the field of conjecture, as the science of political arithmetic has been but little cultivated in this country, and accurate data cannot be obtained. However, from the state of other countries, we may form some opinion of the resources of our own.

Great Britain possesses a revenue of £.100,000,000, with a population of 8,000,000 inhabitants. This averages to each individual £.12 10 sterling per annum, including men, women, and children,

The question now is, whether such a calculation would be just, if applied to the united states. It appears, that the most productive source of profit in Great Britain, is agriculture, which affords more revenue than all the other objects united. This pursuit cannot afford to the farming and planting interests in America, an income far inferior to that of the cultivators in Great Britain, considering the variety of valuable productions the soil of America furnishes, consisting of rice, indigo, tobacco, and all species of grain, hemp, flax, &c. And, under this head, may be introduced the profits of our woods, supplying timber for exportation, naval stores, pot-ash, &c.

Besides, we have a greater proportion of our inhabitants employed in this more profitable avocation, than there are in England, where the surplus of people, exceeding what the demand for the cultivation of the earth requires, are forced into pursuits connected with commerce or manufactures. Whereas, the great extent of rich and valuable soil that this country abounds with, will furnish a sufficient number of farms for an amazing increase of inhabitants.

If, then, the revenue of Great Britain averages to each inhabitant £.12 10 sterling, per annum, what may be accounted the aggregate amount of that of the united states, (according to this calculation) multiplied by its population of 3,000,000?

It would be £.37,500,000 sterling. But suppose, to prevent the possibility of cavil or objection, it should be

reduced to half this sum, (and surely the inhabitants of this country, one with another, consume annually, far beyond the value of six pounds, five shillings, sterling, which must be drawn from the commodities produced in the country) then the whole revenue of the united states will be reduced to £.18,750,000. sterling.

Now, the amount of the annual requisitions on the people, (deducting arrearages, which may be consolidated with the capital of the national debt) for peace establishment and interest on foreign and domestic loans, will be about 3,000,000 dollars, or £.675,000 sterling, which is a twenty seventh part of the revenue of the country. Whereas Great Britain contributes between a sixth and seventh part. Indeed, the sum requisite to pay the interest of her national debt, is equal to the capital of that of the united states. Besides, Great Britain is accounted to have arrived at the zenith of her power; as her population has rather diminished, than increased, for a considerable period past. But the united states must multiply, in an astonishing degree, their resources, arising from natural and adventitious increase of population, sale of western lands, &c. Besides, the frugal manner of their inhabitants occasion very little expense, and the nature of republican government, averse to pomp and ostentation, requires but a small sum to support the civil list expenditures.

A great proportion of their inhabitants are freeholders, and consequently in the habit of acquiring, preserving, and increasing property.

6thly. Because the demands of the public creditors, who furnished supplies and loans, or rendered services to the government, in the hour of its distress, are so respectable, and appeal so strongly to the compassionate feelings of the people, as well as to their sense of justice, that their cause has become very popular throughout the union. For the people, in their collective capacity, love justice, independent of the national advantages to be derived from its support. It was therefore expected, that one of the first acts of government, would be to relieve their necessities, by an effectual and permanent provision; espe-

cially, when it was considered, with what ease this relief may be extended, and how little the people would be burdened by the arrangement. For what is received by one hand, will be paid by the other, with respect to all that is drawn from taxation, to answer these purposes. The national stock of the community will not be at all impoverished, as the whole amount would soon return into the common mass of circulation.

7thly. Because it has been the invariable policy of all wise nations, not only to pay the interest of their public debts, but to diminish, as far as their resources would admit, the capital; by which means, the great burdens, that a period of war may have laid on the people, have been gradually removed by applying the resources of peace.

Great Britain, between the years 1727 and 1739, which last was the commencement of a Spanish war, reduced her national debt £.5,137,612 sterling. Between 1748, the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and the year 1755, the beginning of a French war, there was another reduction of £3,721,473 sterling. Between 1762, the treaty of Paris, and the year 1775, the beginning of the American war, there was a further reduction of £.10,739,793. And since the last year, there was an extinction of two millions of the national debt, and measures have been adopted for a permanent continuance of this progressive diminution.

Other nations have been compelled to have recourse to the same plan of arrangement, not only gradually to ease the burdens of their subjects, but to convince the world of their resources, the only sure preservative against the attacks of foreign powers.

Should congress suffer the interest on the public debt annually to accumulate, it will occasion a progressive increase of the capital, which will greatly embarrass the finances of the union.

8thly. Because a system of taxation, confined to the impost, which is known to be inefficient to answer the purpose of paying the interest of the public debts, and provide for other necessary expenditures, argues an unwillingness to do justice to all parties, or a disinclination in the people to

submit to any other species of revenue. The former is opposed to every principle of the federal constitution, and may be fatal to the tranquility as well as reputation of the union. The latter has a tendency equally inauspicious; it announces to the world, in the plainest language, our extreme impotence and confined resources, or bespeaks the American people as impatient under the restraints of good government, and not disposed to contribute to its support; which no evidence of their conduct affords a foundation to presume.

On the contrary, to tread back the paths of injustice, to restore public and private credit, to convince the nations of the world of the abundant power and resources possessed by the united states, seem to be the ruling objects of their political attentions and wishes.

As the impost is a tax which diminishes in its produce, by the increase of its rates (from the temptation and encouragement it affords to illicit trade) recourse must be had to other taxes; or the executive, by the exertions of a high-handed authority, must call forth the necessary means to constitute the defence of the country in times of imminent peril and distress. Besides, it is impossible to equalize the contributions of the people, by the operation of any single specific tax. It is compelling an arm to support the burden intended for the whole body. There never, surely, was a more favourable opportunity to collect revenue from every different source, than at the present moment, when the people are disposed to view with a favourable eye, all the operations of the new government.

9thly. Because it is the practice of all wise governments, to fund their public securities, as soon as they can obtain sufficient revenues from taxation: as, whilst they continue floating in the market, with no legislative provision to support them, they become depreciated, and thereby discourage any further loans to government. France has repeatedly paid much more than the value of what she received in loans, at a period of the greatest declension of her credit. Even Great Britain, who has been so invariably attached to its support, has been forced

to submit to very unfavourable terms, from a suspicion (generally entertained) that her resources were not sufficient to fund the heavy debt she was contracting during the American war. In the loan of 1782, she borrowed £.7,250,000, for which she gave £.13,500,000 of the three per cents. thus estimating them at 54 per cent. which was an absolute loss of 46 per cent. as this fund, in the year 1755, was at par.

It is problematical, whether the united states could, however pressing the emergency, in the present deranged state of her finances, the general want of confidence, and the unusual scarcity of money, negotiate a loan to any extent, such as national purposes might demand.

10thly. Because the united states must be materially injured, from the public securities being alienated to foreigners, who will naturally purchase extensively, whilst they are at so low a rate. The holders, from the scarcity of money, are compelled to dispose of them. Whereas, were they once funded, they would become an available property, easily negociable, and would form a supplementary medium of commerce, and aid the circulation. By such means, domestic loans would be facilitated, whenever the government, pressed by sudden emergencies, was incapable of augmenting its ordinary revenue, and must depend on the anticipation of its resources.

11thly. Because the public creditors, throughout the union, in ratifying the federal constitution, acquiesced in the alienation of the impost (which, in some of the states, was an appropriated fund, for the payment of the interest due to them, on the public securities of the united states) under the fullest persuasion, that they should not suffer by the abandonment of this productive fund; but that full retribution would be made to them, under the operation of the federal system. They were more strongly impressed with this idea, from the unvarying language of congress on this subject, which hitherto has left no room to doubt the good intentions of our federal councils.

12thly. Because the establishment of public credit, by the operation of the funding system, will, by setting

in motion a large capital, which is now lying dormant, effect a reduction in the interest of money, to the great benefit of the landed, commercial, and manufacturing pursuits.

The public advantages, that will be derived from this source, will be considerable, as the national expenditures will diminish proportionally with the decline of interest.

Great Britain exhibits a striking instance of the benefit to be derived from such arrangements. Her administration, at different periods, reduced the interest of the public debts, with the consent of the creditors; from 6 to 5 per cent. in the year 1717; from 5 to 4 per cent. in the year 1727; and from 4 to 3 per cent. from the year 1750 to 1757; by which reduction an annual saving of £.1,266,971 sterling, was effected.

13thly. Because, should a sum insufficient to pay the interest of the whole debt be levied, the domestic creditors will suspect that a preference is intended to be given to the foreign lenders, which will occasion great clamour and uneasiness.

Such a conduct in government, will have the appearance of rendering justice to the subjects of a foreign country, which has the power of remedying its wrongs, and of being perfidious to its own citizens, who may be impotent and unprotected, and can only sue for justice, in *forma pauperis*. This would be the reverse of the conduct of other nations, whose charity, like that of individuals, usually begins at home.

When the disturbances happened between Great Britain and Holland, it was proposed that the former should attempt to cripple the enemy, by withholding the supplies of annual interest for monies placed in her funds. That country possessed a spirit superior to such tricking practices. But no instance can be adduced in history, of a country that gave a preference to foreigners, and devoted its own citizens to destruction. It would be a species of political suicide. The remittances made to the Dutch, for the interest on their loans, will never return amongst us. Whereas, what is paid to the American creditors, will not in the least diminish the capital stock of the country.

This is by no means a reflexion that is intended to authorize a suspension of the Dutch claims; but it may lead to the consideration, how far it would be advisable to negotiate with that people, for a prolongation of the time of payment, as this country has hitherto owed its great success to the profitable employment of foreign capitals, the advantages attending which, have far exceeded the interest that is paid, and the surplus constitutes a clear gain to the community.



*Observations on manufacturing sugar from the sap of the maple tree.\**

IT is now many years since experiments were first made of manufacturing sugar and melasses out of the maple tree, which is found in abundance, in many parts of the united states: and, writers of the first reputation in Europe, have mentioned the same thing, as often practised there. The quality of the maple juice, on the branches and head-waters of the Susquehanna and Delaware, has, of late, been frequently tried, and found to be remarkably rich. But, though there is ample proof, that the farmer, with a little care and pains, may add much to the comfort and health of his family, by an abundant supply of maple melasses and sugar—and, that he may, moreover, obtain a good profit, by making them for sale; yet, too little attention has, heretofore, been paid to it. There seems at this time, however, to be a disposition for cultivating all the natural advantages of our country, and manufacturing, in such quantities, as circumstances may admit, every article in which we are able profitably to engage.

It is probable, therefore, that the friends of home manufactures will think it advisable to apply some of that thought and exertion, which they have lately manifested, to giving the manufacture of American melasses and sugar a fair trial.

The owners of lands of this kind

NOTE.

\* Various receipts for manufacturing maple sugar, maple melasses, maple wine, &c. may be seen in the American Museum, vol. iv. page 349.

(and the state is a considerable owner of such lands) will also find themselves interested in the success of an attempt to bring maple-sugar into general use.

All, who are opposed to the slave trade, will find the means of family supplies, of both sugar and melasses, without the labour of the unhappy people, who are the objects of that trade.

And, lastly, the inducements to foreigners, to migrate into our country, will be increased, by this new method of adding to the comforts of life, and the early profits of a farm.

As the subject, here offered for consideration, is very little known to some among us, it may be useful to give some particulars respecting it, which may be relied upon as true.

The sugar maple tree is found in great abundance, in the western parts of Ulster and Albany counties, and throughout Montgomery county, in the state of New York—as also, in the adjoining counties, of Northampton, Luzerne, and Northumberland, in Pennsylvania. Though it may be found in other places, these are mentioned, because they comprise a great sugar maple country, adjacent to market; and because the facts, which are the foundation of these observations, have taken place in those counties.

The juice of the maple tree, in that great tract of country, is every year made into melasses and sugar, by more than fifteen hundred families, who generally use their common kitchen pots, camp kettles, &c.—so simple is the process; a few only working with suitable vessels, and with pot-ash kettles, which answer the same purpose very well. The sugar making occupies but three or four weeks in the year—that is, from about the 15th or 20th of February, to the 15th or 20th of March—a season, when, it is well known, the farmer has little other employment. A man, with three or four children either girls or boys, will very easily make 1500 pounds weight, in the above season of three or four weeks; so that it will require no expense of wages to hired people, where there are children old enough to carry a pail of water or juice, or to feed a fire with light fuel. Those, however, who incline to apply to it,

as the means of increasing the income of their lands, may very easily manufacture hogheads of it, with a few hired hands, and few pounds value of suitable kettles, pails, and ladles.

The most experienced people, in the counties above-mentioned, have declared, that a tree, if carefully tapped, will, for many succeeding years, yield sap or juice enough to make five pounds of sugar, in the season; and it is a certain fact, that upwards of thirty hogheads, a considerable part of which was equal to fine Muscovado, were made last spring, in the family-way only, by the farmers settled, since December, 1785, upon a body of lands, less than eight miles square, around Cooper's-town, on the Otsego Lake, at the head of the north-east branch of Susquehanna.

It is the intention of those, who are now moving in this business, to endeavour to give ease to the farmer, in making these valuable and wholesome articles, by providing a considerable number of neat, well-formed iron kettles, which will contain about fifteen gallons each; and which will be sold reasonably—also to publish a few, clear, and proper rules and directions, for making both the sugar and melasses, which will be carefully collected from those who have been accustomed to boiling sugars on the above lands, and in the West Indies.

They have considered, likewise, the best method of preserving the sugar, when made, which will be, to put it into tight casks that will keep it safe, if stored in leaky houses, or brought down the rivers upon rafts, without a covering, or in open boats. A careful and continued attention is intended, hereafter, to be applied to this subject; and every useful hint and information, that can render the business of the farmer, in making sugar, more easy or more profitable, published for his consideration.

But as the various inducements, to encourage the manufacturing of sugar, are very serious and important, both to the community and individuals, it is proposed, immediately, to open a subscription for buying it, with ready money, for a term of years, of persons who may bring it for sale to the city of Philadelphia.

*Directions for manufacturing sugar, from the maple tree.*

**I**F the sap is drawn into wooden vessels, care should be taken that they are made of such wood, as will not give the liquor a bad taste. Some maple sugar has a disagreeable taste, occasioned, as I have been informed, by the sap having been put into trays made of the white walnut. If the moulds are made of wood, they also should be made of some kind of tree that will give no taste. The greatest part of the maple sugar I have seen, has too small a grain; which is owing to two causes; one is, the makers of it do not use lime or lye, or any thing else, to make it granulate; the other is, that they boil the sugar too much—The quantity of lime necessary to answer the purpose, I cannot exactly ascertain; but I suppose a heaped spoonful of slacked lime, would be sufficient for about six gallons of sap. A judicious person, after a few trials, would be able to fix the due proportion. It may, however, be proper to mention, that if the quantity of lime is too small, the sugar will not be sufficiently grained; if too much, it will give the sugar a reddish cast. I have before observed, that the sugar should not be boiled so much, as has been the common practice. That, from which runs about one-sixth of its weight in melasses, in twenty-four hours after it is put to drain, I think, has been boiled properly; perhaps, in three or four weeks afterwards, it will run the like quantity of melasses, making the whole of the running about one-third the weight of the green sugar. It is probable, that those who have been accustomed to high boiling, in order to get as much sugar as possible in the first process, will not approve of this method, but perhaps may be better reconciled to it, when they are informed, that if they boil this melasses or syrup with strong lime-water, one-third of the latter to two-thirds of the melasses, there is reason to expect it will make good sugar, although not equal to the first sort.

I shall now proceed to give some directions for the making of maple-sugar.

Let all the sap that has been col-

lected in one day, be boiled the day following, lest it should ferment, in which case the sugar would be less in quantity, and worse in quality. To carry on the business with the greatest advantage, there should be three kettles of different dimensions. These kettles should be fixed in a row, the smallest at one end, the middle sized next, and the largest at the other end.—When there is a quantity of sap collected, put as much in the largest kettle as can be conveniently boiled in it; then throw in as much lime or lye as may be deemed necessary to make the liquor granulate. Keep a moderate fire for some time, and, as the scum rises, take it off with a skimmer; after the liquor is pretty clear, increase the fire, and boil it briskly, 'till so much is evaporated, as that which remains may be boiled in the middle kettle;\* into which the liquor must be strained through a blanket; under this kettle, keep a good fire, and take off the scum as it rises. As soon the liquor is taken from the large, and put into the middle kettle, fresh sap must be put into the former, and treated as before directed, and so on, till all the sap is boiled.

When the liquor is sufficiently evaporated in the middle kettle, to admit its being boiled in the smallest, it must be put into the last, where it must be boiled, until it gets to a proper consistency to make sugar. When the liquor is taken from the middle kettle into the smallest, the former must be supplied, as is before directed, from the largest, and the largest with fresh sap. The liquor, in the small kettle, must be boiled briskly, until it gets pretty thick, when the fire should be lessened, to prevent its burning. When the liquor rises in the kettle, a piece of butter or fat, the size of a hazelnut, may be thrown in; if this quantity does not make it boil flat, more should be added, until it answers the purpose, and this must be repeated as often as the liquor rises. When it is boiled enough, which may be

## NOTE.

\* Some liquor should be left in the large kettle, if an iron one, otherwise there would be a danger of its splitting, upon putting in cold liquor.

known by the manner \* of its roping between the thumb and finger, it must be put into a cooler or tub, when the small kettle must be supplied with liquor from the middle-sized one, that, with more from the largest, and the large one with fresh sap, as is before directed. When one-third of the sap, that has been collected, is boiled and put into the cooler, it must be stirred briskly about with a stirring stick (which may be made like a small paddle) until it grains, when it may be left, (if the business has been well done) until another third of the liquor is boiled, and put into the cooler: it must be then moved about with the stirring stick, until it is well mixed together—when the remainder of the liquor is boiled and put into the cooler, it must again be moved about with the stirring stick, until the whole is well mixed, when it must be put into moulds; earthen would be best; but wooden moulds may be made to answer the purpose, by nailing or pinning four boards together, so shaped, as to make the mould one inch diameter at the bottom, and ten or twelve inches at the top; the length may be two feet, or two feet and an half—these moulds must be closely stopped at the small ends, with old coarse linen, or some such thing, and set up with something to stay them; the sugar must then be taken from the cooler, and poured into the moulds—next morning, the stoppers must be taken out, and the moulds be put on troughs, or some vessel to drain their melasses. In the evening, the loaves must be pierced at the small ends, to make them run their syrup freely—this may be done by driving a wooden pin, (shaped like a marling spike) three or four inches up the loaf; after which they must be left to drain their melasses, which will be done in a shorter or longer time, according as the sugar has been boiled.

No part of the business requires greater attention than granulating or graining the sugar in the cooler, and afterwards frequently observing the

## NOTE.

\* Dip a stick into the liquor, apply the thumb to it, and take part of what adheres to the stick, then draw it two or three times between the thumb and finger.

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state it is in—if too thick, it may be remedied, by boiling the remaining liquor lower, than that which was boiled before—if too thin, by stirring the cooler again, and boiling the remainder of the liquor higher, or more.

## A SUGAR BOILER.

Philadelphia, August 21, 1789.

☞ The making of sugar is quite common and easy, with a single kettle of any size.



*Remarks on the best mode of raising young hogs: addressed to, and published by, the Philadelphia county society, for the promotion of agriculture and domestic manufactures.*

## GENTLEMEN,

IT is with pleasure I communicate an experiment I lately made, to discover the best method of raising young hogs. Having frequently been informed that pigs would thrive best, if turned into a good clover field, with the sow; but having never verified it by my own observation; I was induced to make the following accurate experiment.

A sow, two years old, of the English and Guinea breed, had seven pigs; at a month old, in a state proper to make good roasters, I selected three of the best, and put them, with the sow, into a field of ten acres, very luxuriant, with red and white clover, with some little timothy and blue grass; in short, they could not be in better pasture. They had also the advantage of shade, a fine spring of water to drink or wallow in at pleasure, and the common wash of the kitchen. Their weight, when turned out, was eleven, twelve, and thirteen pounds. The remaining four were put into a stable by themselves; they had plenty of clean straw, and as much skimmed milk as they could drink; the weight of three of them was nine, ten, and thirteen pounds. The result of the experiment was, that, in three weeks time, from their being put up, those with the sow, with all the advantages abovementioned, and the milk of the seven, weighed sixteen, seventeen, and nineteen pounds; the three in the stable, twenty-five, twenty-two, and nineteen pounds; which, toge-

ther, make fourteen pounds weight in favour of the latter, to which we should also add the four pounds against them, when first put up, which, added, make eighteen pounds superior to the former.

Our farmers, in general, are too negligent of their young flock of every kind. It is customary for them to suffer the mother and young to shift for themselves; all animals grow in the inverse ratio to their age, and therefore the younger they are, the more necessary to give them plenty of food, if you desire them to acquire the full growth, of which their nature is capable. An animal, stunted when young, never thrives afterwards equally with those which have had justice done them. I am satisfied, from a little experience, that a stricter attention to the raising of our cattle and stock of all kinds, would give us a breed on our farms, equal to any in the world, and would, at the same time, add greatly to our own wealth and that of our country.

I am, gentlemen,

your friend,

GEORGE LOGAN.

Stenton, June 25, 1789.



*Remarks on raising calves without new milk. Addressed to the Philadelphia county agricultural society.*

GENTLEMEN,

I LATELY observed, in Mr. Young's valuable annals of agriculture, some observations on rearing of cattle, by his grace the duke of Northumberland. His grace observes, that he had entertained an idea, that skimmed milk might be prepared, with proper ingredients, effectually to answer the purpose of raising calves, at one-third of the expense of feeding them with new milk. This is an object worthy the attention of your society, because calves are frequently destroyed, as soon as dropped, where the owner of the cow has occasion for the new milk; or are sold to the butcher, at an early age, when their skin and flesh are of little value. His grace observes, that the articles to be added to the skimmed milk, are, treacle, and the common linseed cake, ground very fine. Mr. Young, in his remarks on the above informa-

tion, says, there are two objects in rearing calves, each of which is of great importance\*; first, to effect it without the assistance of any milk at all, and, second, to improve skimmed milk, so as to render it more nutritious; it being well known, that there is a prodigious difference in the growth and thriving of the animal, when fed with new or skimmed milk. The raising calves, without milk, was an object of the society of arts in London, and, they rewarded a Mr. Budd for his method, which was, feeding them on a gruel made with ground barley and oats. Mr. Young made a trial of this method without success; as he has also done, in a variety of cases, of raising calves without any milk. The possibility, he thinks, as yet remains in uncertainty. Mr. Young thinks well of the plan recommended by the duke of Northumberland, which he had tried in two instances, with success.

Could we discover a method not only to raise calves, but to make good veal for the butcher, without the use of new milk, it might induce our farmers to keep their calves to five or six weeks, at which age the meat would be much better, and the skins much more valuable, particularly for boot-legs, than when killed young.

In order to make some discovery on this subject, I lately made the following experiment—I had two calves nearly of the same age and condition; the one, from a fine young cow, was confined in a clean airy stable, and had the cow turned into him three times a day, from an adjoining field of good clover.

The other, at three days old, was taken from the cow, and confined in a dark stable, well littered with clean straw, every two days: for the first week, he had as much new milk as he could drink, three times a-day, when it was changed to skimmed milk, having two or three handfuls of fine Indian meal stirred into it: after suffering him to drink plentifully of this mixture, he was every morning and evening crammed with two boluses of the size of a hen's egg,

NOTE.

\* See *American Museum*, vol. II. page 466.

made with Indian meal, linseed oil, and an egg. One week before the calf was killed, the oil was omitted, as it is reported to give the flesh of animals, fed on linseed cake, a disagreeable taste.

The result of the experiment was, that the veal, fed with the oil, was one pound and a quarter heavier than the other, and was rather superior to it in every other respect, not having the least taste of the oil, of which I was apprehensive.

At the same time, that the oil is very nourishing, it tends to keep the body open, which is of great advantage in the fattening of any animals. I have experienced a very great advantage in the use of a small quantity of oil, in bringing stall-fed oxen rapidly to a condition fit for the knife.

I am, gentlemen,  
with great respect,  
your friend,  
GEORGE LOGAN.

Stenton, August 5, 1789.

Published by order of the society,  
William Lardner, sec. pro. tem.



*To the president of the united states  
of America.*

*The respectful address of the senate  
and assembly of the state of New  
York.*

SIR,

WHILE our country at large bears a chearful testimony to your distinguished virtues and services, we, the senate and assembly of the state of New York, avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity, since your election to the presidency of the united states, to present you our sincere and affectionate congratulations, upon your appointment to that illustrious station.

The citizens of this state, in the course of the late destructive war, pressed by calamities and dangers, with grateful admiration beheld you displaying the brightest military talents for their defence and safety; and, when these were no longer necessary, their prayers and acclamations attended you, retiring from the head of a victorious army, to the enjoyments of domestic life.

After such distinguished proofs of fortitude and moderation, no motive, but the purest patriotism, could have

induced you to listen to the voice of your country, and to reassume the arduous duties of a public station.

We are confident, sir, of expressing with fidelity, the sentiments of the freemen of this state, when we assure you of the regard they have for your person—of the confidence they repose in your wisdom—and of the firm expectation they entertain, that your administration will, by the blessing of Almighty God, be glorious to yourself, and happy for your country.

Permit us to add, that we shall do all in our power to make your residence in this state agreeable; and at all times be ready to afford you our united aid and support.

In behalf of the senate,  
*Pierre Van Cortlandt*, President.  
In behalf of the assembly,  
*Gulian Verplanck*, speaker.  
Albany, July 15, 1789.

PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

*To the senate and assembly of the  
state of New York.*

GENTLEMEN,

THE affectionate congratulations of so respectable a public body, as the senate and house of representatives of the state of New York, on my election to the presidency of the united states, fill my breast with the most pleasing sensations.

In the fortitude and perseverance of the citizens of this state, even amidst the calamities and dangers, with which they were surrounded in the late war, I found a resource, which it always gave me pleasure to acknowledge, in the strongest and most grateful terms. I may also be permitted to add, that the satisfaction I experienced in retiring to the enjoyments of domestic life, was greatly enhanced, by a reflexion, that their public virtue had been finally crowned with complete success.

I am now truly happy, that my motives, for reassuming the arduous duties of a public station, have met with your approbation. And, at the same time, I intreat, you will be persuaded, that nothing could be better calculated to encourage me to hope for prosperity in the execution of the duties of my office, than the assurances you have given, of the favourable sentiments and expectations of the freemen of your state.

I request, gentlemen, that you will accept my best thanks, for your polite intimation, that you will do every thing in your power to make my residence in your state agreeable; as well as for your patriotic promise of being always ready to afford your united aid and support.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.



*Address of the convention of the protestant episcopal church, in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, held at Philadelphia;*

*To the president of the united states.*

SIR,

WE, the bishops, clergy, and laity of the protestant episcopal church, in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South-Carolina, in general convention assembled, beg leave, with the highest veneration, and the most animating national considerations, at the earliest moment in our power, to express our cordial joy, on your election to the chief magistracy of the united states.

When we contemplate the short, but eventful history of our nation—when we recollect the series of essential services performed by you, in the course of the revolution, the temperate, yet efficient exertion of the mighty powers with which the nature of the contest made it necessary to invest you—and especially when we remember the voluntary and magnanimous relinquishment of those high authorities, at the moment of peace—we anticipate the happiness of our country, under your future administration.

But it was not alone from a successful and virtuous use of those extraordinary powers, that you were called from your honourable retirement, to the first dignities of our government. An affectionate admiration of your private character—the impartiality, the persevering fortitude, and the energy with which your public duties have been invariably performed—and the paternal solicitude, for the happiness of the American people—together with the wisdom and consummate

knowledge of our affairs, manifested in your last military communication, have directed to your name the universal wish, and have produced, for the first time in the history of mankind, an example of unanimous consent, in the appointment of the governor of a free and enlightened nation.

To these considerations, inspiring us with the most pleasing expectations, as private citizens, permit us to add, that, as the representatives of a numerous and extended church, we most thankfully rejoice in the election of a civil ruler, deservedly beloved, and eminently distinguished among the friends of genuine religion; who has happily united a tender regard for other churches, with an inviolable attachment to his own.

With unfeigned satisfaction, we congratulate you on the establishment of the new constitution of government for the united states; the mild, yet efficient operations of which, we confidently trust, will remove every remaining apprehension of those, with whose opinions it may not entirely coincide, and will confirm the hopes of its numerous friends. Nor do these expectations appear too sanguine, when the moderation, patriotism, and wisdom, of the honourable members of the federal legislature are duly considered. From a body thus eminently qualified, harmoniously co-operating with the executive authority in constitutional concert, we confidently hope for the restoration of order and our ancient virtues—the extension of genuine religion, and the consequent advancement of our respectability abroad, and of our substantial happiness at home.

We devoutly implore the Supreme Ruler of the universe, to preserve you long in health and prosperity—an animating example of all public and private virtues—the friend and guardian of a free, enlightened, and grateful people—and that you may finally receive the reward which will be given to those, whose lives have been spent in promoting the happiness of mankind.

WILLIAM WHITE,  
Bishop of the protestant episcopal church in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and president of the convention.

SAMUEL PROVOOST, D. D. Bishop of the protestant episcopal church, in the state of New York, though prevented by indisposition from attending the late general convention, he concurs sincerely in this particular act, and subscribes the present address with the greatest satisfaction.

## NEW YORK.

Benjamin Moore, D. D. assistant minister of Trinity Church, in the city of New York.  
Abraham Beach, D. D. assistant minister of Trinity Church, in the city of New York.  
Moses Rogers.

## NEW JERSEY.

William Frazer, rector of St. Michael's church, Trenton. and St. Andrew's church, Amwell.  
Uzel Ogden, rector of Trinity church, in Newark.  
Henry Whaddell, rector of the churches of Shrewsbury and Middleton, New Jersey.  
George H. Spieren, rector of St. Peter's church, Perth Amboy, New Jersey.  
John Cox.  
Samuel Ogden.  
R. Stretzell Jones.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Samuel Magaw, D. D. rector of St. Paul's, and provost of the university of Pennsylvania.  
Robert Blackwell, D. D. senior assistant minister of Christ church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia.  
Joseph Pilmore, rector of the united churches of Trinity, St. Thomas and All Saints.  
Joseph G. T. Bend, assistant minister of Christ church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia.  
Francis Hopkinson.  
Gerardus Clarkson.  
Tench Coxe.  
Samuel Powell.

## DELAWARE.

Joseph Conden, rector of St. Ann's.  
Stephen Sykes, A. M. rector of the united churches of St. Peter's and St. Matthew, in Suffex county.  
James Sykes.

## MARYLAND.

William Smith, D. D. now provost of the college and academy of Philadelphia; but appointed clerical deputy for Maryland, as rector

of Chester parish, in Kent county.  
Thomas John Clagget, rector of St. Paul's, Prince George county.  
Colin Ferguson, D. D. rector of St. Paul's.  
John Bissett, A. M. rector of Shrewsbury parish Kent, county.  
William Frisby.  
Richard B. Carmichael.

## VIRGINIA.

Robert Andrews.  
SOUTH CAROLINA.  
Robert Smith, rector of St. Philip's church, Charleston.  
W. W. Burrows.  
William Brisbane.

August 7, 1789.

## PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

*To the bishops, clergy, and laity of the protestant episcopal church in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, in general convention assembled.*

## GENTLEMEN,

I Sincerely thank you for your affectionate congratulations on my election to the chief magistracy of the united states.

After having received, from my fellow-citizens in general, the most liberal treatment—after having found them disposed to contemplate, in the most flattering point of view, the performance of my military services, and the manner of my retirement at the close of the war—I feel, that I have a right to console myself, in my present arduous undertakings, with a hope that they will still be inclined to put the most favourable construction on the motives, which may influence me in my future public transactions.

The satisfaction, arising from the indulgent opinion, entertained by the American people, of my conduct, will, I trust, be some security for preventing me from doing any thing, which might justly incur the forfeiture of that opinion—and the consideration, that human happiness, and moral duty, are inseparably connected, will always continue to prompt me to promote the progress of the former, by inculcating the practice of the latter.

On this occasion, it will ill become me to conceal the joy I have felt, in perceiving the fraternal affection which appears to increase every day among

the friends of genuine religion. It affords edifying prospects, indeed, to see christians of different denominations dwell together in more charity, and conduct themselves, in respect to each other, with a more christian-like spirit, than ever they have done, in any former age, or in any other nation.

I receive, with the greater satisfaction, your congratulations on the establishment of the new constitution of government: because, I believe, its mild, yet efficient operations, will tend to remove every remaining apprehension of those, with whose opinions it may not entirely coincide, as well as to confirm the hopes of its numerous friends: and, because the moderation, patriotism, and wisdom of the present federal legislature, seem to promise the restoration of order and our ancient virtues; the extension of genuine religion, and the consequent advancement of our respectability abroad, and of our substantial happiness at home.

I request, most reverend and respected gentlemen, that you will accept my cordial thanks for your devout supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the universe in behalf of me. May you, and the people whom you represent, be the happy subjects of the divine benedictions, both here and hereafter!

G. WASHINGTON.

*Method of destroying the flying weevil, in Bavaria, in a letter from Mr. Walpole, minister from the court of Great Britain, at Munich, to the marquis of Carmarthen, secretary of state.*

A PERSON put on a heap of corn, thyme and sweet marjorum, and changed each of these plants every twenty-four hours, in hopes of discovering one which would answer his purpose. Hemp was also tried; he took a handful, and put it on a heap of corn, and found the next morning that the heap was full of weevils. These little black animals seem to have a smell of a curious nature, since they find the bad scent of hemp agreeable, and it appears they like the soft rind of it. This handful of hemp was picked out of the granary, and winnowed, and put again

on the corn. The result was, that in five days afterwards, there were no weevils to be seen in the said heap of corn. In the season, when there was no green hemp, they made use of mouldy old hemp, and with equal success, except that it required a longer time to destroy these insects.

The weevils appeared again, in the month of May, the following year, in less quantities, and at that period, there was only the tow or heads of hemp that was already prepared to spin; nevertheless, the success was the same, and, in eight days time, all the weevils were removed. Perhaps linnen might be used, steeped in the juice of hemp, where the hemp is not cultivated, and the event might turn out equally successful. However, it is necessary to shake the hemp well, that is put on the corn, and to stir the corn, if in great quantities, in order to bring the weevils to the surface. This experiment was made also in a rainy summer, when it was necessary to collect together the sheaves, which were very wet, and carry them into the granary, which, of course, occasioned a fermentation in the barn, as well as the granary, and from that cause, produced many weevils. Hemp was made use of very early in the spring, and the corn stirred at the same time, and as the excessive heat arose from it, the weevils disappeared.

*Thoughts on the finances and debts of the united states.*

I HAVE had my attention seriously engaged by the publication of the estimate of the supplies requisite for the united states in the year 1789.

On investigating this estimate, contained in the report of a committee of congress, it appears, that the annual demands on the union, for the civil list expenditures, the instalments due on foreign loans, and the interest on the foreign and domestic debt, amount to

dollars. 90  
3,207,096. 21

Deduct instalments,  
and premium on the loan 490,962. 89

2,716,133. 22

which is the clear amount of the annual contributions for the support of

government: for the payment of the instalments is a liquidation of so much of the capital of the foreign debt, which, by being extinguished, will require a proportionally less sum to be raised in subsequent years, for interest.

As for the various arrearages, which the report takes notice of, and which form the balance of the sum total, they are not to be considered as an annual demand, but will probably be consolidated with the capital of the debt, and the interest thereon be alone required.

So far from room for despondency, in the minds of the good people of these states, by such a representation of their affairs, it exhibits the most flattering and favourable prospects. The annual requisitions will not amount to a dollar per head, estimating the population of the union at three millions: a small demand, in exchange for such invaluable blessings, as peace, liberty, and independence; and which must be lightly felt in a country that can afford to pay three shillings per day to a common labourer.

It is not probably a fourth of the contributions that we should have been compelled to furnish towards our proportion of the national debt of Great Britain, if we had remained under the domination of that haughty and exacting nation.

But let us enquire what is the relative situation of other countries, with respect to the quantum of public contributions.

Great Britain, under the operation of a government, that, it must be confessed, pays pointed attention to her agricultural, commercial and manufacturing pursuits, flourishes, notwithstanding an accumulation of public debt, that demands an annual supply of sixteen millions sterling, to satisfy its interest, and support her other expenses.

But the people are so little oppressed by these demands, that they are enabled, with ease, to raise by taxation, a sufficient sum to constitute a sinking fund, which, in the course of the last year, extinguished two millions of the capital of the national debt.

Calculating on eight millions of inhabitants, in Great Britain, there will be apportioned to each individual,

as an annual contribution, forty shillings, sterling, which is between eight and nine dollars per head. What a flattering consideration, for the citizens of the united states, arises out of the comparative situation of the two countries!—But what renders the reflexion still more pleasing, is, that Great Britain may be deemed stationary, if not declining, in her population, and consequent resources. But the united states present an unbounded field for progressive population; and the increase of inhabitants will ease the burden of the debt, by additional numbers participating in the support of its weight.

This augmentation does not only arise from natural increase, in a country situated like America, where the means of subsistence are so easily to be procured, but likewise from the rapid migration that will necessarily take place, from the superior encouragement, that a government, so well constituted to favour civil and religious liberty, and protect the rights of property, will offer. Such migrations are usually accompanied with considerable acquisitions of property, which add to the general stock of the community.

When the united states of America, have arranged their financial system, and made ample provision for their existing claims, the progressive increase of the taxes, arising from various causes, joined to the sales of the western territory, will form a considerable surplus, that may be applied to the gradual and speedy extinction of the capital of the public debt.

The beneficial effects of the funding system\*, when founded on proper principles, will be felt through all the classes of the community: as it will throw into circulation the capital of the domestic debt—increase thereby the general stock of the country—and facilitate the various purposes of alienation.

If a comparative view was formed of the public debts of France, Spain, or Holland, the united states would find, that it would induce a result

NOTE.

\* For an essay on this subject, see page 93.

much more favourable than even that with Great Britain.

This communication of congress can therefore give no cause of exultation to the enemies of the government. Foreign nations must respect the resources of a country, abounding in such powerful means, and so unfettered by its present engagements.

A FRIEND TO THE UNION.



Exports and imports of the port of Wilmington, Delaware, from the 1st of June, 1788, till the 1st of June, 1789.

Exports.

21,783	barrels, superfine flour.
457	——, common, ditto.
256	——, middlings, ditto.
346	——, shipstuff, ditto.
1,263	——, ship-bread.
41	kegs, white biscuit.
238	barrels, corn meal.
205	——, pork.
2	——, beef.
10	half-barrels, snuff.
459	——, potatoes.
323	——, apples.
4	——, indigo.
11	——, pot-ash.
2	——, onions.
11	hogheads, hams.
156	hans, loose.
5,958	bushels, Indian corn.
775	hogheads, flaxseed.
60½	tierces, rice.
46,663	feet, pine boards & scantling.
1,327	——, walnut, ditto.
130,550	slaves.
10,300	shingles.
3,789	pieces, wheel-timber.
1,000	windfor chairs.
1	cart.
50	cwt. bar iron.
90	——, castings.
1,040	hoghead hoops.
12	firkins, butter,
2	settees.
<i>Imports.</i>	
516	puncheons of rum.
516	hogheads, sugar.
86	barrels, ditto.
60,934	bags, coffee.
119	cases, gin.
201	hogheads, melasses.
14	bales, cotton.
6	barrels, limes.
106	hogheads, wine.
5	trunks, linen.
5,700	bushels, salt.

Exports from the port of Alexandria, Virginia, from the 20th July, 1788, to the 14th July, 1789, viz.

5,122	hogheads, tobacco,
32,088	barrels, flour.
2,649	——, bread.
37,891	bushels, corn.
1,742	——, peas & beans.
805	barrels, tar.
685,000	shingles.
128,620	slaves.
14,200	feet, plank.
102,268	bushels, wheat.
50	barrels, pork.
47	tierces rice.
6	hogheads, fish.
79	barrel, ditto.
42	tierces, flaxseed.
50,000	wt. genfang.
6	hogheads, ditto.
28	casks, ditto.
63	tierces, ditto.



Calumny refuted.

To the PRINTER of the AMERICAN MUSEUM.

A LIFE of the celebrated capt. Cook was published in London by dr. Kippis, in 1788. I have never seen the work itself, but only an extract from it, in the Gentleman's Magazine, for July, of that year. Perhaps the extract may be erroneous; and therefore I will not venture, on the credit of it, to charge an author of dr. Kippis's established reputation, with doing great injustice to the character of Americans, and the honour of their government. But it must not pass without notice, that while the doctor is made to bestow just commendation on the court of France, for issuing orders to protect capt. Cook from the hostile attacks of their cruisers, he is quoted at the same time, as imputing to the narrow-souled Americans, that they did every thing in their power to obstruct the success of his expedition. This is a very injurious misrepresentation; for it is notorious, that orders were directed to all ships of war and privateers belonging to the united states, not to give the least molestation or interruption to capt. Cook; or to do any injury to his papers, journals, &c. I cannot now refer to the orders themselves, being very distant from the place where such papers are deposited: but the

fact is perfectly within my memory. I even remember to have heard, that the order from the court of France was occasioned by dr. Franklin's mentioning to the ministry of that kingdom, how hurtful it would be to science, natural history, and navigation, if the fruit of captain Cook's last voyage, should be destroyed by the ignorance or brutality of the commander of some ship of war: on which the government of an enlightened nation immediately gave the order, so justly praised by dr. Kippis.

AN AMERICAN.



*Reply to an essay, entitled, "an enquiry into the utility of the Greek and Latin languages\*."*

A Production, of a very singular nature, has made its appearance in the American Museum for June last; and as the professed object of its author, is to eradicate every trace of Grecian and Roman literature from our seminaries of education, it may not be improper to examine the grounds upon which he rests his bold attempt.

He begins with a supplicatory preface intreating his readers to ascribe all the deficiencies of his performance, to his want of skill to direct arguments, (assertions, he should have said) which, he is confident, would, in other hands, be wonderfully efficacious. That an apology was indispensibly necessary, cannot but be evident to all candid readers. The generous public will, no doubt, grant the first part of his petition, and extend their clemency to a circumstance, which will plead still more in our author's favour; that is, they will ascribe his defects both to the weakness of his weapons, and to his want of dexterity in using them.

Next to the preface, the propositions of our author present themselves to our consideration. Of these, the three first afford no matter for particular observation; nor, if granted, do they seem to be of very great utility in promoting the end, for which they are intended. The subsequent posi-

tions, however, or the consequences drawn from them, can by no means be allowed.

But, before I make any remarks upon them, I beg leave, after the good example of our author, to lay down a few premises.

1st. Particular instances cannot justify general conclusions.

2d. "What proves too much, proves nothing at all."

3d. When a writer requires our assent to certain postulata, which are the very points he ought to prove, his conduct is an indication, either that he has no arguments to support his cause, or that they will not bear the test.

4th. When an author contradicts, or is inconsistent with himself, we may fairly infer, either that he is ignorant of his subject—or that he views it through a jaundiced medium—or that the side of the question which he espouses, is miserably defended—each of these cases is sufficient to spoil the reputation of a disputant; but, should they unfortunately unite, let every one form his own opinion.

Our author's fourth proposition runs thus, "the knowledge of things always precedes the knowledge of words. Children discover the truth of this observation every day. They know all the objects around them, long before they are able to call them by their proper names, or even to articulate sounds of any kind. It is supposed, that children acquire more ideas of things in the first three years of their lives, than they acquire in any thirty years afterwards." The gentleman who writes the essay, which I take the liberty to dissect, is mightily grieved that our language is rendered unintelligible by the numerous Greek and Latin words, which have been adopted into it. Whether it be owing to this, that his own position is so much perplexed, I will not pretend to say; but he would confer a signal obligation upon his readers, would he be so kind as to supply them with a dictionary of ideas, which might enable them to remove the veil of obscurity from his meaning, and to obtain as clear, or, what is still more desirable, a clearer view of it than he himself seems to have had. "The knowledge of things always precedes the knowledge of words." I have ever un-

NOTE.

\* See *American Museum*, vol. V.

page 525.  
VOL. VI.

derstood, that the knowledge of things is the fruit of severe study; but perhaps the gentleman has his eye upon the knowledge of nature, and insinuates, that this "precedes the knowledge of words." How this can help his argument against the utility of the Greek and Latin languages, is not so clear—the only thing which it proves, is, that we should teach children the knowledge of things, before we supply them with the means of receiving instruction; or, in other words, before they can understand a syllable of what we say to them. This, I apprehend, proves rather more than the gentleman intended, and therefore, according to his own rule, proves nothing at all.

But we are told, that "children acquire more ideas of things in the first three years of their lives, than they acquire in any thirty years afterwards." Without criticising the obvious meaning of these words, viz. that people continue children all their lives, or entering upon a metaphysical discussion respecting the nature and origin of our ideas, I beg leave to ask our author, do not almost all the ideas of children, before they arrive at their fourth year, belong to the class of simple ideas? If this is generally true, the author will be obliged to make it appear, that the number of simple ideas exceeds that infinite variety of compound ideas which are formed from the simple ones, by the reflex acts of the mind.

The gentleman proceeds, "the acquisition of words lessens the ability of the mind to acquire ideas." Was ever assertion so strange? But, supposing it true, what inference can it authorise? None which bears a propitious aspect to the gentleman's scheme: the consequence that flows more naturally from it, than any he has drawn, is, that, by not acquiring words, the mind is rendered fitter to acquire ideas—of course, not only the Greek and Latin, but every other language, must be extremely prejudicial, and this conclusion levels a finishing blow at a favourite part of the author's project for establishing a new system of liberal education. Besides, it likewise follows, that the mind of a man must be barren of solid knowledge, in proportion as he increases

in an acquaintance with languages; and, that the mind of a man, both deaf and dumb, must be furnished with an inexhaustible store of valuable ideas—whence it is plain, that this position also proves too much, and consequently proves nothing at all.

Again, "the difficulty of acquiring those dead languages, and the little pleasure which accompanies the knowledge of them in early life, occasion the principal obstacles to teaching in masters, and learning in scholars." To teaching and learning what? other branches of education? how can that be possible, when, by the author's own acknowledgment, nay, by his own argument, numbers become proficient in those branches, who never learned a word of Latin or Greek? or does he mean, that "the difficulty in obtaining those dead languages, occasion the principal obstacles to learning them?" If so, I must ask his pardon, for observing, that it is no news to tell us, "a difficulty is a difficulty," or, does he mean, that "the difficulty of acquiring those languages" is a sufficient reason for laying them aside? This will apply, with equal force, to all studies whatever: so that here, too, our champion's logic proves too much, and therefore proves nothing at all; but, in the next paragraph, reason opens upon us her most tremendous battery—How loud her cannons roar. Hark! "Dr. Bulby, the famous Bulby, is said to have died of bad Latin." So there is a murder fairly proved on the Latin language, and that upon a very bad Latin; how many lives must it destroy when in full vigour? there can scarcely be a doubt, that every student who has died, since Latin began to be studied, owes his death to this monster. For a crime so atrocious, what punishment, less than entire destruction, can be inflicted? But be not startled, ye accomplices in Latin guilt: a celebrated writer has lately shewn, that it is unjust and impolitic to punish murder with death\*.

Again, we are told, "how bitter the study of the languages renders that innocent period of life, which seems

## NOTE.

\* *Vide American Museum, for July, 1788.*

exclusively intended for happiness"—and then follows a pathetic tale of school misery. Let us put the author's reasoning into the form of a syllogism, and see what an appearance will have.

Busby died of bad Latin.

School-boys grumble, and grow fractious, when they are obliged to learn it and the Greek.

*Ergo.* To teach these languages, is absurdity in the extreme.

It requires more than common sagacity, to see what argument the discontent of a sniveling school-boy furnishes for abolishing a branch of liberal education—perhaps the gentleman's nerves are very tender; but if every thing is to be omitted, which does not please the fractious humour of children, our system of education will be curtailed with a vengeance. After all, I cannot help thinking a cause in a most lamentable plight, when its advocate is driven to such pious shifts. The distress, for want of argument, under which our author labours, is farther exemplified in the seventh and eighth propositions. In the latter, we are informed, that "dr. Swift early discovered a want of taste for the dead languages, and that it would be unjust to mention this fact, without ascribing it to the voice of reason and nature speaking in this great man. He had no relish for the husks of literature. Truth and knowledge were alone commensurate to the dignity and extent of his mind." Dr. Busby, we are told a little above, died of bad Latin. Dr. Swift's dislike to it proceeded from the voice of nature and reason. Busby died at eighty-nine years of age, and by what our author says, it is pretty evident, that even this was a great favour, and that his long life was a punishment for torturing nature, in reading Latin himself, and teaching others to read it.

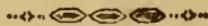
If dislike to the dead languages is the voice of reason and nature, then it follows, that an attachment to them must be the voice of folly, and such gentlemen, as admire classical elegance, will, no doubt, entertain a becoming sense of this flattering compliment. Dr. Swift "had no relish for the husks of literature." These were suited to such swine, as Milton, Addison, &c. (*To be continued.*)

*Mode of preventing the dreadful consequences of the bite of a mad dog.*  
By dr. Haygarth, of Chester, England. Recommended for publication by the hon. Arthur Lee, esq. and by dr. John Morgan.

IT is universally allowed by physicians, that the spittle of a mad animal, infused into a wound, is the only cause, hitherto known, that can communicate canine madness to the human body. This poison does no immediate mischief, but is slowly absorbed into the blood, and sufficient opportunity is given to remove it, before any danger can arise. Whenever a person is bit, the plain and obvious means of preventing future injury are, first, to wipe off the spittle with a dry cloth, and then to wash the wound with cold water; not slightly and superficially, but abundantly, and with the most persevering attention; in bad cases, for several hours. And after a plentiful affusion of cold water, warm water may be employed with safety and advantage: a continued stream of it, poured from the spout of a tea-pot, or tea-kettle, held up at a considerable distance, is peculiarly well adapted to the purpose. If the canine poison, infused into a wound, were of a peculiar colour, as black, like ink, we should all be aware that plenty of water, and patient diligence, would wash out the dark dye; but this could not be expected from a slight and superficial ablution. After the first careful washing, apply to the bite, *sal viva*, coloured with ink, indigo, &c. and, by the second washing, a visible proof may be obtained, how soon and how perfectly it can be cleaned out of the wound. As a proof that slight washing of the wound is not sufficient to cleanse it effectually from the poison, we may mention, that, in some cases, after inoculation, for the small-pox, the poisonous matter has been attempted to be washed out of the wound, by persons who wished to prevent its effects; yet the inoculated small-pox appeared at its proper period. These unsuccessful attempts were performed secretly, hastily, and timidly, by a female hand. But in a case, when the ablution was more perfectly performed, inoculation was prevented from taking effect, though the patient was

susceptible of infection. They teach us the importance of patient perseverance in washing away the poison; but they need not abate our confidence, that such perseverance will certainly be successful.

The ablution should be performed with great diligence, and without delay, and may be performed by the patient, or any assistant. However, as the apprehension of this dreadful disorder always excites the greatest anxiety, a surgeon's advice and assistance ought to be obtained, as soon as possible, in all cases, where the skin is injured. He will execute those directions most dexterously and completely. In a bad wound, the poison may be conveyed deep into the flesh, by long teeth, or by lacerations. In such circumstances, he will open, cup, syringe, and wash every suspicious place. And, whenever any uncertainty can remain, that may occasion future solicitude, he will previously shave off the surface, and cut away the jagged or other parts of the wound. By this method of purification, it cannot be doubted that every particle of poison, and, consequently, that every cause of danger, may be effectually removed.



MR. PRINTER,

A distressing hooping cough now prevailing, and increasing in several places, which proves fatal to many children, occasions your receiving the following extract from a British publication. As it is said, the colt's foot grows in many places among us, it is presumed, those who certainly know, or can procure, the herb, will think the prescription well deserves a trial, from what is said of its remarkably good effects. It may be observed, the herb is recommended to be used of the year's growth; it may be therefore inferred, there can be less reliance on preparations from the colt's foot imported, as that may have lost much of its virtue by age—If happily the good effects of the prescription shall be verified, by its use among us, from your publishing it at this time, it must afford satisfaction to yourself, and will answer the well-meant motives of

A CUSTOMER.

*For a hooping cough.*

**T**AKE of dried colt's-foot leaves a good handful, cut them small, and boil them in a pint of spring water, till half a pint is boiled away; then take it off the fire, and, when it is almost cold, strain it through a cloth, squeezing the herb as dry as you can, and then throw it away. Dissolve, in the liquor, an ounce of brown sugar-candy, finely powdered, and give the child (if it be about three or four years old, and so in proportion) one spoonful of it, cold or warm, as the season proves, three or four times a day, (or oftener, if the fits of coughing come frequently) till well, which will be in two or three days; but it will almost immediately abate the fits of coughing.

*Virtues of this medicine.*

THIS herb seems to be a specific for the hooping cough, (says the gentleman who kindly communicated it to the world, in one of the public papers) and indeed for all others, in old as well as young: it has wonderfully eased them, when nothing else would do it, and greatly helps in shortness of breath: and in the asthma and phtysic, continues he, I have not known any thing exceed it. Likewise in wastings or consumptions of the lungs, it has been found of excellent use, by its smooth, softening, healing qualities, even when there has been spitting of blood, and rawness and soreness of the passages, with hoarseness, &c. in blunting the acrimonious humours, which, in such cases, are almost continually dripping upon them. It is to be questioned, whether, for those purposes, there is to be had, in the whole materia medica, a medicine so innocent, so safe, and yet so pleasant and effectual; or that can afford relief so soon as this will: for grown people make it stronger than for children—Get the herb of the same year's growth and drying, that you use it in, and the larger and fuller grown the leaves, the better. It is best to be made as you want it, and not too much at a time, especially in warm weather.

I shall only add, that upon the above remedy being made public, it was followed by several letters in the public papers, acknowledging the benefit received by it, (and heaping

blessings upon the generous communicator of it) as well in cases of grown persons, as children—But, one of the persons, who wrote that he was sixty years of age, says, he doubled the quantity of colt's-foot, taking four spoonfuls, as often as the fit came upon him.

N. B. When sugar-candy cannot conveniently be had, perhaps honey, or good clean brown sugar may be used instead of it; but it will be best to make use of the sugar-candy, as mentioned in the prescription, when it can be done.



To the PRINTER of the AMERICAN MUSEUM.

SIR,  
YOUR Museum for March contains an address from our general assembly to congress, and a circular letter to the states, respecting amendments to the constitution. I send you the enclosed paper, in order that the sense of the minority, on that important question, may also appear, and be preserved. I have now, even more reason than I had then, to believe that the minority in the house of delegates, expressed the sentiments of a majority of the people of Virginia. I much wish, and am sure it will be generally agreeable to the well-disposed citizens of this commonwealth, that the whole contents of the enclosed paper (except what you have already printed,) may appear in a future number or numbers of the Museum.

I am, sir,

With unfeigned good wishes  
for your success,

Your most obedient servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD, jun.

Richmond, May 10, 1789.

*A statement of facts, submitted to the candid and dispassionate consideration of the independent freeholders of Virginia, by a friend to truth and liberty.*

*In the house of delegates, Thursday,  
October 30, 1788.*

WHEREAS, the convention of delegates of the people of this commonwealth, did ratify a constitution or form of government for the united states, referred to them for their consideration; and did also declare, that sundry amendments to the ex-

ceptionable parts, of the same ought to be adopted: and whereas, the subject-matter of the amendments, agreed to by the said convention, involves all the great, essential, and unalienable rights, liberties, and privileges of freemen; many of which, if not cancelled, are rendered insecure under the said constitution, until the same shall be altered and amended:

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that, for quieting the minds of the good citizens of this commonwealth, and securing their dearest rights and liberties, and preventing those disorders, which must arise under a government not founded in the confidence of the people, application be made to the congress of the united states, so soon as they shall assemble under the said constitution, to call a convention for proposing amendments to the same, according to the mode therein directed.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that a committee ought to be appointed, to draw up and report to this house, a proper instrument of writing, expressing the sense of the general assembly, and pointing out the reasons which induce them to urge their application thus early, for the calling the aforesaid convention of the states.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the said committee ought to be instructed to prepare the draft of a letter in answer to one received\* from his excellency George Clinton, esq; president of the convention of New York, and a circular letter on the aforesaid subject, to the other states in the union, expressive of the wish of the general assembly of this commonwealth, that they may join in an application to the new congress, to appoint a convention of the states, so soon as the congress shall assemble under the new constitution.

And the said resolutions being severally again read, a motion was made, and the question being put to amend the same, by striking out from the word "whereas" in the first line, to the end, and inserting in lieu thereof, the following words:

"Whereas, the delegates appoint-

NOTE.

\* See American Museum, vol. IV.  
page 158.

ed to represent the good people of this commonwealth in the late convention, held in the month of June last, did, by their att\* of the 25th of the same month, assent to, and ratify the constitution recommended on the 17th day of September, 1787, by the federal convention, for the government of the united states, declaring themselves (with a solemn appeal to the Searcher of hearts, for the purity of their intentions) under the conviction, that, whatever imperfections might exist in the constitution, ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein, than to bring the union into danger by a delay, with a hope of obtaining amendments, previous to the ratification: and whereas, in pursuance of the said declaration, the said convention did, by their subsequent att†, of the 27th of June aforesaid, agree to such amendments to the said constitution of government for the united states, as were by them deemed necessary to be recommended to the consideration of the congress, which shall first assemble under the said constitution, to be acted upon according to the mode prescribed in the fifth article thereof; at the same time enjoining it upon their representatives in congress, to exert all their influence, and use all reasonable and legal methods, to obtain a ratification of the foregoing alterations and provisions, in the manner provided by the fifth article of the said constitution; and in all congressional laws, to be passed in the mean time, to conform to the spirit of those amendments, as far as the said constitution would admit.

“Resolved, therefore, that it is the opinion of this committee, that an application ought to be made, in the name and on the behalf of the legislature of this commonwealth, to the congress of the united states, so soon as they shall assemble under the said constitution, to pass an act, recommending to the legislatures of the several states, the ratification of a bill of rights, and of certain articles of amendments proposed by the convention of this state, for the adoption

of the united states, and that, until the said act shall be ratified, in pursuance of the fifth article of the said constitution of government for the united states, congress do conform their ordinances, to the true spirit of the said bill of rights and articles of amendment.

“Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the executive ought to be instructed to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolution, to the congress of the united states, so soon as they shall assemble, and to the legislatures and executive authorities of each state in the union.”

It passed in the negative. Ayes 39  
—Nocs 85.

Friday, November 14, 1788.

“THE house, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, on an application to congress, to call a convention of the states, to take into consideration the defects of the constitution, and report the necessary amendments; also on the draft of a letter to governor Clinton, and to the several states on the same subject; and after some time spent therein, mr. speaker resumed the chair, and mr. Bullitt reported, that the committee had, according to order, had the said application and draft of letters under their consideration, and amended the same; and he read the said application and draft of letters, as amended, in his place, and afterwards delivered them in at the clerk's table, where the same were again read, and are as follow:

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an application ought to be made in the name and on behalf of the legislature of this commonwealth, to the congress of the united states, in the words following †.”

*Draft of a letter to the several states.*

“THE freemen of this commonwealth, in convention assembled, having, at the same time that they ratified the federal constitution

NOTE.

† For the form of this application and of a letter to governor Clinton, see *American Museum*, Vol. V. page 275-6.

NOTES.

\* See *American Museum*, vol. IV. page 158.

† *Idem*, page 155.

expressed a desire that many parts which they considered as exceptionable, should be amended, the general assembly, as well from a sense of their duty, as a conviction of its defects, have thought proper to take the earliest measures in their power, for the accomplishment of this important object. They have accordingly agreed upon an application, to be presented to the congress, so soon as it shall be assembled, requesting that honourable body, to call a convention of deputies from the several states, to take the same into their consideration, and report such amendments, as they shall find best calculated to answer the purpose. As we conceive that all the good people of the united states, are equally interested in obtaining those amendments, that have been proposed, we trust that there will be an harmony in their sentiments and measures, upon this very interesting subject. We herewith transmit to you a copy of this application, and take the liberty to subjoin our earnest wishes that it may have your concurrence."

And the said application and draft of letters, being again severally read at the clerk's table, a motion was made, and the question being put, to amend the same, by substituting in lieu thereof, the following form of an application and drafts of letters, to wit:

*The legislature of Virginia, to the congress of the united states, send greeting:*

"THE convention of the representatives of the good people of this commonwealth, having, on the twenty-fifth day of June last, ratified the constitution or form of government, proposed by the federal convention on the seventeenth of September 1787; and having declared, in their act of ratification, that any imperfections, which might exist in the said constitution, ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein for obtaining amendments, than by a delay, with a hope of obtaining previous amendments, to bring the union into danger—and in order to relieve the apprehensions of those who might be solicitous for amendments, having resolved, that whatever amendments might be deemed necessary, ought to be recommended to the consideration

of the congress, which should first assemble under the said constitution, to be acted upon according to the mode prescribed in the fifth article thereof. And, on the twenty-seventh day of the same month of June, agreed to certain amendments to the said constitution, which were transmitted, together with the ratification of the federal constitution, to the united states in congress assembled; which amendments the said convention did, in the name and behalf of the people of this commonwealth, enjoin it upon their representatives in congress, to exert all their influence, and use all legal and reasonable methods to obtain a ratification of, in the manner provided by the said constitution. And in all congressional laws, to be passed in the mean time, to conform to the spirit of the said amendments, as far as the said constitution would admit.

"This legislature fully concurring in sentiment with the said convention, and solicitous to promote the salutary measures by them recommended—Do, in consideration of the unanimity with which the said amendments were agreed to, and a just sense of their utility, earnestly call upon the congress of the united states, to take the said amendments under their immediate consideration, and also those which may have been submitted by the conventions of other states, and to act thereupon in the manner prescribed by the fifth article of the federal constitution; either by proposing the necessary alterations, to the consideration of the states; or by calling a convention, to deliberate on the subject, as to them shall seem most likely to promote the peace and general good of the union. We pray that Almighty God, in his goodness and wisdom, will direct your councils to such measures, as will establish our lasting peace and welfare, and secure to our latest posterity the blessings of freedom; and that he will always have you in his holy keeping."

*Draft of a letter to governor Clinton, on the same subject.*

SIR,

"EARLY in our present session, the circular letter from the honourable the convention of the state of New York, transmitted by your ex-

cellency, was laid before us for our consideration. While we are sensible of the obligations, which we, in common with all America, owe to the patriotism and exertions of so noble and generous a people—while we feel all the respect due to their virtue, and every inclination to comply with their wishes, especially when pointed to an object so dear to us all, the preservation of our common liberties—and while, at the same time, we ardently desire such amendments to our new system of government, as will guard our rights from every possible danger, and quiet the present apprehensions of many of the good citizens, as well of this commonwealth, as of our sister states, we feel great pain in finding, that we cannot entirely accord with so wise and august a body, in the mode of obtaining these alterations and additional provisions. We acknowledge, with them, the propriety of introducing the necessary amendments, as soon as possible, into our system, so as to induce a general confidence under the operations of a government, which, we flatter ourselves, will relieve us from our present embarrassments, and again raise us to that respect and importance, which we once held among the nations of the world. It is, therefore, with the greatest respect and deference to the opinions of a people we so highly value, and whom we love, with all the affection of brethren, who have bled in the same common cause of liberty and mankind, that we submit to their attention the propriety of an application to the first congress, which shall assemble under the new plan, expressive of a desire, that they will immediately take into their consideration, the amendments, which have been recommended by the conventions of the several states which have ratified the same, and either make the necessary provisions, consonant to the general sense of America, and submit them to the legislatures of the respective states at their next sessions, for their adoption—or call a general convention, to deliberate on that subject—as to their wisdom, viewing all circumstances, may appear to be most proper.

“We consider conventions as assemblies, which ought never to be resorted to, except in cases where the ordi-

nary administration is inadequate to the object. Here the ordinary administration is fully adequate to the object, being vested with powers expressly comprehending the present case. The senate being chosen by the legislatures of the respective states, and the other branch by the people themselves, must feel every obligation, and every inclination, to pursue such measures, as will accord with the sentiments of their constituents, and establish that confidence in the government, which alone can render it prosperous and happy. If, therefore, the federal legislature, as soon as they shall assemble, shall recommend to the states, the necessary amendments, the fears of our fellow-citizens throughout America, concerning the public liberty, will be sooner allayed, and the public confidence sooner restored, than by the delays which must necessarily occur in the summoning and the assembling of another convention, the result of whose deliberations must finally undergo the same discussion in every state, as a recommendation from the congress. Viewing the subject as we do, and anxious to pursue the most safe and speedy way of obtaining amendments, we most ardently hope, that our endeavours will be aided by similar efforts on the part of New York, and the rest of our sister states, and that they will unite with us in making an immediate application to congress, similar to the one we take the liberty of enclosing for the consideration of the legislature of New York. We cannot but flatter ourselves with the happiest success from so united an effort; and that congress will take the most speedy and effectual measures to remove every uneasy sensation from the hearts of our fellow-citizens, and to fence our unalienable rights from every possible encroachment, and this without the delay and danger of a convention. Approving, in the highest degree, the jealous watchfulness of our brethren of New York, and promising to guard with equal care, our common liberties, we pray, that Almighty God may direct their councils, and ours, to the lasting good of our common country, and that he will always have them in his holy keeping.”

(To be continued.)

*Remarkable case of a gun-shot wound. Communicated in a letter from Barnabas Binney, hospital physician, and surgeon in the American army, in 1772, to the honorable Benjamin Lincoln, esq. F. A. A.*

ON April 9, 1782, David Beveridge, a seaman, belonging to the sloop of war, general Monk, was brought into the military hospital at this place, having been wounded the day before. He was a lad of about nineteen years of age, in a good state of health, at the time of the action between the said ship and the Hyder Ally. In that action he was in the main-top of the Monk, when he received a musket ball in his belly, from one of the marines on the quarter-deck of the Hyder-Ally, when within fifteen yards of the Monk. The ball entered his belly about two inches above his left groin, and within an inch of the interior edge of the left ilium, passing out two inches on the right of the spine between the two inferior true ribs, just touching the cartilage of the inferior angle of the right scapula. When he came into the hospital, he had bled much, was very weak and cold, had a faltering voice, a cadaverous countenance, and a constant hickup, while his fæces passed freely out of the wound in his belly. In this deplorable condition, where neither art nor nature could promise any permanent relief, the only dictate of humanity was, to smooth the path of death. Being also in great pain, I advised him to take a glass of Madeira wine, with twenty or thirty drops of *liquid. laudan.* He took no kind of sustenance all this time, excepting wine whey, never having any kind of discharge *ab ano.* from the moment he was wounded, but constantly squirting with considerable force what fæces he had, through the wound in his belly. On the fourteenth he had a common clyster administered, the greatest part of which also came out at the wound, the remainder coming as it went, *ab ano.* without bringing any fæces. From the fourteenth to the eighteenth, he took considerable quantities of gruel and whey, with a little wine occasionally, having no intestinal discharge whatever, but what was made through

the wound in his belly. On the eighteenth, as his strength was much increased, and as his wounds were considerably contracted, and locked well, I ordered another injection to be administered gently, when, for the first time in eleven days, he had a natural stool. From this time he had no further discharge of fæces through his wound; his excretions became as regular and as natural as ever they were; his wounds suppurated and healed kindly; his strength returned, and he was exchanged nearly as well as ever on the thirtieth.

That the ball had passed through the colon, is obvious, from the discharge of perfect fæces and of the injection administered, *ab ano.* That his life depended upon our not meddling with the wound, and upon keeping him quiet and easy, is also plain; as the least removal of the orifice in the intestine from the orifice through the abdomen, which were so happily opposed to each other, must have been attended with a fatal discharge of the fæces into the abdomen. That the diaphragm and lungs were perforated, is plain, from the course of the ball, and his profuse hæmoptoë. That surgeons may be too officious, as well as too tardy; and that where they are not certain of the utility of their operations, they had better leave even the most desperate disorders to the management of nature, ever provident, and generally adequate, are points remarkably enforced in this particular case.



*Address presented to the president of the united states, by the reverend William Smith, D. D. the hon. John Henry, esq. of the senate, and the hon. Joshua Sency, esq. of the house of representatives; being a committee of the visitors and governors of Washington college, in the state of Maryland, appointed for that purpose.*

To the PRESIDENT of the united States.

SIR,

WE, the corporation of visitors and governors, and the principal and faculty of professors, of Washington college, in the state of

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Maryland, actuated by the sincerest personal affection, as well as the purest public considerations, beg leave to embrace the present occasion of our anniversary meeting and commencement, to felicitate ourselves and our country, upon your unanimous appointment to the chief magistracy, in the general government of the united states.

Revolving the vicissitudes and eventful history of the late war, every page of which bears ample and honourable testimony to the services which you have rendered to your country, and the exertion of those virtues and talents which have exalted your name to the first rank among the heroes and benefactors of mankind; we cannot but recal to mind the occasion of our former address to you, and your benevolent answer to the same.

The general assembly of Maryland, upon the establishment of this seminary, having dignified the same with the auspicious name of 'Washington college, in honourable and perpetual memory of the services of the illustrious and virtuous commander in chief of the armies of the united states;' we expressed our confidence — 'that, amidst all the public monuments, which your country sought to erect to you, even while living, none would be more acceptable, than a seminary of universal learning, expressly dedicated to your name, with a view to instruct and animate the youth of future generations, to admire and to imitate those public virtues and patriotic labours which had created for you a monument in the heart of every good citizen;—that we hoped you would permit your name to be placed at the head of the visitors and governors of the college, trusting that the time was then not very remote, when, by the termination of war, the infant institution might be enabled to salute you in person, and, like a dutiful child, as one of its first works, present the olive wreath and other emblems of peace, to its father, guardian, and friend.'

Highly encouraging to us was your answer: That, 'with pleasure, you would consent to have your name enrolled among the visitors and governors of the college, if it were not to

the exclusion of some other, whose proximity and other circumstances might enable him to be a more useful member; and that, as the act of the general assembly, which had given your name to the college, would remain a monument of their esteem, it made an impression on your mind, which could only be exceeded by the flattering assurance of the lasting and extensive usefulness of the seminary; and when that period should arrive, when we could hail the blest return of peace, it would add to your pleasure to see the infant seat of learning rising into consistency and proficiency in the sciences, under the nurturing hands of its founders.'

The happy period is now arrived, when, through the blessing of God, upon the return of peace, this seat of learning hath attained to such proficiency in the sciences, as to wait upon you with the promised\* wreath of literary honour, which we trust you will not reject, although from an institution of inferior standing, yet not of inferior gratitude and affection, to the chief of those, which have already dig-

## NOTE.

\* The wreath of literary honour, referred to in the above address, and in the answer to the same, is the academical degree of doctor of laws; and as we have been favoured with a copy of the preamble to the diploma, we are happy to lay it before our readers, as the first specimen we have seen of the present title and past services of our illustrious and beloved president attempted in truly classical Latin.

*'Cum eum in finem gradus academici a majoribus nostris prudenter instituti fuerint, ut Viris, qui de religione, republica, et literis optime sint meriti, publici honores decernerentur; cumque nobis et omnibus praeclare compertum sit, Georgium Washington foederatarum Americae civitatum praesidem, non solum de religione, literis, republica, et toto etiam humano genere bene semper et multum meruisse; sed bello aequae ac pace, communis omnium salutis appetentissimum, per gravissima rerum discrimina, sese civem praestantissimum, libertatis ultorem felicissimum, patriaeque patrem amantissimum, ostendisse; nos igitur, &c.*



Crown glass may be made here, to greater profit, than any other glass—on account of the plenty and cheapness of materials—the quantity that can be made—and the great consumption of it.

*A glass maker.*



*Memorial and remonstrance of the citizens of the commonwealth of Virginia, to the general assembly of that commonwealth, against a bill “establishing a provision for teachers of the christian religion.”*

*To the hon. the general assembly of the commonwealth of Virginia.*

WE the subscribers, citizens of the said commonwealth, having taken into serious consideration, a bill printed by order of the last session of the general assembly, entitled “a bill establishing a provision for teachers of the christian religion,” and conceiving that the same, if finally armed with the sanction of a law, will be a dangerous abuse of power, are bound, as faithful members of a free state, to remonstrate against it; and to declare the reasons by which we are determined.—We remonstrate against the said bill,

1. Because, we hold it for a fundamental and undeniable truth, “that religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be “directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence.”\* The religion, then, of every man, must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it, as these may dictate. This right is, in its nature, an unalienable right. It is unalienable; because the opinions of men, depending only on the evidence, contemplated by their own minds, cannot follow the dictates of other men. It is unalienable also, because what is here a right towards men, is a duty towards the Creator. It is the duty of every man, to render to the Creator such homage, and such only, as he believes to be acceptable to him—this duty is precedent, both in order of time, and in degree of obligation, to the claims

NOTE.

\* Declaration of rights, art. 16.

of civil society. Before any man can be considered as a member of civil society, he must be considered as a subject of the Governor of the universe. And if a member of civil society, who enters into any subordinate association, must always do it, with a reservation of his duty to the general authority; much more must every man, who becomes a member of any particular civil society, do it with a saving of his allegiance to the Universal Sovereign. We maintain, therefore, that, in matters of religion, no man's right is abridged by the institution of civil society; and that religion is wholly exempt from its cognizance. True it is, that no other rule exists, by which any question, which may divide a society, can be ultimately determined, but the will of the majority; but it is also true, that the majority may trespass on the rights of the minority.

2. Because, if religion be exempt from the authority of the society at large, still less can it be subject to that of the legislative body. The latter are but the creatures and vicegerents of the former. Their jurisdiction is both derivative and limited. It is limited with regard to the co-ordinate departments; more necessarily is it limited, with regard to the constituents. The preservation of a free government, requires, not merely that the metes and bounds, which separate each department of power, be invariably maintained; but more especially that neither of them be suffered to overleap the great barrier, which defends the rights of the people. The rulers, who are guilty of such an encroachment, exceed the commission, from which they derive their authority—and are tyrants. The people, who submit to it, are governed by laws, made neither by themselves, nor by an authority derived from them—and are slaves.

3. Because, it is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens, and one of the noblest characteristics of the late revolution. The freemen of America did not wait, till usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise, and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle: and they avoid-

ed the consequences, by denying the principle. We revere this lesson too much, soon to forget it. Who does not see, that the same authority, which can establish christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of christians, in exclusion of all other sects? That the same authority, which can force a citizen to contribute three pence only of his property, for the support of any one establishment, may force him to conform to any other establishment, in all cases whatsoever?

4. Because, the bill violates that equality which ought to be the basis of every law; and which is more indispensable, in proportion as the validity, or expediency of any law, is more liable to be impeached. If "all men are, by nature, equally free and independent†" all men are to be considered, as entering into society on equal conditions, as relinquishing no more, and therefore retaining no less, one than another, of their rights. Above all, are they to be considered, as retaining an "equal title to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience‡." Whilst we assert, for ourselves, a freedom to embrace, to profess, and to observe the religion, which we believe to be of divine origin—we cannot deny an equal freedom to those, whose minds have not yet yielded to the evidence, which has convinced us. If this freedom be abused, it is an offence against God, not against man—to God, therefore, not to men, must an account of it be rendered. As the bill violates equality, by subjecting some to peculiar burdens; so it violates the same principle, by granting to others peculiar exemptions. Are the quakers and menonists, the only sects, who think a compulsive support of their religions, unnecessary and unwarrantable? Can their piety alone be intrusted with the care of public worship? Ought their religions to be endowed, above all others, with extraordinary privileges, by which proselytes may be enticed from all others? We think too favourably of the justice and good sense of these denominations, to believe, that

## NOTES.

† Declaration of rights, art. 1.

‡ Art. 16.

they either covet pre-eminencies over their fellow citizens, or that they will be seduced by them, from the common opposition to the measure.

5. Because, the bill implies, either that the civil magistrate is a competent judge of religious truth; or that he may employ religion, as an engine of civil policy. The first is an arrogant pretension, falsified by the contradictory opinions of rules in all ages and throughout the whole world—The second, an unhallowed perversion of the means of salvation.

6. Because, the establishment, proposed by the bill, is not requisite, for the support of the christian religion. To say that it is, is a contradiction to the christian religion itself—for every page of it disavows a dependence on the powers of this world. It is a contradiction to fact—for it is known, that this religion both existed and flourished, not only without the support of human laws, but in spite of every opposition from them; and not only during the period of miraculous aid, but long after it had been left to its own evidence, and the ordinary care of providence. Nay it is a contradiction in terms—for a religion, not invented by human policy, must have existed, and been supported, before it was established by human policy. It is moreover to weaken, in those who profess this religion, a pious confidence in its innate excellence, and the patronage of its author; and to foster, in those, who still reject it, a suspicion, that its friends are too conscious of its fallacies, to trust it to its own merits.

7. Because, experience witnesseth, that ecclesiastical establishments, instead of maintaining the purity, and efficacy of religion, have had a contrary operation. During almost fifteen centuries, has the legal establishment of christianity been on trial. What have been its fruits? More or less in all places, pride and indolence in the clergy—ignorance and servility in the laity—in both, superstition, bigotry, and persecution. Enquire, of the teachers of christianity, for the ages, in which it appeared in its greatest lustre—those of every sect point to the ages prior to its incorporation with civil policy. Propose a restoration of this primitive state, in which its teachers depended on the voluntary

rewards of their flocks—many of them predict its downfall. On which side ought their testimony to have the greatest weight, when for, or when against their interest?

8. Because, the establishment in question is not necessary, for the support of civil government. If it be urged, as necessary for the support of civil government, only as a means of supporting religion; and it be not necessary for the latter purpose, it cannot be necessary for the former. If religion be not within the cognizance of civil government, how can its legal establishment be said to be necessary to civil government? What influence, in fact, have ecclesiastical establishments had on civil society?—In some instances, they have been seen to erect a spiritual tyranny, on the ruins of the civil authority—in many instances, they have been seen upholding the thrones of political tyranny—in no instance have they been seen the guardians of the liberties of the people. Rulers who wished to subvert the public liberty, may have found an established clergy, convenient auxiliaries. A just government, instituted to secure and to perpetuate it, needs them not. Such a government will be best supported, by protecting every citizen in the enjoyment of his religion, with the same equal hand, which protects his person, and his property; by neither invading the equal rights of any sect; nor suffering any sect to invade those of another.

9. Because, the proposed establishment is a departure from that generous policy, which, offering an asylum to the persecuted and oppressed of every nation and religion, promised a lustre to our country, and an accession to the number of its citizens. What a melancholy mark of sudden degeneracy, is the bill proposed? Instead of holding forth an asylum to the persecuted, it is itself a signal of persecution. It degrades, from the equal rank of citizens, all those, whose opinions in religion do not bend to those of the legislative authority. Distant as it may be, in its present form, from the inquisition, it differs from it only the degree. The one is the first step, in other the last, in the career of intolerance. The magnanimous sufferer under this cruel scourge in fo-

reign regions, must view the bill as a beacon on our coast, warning him to seek some other haven, where liberty and philanthropy, in their due extent, may offer a more certain repose from his troubles.

10. Because, it will have a tendency to banish our citizens. The allurements, presented by other situations, are every day thinning their number. To superadd a fresh mode to emigration, by revoking the liberty which they now enjoy, would be the same species of folly, which has dishonoured and depopulated flourishing kingdoms.

11. Because, it will destroy that moderation and harmony, which the forbearance of our laws, to intermeddle with religion, has produced among its several sects. Torrents of blood have been spilled in the old world, by vain attempts of the secular arm, to extinguish religious discord, by proscribing all differences in religious opinion. Time has at length revealed the true remedy. Every relaxation of narrow and rigorous policy, wherever it has been tried, has been found to assuage the disease. The American theatre has exhibited proofs, that equal and complete liberty, if it does not wholly eradicate it, sufficiently destroys its malignant influence, on the health and prosperity of the state. If, with the salutary effects of this system under our own eyes, we begin to contract the bounds of religious freedom, we know no name, that will too severely reproach our folly. At least, let warning be taken, at the first fruits of the threatened innovation. The very appearance of the bill has transformed “that christian forbearance, love and charity,” which of late mutually prevailed, into animosities and jealousies, which may not soon be appeased. What mischiefs may not be dreaded, should this enemy to the public quiet, be armed with the force of a law?

12. Because, the policy of the bill is adverse to the diffusion of the light of christianity. The first wish of those, who enjoy this precious gift, ought to be, that it may be imparted to the whole race of mankind. Compare the number of those, who have as yet received it, with the number still remaining under the dominion of false religions—and how small is the

former?—Does the policy of the bill tend to lessen the disproportion?—No!—It at once discourages those, who are strangers to the light of revelation, from coming into the region of it; and countenances, by example, the nations, who continue in darkness, in shutting out those who might convey it to them. Instead of levelling, as far as possible, every obstacle to the victorious progress of truth, the bill with an ignoble and unchristian timidity, would circumscribe it, with a wall of defence, against the encroachments of error.

13. Because, attempts to enforce, by legal sanctions, acts obnoxious to so great a proportion of citizens, tend to enervate the laws in general, and to slacken the bands of society. If it be difficult to execute any law, which is not generally deemed necessary or salutary—what must be the case, where it is deemed invalid and dangerous?—And what may be the effect of so striking an example of impotency in the government, on its general authority?

14. Because a measure, of such singular magnitude and delicacy, ought not to be imposed, without the clearest evidence, that it is called for by a majority of citizens; and no satisfactory method is yet proposed, by which the voice of the majority in this case may be determined, or its influence secured. “The people of the respective counties are indeed requested to signify their opinion, respecting the adoption of the bill, to the next session of assembly.” But the representation must be made equal, before the voice either of the representatives, or of the counties, will be that of the people. Our hope is, that neither of the former will, after due consideration, espouse the dangerous principle of the bill. Should the event disappoint us, it will still leave us in full confidence, that a fair appeal to the latter will reverse the sentence against our liberties.

15. Because, finally, “The equal right of every citizen, to the free exercise of his religion, according to the dictates of conscience,” is held by the same tenure, with all our other rights. If we recur to its origin, it is equally the gift of nature—if we weigh its importance, it cannot be less dear to us—if we consult the “declaration

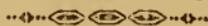
of those rights, which pertain to the good people of Virginia, as the basis and foundation of government.” § it is enumerated with equal solemnity, or rather studied emphasis. Either then we must say, that the will of the legislature is the only measure of their authority, and that, in the plenitude of this authority, they may sweep away all our fundamental rights; or that they are bound to leave this particular right, untouched and sacred—either we must say, that they may control the freedom of the press—may abolish the trial by jury—may swallow up the executive and judiciary powers of the state—nay, that they may despoil us of our very right of suffrage, and erect themselves into an independent and hereditary assembly—or we must say, that they have no authority to enact into a law, the bill under consideration. We the subscribers say, that the general assembly of this commonwealth have no such authority. And, that no effort may be omitted on our part, against so dangerous an usurpation, we oppose to it this remonstrance; earnestly praying, as we are in duty bound, that the supreme lawgiver of the universe, by illuminating those to whom it is addressed, may, on the one hand, turn their councils from every act, which would affront his holy prerogative, or violate the trust committed to them—and, on the other, guide them into every measure, which may be worthy of his blessing, may redound to their own praise, and may establish more firmly the liberties, the prosperity and the happiness of the commonwealth\*.

Virginia, 1785.

#### NOTES.

§ Preamble to the declaration of rights.

\* For an act, passed in consequence of this address, establishing religious freedom in its fullest extent See vol. II. of this work, page 501.



*An essay on the causes of the variety of complexion and figure in the human species. To which are added strictures on lord Kaims's discourse, on the original diversity of mankind. By the reverend Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D. vice-rector*

dent, and professor of moral philosophy, in the college of New Jersey; and M. A. P. S.—P. 35.

**E**NCIRCLE the earth in every zone, and, making those reasonable allowances which have been already suggested, and which will hereafter be farther explained, you will see every zone marked by its distinct and characteristical colour. The black prevails, under the equator; under the tropics, the dark copper; and on this side of the tropic of cancer, to the seventieth degree of north latitude, you successively discern the olive, the brown, the fair and the sanguine complexion. Of each of these, there are several tints or shades: and under the arctic circle, you return again to the dark hue. This general uniformity, in the effect, indicates an influence in the climate, that, under the same circumstances, will always operate in the same manner. The apparent deviations from the law of climate, that exist in different regions of the globe, will be found to confirm it, when I come, in the progress of this discourse, to point out their causes\*.

The power of climate, I have said, appears from obvious and undeniable events, within the memory of history. From the Baltic to the Mediterranean, you trace the different latitudes, by various shades of colour. From the same, or from nearly resembling nations, are derived the fair German, the dark Frenchman, the swarthy Spaniard and Sicilian. The south of Spain is distinguished from the north, by complexion. The same observation may be applied to most of the other countries of Europe: and, if we would extend it beyond Europe to the great nations of the east, it is applicable to Turkey, to Arabia, to Persia and to China. The people of Pekin are fair; at Canton, they are nearly black. The Persians, near the Caspian sea, are among the fairest people in the world; near the gulph of Ormus, they are of a dark olive. The inhabitants of the Stony and Desert Arabia are tawny; while those of Arabia the

NOTE.

\*Independently on the effects of the state of society, which will be hereafter illustrated, there are, in reality, various climates under the same parallels,

happy are as black as the Ethiopians. In these ancient nations colour holds a regular progression, with the latitude from the equator. The examples of the Chinese, and the Arabians, are the more decisive on this subject, because they are known to have continued, from the remotest antiquity, unmingled with other nations. The latter, in particular, can be traced up to their origin from one family. But no example can carry with it greater force, on this subject, than that of the Jews. Descended from one stock, prohibited, by their most sacred institutions, from intermarrying with other nations, and yet dispersed, according to the divine predictions, into every country on the globe, this one people is marked with the colours of all;—fair in Britain and Germany, brown in France and in Turkey, swarthy in Portugal and in Spain, olive in Syria and in Chaldea, tawny or copper coloured in Arabia and in Egypt†.

Another example of the power of climate, more immediately subject to our own view, may be shewn in the inhabitants of these united states. Sprung, within a few years, from the British, the Irish and the German nations, who are the fairest people in Europe, they are now spread over this continent, from the thirty first to the forty fifth degree of northern latitude. And, notwithstanding the temperature of the climate—notwithstanding the shortness of the period, since their first establishment in America—notwithstanding the continual mixture of Europeans, with those born in the country—notwithstanding previous ideas of beauty, that prompted them to guard against the influence of the climate—and notwithstanding the state of high civilization, in which they took possession of their new habitations, they have already suffered a visible change. A certain countenance of paleness, and of softness, strikes a traveller from Britain, the moment he arrives on our shore. A degree of fallowness is visible to him, which, through familiarity, or the want of a general standard of comparison, hardly attracts our observation. This effect is more obvious in the middle, and still more, in the southern,

NOTE.

† Buffon's nat. hist. vol. 3d.

than in the northern states. It is more observable, in the low lands near the ocean, than as you approach the Apalachian mountains; and more, in the lower and labouring classes of people, than in families of easy fortune, who possess the means and the inclination to protect their complexion. The inhabitants of New Jersey, below the falls of the rivers, are somewhat darker in their colour, than the people of Pennsylvania, both because the land is lower in its situation, and because it is covered with a greater quantity of stagnant water. A more southern latitude augments the colour, along the shores of Maryland and Virginia. At length, the low lands of the Carolinas, and of Georgia, degenerate to a complexion, that is but a few shades lighter, than that of the Iroquois. I speak of the poor labouring classes of the people, who are always first and most deeply affected by the influence of climate, and who eventually give the national complexion to every country. The change of complexion, which has already passed upon these people, is not easily imagined by an inhabitant of Britain; and furnishes the clearest evidence to an attentive observer of nature, that, if they were thrown, like the native Indians, into a savage state, they would be perfectly marked, in time, with the same colour. Not only their complexion, but their whole constitution, seems to be changed. So thin and meagre, is the habit of the poor, and of the overseers of their slaves, that, frequently, their limbs appear to have a length disproportioned to the body; and the shape of the skeleton is evidently discernible through the skin\*.

## NOTE.

\* The dark colour of the natives of the West India islands, is well known to approach very near a dark copper. The descendants of the Spaniards, in South America, are already become copper-coloured: [see phil. trans. of roy. soc. Lond. No. 476. sect. 4.] The Portuguese of Mitomba, in Sierra Leona on the coast of Africa, have, by intermarrying with the natives, and by adopting their manners, become, in a few generations, perfectly assimilated in aspect, figure, and

If these men had been found in a distant region, where no memory of their origin remained, the philosophers, who espouse the hypothesis of different species of men, would have produced them in proof, as they have often done nations, distinguished by smaller differences, than distinguish these from their European ancestors†. Examples, taken from the

## NOTES.

complexion, [see treatise on the trade of Great Britain to Africa, by an African merchant.] And lord Kaimes, who cannot be suspected of partiality on this subject, says of another Portuguese settlement on the coast of Congo, that the descendants of those polished Europeans, have become, both in their persons and their manners, more like beasts than like men. [see sketches of man, prel. disc.] These examples tend to strengthen the inference, drawn from the changes, that have happened in the Anglo-Americans. And they shew, how easily climate would assimilate foreigners to natives in the course of time, if they would adopt the same manners, and equally expose themselves to its influence.

† The habit of America is, in general, more slender than that of Britain. But the extremely meagre aspect of the poorest and lowest class of people, in some of the southern states, may arise from the following cause, that the changes, produced by climate, are, in the first instance, generally diseases. Hereafter, when the constitution shall be perfectly accommodated to the climate, it will by degrees assume a more regular and agreeable figure. The Anglo-Americans, however, will never resemble the native Indians. Civilization will prevent so great a degeneracy, either in the colour, or the features. Even if they were thrown back again into the savage state, the resemblance would not be complete; because, the one would receive the impressions of the climate, on the ground of features formed in Europe—the others have received them, on the ground of features, formed in a very different region of the globe. The effects of such various combinations can never be the same.

natives of the united states, are the stronger, because climate has not had time to impress upon them its full character: and the change has been retarded by the arts of society, and by the continual intermixture of foreign nations.

These changes may, to persons who think superficially on the subject, seem more slow in their progress, than is consistent with the principles, hitherto laid down, concerning the influence of climate. But, in the philosophy of human nature, it is worthy of observation, that all national changes, whether moral or physical, advance by imperceptible gradations, and are not accomplished but in a series of ages. Ten centuries were requisite, to polish the manners of Europe. It is not improbable, that an equal space of time may be necessary, to form the countenance, and the figure of the body—to receive all the insensible and insinuating impressions of climate—to combine these with the effects, that result from the state of society—to blend both along with personal peculiarities—and by the innumerable unions of families, to melt down the whole into one uniform and national countenance\*. It is even questionable, whether, amidst eternal migrations and conquests, any nation in Europe has yet received the full effects of these causes. China and Arabia are perhaps the only civilized countries in the world, in which they have attained their utmost operation: because they are the only countries, in which the people have been able, during a long succession of ages, to preserve themselves unmixed with other nations. Each parallel of latitude is, among them, distinctly marked by its peculiar complexion. In no other nations, is there such a regular and perfect gradation of colour, as is traced from the fair natives of Pekin, to Canton, whose inhabitants are of the

## NOTE.

\* In savage life, men more speedily receive the characteristic features of the climate, and of the state of society; because the habits and ideas of society, among them, are few and simple; and to the action of the climate they are exposed naked and defenceless, to suffer its full force at once.

darkest copper—or, from the olive of the Desert Arabia, to the deep black of the province of Yemen. It is plain then, that the causes of colour, and of other varieties in the human species, have not yet had their full operation on the inhabitants of these united states. However, they have already had such an operation, as affords a strong proof, and an interesting example, of the powerful influence of climate\*.

The preceding observations have been intended chiefly to explain the principle of colour. I proceed now to illustrate the influence of climate on other varieties of the human body.

It would be impossible, in the compass of a discourse like the present, to enter minutely into the description of every feature of the countenance, and of every limb of the body; and to explain all the changes in each, that may possibly be produced by the power of climate, combined with other accidental causes. Our knowledge of the human constitution, or of the globe,

## NOTE.

\* The reader will please to keep in mind, that, in remarking on the changes, that have passed on the Anglo-Americans, I have in view the mass of the people: and that I have in view, likewise, natives of the second or third generation, and not such as are sprung from parents, one or both of whom have been born in Europe; though, even with regard to these, the remarks will be found to hold good in a great degree. I am aware, that particular instances may be adduced, which will seem to contradict each remark. But such examples do not overthrow general conclusions, derived from the body of the populace. And these instances, I am persuaded, will be very rare among those, who have had a clear American descent by both parents, for two or three generations. They will be more rare in the low and level country, where the climate is more different, and the descents more remote from Europe, than in the countries to the west, where the land rises into hills. Here the climate is more similar to that in the middle of Europe, and the people are more mingled with emigrants from Ireland and Germany.

or of the powers of nature, is, perhaps, not sufficiently accurate and extensive, to enable us to offer a satisfactory solution of every difficulty, that an attentive or a capacious observer might propose. But if we are able, on just principles, to explain the capital varieties, in figure and aspect, that exist among different nations, it ought to satisfy a reasonable enquirer; as no minuter differences can be sufficient, to constitute a distinct species.

I shall, therefore, confine my observations, at present, to those conspicuous varieties, that appear in the hair, the figure of the head, the size of the limbs, and the principal features of the face.

The hair generally follows the law of the complexion; because, its roots, being planted in the skin, derive its nourishment and its colour from the same substance, which there contributes to form the complexion. Every gradation of colour in the skin, from the brown to the perfectly black, is accompanied with proportionate shades in the hair. The pale red, or sandy complexion, on the other hand, is usually attended with redness of the hair. Between these two points, is found almost every other colour of this excrescence, arising from the accidental mixture of the principles of black and red, in different proportions. White hair, which is found only with the fairest skin, seems to be the middle of the extremes, and the ground in which they both are blended\*. The extremes, if I may speak so, are as near to each other, as to any point in the circle, and are often found to run into one another. The Highlanders of Scotland are generally either black or red. A red beard is frequently united with black hair. And if, in a red or dark-coloured family, a child happens to deviate from the law of the house, it is commonly to the opposite extreme. On this observation permit me to remark, that those who deny the identity of human origin, because one nation is red and another

## NOTE.

\*That black hair is sometimes supposed to be united with the fairest skin, arises from the deception, which the contrast, between the hair and skin, puts upon the sight.

black, might, on the same principle, deny, to persons of different complexion, the identity of family. But as the fact, in the latter instance, is certain; we may, in the former, reasonably conclude, that the state of nerves or fluids, which contributes to produce one or other of these effects in a single family, may be the general tendency of a particular climate. In this example, at least, we see, that the human constitution is capable of being molded, by physical causes, into many of the varieties that distinguish mankind. It is contrary therefore to sound philosophy, which never, without necessity, assigns different causes for similar events, to have recourse, for explaining these varieties, to the hypothesis of several original species\*.

Climate possesses great and evident influence on the hair, not only of men, but of all other animals. The changes, which this excrescence undergoes in them, is at least equal to what it suffers in man. If, in one case, these transmutations are acknowledged to be consistent with identity of kind, they ought not, in the other, to be esteemed criterions of distinct species. Nature has adapted the pli-

## NOTE.

\* If we suppose different species to have been created, how shall we determine their number?—Are any of them lost?—or where shall we, at present, find them clearly distinguished from all others?—or were the species of men made capable of being blended together, contrary to the nature of other animals, so that they should never be discriminated, thus rendering the end unnecessary, for which they are supposed to have been created?—if we have reason, from the varieties, that exist in the same family, or in the same nation, to conclude, that the Danes, the French, the Turks, and people even more remote, are of one species, have we not the same reason to conclude, that the nations beyond them, and who do not differ from the last, by more conspicuous distinctions, than the last differ from the first, are also of the same species. By pursuing this progression, we shall find but one species, from the equator to the pole.

ancy of her work, to the situations, in which she may require it to be placed. The beaver, removed to the warm latitudes, exchanges its fur, and the sheep its wool, for a coarse hair, that preserves the animal in a more moderate temperature. The coarse and black shag of the bear is converted, in the arctic regions, into the finest and whitest fur. The horse, the deer, and almost every animal protected by hair, doubles his coat in the beginning of winter, and sheds it in the spring, when it is no longer useful. The fineness and density of the hair is augmented, in proportion to the latitude of the country. The Canadian and Russian furs are, therefore, better than the furs of climates farther south. The colour of the hair is likewise changed by climate. The bear is white under the arctic circle; and in high northern latitudes, black foxes are most frequently found. Similar effects of climate, on mankind, are also discernible. Almost every nation is distinguished by some peculiar quality of this excrescence. The hair of the Danes is generally red; of the English, fair or brown; and of the French, commonly black. The highlanders of Scotland are divided between red and black. Red hair is frequently found in the cold and elevated regions of the Alps; although black be the predominant complexion, at the foot of those mountains. The aborigines of America, like all people of colour, have black hair; and it is generally long and strait. The straitness of the hair may arise from the relaxation of the climate, or from the humidity of an uncultivated region. But, whatever be the cause, the Anglo-Americans already feel its influence: and curled locks, so frequent among their ancestors, are rare in the united States\*.

## NOTE.

\* They are most rare in the southern states, and in those families, that are farthest descended from their European origin. Strait lank hair is almost a general characteristic of the Americans of the second and third race. It is impossible, however, to predict, what effect the clearing of the country, and the progress of cultivation, may hereafter produce on the hair, as well as other qualities, of the

Black is the most usual colour of the human hair, because those climates, that are most extensive, and most favourable to population, tend to the dark complexion. Climates, that are not naturally marked by a peculiar colour, may owe the accidental predominancy of one, to the constitutional qualities of an ancestral family—they may owe the prevalence of a variety of colours, to the early settlement of different families, or to the migrations or conquests of different nations. England is, perhaps for this reason, the country, in which is seen the greatest variety in the colour of the hair.

But the form of this excrescence, which principally merits observation, because it seems to be farthest removed from the ordinary laws of nature, is seen in that sparse and curled substance, peculiar to a part of Africa, and to a few of the Asiatic islands.

This peculiarity has been urged, as a decisive character of a distinct species, with more assurance, than became philosophers but tolerably acquainted with the operations of nature. The sparseness of the African hair is analogous to the effect, which a warm climate has been shewn to have on other animals. Cold, by obstructing the perspiration, tends to throw out the perspirable matter, accumulated at the skin, in an additional coat of hair. A warm climate, by opening the pores, evaporates this matter, before it can be concreted into the substance of hair; and the laxness, and aperture of the pores, renders the hair liable to be easily eradicated by innumerable accidents.

Its curl may result in part, perhaps, from external heat, and in part from the nature of the substance or secretion, by which it is nourished. That it depends in a degree on the quality of the secretion, is rendered probable, from its appearance on the chin, and on other parts of the human body. Climate is as much distinguished, by the nature and proportion of the se-

## NOTE.

Americans. They will necessarily produce a great change in the climate, and consequently in the human constitution.

cretions, as by the degree of heat. Whatever be the nutriment of the hair, it seems to be combined, in the torrid zone of Africa, with some fluid of a highly volatile or ardent quality. That it is combined with a strong volatile salt, the rank and offensive smell of many African nations, gives us reason to suspect. Saline secretions tend to curl and to burn the hair. The evaporation of any volatile spirit would render its surface dry and disposed to contract, while the centre continuing distended by the vital motion, these opposite dilatations and contractions would necessarily produce a curve, and make the hair grow involved. This conjecture receives some confirmation, by observing that the negroes, born in the united states of America, are gradually losing the strong smell of the African zone; their hair is, at the same time, growing less involved, and becoming denser and longer\*.

External and violent heat, parching the extremities of the hair, tends likewise to involve it. A hair, held near the fire, instantly coils itself up. The herbs, in the extreme heats of summer, roll up their leaves, during the day, and expand them again in the coolness of the evening. Africa is the hottest country on the globe. The ancients, who frequented the Asiatic zone, esteemed the African an uninhabitable zone of fire. The hair, as well as the whole human constitution, suffers, in this region, the effects of an intense heat.

The manners of the people add to the influence of the climate. Being savages, they have few arts to protect them from its intensity. The heat and serenity of the sky preserving the life of children, without much care of the

## NOTE.

\* Many negroes of the third race, in America, have thick, close hair, extended to four or five inches in length. In some, who take great pains to comb and dress it in oil, it is even longer, and they are able to extend it into a short queue. This is particularly the case with some domestic servants, who have more leisure and better means, than others, to cherish their hair. Many negroes, however, cut their hair as fast as it grows, preferring it short.

parent, they seem to be the most negligent people of their offspring in the universe\*. Able themselves to endure the extremes of that ardent climate, they inure their children from their most tender age. They suffer them to lie in the ashes of their huts, or to roll in the dust and sand, beneath the direct rays of a burning sun. The mother, if she is engaged, lays down the infant on the first spot she finds; and is seldom at the pains to seek the miserable shelter of a barren shrub, which is all that the interior country affords. Thus the hair is crisped, while the complexion is blackened by excessive heat†. There is probably a concurrence of both the preceding causes, in the production of the effect. The influence of heat, either external, or internal, or of both, in giving the form to the hair of the Africans, appears, not only from its sparseness and its curl, but from its colour. It is not of a shining, but an adust black; and its extremities tend to brown, as if it had been scorched by the fire.

Having treated so largely on the form of this excrescence, in that country where it deviates farthest from the common law of the species, I proceed to consider a few of the remaining varieties among mankind.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES.

\* The manners of a people are formed, in a great measure, by their necessities. The dangers of the North American climate render the natives uncommonly attentive to the preservation of their children. The African climate not laying its savage inhabitants under any necessity to be careful, they expose their children to its utmost influence, without concern.

† I have myself been witness of this treatment of children by the slaves in the southern states, where they are numerous enough, to retain many of their African customs. I speak of the field slaves, who, living in little villages on their plantations, at a distance from their masters' mansions, are slow in adopting the manners of their superiors. There I have seen the mother of a child, within less than six weeks after it was born, take it with her to the field, and lay it in the sand, beneath a hot sun, while she

## Essay on Smuggling.—P. 64.

AS the bulk of mankind do not seem to have a disposition, to give their ready and effectual co-operation, in rendering the public revenue productive, and adequate to the object for which it is instituted—it would lead one to conclude, that no public utility was derived from the revenue; and consequently, that men are under no obligations of justice, for the payment of it. Those, who draw this inference, will go on to observe, that the common sense, and apprehension of the great mass of the people, can never be opposed to any measure, that is just and useful; and that general consent is the most infallible test, by which to form our notions of right and wrong. Whatever is built on the foundation of justice, must coincide with the common interests of men, and therefore will meet with general approbation and support. On the other hand, whatever is generally disliked and opposed, cannot have its origin in public utility, and has no just claim upon the property or services of men, to promote its operation and success.

Those, who reason in this manner, have taken only a loose, superficial view of the subject. In many cases,

## NOTE.

hood her corn-row down and up. She would than suckle it a few minutes, and return to her work, leaving the child in the same exposure, although the might have gained, within a few yards, a convenient shade. Struck at first with the apparent barbarity of this treatment, I have remonstrated with them on the subject; and was uniformly told, that dry sand, and a hot sun, were never found to hurt them. This treatment tends to add to the injury, that the climate does to the hair. A similar negligence among the poor, who suffer their children to lie in ashes, or on the naked ground, and who expose them, without covering for their heads, to the sun and wind, we find, greatly injures the hair. We rarely see persons, who have been bred in extreme poverty, who have it not short, and thin, and frizzled. But in Africa, the heat of the sun and of the sun, must have a much more powerful effect.

the common opinions, and feelings of mankind, furnish a good standard of estimation, for the moral merit of actions. But we must not mistake, in our application of this principle; nor must we suppose, that the public opinion really is, invariably, and in all instances, what it appears to be. The affairs of government are complicated; and the conduct of men, with respect to it, has a contradictory appearance. In the capacity of individuals, we feel an aversion to restraint, and a reluctance in making sacrifices. When we act, not merely as individuals, but as members of a community, we feel a responsibility, in this collective character, which accommodates itself to the general welfare. The common reason of the law-makers, while employed in the act of legislation, becomes the test of propriety, rather than the general temper of those, over whom the law is to operate. If however, the good effect of the law is so obvious, that men, in their private intercourse with each other, unavoidably discern it, they will acknowledge and applaud the justice of it. But the benefits of revenue laws are not immediately perceived by every individual; while the burdens are never concealed from the view of any one.

Nothing has been more common, than for almost every member of the community to complain of certain grievances, and to elect representatives, who participate of that spirit of complaint, for the express purpose of obtaining relief: and yet these same representatives, upon a fair consideration of the subject, have dropped their clamor, and even laid further impositions upon their constituents. This illustrates the idea, that people, in their private capacity, do not always perceive the utility, or allow the justice of a measure; merely because they have not been in a situation, to comprehend the reasons, upon which it is founded.

When there is a general prevalence of a practice, that will be called unjust or vicious, by those who view it upon the broad principles of justice and virtue, it argues that the iniquity of such injustice, or vice, is not obvious and immediate; but so remote and indirect, as to escape

common observation. This is mentioned, to prove, that public perception is not necessarily a test of the rules of justice. The partial honesty of mankind is well represented, in a late number of the American Museum\*. I will pursue some of the ideas, that are suggested in that publication.

It is diverting, to observe the distinctions, that some people practically make, with regard to their moral estimation of actions. Some men are scrupulously honest in certain points, while, in others, where there is no just ground of difference, they throw off all restraints of truth and honesty. They are countenanced, in their narrow system of morality, by the common consent of their neighbours.

In the course of a journey, some time since, I passed a few hours at the store of a country trader. While I was there, several of his customers came, with waggon-loads of grain. The trader directed the bags to be emptied into a granary, in a part of the store, occupied for that purpose. I observed him enquire of each man, the quantity he brought; and he was so well satisfied with their information, as to take the grain off their hands, without the trouble of measuring it. This degree of confidence a little surprised me, and led me to ask, whether it was usual, in purchasing articles, to rely upon the word of the seller, with respect to the quantity. The trader assured me, that he very seldom measured the grain, as it was brought to his store; that, in some few instances, he had done it, but that he had not found any attempt to deceive him. Many of his customers, he observed to me, would highly resent his scrupling their word in this matter; and that it was generally believed, no man, in that neighbourhood, would defraud another in the measure of grain. Soon after this conversation ended, a man, whose appearance was better than that of the farmers, offered to sell the trader a

horse. The latter had as great an inclination to buy, as the other had to sell; but there seemed to be some difficulty, in fixing the value of the horse, and ascertaining his age and qualities. The seller declared, upon his honour, that what he asserted, was true; but the buyer doubted all his declarations. I took an opportunity of speaking to the trader, on the subject, and told him, that I imagined, the person, who was about selling the horse, did not live in the same part of the country with the honest grain-sellers. The trader assured me, that he lived in the midst of them; that there was not a better man among them all; nor one, whose word he would sooner take, in any matter that related to weight and measure. "But," replied I, you do not seem to believe any thing he asserts, respecting his horse."—"True," said he, "it is customary for people to take all the advantage they can, in the sale of an horse, and to deceive the purchaser, as to his age and properties. The most honest men in the world do not scruple to impose on one another, in this respect."—From this anecdote, I would infer, that the common feelings, and practice of men, are not always a sure criterion of the justice or utility of actions. As there are few men who buy horses, compared with those who buy grain, the general convenience, and safety of the people, do not require them to make a common cause of the deception, in both instances alike.

Another anecdote, not less applicable to the subject, may be introduced. I was once invited to pass an evening, at the house of a gentleman, where there was to be a party at cards. Before the play commenced, my friend assured me, that I could depend on the utmost fairness in the game, and that each person would punctually pay his losses, on the spot. I found it exactly, as was represented. In every instance, where I won money, it was readily paid; and I could observe no attempt or disposition to play unfaithfully. At the close of the evening, a gentleman, who had been more unfortunate than usual, happened not to be in cash to square the board. He expressed great solicitude to pay his arrears; and addressing himself to the

## NOTE.

\* The author, we suppose, alludes to Dr. Franklin's judicious observations on smuggling, published in the Museum for April last, page 353.

company, requested, some one would be so obliging as to lend him a few guineas, declaring, in the most solemn manner, it should be reimbursed early the next morning. I did not hesitate to advance the sum requested, being fully persuaded, that a person, who was so anxious to pay a demand that accidentally lay against him by a run of ill luck, and so unwilling, that his honour should suffer by a delinquency, would be no less exact in discharging a debt, which he had voluntarily contracted, through the confidence and politeness of a stranger. The event, however, proved otherwise. In the morning, as I was getting ready to pursue my journey, I recollected the money I had lent; and desired the landlord to inform me, where the borrower could be found. The landlord, with a pertness he had not before discovered, replied, "mr. ——— will not be out of his bed these two hours; have you any business with him?"—Nothing more, said I, than to receive a little cash of him. "If you wait, till you get that," answered the landlord, "I would advise you to become an inhabitant of this place, and send for your family at once. It is a chance, if you ever get a farthing of the money, as mr. ——— never pays any debts he can avoid."—"But," continued I, "you must be mistaken in this man;—he was very honourable in paying his losses at cards."—"True," replied the landlord;—"for the rules of the club forbid any man to go away in debt to the table. If he left any thing unpaid, he could no longer be a member of the club. Besides, he is often fortunate, and carries away money; and when he loses, he can borrow of some person, who is not acquainted with his character. Those, who attend that gaming club, are honest with each other: but they pay no regard to justice, or veracity, with any body else, except when they are in the club-room."—I was not, however, discouraged, by this information, from an attempt to get my money; and after importuning the landlord for some time, he permitted a negro boy to take a note for me, to mr. ———. The boy himself was so well convinced, that his errand was in vain, that he could not refrain from waggish capers. He

soon returned, and informed me, that mr. ——— had told his servants, that he was not to be seen, till twelve o'clock.

I do not mention these anecdotes, as singular instances of the partial view and practice of men, in accommodating their ideas of right and wrong, to their particular situation and convenience. Wherever we look, we find repeated and melancholy confirmations of the imperfection of prevailing principles, and the perverseness of authorized habits. All clubs, or societies, how unimportant or immoral soever they may be, have certain rules of honor and equity among themselves. These are few or many, limited or extensive, in proportion to the objects, which are to be accomplished by the association. It is to be regretted, that men, who are greatly attached to any particular sect or party, are apt to forget the duties they owe the community at large, and confine their acts of usefulness, and their display of virtues, within narrow limits. "Robbers and pirates, (it has often been remarked,) could not maintain their pernicious confederacy, did they not establish a new distributive justice among themselves, and recal those laws of equity, which they have violated with the rest of mankind."

I have been thus diffusive, and thrown the subject into such different lights, that I might make it fully evident, that there are various instances, in which, our sentiments of duty are not co-extensive with the objects of it. There is no case, that I have specified, in which our ideas of obligation are more erroneous and deficient, than those, which relate to a discharge of the demands, that are laid upon us by the revenue laws. Our inventive faculty is artfully displayed, in finding excuses to justify actions, that are committed, through the impulse of interest or passion.

If the principles of this discussion are just, they will impress, on the minds of virtuous citizens, the importance of setting such examples, and diffusing such maxims, as will convince the bulk of the people, that their duty and their honour are concerned, in a punctual payment of the public taxes, in whatever form they are imposed. They will likewise con-

tribute to convince men at the helm of affairs, that in order to obtain the concurrence of their constituents, in supporting the execution of the laws, the public administration should be marked with no act, that is capricious, oppressive, or unnecessary. In addition to causes of a permanent nature, that induce men to doubt the utility or the justice of revenue laws, there are often adventitious circumstances, that alienate the affections of people from the measures of government. Of this description, are extravagant or useless appropriations; injudicious or supernumerary appointments of officers; neglectful, dishonest, or overbearing conduct in those, who are scattered through the different branches of the executive department.



*An essay on free trade and finance, particularly shewing, what supplies of public revenue may be drawn from merchandise, without injuring our trade, or burdening our people.—P. 69.*

*By a citizen of Philadelphia.*

I. **T**HIS mode of taxation may safely be raised to such a degree, as to produce all the money, we need for the public service, or sufficiently near it. Perhaps a small tax, in the ordinary way, would be more beneficial to the states, than none; because this tax keeps the customary avenues, from the wealth of individuals, to the public treasury, always open: these may be used on emergencies, and the habit and practice being settled, would not be subject to the difficulties, naturally arising from novelty, or innovations. But, to return to my argument—'tis greatly in favour of this kind of tax, that it will bring money enough for the public service. 'Tis matter of great animation, in the pursuit of any object, to know, that, when accomplished, it will be adequate to its purposes. People all want to see the end of things, and to know when they are to have done: this will naturally produce much stronger efforts, vigour and cheerfulness, than if the thing, when accomplished, would be but half adequate to its purposes.

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II. This mode of taxation applies for money, where 'tis to be had in greatest plenty, and can be paid with most ease and least pain. If we apply to the farmer, tradesman or labourer for cash, they have very little of it, and 'tis hard for them to raise the necessary sum; but 'tis matter of common course with the merchant, through whose hands the great current of circulating cash passes: he will consider the tax, as part of the first cost of his goods, and set his price and sell accordingly. It matters little to him, whether he pays half the cost of his goods abroad, and the other half at home; or whether he pays it all abroad: his object is, to get the whole out of his sales, with as much profit to himself, as he can.

III. This mode lays the burden of tax on that kind of consumption, which is excessive and hurtful; and lessens that consumption, and of course mends the economy, and increases the industry and health of the people. For 'tis plain, that no more money will be paid for the goods taxed, than would have been paid for the same kind of goods, had they not been taxed: the difference is, the same money paid for the taxed goods, will not buy the same quantity of them, as before the tax, because the tax will raise the price of them; and when the consumption, or use of such goods, is excessive and hurtful, this lessening of it is a benefit, though the same money is paid for them as before, for the same reason that 'tis better for a man who happens to be at a tavern with excessive drinkers, to pay his whole share of the reckoning, but drink less than his share of the liquors, and go home sober, than to pay the same reckoning, drink his full share of the liquors, and go home drunk. 'Tis always better for a man, to buy poison and not use it, than to buy the same poison and use it. In the one case, he loses nothing but his money; in the other case, he loses his money and his health too. For the same reason, 'tis better for a reaper, to drink half a pint of rum in a day, than to reap for the same wages, and drink a quart of rum. This reasoning will hold in its proper degree, with respect to every kind of consumption, which is excessive and hurtful.

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IV. This mode of taxation saves the whole sum of the tax to the states, while, at the same time, it mends the habits and health of the people: for 'tis plain, that, if the consumption of such imported goods is lessened by the tax, a less quantity will be imported, and of course a less sum of money be sent abroad to pay the first cost of these goods: and this excess of money, which is thus saved from going abroad (whence it would never return,) is paid, by the tax, into the public treasury, whence it issues on the public service, and is directly thrown into circulation again through the states; and of course becomes a clear saving, or balance of increase of the circulating medium, and consequently of realized wealth in the country; whilst, at the same time, the people are better served and accommodated, by the reduced consumption, than they could have been by the excessive one.

V. It appears, from what has been just now observed, that this mode of taxation naturally increases the circulating cash of the states: and every one knows what a spring, what vigour this gives to every kind of business in the country, whether of husbandry, mechanic arts, or trade. There is no comparison between the advantages of carrying on any sort of business, in a country where cash circulates freely, and in a country where cash is scarce. In the one case, every kind of business will flourish, and industry has every sort of encouragement and motive for exertion; in the other, all business must be sadly embarrassed, and of course make but a feeble and slow progress. We can scarcely form a conception, what a different face these two circumstances will give a country in a short time. In the one case, buildings rise, husbandry improves, arts and manufactures flourish, the country is alive, and every part of it abounds with industry, profits and delight; the other can produce little more than languor, decay, dullness and fruitless anxiety, disappointment and wretchedness.

VI. The tax I propose, will operate in a way of general equality, justice, and due proportion. A tax on general consumptions, cannot fail

to bring the burden in due proportion on individuals, because every one will pay in proportion to his consumption; and the presumption is, that the man who spends most, is best able to spend. If this proposition admits of exceptions, they are generally in favour of the œconomist, the careful, penurious man, and against the prodigal, who dissipates his estate—and will operate as a strong check upon him, if he is not past all considerations of interest. If this be the case with him, the sooner his estate is run through, the better it is both for himself and the public: for, when this happens, he must either die or work for his living, and of course do some good in the world, or at least cease doing hurt: he will then no longer be able to set an example of idleness, extravagance, and dissoluteness, and draw other gay spirits into his pernicious practices: and if his constitution shall happen to out-last his estate, he may, by temperance, enjoy some good degree of health; and his adversities may perhaps bring on serious reflexions, sincere repentance, and amendment of life; and if his fortune is desperate in this world, he may at least find strong inducements to prepare for the next; so that he is in no sense injured by the tax, but may by prudence derive great benefits from it. Besides, I am of opinion, that government ought to leave every man master of his own estate, and permit him to judge for himself, how fast, and in what mode, he will spend it. He knows well, what tax he pays on every expenditure: every part of it is subject to his own free choice: and if his career of dissipation cannot be restrained, it is as well for him, and much better for the public, that he should give part of his wealth to the public treasury, than waste the whole of it in luxury and pleasure—so that I do not see, that he has, in this case, the least ground of complaint of injury or oppression—besides, I think, there is a kind of justice, in framing the public institutions, in such a manner, that a man cannot spend a dollar in luxury and dissipation, which are hurtful to the public, without being, at the same time, obliged to pay another dollar into the public treasury, to make thereby some compensation

for the injury, which the public receives from his luxury.

And as to the niggardly, penurious man, who does not spend his money in proportion to his wealth, and of course does not pay his share of tax; 'tis observable, that even his very penury eventually benefits the community: for what he does not spend, he saves; and thereby enriches himself, and of course adds to the wealth of the community: for the wealth of the community is the aggregate of the wealth of all the individuals who compose it. This ought therefore to be a favoured case; as the community eventually gains more by a shilling saved, than it could, by a shilling consumed and lost, though the consumer should pay six-pence into the public treasury. In fine, the tax, on this principle, is carved out of the expenditures of the nation—not indeed all expenditures indiscriminately—but is so calculated, as to fall heaviest on those expenditures, which are the most general indexes of wealth, and are usually made by the rich, who are the best able to bear them: and the few exceptions, which may be supposed to take place, will generally operate in favour of virtue and economy, and against vice and dissipation; and where it falls heaviest, and becomes most burdensome, 'tis designed, and does actually tend, to correct that very vicious taste and corrupt habit, which is the true cause of the burden, and which 'tis always in the power of the sufferer to ease himself of, whenever he pleases.

Point out any other mode of taxing, if you can, that finds its way so surely to the wealth of individuals, and apportions itself thereto so equitably, that no subject can be burdened beyond his due proportion, without having a full remedy always in his own power—yea, a sure, easy and excellent remedy—because a man may always avail himself of it, without the expense and trouble of a law-suit, and without being subjected to any body's decisions, opinions or caprices, but his own.

VII. This mode of taxing will make the quantity and time of the tax to depend on the free choice of the man who pays it. If a man has a mind to drink a bowl of punch, or a

bottle of wine, with his friend, or to buy a silk gown for his daughter, he knows very well, how much tax is incorporated with the purchase, and adopts and pays it with cheerfulness and good humour—a humour, very different from the irritated sensibility of a man, who sees an awful collector enter upon him with his warrant of plenary powers, to distrain his goods, or arrest his person, for a tax which perhaps he abhors, either from religious scruples, or an opinion that he is rated beyond his due proportion, or, because he is not at that time in condition to pay it. The good humour of the subject is of great consequence in any government. When people have their own way and choice in a matter, they will bear great burdens with little complaint; but when matters are forced on them contrary to their humour, they will make great complaints on small occasions; and the public peace is often destroyed, much more by the manner of doing, than by the thing done.

VIII. This mode of taxing will give our treasury some compensation, for the monies, which our people pay towards the tax of other countries, which they travel through or reside in when abroad. An American cannot travel through any country in Europe and drink a bowl of punch or eat a dinner, without contributing to the tax of the country: and if our taxes, like theirs, were laid on such luxurious consumptions, as travellers usually indulge themselves in, their people who travel through our country, or reside in it, would contribute towards our taxes, in like manner, as our people, who travel through or reside in their countries, contribute to theirs: and as we expect that the intercourse, between us and all the countries of Europe, will be very great, 'tis highly reasonable that our treasury should receive the same benefit from their travellers among us, that their treasuries receive from our people, who travel or reside among them; and a little attention to the subject, will be sufficient to convince any man, that this article is more than a trifle.

IX. This mode of taxing, which brings the burden of the tax principally on articles of luxury, or at most on articles of not the first necessity,

gives easement and relief to our husbandry and manufactures, which are in danger of ruin, from the present weight of taxes that lies on them. If we tax land, we lessen its value, and of course diminish the whole farming interest. If we tax poles, we in effect tax labour; thus we discourage it, and of consequence cast a damp and deadening languor on the very first springs, the original principle and source of our national wealth, and wound the great staples of the country, in embryo. Now I think, that any mode of taxing, which gives remedy and relief, against so great, so fatal an evil, would deserve consideration, even though it had not these advantages in its favour, which I have before enumerated. I have heard a stupid and cruel argument urged, that "taxing labour has this advantage, that it promotes industry, because it increases necessity." This argument proves, in a very cogent manner, that 'tis best to make every body poor, because it will make him work the harder. I should think, it would be more humane and liberal in a government to manage the public administration so, that industry might have all possible encouragement, and be rather animated by an increase of happiness and hope of reward, than goaded on by dire necessity, and the dreadful spurs of pinching want. I freely give it as my clear and decided opinion, that 'tis the interest, duty, and best policy, of every government, to give all possible ease, exoneration, and encouragement to that industry, those occupations and kinds of business, which contribute most to the riches, strength and happiness of a nation—and to lay the burdens of government, as far as possible, on those fashions, habits and practices, which tend to weaken, impoverish and corrupt the people—and, therefore, that any mode of taxing, which tends to encourage the former of these, and discourage the latter, is worthy of the most serious attention.

(To be continued.)



*Correspondence between Noah Webster, esq. and the rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D. president of Yale college, respecting the fortifications in the western country.*

LETTER II.

*From Noah Webster, esq. to the rev. Ezra Stiles D. D.*

*New York, Dec. 15, 1787.*

*Reverend sir,*

I DID myself the honour to address you, on the 22d of October, giving you a short historical account of the famous expedition of Ferdinand de Soto into Florida. I wrote, just as I was leaving Philadelphia, and before I had an opportunity to examine the account in Roberts's history, with that accuracy which the subject deserves. I have lately read it with more attention, and compared the names of Indian tribes and rivers, with those on other maps of Florida, and also with Mr. Hutchins's history and description of that country, which I had not read, when I first wrote to you upon the subject. The result of my enquiries is, a strong persuasion in my own mind, that the fortifications, remaining in that western country, were erected by that commander. The facts, and reasons which have induced this belief, I have the honour to communicate.

Ferdinand, on his first landing at Spiritu Santo, marched to Palache, a country, which lies on a river that still retains the name. Hence he dispatched Maldonado, with a body of infantry, to explore the country westward; who returned with this account, "that, sixty leagues westward, was a harbour of good depth, and well sheltered." This harbor was called Ochuse—in some maps it is now called Anchuse; and it is the bay of Pensacola, which is about sixty leagues west of Palache. This is the bay, where Maldonado afterwards arrived with the fleet, to carry Ferdinand and the troops to the Havanna.

On this information, Ferdinand determined to march westward; but a young Indian, who had been taken at Napetica, told him, that "at Yupa-ha, far distant on the eastern coast, there was gold;" and he described the ore, and the manner of extracting and refining the metal, so minutely, that Ferdinand was convinced, that he spoke the truth.\* He therefore or-

NOTE.

\* It should have been previously

dered his men to take provision with them for "sixty leagues of desert," and marched to Patofa. This must have been in Georgia, and probably on the river Altamaha. My opinion is founded on these facts—1. An east-north-east course, from Palache, would carry him to that river. 2. Sixty leagues, from Palache, would carry him within less than a hundred miles of the Atlantic, on the coast of Georgia. From Palache, to St. Augustine, is 188 miles, nearly east. 3. The Indian informed Ferdinand, that the country Yupaha was on the eastern coast. 4. Ferdinand was, it is expressly said, within two days' march of the sea—about forty or fifty miles. As an unequivocal proof of this, the account relates, "that all the troops were of opinion, that this was the proper situation for them to settle; it being so advantageous a port, for all the ships from New-Spain, Peru, St. Martha, and the main, to carry on their traffic in, as it lay in their road to Old Spain; that the land was good, and commerce might be there established with great profit." This description answers to Georgia; for it is well known, that the Spanish ships, in their voyages to Spain, pass northerly, from the islands and the main, through the gulf of Florida, and nearly to the latitude of Savanna. But Ferdinand was obliged to return, in order to meet Maldonado, with the fleet, at Ochuse. 5. He, however, remained here some time, and sent out parties to make discoveries. 6. The consequence of these facts, is, that the fortifications now to be seen on the Altamaha, were probably the work of Ferdinand de Soto.

While Ferdinand was in this quarter, he was told "that, at the distance of twelve days' journey, north-west, was the province of Chiaha," whi-

## NOTE.

noticed, that Ferdinand's interpreter was one Ortiz, a Spaniard, who had been in Florida, twelve years; viz. from the time of Narvez's expedition, who perished with his followers, near Pensacola, in 1527. The wife of Narvez had sent Ortiz in quest of her husband; but being decoyed on shore by the natives, he was made prisoner, and detained till Ferdinand's arrival.

ther he determined to march, in hopes of finding gold mines. From Ocuta to Patofa, is said to be a distance of fifty miles, of rich, fertile, well watered country. From Patofa to Ay-may, was twelve leagues, besides four days' march, the distance not mentioned. From this to Catafachie, is said to be a small distance. From Patofa, therefore, must have been about one hundred or one hundred and twenty miles, in a north-west direction. From the forks of the Altamaha, where the remains of the fort are seen, to the Ogechee, which I take to be the Catafachie, in a north west course, is about the same distance, or one hundred miles. The account says, that, between Ocuta and Catafachie, the distance is one hundred and thirty miles; then, from Patofa, to Catafachie, was but eighty miles; the fifty, between Ocuta and Patofa, being deducted.

There is another supposition, which is well-founded. The head of the river Apalachicola, or a branch of it, is called, on modern maps, Chataooche—a name that bears some analogy to Catafachie, as it is pronounced in Spanish. From the forks of the Altamaha, westward, to this river, in a strait direction, is not much more than one hundred and thirty miles, if the maps can be relied on. But whether Catafachie was on the Ogechee, or a branch of the Apalachicola, is not material. This is certain, the distance, from Catafachie to Xualla, was two hundred and fifty miles. Then the army marched ten or twelve days to Chiahe, which I take to be Lexington in Kentucke: for Ferdinand himself says, that, in a settled country, he marched five or six leagues a day; but faster, through a desert. Suppose he marched six leagues a day, and ten days—sixty leagues, or one hundred and eighty miles, added to two hundred and fifty, make four hundred and thirty miles, the distance between Catafachie and Chiahe. This distance, either from Ogechee in Georgia, or the Apalachicola, will bring him almost to the Ohio. I am inclined to believe Catafachie to have been in Georgia; because the account says the country, between that and Xualla, for two hundred and fifty miles, was moun-

tainous; and the direction must have been over the southern part of the Allegany.

“Chiaha was situated upon the banks of a river, which, dividing itself into two branches, formed a little island, somewhat more than a mile long, and two bow-shots across.” I should be glad to know, of some person, who has been at Lexington, whether there is an island of this description, opposite or near the old fortifications; and whether rice grows in that country, so far northward. The troops reposed at Chiaha thirty days; and I suspect the fort to have been their work.

Here Ferdinand was informed, that “more to the north, was the country of Chisca, where copper was found, and another metal purer and livelier; but that the road was mountainous and rough.” He therefore dispatched two Spaniards, with an interpreter and guides, to explore the country. These returned in three days, with such an account of the road, as to discourage Ferdinand from proceeding; and he resolved to return. This was in July.

Ferdinand now marched southward, through Cosa. This is on the western branch of the large river Mobile; which is called, in some maps, Tambeche. The eastern branch is called Alabama; which I suspect to be but a variation of Ulliballi, a settlement, thro’ which Ferdinand passed. He also came to Tallise, a large town, which I take to be the modern Tallissee, the head quarters, or large town, of the lower Creeks. He then proceeded to Maville, which is undoubtedly the same as Mabile: for, in the Spanish language, the letters *b* and *v* are used indifferently; and it is immaterial, whether we pronounce the word Maville, or Mabile. Here a quarrel broke out between the Spanish and Indians, which ended with the slaughter of two thousand five hundred of the latter. This was about the 18th of October, 1540.

That Ferdinand was now near the Mobile, is certain, from this fact—that he was but seven days’ journey, or about one hundred and thirty miles, from Ochuse, or Pensacola, where Maldonado was waiting with the fleet. Of this he had intelligence; but would not communicate it to his troops: for he was determined not to leave the

country, till he had discovered some mines, to reward his followers. He therefore staid a month at Maville, to recruit his troops, and marched for Chicoca, on the 18th of November. The distance, and direction of this place, are not mentioned: but we may possibly collect them from circumstantial evidence. Supposing Ferdinand to be one hundred and thirty miles, or seven days’ journey, from the Bay of Pensacola—which is nearly the truth—which way could he travel?—had he gone east, he must have met with the Atlantic, in less than half the time which he marched before he took winter quarters, which was on the 18th of December. Had he gone west, he would have found the Mississippi in a few days. His direction, then, must have been nearly north. But this circumstance puts the matter beyond a doubt—the account says, “the cold grew too severe, for the army to proceed.” This is never the case near the gulf of Florida, and cannot be the case much to the southward of Muskingum, which is in the latitude of Maryland, about thirty eight or thirty nine. But let us attend to the distance. He marched from Maville, on the 18th of November, and arrived at Chicoca, on the 18th of December. He crossed many rivers, but two large ones, at one of which he was detained four days, for a boat to be made. Just as he passed the last, he came to Chicoca, where he wintered. Let us allow him five days, for interruptions, and suppose he marched, on an average, six leagues a day, for twenty-five days:—this makes the distance one hundred and fifty leagues, or four hundred and fifty miles. Add this to one hundred and thirty—the distance of Maville, from Pensacola-Bay—and Ferdinand must have wintered, at the distance of five hundred and eighty miles from that bay. We cannot reconcile the length of his march, and the severity of the cold, on any other principle. The Bay of Pensacola is nearly in the latitude of New Orleans; but something north. From New Orleans, to the mouth of the Ohio, is, in a straight line, but four hundred and sixty miles. From the Ohio, to the mouth of the Missouri, is, by land, one hundred and forty miles; that is, from New Orleans,

to Missoori, just six hundred. Muskingum is nearly in the latitude of the mouth of Missoori: consequently, as the Bay of Pensacola is about half a degree northward of New Orleans, the distance, from that Bay to Muskingum, would be nearly five hundred and eighty miles, in a strait line northward. We must, however, make some allowance for four or five degrees difference of longitude. At any rate, the time of marching corresponds well enough with the length of the way, from Maville to Muskingum. The description of the country also answers to that of Muskingum; for it is said to be extremely rich and pleasant.

In March, a jealousy was raised, between the Spaniards and Indians, which came to a rupture. The Spaniards defeated the savages; but the town was burnt, and in it fifty horses and four hundred pigs.\* The Spaniards lost also twelve men. In April, 1541, Ferdinand marched towards Rio le Grande, the great river, or Mississippi. He passed through Alimamu, which may be the country about the river Miami: then he had a wilderness of seven days' journey, about one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty miles, to pass thro, before he came to Quizquiz. Considering the letter *q* as equivalent to *k*, as it is in all languages, of which I have any knowledge, and that the Spaniards generally use *q*, the analogy of names leads me to suspect this to be the modern Kaskaskias, which is about seventy or eighty miles above the Ohio.

Ferdinand then proceeded to cross the great river—boats were constructed for the purpose—and the whole army crossed, in the course of a day. The time, when he crossed, is not mentioned; but from circumstances, it appears to have been in May.

## NOTE.

\* I would here observe, that it was customary for the Spaniards, to travel with herds of swine, in their expeditions. The swine will live in a wilderness without any trouble, and soon learn to follow like dogs. The savages, at Chicoca, were once entertained with swine's flesh, the first they had tasted; and, after that, were constantly stealing the pigs from the Spaniards.

Ferdinand then proceeded towards the province of Pacaha: but his way "lay over a lake, which formed a kind of gulf in the Rio Grande"—This description answers exactly to the Missoori; for it is said, immediately after, that its current was both deep and rapid†. The Missoori is cold, deep, muddy and rapid, and, at the mouth, broader than the Mississippi. The description, in this account, will not answer to any other auxiliary stream, on the west of the Mississippi. The Indians framed for the Spaniards a kind of bridge, on which the army crossed.

Ferdinand entered Pacaha on the nineteenth of June. He sent out a party to reconnoitre the country; but receiving an unfavourable account of it to the northward, he determined to return, and march southward, to the great province, Quigate. Here he arrived, on the fourth of August, having remained forty days at Pacaha. It is impossible to find what course he had marched; but, at Quigate, he must have been far west of the Mississippi; for he next moved to Caligoa, which was forty leagues north-east of Quigate, and at the foot of a mountain. From Caligoa, to Palisema, was five days march, or about one hundred miles. From the latter, to Pafalicoya, and thence to Cayas, the course and distance are not noticed. But it is said afterwards, that Cayas is on the river that washes Nilco and Autiamque, and that this river joins the great river near Guachoya, where Ferdinand died. Mr. Hutchins says, that Ferdinand died near the mouth of Red River, which is one hundred and eighty seven miles above New Orleans. If so, then Cayas must have been at least one hundred and forty leagues, or four hundred and twenty miles, from the mouth of the Red River. For, from Cayas, to Tulla, was one day's march, or six leagues: from Tulla to Autiamque, was eight leagues south-east, or down the river; and from Autiamque to Nilco, the distance was about eight days' march or forty eight leagues—and Nilco was at a considerable distance from the mouth of the Red

## NOTE.

† See Mr. Jefferson's notes;

River. Ferdinand therefore must have traversed the mountains west of the Mississippi, at the distance of three hundred, four hundred, and five hundred miles. The probability is, that, after passing the Mississippi, he crossed the Missoori—bent his course northward and westward—then changed his route southward, nearly to the head of Red River—then followed the course of that river, to Autiamque, where he wintered, the third year after his landing. In the spring, he continued his course, by the river, to Nilco, then to Guachoya, at the confluence of that and the Mississippi, where he died of a fever, on the 21st of May, 1542, three years from his first landing.

After his death, Moscoso summoned a council, to determine, which way to proceed—whether by land, westward, to Mexico, or by water, to Cuba. They were ill-prepared to march such a distance, being worn out with fatigue, and many of the troops unable to bear arms. But to the other plan, greater difficulties opposed themselves—it was doubtful, whether a vessel could be constructed capable of sustaining such a voyage; and they had neither pilot, charts, nor compasses. They therefore resolved to travel, by land, to Mexico, and left Guachoya, on the fifth of June. The particulars of this summer's march are uninteresting; it is sufficient to observe, that they travelled nearly five hundred miles west of the Mississippi, sometimes almost starved; and at others, harrassed by fierce tribes of savages. The obstacles, that opposed the execution of their design, increased to that degree, that a council was called, in which it was resolved to return, to build some vessels at Nilco, and to hazard themselves at sea. They arrived in autumn; but not finding a sufficiency of maize, for their subsistence, they moved two days' journey, northward, to Minoya, on the banks of the Mississippi. Here they employed the fourth winter of their expedition, in constructing some brigantines, which were finished in June. In these, the Spaniards sailed to Mexico, where they arrived on the tenth of September.

The Spaniards landed at Spiritu Santo, on the 25th of May, 1539; and left the Mississippi, on the 18th

of July, 1543. They were therefore in Florida, four years and two months. The first winter they passed in or near the province of Palache—the second, in a cold climate, which I suppose to be Mulkingum—the third, at Autiamque, on the Red River, (la Riviere Rouge)—and the fourth at Minoya, two days' journey, or twelve leagues north of the Red River, on the banks of the Mississippi. If we consider, in this expedition, the number of men employed, nine hundred foot and three hundred and fifty horse—the difficulties and dangers to which they were exposed, from famine, from large rivers, from the wilderness, from mountains and from hosts of savages—and the amazing perseverance, with which the whole undertaking was conducted—we shall be astonished at the passion for gold, which inflamed the Spaniards at that period. But that passion was as real then, as it is now surprising. Previous to this, there had been three expeditions to Florida, undertaken with a similar view. The first, under John Ponce de Leon, in 1512. The second, under Luke Vasquez, in 1520: And the third, under Pamphilo Narvez, in 1526 and 1527. Narvez and all his followers perished by the hands of the Indians or by shipwreck; and the ill success of Ferdinand discouraged the Spaniards from any further attempt.

I cannot conclude this relation, without one remark—Mr. Hutchins says, that “Ferdinand died near the mouth of Red River.” Were it not for the authority of this gentleman, whose opinion, in this matter, I dare not controvert, I should have supposed, that Ferdinand died at the mouth of the Arkenaw, which is larger than the Red River, runs the same course, and falls into the Mississippi, about three hundred miles above Red River. My reasons are these,—Moscoso was fourteen days navigating the river from Minoya (which was two days' journey, above the place of Ferdinand's death) to the mouth of the Mississippi. Now, Mr. Hutchins himself says, that the river, in floods, runs about five or six miles an hour. Moscoso went down the river, in the time of a flood; and the account says expressly, “that they found the current very strong, and they advanced at a great rate, by the help



useful for vs, so as we were in all, about about thirtie-four men; wee made master Iones our leader, for we thought it best herein to gratifie his kindnes and forwardnes. When we were set forth, it proved rough weather and crosse windes, so as we were constrained, some in the shallop, and others in the long boate, to row to the neereest shore the winde would suffer them to goe vnto, and then to wade out about the knees; the wind was so strong, as the shallop could not keepe the water, but was forced to harbour there that night; but we marched fixe or seaven miles further, and appointed the shallop to come to vs, as soone as they could. It blowed, and did snow, all that day and night, and froze withall; some of our people, that are dead, tooke the originall of their death here.

The next day, about 11. a clocke, our shallop came to vs, and wee shipped ourselues, and the wind being good, we sayled to the river we formerly discovered, which we named, Cold Harbour; to which, when wee came, we found it not navigable for ships, yet we thought it might be a good harbour for boats; for it flowes there twelve foote at high water. We landed our men betweene the two creekes, and marched some foure or fife myles by the greater of them, and the shallop followed vs; at length night drew on, and our men were tired with marching vp and downe the steepe hills, and deepe vallies, which lay halfe a foote thicke with snow; master Iones, wearied with marching, was desirous we should take vp our lodging, though some of vs would haue marched further; so we made there our randeezvous, for that night, vnder a few pine trees; and, as it fell out, wee got three fat geese, and six ducks to our supper, which we eate with souldiers stomachs, for we had eaten little all that day; our resolution was, next morning to goe vp to the head of this river, for we supposed it would proue fresh water; but in the morning our resolution held not; because many liked not the hillines of the foyle, and badnesse of the harbour; so we turned towards the other creeke, that wee might goe over, and look for the rest of the corne, that we left be-

hind when we were here before; when we came to the creeke, we saw the canow lie on the dry ground, and a flocke of geese in the river, at which one made a shot, and killed a couple of them, and we launched the canow, and fetcht them; and when we had done, she carried vs over by seaven or eight at once.

This done, we marched to the place where we had the corne formerly, which place we called Corne-hill; and digged, and found the rest, of which we were very glad; we also digged in a place a little further off, and found a botle of oyle; wee went to another place, which we had seene before, and digged, and found more corne, viz. two or three baskets full of Indian wheat, and a bag of beanes, with a good many of faire wheat eares; whill some of vs were digging vp this, some others found another heape of corne, which they digged vp also, so as we had in all about ten bushels, which will serue vs sufficiently for seed. And sure it was God's good providence that we found this corne; for els wee know not how we should haue done, for we knew not how we should find or meeete with any of the Indians, except it be to doe vs a mischief. Also, we had neuer, in all likelihood, seene a graine of it, if we had not made our first iourney; for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frozen, that we were faine with our curtaxes and short swords, to hue and carue the ground a foot deepe, and then wrest it vp with leavers, for we had forgot to bring other tooles. Whill we were in this employment, foule weather being towards, master Iones was earnest to goe abroad; but sundry of vs desired to make further discovery, and to find out the Indians habitations; so we sent home with him our weakest people, and some that were sicke, and all the corne, and eighteen of vs slayed still, and lodged there that night, and desired that the shallop might returne to vs next day, and bring us some mattocks and spades with them.

The next morning, we followed certaine beaten pathes and tracts of the Indians, into the woods, supposing they would haue led vs into some towne, or houses; after wee had gone a while, we light vpon a very

broad beaten path, well nigh two foote broad: then we lighted all our matches, and prepared our selues, concluding wee were neare their dwellings; but in the end we found it to be onely a path made to driue deer in, when the Indians hunt, as wee supposed; when we had marched five or six myles into the woods, and could find no signes of any people, we returned againe another way, and as we came into the plaine ground, wee found a place like a graue, but it was much bigger and longer, than any we had yet seene. It was also covered with boords, so as we mused what it should be, and resolved to digge it vp, where we found, first a matt, and vnder that, a fayre bow, and there another matt, and vnder that, a boord about three quarters long, finely carued and paynted, with three tynes, or broches on the top, like a crowne; also between the matts we found boules, trayes, dishes, and such like trinkets; at length we came to a faire new matt, and vnder that, two bundles, the one bigger, the other lesse; we opened the greater, and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfect red powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh vnconsumed; there was bound vp with it, a knife, a pack needle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound vp in a saylers canvas casacke, and a payre of cloth breeches; the red powder was a kind of embalmment, and yeelded a strong, but no offensive smell; it was as fine as any flower. We opened the lesse bundle likewise, and found of the same powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe; about the leggs, and other parts of it, was bound strings, and bracelets of fine white beads; there was also by it, a little bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knackes; we brought sundry of the pretiest things away with vs, and covered the corps vp againe. After this, we digged in sundry like places, but found no more corne, nor any things els but graues: there was a varietie of opinions amongst vs, about the embalmed person; some thought it was an Indian lord and king: others sayd, the Indians haue all blacke hayre, and ne-

ver any was seene with browne or yellow hayre; some thought, it was a christian of some speciall note, which had dyed amongst them, and they thus buried him to honour him; others thought, they had killed him, and did it in triumph over him. Whilest we were thus ranging and searching, two of the saylers, which were newly come on the shore, by chance espied two houses, which had beene lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They having their peeces, and hearing no body, entered the houses, and tooke out some things, and durst not stay, but came againe and told vs; so some seaven or eight of vs went with them, and found how we had gone within a flight-shot of them before. The houses were made with long young sapling trees, bended, and both ends flucke into the ground; they were made round, like vnto an arbour, and covered downe to the ground with thicke and well wrought matts; and the doore was not over a yard high, made of a matt, to open; the chimney was a wide open hole in the top, for which they had a matt, to cover it close when they pleased; one might stand and goe vpright in them; in the myddst of them were foure little trunches knockt into the ground, and small stickes laid over, on which they hung their pots, and what they had to seeth; round about the fire, they lay on matts, which are their beds. The houses were double matted; for, as they were matted without, so they were within, with newer and fairer matts. In the houses we found wooden boules, trayes and dishes, earthen pots, hand baskets made of crab shells, wrought together; also an English paille or bucket; it wanted a bayle, but it had two iron eares: there was also baskets of sundry sorts, bigger and some lesser, finer and some coarser: some were curiously wrought, with blacke and white, in pretie workes, and sundry other of their household stuffe; we found also two or three deeres heads, one whereof had bin newly killed, for it was still fresh; there was also a company of deeres fecte, stuck vp in the houses; harts hornes, and eagles clawes, and sundry such like things: there was also two or three baskets full of parched acornes, peeces of fish, and a peece

of a broyled hering. We found also a little filke grasse, and a little tobacco seed, with some other seeds, which wee knew not; without was sundry bundles of flags, and sedge, bull-rushes, and other stufte to make mats; there was thrull into an hollow tree, two or three peeces of venison; but we thought it fitter for the dogs then for vs. Some of the best things we tooke away with vs, and left the houses standing still as they were; so it growing towards night, and the tyde almost spent, we hasted with our things downe to the shallop, and got aboard that night, intending to haue brought some beades, and other things, to haue left in the houses, in signe of peace, and that we meant to truk with them; but it was not done, by meanes of our hastie comming away from Cape Cod; but so soone, as we can meete conveniently with them, we will giue them full satisfaction. Thus much of our second discovery.

Having thus discovered this place, it was controversall amongst vs, what to doe, touching our aboad and settling there; some thought it best, for many reasons, to abide there;

As first, there was a convenient harbour for boates, though not for ships.

Secondly, good corne-ground, ready to our hands, as we saw by experience in the goodly corne it yeilded, which would againe agree with the ground, and be naturall feed for the faine.

Thirdly, Cape Cod was like to be a place of good fishing; for we saw daily great whales of the best kind, for oyle and bone, come close aboard our ship, and in fayre weather swim and play about vs; there was once one, when the sun shone warme, came and lay above water, as if she had bene dead, for a good while together, within halfe a musket shot of the ship, at which two were prepared to shoote, to see whether she would stir or no; he that gaue fire first, his musket flew in peeces, both stocke and barreil; yet, thanks be to God, neither he, nor any man els, was hurt with it, though many were there about; but when the whale saw her time, she gaue a snuffe and away.

Fourthly, the place was likely to be healthfull, secure, and defensible.

But the last, and especiall reason, was, that now the heart of winter, and vnseasonable weather, was come vpon vs, so that we could not goe vpon coasting and discovery, without danger of losing men and boat; vpon which would follow the overthrow of all, especially, considering what variable windes and sodaine stormes do there arise. Also cold and wett lodging had so taynted our people, (for scarce any of vs were free from vehemient coughs) as, if they should continue long in that state, it would indanger the liues of many, and breed diseases and infection amongst vs. Againe, we had yet some beere, butter, flesh, and other such victuals left, which would quickly be all gone; and then we should haue nothing to comfort vs, in the great labour and toyle we were like to vndergoe at the first; it was also conceived, whilst we had competent victuals, that the ship would stay with vs, but when that grew low, they would be gone, and let vs shift as we could.

Others againe, vrged greatly the going to Anguam, or Angoum, a place twentie leagues off to the northwards, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for ships; better ground and better fishing. Secondly, for any thing we knew, there might be, hard by vs, a farre better seate, and it should be a great hindrance to seate where we should remoue againe. Thirdly, the water was but in ponds, and it was thought, there would be none in summer, or very little. Fourthly, the water there must be fetched vp a sleepe hill: but to omit many reasons and replies, vsed heere abouts; it was in the ende concluded, to make some discovery within the bay, but in no case so far as Angoum: besides, Robert Corpin, our pilot, made relation of a great navigable river and good harbour, in the other head land of this bay, almost right over against Cape Cod, being a right line, not much above eight leagues distant, in which hee had bene once; and because that one of the wild men, with whom they had some trucking, stole a harping iron from them, they called it Theemish Harbour. And beyond that place they were enioyed not to goe; whereupon, a company was chosen to goe out vpon a third

discovery: whilest some were employ- ed in this discovery, it pleased God, that mistris White was brought to bed of a sonne, which was called Peregrine.

The fift day, we, through Gods mercy, escaped a great danger by the foolishnes of a boy, one of Francis Billingtons sonnes, who in his fathers absence, had got gun-powder, and had shot of a peice or two, and made squibs; and there being a fowling peice charged in his fathers cabbin, shot her off in the cabbin, there being a litle barrell of powder halfe full, scattered in and about the cabbin, the fire being within four foote of the bed betweene the deckes, and many flints and iron things about the cabbin, and many people about the fire, and yet, by Gods mercy, no harme was done.

Wednesday, the sixt of December, it was resolved our discoverers should set forth; for the day before was too fowle weather; and so they did, though it was well ore the day, ere all things could be readie. So ten of our men were appointed, who were of themselves willing to vndertake it, to wit, captaine Standish, maister Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winsloe, Iohn Tilley, Edward Tilley, Iohn Houland, and three of London, Richard Warren, Steeuen Hopkins and Edward Dotte, and two of our sea-men, Iohn Alderton and Thomas English: of the ships company, there went two of the mallers mates, maister Clarke and maister Copin, the maister gunner, and three saylers. The narration of which discovery, folloves penned by one of the company.

Wednesday, the sixt of December, wee set out, being very cold and hard weather; wee were a long while, after we launched from the ship, before we could get cleare of a sandie poynt, which lay within lesse then a furlong of the same. In which time, two were very sicke, and Edward Tilley had like to haue founded with cold: the gunner was also sicke vnto death, (but, hope of truking made him to goe) and so remained all that day, and the next night; at length we got cleare of the sandie poynt, and got vp our sayles, and within an houre or two we got vnder the weather shore, and then had smoother water and better sayling;

but it was very cold, for the water frose on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of iron: wee sayled fixe or seven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creeke; at length we mett with a tongue of land, being flat off from the shore, with a sandy poynt; we bore vp to gaine the poynt, and found there a sayre income or rode, of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length; but wee made right over to the land before vs, and left the discovery of this income till the next day; as wee drew neare to the shore, wee espied some ten or twelue Indians, very busie about a blacke thing; what it was, we could not tell, till afterwards they saw vs, and ran to and fro, as if they had bene carrying something away; wee landed, a league or two from them, and had much adoe to put a shore any where, it lay so full of flat sands; when we came to shore, we made vs a baricado, and got fire-wood, and set out our sentinells, and betooke vs to our lodging, such it was; we saw the smoke of the fire, which the savages made that night, about foure or five myles from us; in the morning we devided our company, some eight in the shallop, and the rest on the shore went to discouer this place; but we found it only to be a bay, without either river or creeke comming into it, yet we deemed to be as good an harbour as Cape Cod, for they that founded it, found a ship might ride in five fathom water; wee on the land found it to be a levill soyle, but none of the fruitfullest; wee saw two beκες of fresh water, which were the first running streames that we saw in the country, but one might stride over them; we found also a great fish, called a grampus, dead on the sands: they in the shallop found two of them also in the bottome of the bay, dead in like sort; they were cast vp at high water, and could not get off, for the fross and ice; they were some five or fixe paces long, and about two inches thicke of fat, and fleshed like a swine; they would haue yeelded a great deale of oyle, if there had bene time and meanes, to haue taken it; so we finding nothing for our turne, both we and our shallop returned.

(To be continued.)

*A general statement of the FOREIGN LOANS; shewing, in abstract, the capital sums borrowed; the arrearages of interest, and parts of principal, which became due, in 1786, 1787, and 1788, and remaining unpaid on the 1st of January, 1789; and the interest and parts of principal, becoming due in the year 1789.*

Capital sums borrowed, viz.

		Livres.	Dolls. 90.
Of the French royal treasury, on interest,			
at 5 per cent.	- - -	24,000,000	
In Holland, guaranteed by the			
French court,	4 per cent.	10,000,000	
		<hr/>	
Royal Spanish treasury,	5 per cent.	34,000,000	6,296,296.
			174,011.
		Florins.	
Lenders in Holland, 1st loan,	5 per cent.	5,000,000	
2nd ditto,	4 per cent.	2,000,000	
3d ditto,	5 per cent.	1,000,000	
4th ditto,	5 per cent.	1,000,000	
		<hr/>	
		9,000,000	3,600,000.
		<hr/>	
Total,	- - -	- - -	10,070,307.

*Arrearages of interest, and parts of principal, which, by the terms of the loans, became due in 1786, 1787, and 1788; and remained unpaid, on the 1st of January, 1789.*

			Dolls. 90.
1786.			
Jan. 1.	2 years' int. on 6,000,000 liv. F. L. at 5 per cent.		111,111. 10
Nov. 5.	1 ditto 10,000,000 do. F. L. 4 per cent.		74,074.
Mar. 21.	principal of the Spanish loan is,	- - -	174,011.
	Arrearages of interest on ditto,	5 per cent.	39,895. 85
		<hr/>	
Total,	. - - -	- - -	399,092. 5

			Dolls. 90.
1787.			
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on 6,000,000 liv. F. L. at 5 per cent.		55,555. 50
Sept. 3.	4 years' int. on 18,000,000 liv. do. ditto,		666,666. 60
	First paymt. of 18,000,000 capital, is - -		277,777. 70
Nov. 5.	1 year's int. on 10,000,000 liv. F. L. at 4 per cent.		74,074.
	First paymt. of 10,000,000 do. capital, is, - -		185,185. 17
Mar. 21.	1 year's int. on 174,011 liv. S. L. is, - -		8,700. 60
		<hr/>	
Total,	- - -	- - -	1,267,959. 77

			Dolls. 90.
1788.			
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on, 6,000,000 liv. F. L. at 5 per cent.		55,555. 50
Sept. 3.	1 ditto, 18,000,000 liv. do. ditto,		166,666. 60
	Second paymt. of 18,000,000 do. capital, is, - -		277,777. 70
Nov. 5.	1 year's int. on 10,000,000 do. F. L. at 4 per cent.		74,074.
	Second paymt. of 10,000,000 do. capital, is, - -		185,185. 17
Mar. 21.	1 year's int. on 174,011 do. S. L. at 5 per cent.		8,700. 60
		<hr/>	
Total,	- - -	- - -	767,959. 77

			Dolls. 90.
	Total unpaid 1st January, 1789.		
Interest,	- - -	1,335,074. 75	
Parts of principal,	- - -	1,099,936. 84	2,435,011. 69
		<hr/>	

## Interest, becoming due, in the year, 1789.

				Dolls. 90
1789.				
Jan. 1.	1 years' int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 per cent.	55,555. 50
Feb. 1.	1 ditto	2,000,000 flo. D. L.	4 per cent.	32,000.
Mar. 21.	1 ditto	174,011 dols. S. L.	5 per cent.	8,700. 60
June 1.	1 ditto	7,000,000 flo. D. L.	ditto,	140,000.
Sept. 3.	1 ditto	18,000,000 liv. F. L.	ditto,	166,666. 63
Nov. 5.	1 ditto	10,000,000 do. F- L.	4 per cent.	74,074.
Annual interest,				476,996. 80

## Parts of principal, becoming due, in the year 1789.

				Dolls. 90
1789.				
Sept. 3.	Third paymt. of	18,000,000 liv. capital, is,	- -	277,777. 70
Nov. 5.	Third paymt. of	10,000,000 do. ditto, is,		185,185. 17
Total,				462,962. 87

February 1. By the terms of the loan of 2,000,000 florins, vide journals of congress for 1787, appendix, 246.

The united states may, if they choose, pay off, and discharge, in ready money, the premium arising this year, in like manner as was done in 1785, and 1787; whereby they will save, as per page 259, the gratification of 6 per cent. as also the interest upon 70,000 florins, at 4 per cent. until 1803.

				Dolls. 90.
Premium of 70,000 florins,	-	-	-	28,000.
Total—1789,	-	-	-	967,959. 77

				Dolls. 90.
From the foregoing statements, it appears, there was due, on				
the 1st January, 1789, interest,	-	-	-	1,335,074. 75
To be provided for, to pay interest, due in 1789,	-	-	-	476,996. 80
Dutch premium of 1789,	-	-	-	28,000.

Total interest,	-	-	-	1,840,071. 65
Parts of principal, due, on the 1st of Ja-				
nuary, 1789,	-	-	-	1,099,936. 84
Becoming due, in 1789,	-	-	-	462,962. 87
				1,562,899. 81

Total principal and interest, due, January, 1790,				3,402,971. 56
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The farmers general of France have a claim on the united states, for eight hundred, forty six thousand, seven hundred and seventy livres, fourteen sols, and five deniers; upon a contract, signed Benjamin Franklin, 17th November, 1781; being a balance, due on a loan of one million of livres, tournois, the 3d of June, 1777, to messrs. Franklin & Deane, as agents of the united states.

*Treasury of the united states, register's office, 3d March, 1789.*



*The Visitant.*—Continued from VOL.

V. page 587.

NUMBER XI.

**M**Y ingenious correspondent who signs himself T. S. B.\* has favoured me with another letter, which I shall present to the public.

NOTE.

\*For this correspondent's, first letter, see vol. v. page 222.

*Mr. Visitant,*

**Y**OUR last paper confirms me in the opinion I always had of you, that you are "*un fort galant homme*"—a very polite sort of a gentleman. I imagine, that you did not take my meaning, by what you say, just before you introduce my letter, "that I was out of humour with the ladies." You mistake me entirely,

Sir: I have as great a reverence and regard for the fair sex, as you, or any other gentlemen, can have.

—*Cum magnis virtutibus, affers Grande supercilium—Juv. Sat. 6:* I own their virtues; but I blame beside

Their minds elate with haughtiness and pride.”

ADDISON.

“All I meant, was to give you a little jog, to put you in mind of your duty; and, as your style is very delicate, and your address much admired by the lovely creatures in general, you might at the same time that you delight them, give a few lines of instruction. I would have you paint their virtues in the most striking light; but I would also have you represent their vices in the grossest deformity—In short, my only meaning was, that you should permit them to behold themselves in an impartial mirror, that they may avoid those follies, that make beauty disgusting and even good sense disagreeable.

I am, sir, your most obedient,

Humble servant,

T. S. B.”

In consequence of this gentleman's advice, I had resolved to make some animadversions on the love of dominion in the fair sex, and had begun to look around for materials of a paper on that subject, when I received the following excellent letter, which wholly diverted me from executing my design. The agreeable writer discovers so much good sense, and such a delicate turn of thought, in what she says, that she has inclined me rather to compose a panegyric, than a satire, on the sex. Besides, her observations upon the ungenerous conduct of us men, are but too well founded; and justice obliges me to own, that an immoderate attachment to power in us, is one reason why we complain so much of it in the women; and that we would see fewer rebels, were there fewer tyrants, who provoke them to rebellion. If it is true, that many a lady is content to take a fool for her husband, in order to govern with absolute sway; it is no less true, that many a fool is so fond of the prerogative of his sex, that, in order to preserve it, he looks out for a mate, still more foolish than himself. I wish an inviolable regard for

truth did not lay me under the necessity of saying, that even men, who are conspicuous for their merit, too frequently betray a jealousy of those very excellencies in the female sex, by which themselves are distinguished. The meanness and unreasonableness of such a disposition are admirably painted by my fair correspondent.

MR. VISITANT,

THE candid and kind manner, in which you treat both the errors and perfections of the female sex, must make every woman, who reads your paper with as good a heart, as you appear to have, when you write it, your admirer and friend.

“I do assure you, sir, I am totally ignorant, whether the Visitant is written by one, who appears in a black coat or a red; or by one, whose garb does not denote any particular profession. Alas! so eccentric a set of beings are writers, that the Visitant may be unsocial, indelicate, and unfriendly—the reverse of every thing he says—Fool he can never be: but I hope the kind advocate of our cause is as agreeable in private life, as in public; and in this he is truly amiable.

“Your definition of politeness, and the sources of affectation, in No. IV.† I read with peculiar satisfaction; but give me leave, at present, to mention your paper, No. VII,‡ where, among many good things you say, you endeavour to shew, what are the steps to attain esteem, and what to attain admiration. As far as I am a judge, the means are well calculated to gain their respective ends. But, sir, you must correct some faults in your own sex, before you can brighten the shades of ours. The ways you have pointed out, will, as I have just observed, secure us esteem; but at esteem we shall always stop.

When a worthy young woman, not without a share of sensibility in her composition, has attentively cultivated the virtues of the mind, and has improved herself in the several branches of education, with much resolution, and, on many occasions, with much self-denial—when, thus accomplished, she enters upon life, and mixes in a po-

NOTES.

† See vol. iv. page 220.

‡ See vol. iv. page 489.



mit the enclosed pamphlet, that if you judge, it may conduce in any measure towards so laudable an undertaking, it may be preserved in your useful repository.

*Robert Strettell Jones.*

Burlington, May, 1789.

*Directions for the breeding and management of silk-worms. Extracted from the treatises of Abbé Boissier, de Sauvages, and Pullin: and published, anno 1770; by order of the Philadelphia Society for promoting the culture of silk.*

SECTION I.

*Of the silk worms' eggs.*

AT first, their colour is a pale yellow. Within five or six days, after they are laid, this colour changes by degrees to a darker; and then those eggs are said to be of the best sort, which are of a grey ash-colour, inclining to a tarnished purple. If the first colour continues unchanged, it is a certain mark, that the eggs are unimpregnated and barren.

2. The best eggs may be spoiled—by a stifled heat—by a moist air—by being pent up in tight vessels—or by being amassed together in any considerable quantities. The eggs, which are spoiled by any of these means, turn either to a whitish or a brown colour; and either they do not crack under the nail, and are so light as to swim in water; or else, when they are cracked, their liquor is fluid and watery, which ought to be slimy and thick.

3. To prevent these evils, keep your eggs, as they are first laid, upon separate pieces of rag or paper, and in a dry, fresh air. In this manner, they may be sent to any distance, with a cover, in form of a letter; only taking care, that, if several pieces are put into one packet, they be kept from rubbing together, by slips of rag or paper, laid between them.

4. From the time that your eggs are laid, till you set them to hatch, they should be kept from the two extremes of heat and cold. As soon, therefore, as they are laid, put them away, in the coolest place you can find, about the house, or in the cellar; only taking care, that they be not stifled by a damp, or a confined

air, nor exposed to be devoured by mice, or other vermin: if your cellar, therefore, be damp or close, you must choose some other place. And, to secure them from vermin, you may put them in a large basket, covered at the top with a thin linen cloth, and suspended by a string from the ceiling. When the cold weather sets in, and threatens frost, you may move them into a room where you keep a constant fire, and hang them up, as before, but at a good distance from the fire. The room should be large, and the ceiling pretty high; for they do not require a greater warmth, than about ten degrees above freezing. And, indeed, a very strong frost would not kill the worm in the egg; but the inconveniences, arising from the eggs having been so chilled, are, that such eggs cannot easily be made to hatch together, nor at the proper season; unless you force them by such a degree of heat, as, by the sudden perspiration it occasions in the egg, enfeebles or perhaps destroys the worm. As the spring approaches, if the weather should turn unseasonably warm, remove your eggs again to a cool place.

Lastly, keep your eggs always clean, and free from every kind of fat or oily substances.

SECTION II.

*Of hatching the silk-worms' eggs.*

As I must, throughout this essay, endeavour to adapt the directions and observations of my author to our own climate, the reader will please to consider what I say, to be often no more than hints and conjectures, which can only be tried by experience. And yet I hope, those hints may be of use, in directing us to the knowledge of such experiments, as are necessary to be made, and in what manner to make them.

The eggs, if properly preserved, according to the directions given in the first section, would, without more trouble, as the spring advances, be hatched by the natural warmth of the season. But, in every country, where the breeding of silk-worms is well understood, the people have been taught, by long experience, that, in this affair, nature requires the assist-

tance of art. Accordingly, in China, Persia, Italy, France, and Spain, they avail themselves of artificial means, in the hatching of these useful insects, and indeed in the breeding and management of them, through every stage of their existence. At first, we may be apt to imagine, that here, as in most other instances, art is not so good a nurse as nature; and that, in their own country and climate at least, silk-worms would do best, if left in the open air. But the fact is far otherwise. There is no country, where they can be rendered profitable to man, but by the means of artificial management. If they were to be left abroad upon the trees, they would become the prey of birds, flies, and other insects.

But, to return from this digression, the two principal things to be regarded, in the hatching of silk worms, are the time when, and the manner how.

1. With respect to the time, if the seasons were uniform, an infallible rule might be given, that the worms ought to come out, with the first appearance of the mulberry leaf, which is to be their only food. If they come out sooner, they must starve\*. It has been thought, indeed, that lettuce, and perhaps some other leaves might, in cases of necessity, be used as a substitute for the mulberry leaves†. But experience has decided against this opinion. For though you may, by such means, save the lives of the worms, for a while, yet, unless they are fed with that food, which nature has destined for their use, and which, therefore, is alone proper to furnish the gum, from which the silk is made, it were better to spare yourself the

fruitless pains, and to let them die at once. If their hatching, on the other hand, be delayed, till the leaves, upon which they are fed, have got considerably forward in their growth, then the worms lose the advantage of feeding at first upon young and tender leaves, which are fittest for their infant state, and contribute greatly to their future health and vigour. And, besides, by the time they have got through their last moulting, they will be much injured, by a food that is grown too dry, and of too hard a texture, and still more by the close air and stifling heat of summer. It is, therefore, of importance, to have the worms come out as early in the spring as may be, without exposing them to the danger of wanting food. But it frequently happens, especially in this country, that a too forward spring brings out young leaves, which are soon after suddenly killed by a nipping frost; and, in that case, it will be often fifteen, and sometimes twenty days, before a second crop of leaves is put out.

There is an Indian proverb which says, that "the winter seldom rots in the sky:" the meaning of which is obvious, that sooner or later we must expect to feel our share of cold. And the converse of this observation is also true, that if, in the winter months, the cold has been pretty constant and uniform, the winter then will seldom usurp the place of spring. When the season, therefore, has been thus regular, there will be little or no danger in setting your eggs to hatch, as soon as the mulberry buds begin to swell. But if the spring appear to be too forward, you run a risk either way: if you hatch your eggs, and a frost should happen to nip the tender leaves in the bud, you lose your worms; and if you keep back your eggs for fear of the frost, and no frost should happen, then your worms will come too late for their food, and will have to struggle with the sultry suffocating heats of the advancing season. Now, if the buds, by putting out too early, should happen to be nipped by the frost, the second crop will come so much later, that there will then be no reason to fear the like accident again for that season. Upon the whole, therefore, it will be safest, to keep

#### NOTES.

\* If a scarcity of food should be apprehended, it may be easily guarded against, by cutting some suckers or small branches of the mulberry-tree, and setting them in bottles of water, in a warm room. By this means, they may be made to vegetate as early in the season as you please, and afford a sufficient supply of food for your young worms, till the natural sprouting of your mulberry-trees.

† For letters on this interesting subject, see the American Museum, vol. V. pages 166, 272, 355.

such a quantity of eggs, that you may divide them into two parcels; (and let the season be as it may) have one of the parcels ready to hatch, with the first appearance of the leaf; then, if their food should be killed, you may have the second parcel ready, against the leaves put out anew. It may be, all things considered, a good economy, to submit to the loss of half the eggs that you keep, or (which is the same thing) to be at the expense of keeping double the quantity of eggs that will be wanted, rather than run the risque of losing the labour and expectation of a whole season.

These hints may serve to direct the attentive observer, in ascertaining the proper time, for hatching the silk-worm's eggs. It remains to show.

2. The manner of bringing them to hatch at the time required. It is needless to say, that this cannot be done, with any degree of certainty, by trusting them to the natural warmth of the season, which would often bring out the worms too soon, and as often perhaps, keep them back too long. For this reason, therefore, (and, indeed, for several others, with which I need not detain the reader) it is necessary to follow the directions given in the first section, keeping your eggs in a moderately cool air, till the time, indicated in the foregoing article; and then to hatch them by means of such a heat, as it is, at all times, in your power to regulate at pleasure.

In Europe, it has been a very general practice, to do this by means of the natural warmth of the human body. They put a quantity of eggs into a linen rag, tied up with a string; and begin by putting this little bundle into some clean dry straw, at the foot of the bed at night, and by wearing it pinned under their outward garments in the day-time. Then by degrees they give the eggs, a greater heat, by putting the bundles first into bed at their feet, and so gradually bringing them to lie on their breast at night, and to be worn next to the skin by day. But I shall not give a minute detail of this method, because it is liable to many objections. The two grand requisites in the management of silk-worms, from first to last, are, to keep them, both while they are in the eggs, and afterwards, in a dry air,

and free from a close stifled heat. In the method just now mentioned, therefore, a constant attention, and a painful vigilance, are absolutely necessary, to guard against the dangers arising from the insensible perspiration of the body, and from the eggs being too closely pent up in a suffocating kind of warmth. Those who follow this mode, are obliged, every now and then, both by day and by night, to open the bundle of eggs, spread them about for a while, and then tie them up again, and return them into their place. When the worms are on the eve of coming out, they dare not trust themselves to sleep, lest their nap should be too long; for one hour's neglect might hazard the loss of more than half their labour, and be productive of such a sickly brood, as would hardly be worth the pains of nursing.

Another, and a far preferable method, has therefore been attempted with success, which is to hatch the eggs by the heat of a common fire. The manner of putting this method in practice, may be varied, according as fancy or convenience shall direct, and experience shall approve. The abbé Boissier, whose book has been my chief instructor, directs a stove, or rather a small hot-house, to be built for this purpose. It is about six feet wide, and fifteen feet long, built of brick, and covered with tile, and has a fire-place in each end, a door in one side, and a small window, which is closed by a sliding shutter, to be opened occasionally. In order to keep up, as nearly as may be, a steady, equal heat, he puts every morning a quantity of tanner's bark, well dried in the sun, into each fire-place; this bark he disposes in an even heap, from jamb to jamb, and kindles it at one end with a shovelful of burning coals. It burns slowly and constantly, and you may put on enough at one time, to serve for twenty-four hours. If tanner's bark cannot be had, you may use cow-dung, turf, sea-coal, &c. instead of it.

The stove being ready, the next thing to be done, is, to provide a small table or tablet, upon which you may spread your eggs. This may be a thin piece of well-seasoned board,

planed smooth, with a ledge on the edges, about half an inch higher than the surface of the board, which is to be covered with a lining of clean brown paper; or, instead of a board, it might be made with splinters, or smooth twigs, like the cover of a square basket. Strew this smoothly over, with a layer of clean cut straw, upon which lay the brown paper as before. The size of this tablet should at least be such, as that a layer of eggs, when spread upon the paper, may not be more than a quarter of an inch thick. At each corner of the tablet, fasten a string, and make the strings meet in a knot, at a convenient height, above the tablet. When your eggs are properly spread, suspend the tablet on a hook, at the end of a string which slides above, by a loop, upon a smooth rod, that runs over head, lengthways of the stove. By this means, you can move the tablet from the middle, towards either fire-place, as occasion may require. Let the tablet hang at the distance of three or four feet from the ground. To secure your eggs from the dust, and other nuisances, make a small hole in the middle of a square piece of thin linen cloth; slip it up a few inches above the hook, upon the sliding string, and let the edges of the cloth fall down, round the edges of the tablet; by which means your eggs will be covered, without being stifled; for the cloth hanging loosely round, will leave a free communication for the air to circulate, and for the imperceptible steam, that rises by perspiration from the eggs, to escape.

In order to proceed with certainty, it will be advisable, to furnish yourself with a thermometer, which may be fixed fast in the middle of the tablet, and the eggs spread round it. As it is not necessary to be very nice in marking the degrees of heat, the abbé advises the use of a thermometer, which is very readily adjusted, and may be understood with equal ease by every one. And, for the sake of those who are not fond of hard words, he calls it a regulator. It is adjusted in the following manner. Take any low-priced thermometer, and cover the bulb with snow, or broken ice, so as to bring the mercury (or the liquor) down to the point of freezing; at

this point, tie a thread round the tube, for a mark; then put the bulb into your mouth, or in your bosom, so as to raise the mercury to the degree of blood-heat; mark this point with another thread, tied round the tube. Call this last point, 32 degrees. The middle point, between this and the point of freezing, will be 16. Divide the space, between 16 and 32, into four equal parts: mark them, and they will be as many divisions as are necessary. Thus, you will have marks for the following degrees, 16. 20. 24. 28. and 32. Instead of a graduated scale with figures, make a mark, against each of the points thus ascertained, on the slip of board that your thermometer is fixed to. Let the marks be coarse lines drawn across, and in different colours, as black, red, yellow, green, and blue. And then you have only to direct, that in such and such circumstances, the mercury, or (which amounts to the same thing) the heat, must be kept at such or such a mark, black or red, &c. or between the two; for, a greater precision is not necessary: nor will you need any graduation lower than 16, nor higher than 32 degrees above the point of freezing.

With this apparatus once completed, the rest is easy. For the first two or three days, you have only to keep the heat at about sixteen or eighteen degrees; it will gradually rise to twenty-four and twenty-eight, as the walls get heated, without increasing the fire. And at this point, you may let it remain, till nearly two thirds of your eggs are hatched; when it will be advisable to give the remainder a heat of about thirty-two degrees, at least for a few hours, in order to hasten the hatching, and to bring out your whole brood as nearly together as may be.\*

#### NOTE.

\* This regulator may be dispensed with, and, instead thereof, a little vessel of water placed near the eggs in the stove, where it will receive an equal heat with the eggs. You may know at any time, whether the heat is properly regulated, by putting your finger into the water; for if the water should feel rather a little warmer than milk newly from the cow, you may

Three or four times a day will be sufficient to turn your eggs, which is done by raking them up into heaps, and then immediately spreading them again: and at night there will be no inconvenience in letting the fire go down a little, as you will thus be less apprehensive of accidents.

Eggs, that have been well wintered, will hatch by this process, in about nine or ten days. You may know when they are near hatching, by their turning of a paler colour, which usually happens on the seventh or eighth day.

(To be continued.)

*The friend. No. V. Written by the reverend Timothy Dwight, under the signature of James Littlejohn, esq. continued from vol. v. page 567.*

SIR,

YOUR publication of my first address to you†, will render an apology, for the renewal of my correspondence, unnecessary. The reasons, on which the sentiments then mentioned, were grounded, I shall now lay before you.

It is a trite, but important maxim, of common sense, that the mind is wholly influenced by motives. When these motives are interesting, the mind is roused and animated to action, and, in the view of important rewards, is quickened to illustrious purposes, and vigorous exertions. When such motives recede from its apprehension, it returns to its original indolence and insignificance. If such motives are never presented, it never emerges from that state; but passes through its earthly being, in a snail-like torpidity. This is the real reason of that mental debility, observed in the slaves. Neither property, liberty, nor importance, ever hold out to their minds a single object, to tempt them to one animated effort; but their whole horizon of prospect, is overcast with an

NOTE.

conclude it is of a proper heat; but if the water should feel disagreeably warm, the heat will be too great, and should be lessened accordingly.

† See vol. v. page 445.

unvariegated gloom of darkness and desperation.

The great motives, which animate men to science, art, and elevated political exertions, are found in property, influence, and reputation. When the path to these attainments lies open to the laudable attempts of every individual, a general emulation is at once excited among all individuals, who are possessed of capacity, essentially to serve mankind. The necessary effects of such an emulation, are efforts similar to those, which raised Greece to supreme distinction, and the history of which constitutes a principal part of modern erudition. Greece then produced no greater men, than India now produces; but in Greece, a coincidence of great and animating objects, in the fairest prospect of attainment, originated exertions beyond belief; and in a few years, taught the mind of man an acquaintance with resources, and capacities, which, through a thousand centuries of servitude, would never have appeared, even to the dreaming eye of conjecture.

In this country exist the means of furnishing the happiest union of motives to improvement, hitherto known. Among other circumstances, in which the state of America, in this respect, is superior to that of Greece, the entire security of advantages gained, is of the first importance. In this country, as in Greece, all enjoyments are opened, by our political constitutions, to the honest and vigorous efforts of every citizen; and, from this circumstance, all great and dignified exertions may be expected. But, by the preference given to Europeans, the influence of this combination of incitements, upon our own countrymen, is destroyed. The man, who sees a foreigner, of inferior, or equal abilities, preferred to himself, who is obliged to languish in obscurity and want, after great labours to obtain the regard of his countrymen—while mere Europeanism elevates multitudes around him to property and character—will soon lose this most laudable ambition, in discouragement and lassitude. Make this the general state of our country, and its natives will soon be distinguished from their servants, by nothing but their colour and features.

How great a calamity would this be to America, and to mankind! In the era, most friendly to improvement, since time began—with all natural and political advantages to encourage and allure us—with an almost entire freedom from habituation to the systems and prejudices of Europe—with minds unfettered by authority, and, in the present general fluctuation, ready to settle, where the weight of evidence may preponderate—we might, doubtless, make large additions to the stock of human attainments—lead the imagination through new paths of beauty and grandeur, and highly ennobling every constituent of dignity, amiableness, and glory, in the human character. With these means of personal and national importance, properly used, Franklin would soon be but the tallest in a groupe of philosophers, and Washington but the brightest star in a constellation of heroes.

The efforts, we have already made, in art and science, under all the colonial disadvantages, are such, as ought to teach us very respectful ideas of American genius. The philosophy of dr. Franklin is the object of unrivalled admiration, through every country of Europe. The moral scrutinies of mr. Edwards have received the highest applause in most protestant countries, even from the fixed opposers of his opinions. The quadrant, injuriously called Hadley's, was the invention of mr. Godfrey, of Philadelphia; Mercurial inoculation was the discovery of the late dr. Muirson; the M'Fingal of mr. Trumbull, is ranked, by the English reviewers, with their own boasted Hudibras; and the paintings of Copely and West, find, even in Europe, little competition. The memorials of congress have been classed, in Europe also, with the first productions of that nature, hitherto published; and the most enlightened nations of that region, by ornamenting, with every panegyric testimony, our military and political characters, have rendered our own applauses totally unnecessary to their glory. Of no other nation can so honourable things be mentioned, at so early a period of their exillence.

At the same time, we have every reason to suppose, that, in most na-

tions of Europe, genius, or at least the exertions of it, are on the decline. Few signal efforts of the human mind have characterized the decadence of empire. The rise of nations is often distinguished by great exhibitions of ability; but the evening of the fairest dominions beneath the sun, has been principally marked by the feeble, melancholy emanations of departing glory.

How inconsistent, how contradictory a character is portrayed in the conduct of Americans, resisting all the power and policy of Britain, through a formidable war, and, at the moment of returning peace, fervently soliciting very ordinary members of the same community, to take the direction of their policy, science, and religion! How greatly is this absurdity increased, by its introduction at the hour of triumphant contest, and most prosperous negociation! How strongly does such a triumph resemble that, which a modern Peruvian boasts of gaining over a wild bull, when the animal tosses him into the air, and leaves him plunged in the dirt!

Nor is inconsistency the only debasement of character we attach to ourselves, by the conduct, of which I complain. The very declaration, that we think lightly of ourselves, will teach all nations to think lightly of us, and rivet the humiliation beyond retrieval. To respect ourselves, is the first advance towards the respect of others. The Romans and Greeks felt themselves superior to other nations; and by that feeling, as really as by any other circumstance, gained their superiority.

This, mr. Littlejohn, may perhaps be esteemed the expression of a wish, that we may become inflated with that odious pride, which anciently rendered the Romans, and, in modern times, has rendered the Britons so disagreeable to their fellow-men. This opinion can arise only from a misapprehension of these remarks. I wish the Americans not to be vain of what they have done, but to experience strong convictions of what they can do. To be proud of our qualities, or attainments, is poor and debasing; but to believe, that we can do any thing, within the limits of the human capacity, is a valuable charac-

teristic, the natural source of great and successful enterprizes. So valuable a characteristic is this conviction, that it may be fairly questioned, whether, without its influence, any mind ever rose to greatness, or any conduct ever commanded a high degree of applause.

Let me further observe, that there is a most ridiculous impropriety, in communicating the prime blessings, for which our treasure and our blood have so long flowed in rivers, to the enjoyment of those, who neither toiled, nor ventured for the inestimable purchase. Still more improperly are they withheld on those, whose endeavours to deprive us of them, forced us to such a boundless expense. I wish all honest men to share in the blessings, we enjoy. I revere the sublime Evangelical doctrine of forgiving injuries, until seventy times seven; but I do not understand the propriety of judging the labourer unworthy of his hire, or of promoting, with vast anxiety, one's own loss, and rewarding an enemy for the exhibitions of his enmity. Yet nothing less than this folly is the language of our predilection for Britons.

I have indeed, Mr. Littlejohn, with no small pleasure, viewed the American revolution, as a new era of improvement in all things natural and moral. When I see all Europe surveying and admiring our military and political exertions—when I see princes, and philosophers, learning from us new views of human rights, and blessing nations with new enjoyments, copied from our enlightened constitutions of government—when I see good men, throughout Europe, as well as America, anticipating, from our circumstances, brighter and happier days for the enslaved eastern nations—when I see gloomy bigots, in the sight of our catholicism, relaxing their aspect, and expanding their hearts with charitable regards to the once-hated professors of adverse systems of religion\*

## NOTE.

\* *The printer has taken the liberty to make a slight alteration in this passage, to make it more consentaneous, not only with the liberality of the present day, but even with the philanthropy of the author, who, he hopes, will excuse his presumption.*

—when I see ten thousand fetters of authority and system dissolved, as by the fairy touch of enchantment, and the mind, escaped from prison, beginning to prune its wings for elevated and daring adventure—I cannot but persuade myself, that these mighty preparations of Providence are designed for advantageous changes in the affairs of men. I cannot but think, aris, policy, science, and virtue will begin to wear a brighter aspect, and claim a more extensive influence. Judge, then, of the mortification, I must experience, in seeing any event begin to overcast this delightful prospect, and threaten the return of all those prejudices, which, through a long and dismal continuance, have darkened the horizon of the eastern continent.

Thus, Mr. Littlejohn, have I presented you my views of this important subject.—Should these hints have even a little influence on my countrymen, to vary this part of their conduct; or should they stimulate some other person to exhibit it more convincingly to the public, I shall think I have not written in vain.

I am yours, &c.

JOHN HOMELY.



*Observations on REPRESENTATION  
and COMPENSATION.*

I Recollect but one good reason, for a numerous representation of the people—that is, the greater certainty of having their interests and sentiments understood in the representative assembly. The objects of the national government are not local, but general concerns: of course, a moderate number is sufficient. Responsibility decreases, as the body increases. In a small assembly, a member has more to do, and more to answer for. He is more in public view, and feels his industry, and his generous passions, excited by a stronger stimulus. In a numerous assembly, he feels his personal weight and influence diminished. The members will act less as individuals, and more by combinations and parties. If a man has not great talents, singly, he can do little. If he has, he gains an ascendancy, and attaches many to his views. Their association is cemented by the sympathy

of acting together—by the fear of losing a favourite point—by the anger on having it disputed—by the joy of gaining it, or the chagrin of a disappointment. By degrees, the two sides are divided, strongly marked, and agitated by the spirit of their body (*l'esprit de corps*, as the French term it.) In fact, all great assemblies have been led astray by the spirit of party. Perhaps, all parties are nearly equally vindictive, violent, and blind. The true check upon them, is the interposition of the public sentiment. A free press, and an enlightened people, will form a controul over all parties; and oblige them to seek the means of superiority and power, by the promotion of the public good. Party spirit is an evil, but it is the inevitable consequence of a numerous assembly. It is not, however, impossible to draw good from evil. These are the consequences which result from the principles; but it is obviously preferable, to exclude the evil, if possible. Though parties may promote the public good, they often do infinite mischief. They disturb the tranquility, impair the happiness, and endanger the safety of society.

Whether it is possible, so to constitute a small assembly, as wholly to banish, or in a considerable degree to restrain this spirit, is a problem of some nicety. Its solution is highly important to mankind, and especially to the united states. A government, strong by the means of a rich treasury, by troops, and by the habits of a people broken to subjection, may be disturbed, but will not be endangered, by party disputes. But in America, government rests on public opinion, and we should carefully avoid those causes, which are powerful enough to subvert its foundations.

In forming a legislative assembly, we should counteract, as much as possible, the gregarious disposition of the members, which is the aliment of faction. It will be necessary to analyze the human character, and to lay open the motives which lead public men to combine together, and to act in parties. It is true, that a public life calls forth the strongest passions of the heart. But it is also true, that these passions are not continually in action. On great and rare occasions,

they are roused to act with violence. But, ordinarily, they are held suspended by motives of less strength, but of a more uniform and permanent influence. These motives are the sense of weakness, the love of ease, and the love of power.

Suppose a member of common ability in an assembly of fifty. He has a fiftieth part of the duty, as well as of the weight of the body. Increase the assembly to two hundred members—his voice will lose three fourths of its influence—he will lose more of his responsibility—be further removed from public view—and, as party influence will be more active, he will probably lose nine-tenths of his personal weight, and his vote will become proportionably of less consequence to his constituents, and to the public. Suppose him a weak, but well-intentioned man, his sense of weakness and sense of duty will combine to subject him to the influence of some leading member. Knowing that his voice will not govern the vote of any other, and doubting how to give his own, he will relieve his suspense by following the guide in whom he places most confidence.

The love of ease is a more powerful agent than is generally supposed. It is the greatest impediment to eminence. Rest is the reward of labour, and the hope of this reward is probably one of the springs of action, even with those men who seem to abhor repose. We compare action with rest. We calculate the value of the object, proposed to be attained by our exertions, and the price of those exertions. A member, conscious of being able to effect little, singly, will not make the attempt. He will be obliged to add his strength to a party. There is something unaccountable in the sympathy of many minds. Probably a large assembly of the wisest men, would not be wholly exempt from that distrust of their own understandings, and that complacency towards the errors and wishes of one another, which has been found totally to banish reason, and even humanity, from mobs and riotous meetings.

That the administration of a government should correspond with its principles, and be secured from fac-

tion and commotion, it seems to be important that the legislative powers should be lodged in as few hands, as may be necessary for procuring information of the state of the society, and that they should be carefully selected from the best informed and best disposed citizens. Men, who understand, and are able to manage business, and who, in a body of fifty, are individually important, will act more according to the dictates of their own understandings, and be less influenced by party passions, than an assembly of two hundred. The great question of the constitution had divided the community. It was natural to expect the new congress would be tinged with the hue of the rival parties. It is not owing to any miracle, suspending the human passions, that the national legislature has been so remarkably distinguished by the spirit of candor and moderation. Nothing like faction, or cabal and intrigue, has been charged upon that body—and the public are disposed to think favourably of their patriotism and independency of sentiment. Two events may be contemplated, either of which would wholly change the character and conduct of the assembly—increasing the number of the members would expose the government to faction—it would diminish the agency of the understanding, and augment that of the passions. Improper persons would more easily get elected—For the number of suitable persons is not great in any country—of these, many will be indisposed to the duty. Probably, this country is as little deficient in this respect as any whatever. If, however, more representatives are to be elected, than a due proportion of those who are willing and qualified to serve, the probability of inferior candidates being elected, will rise. Learned men have disputed, whether so large a territory could remain united under one government, even if the administration should be entrusted to men of consummate wisdom and incorruptible virtue. The chance would be made considerably more unfavourable by the appointment of men of a different character.

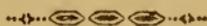
To make the people happy, and the government permanent, two principles must be regarded. That the

members of the legislature be few, and that provision should be made, for drawing forth the best qualified citizens to serve.

In a republic, it is not necessary, perhaps not safe, that a citizen should be allowed, (and surely he should not be obliged) to lay the public under obligations of gratitude to him, by serving at a loss. Pay, for services, is as republican, as it is equitable. Adequate compensation may be understood very variously, in its application to particular cases. It must always mean such compensation, as will secure to the public, the performance of the services in question. If the pay of the members of the legislature is established at an higher rate than is necessary to secure the attendance of men best qualified to serve, it is improper. The interest of the people requires the adoption of the principle insisted upon. Many will dispute the application of the doctrine to the case, though none will deny the doctrine itself. The dispute, if any should arise, will be of the less consequence, because, as it is a question of fact only, no inference, unfavourable to the intentions of the house, could be drawn from the tenor of the bill which has passed the house of representatives. Those, who may happen to be violent on the subject, will be sorry to find any reasons to vindicate what has been done, because it will disappoint their passions of an expected gratification. But candid men will consider the principles which have been discussed in this speculation, and they will not overlook the rate of compensation which has been allowed to members of the former congress, by the respective states—the average of which is said to be equal to the sum proposed by the bill. They will also note, that that body being in session the whole year, was better paid than the new congress, which, probably, after the first year, will not sit more than one-fourth of the time, and that the recesses, and the diminished business of eighteen hundred members of the state legislatures, will make a saving by the national government. Perhaps, however, it would have been advisable to have reduced the pay, as it is not an object which the members will deem a balance for any diminution of the

approbation and confidence of the people.

Another circumstance is worthy of being mentioned. The difficulty of preserving a government over a great tract of country, is principally in proportion to the inconvenience of assembling the members from the extreme parts to the seat of government. Very low pay would render this inconvenience speedily intolerable, and produce a general desire for a division of the union. The distant members submit to a kind of banishment, and cannot regulate their private concerns. This furnishes no reason for profusion and extravagance—but it affords a caution against extreme parsimony. There is a just medium, which is to be preferred—it will extend the principle of union to the extremities, and bring the outside of the circle nearer to the centre. The people will consider, therefore, whether the union is not more valuable than any other object, and whether they would desire to have any small savings of money, which, in any future period, should endanger that blessing. These observations are submitted to the candid public. If, upon an impartial examination, they should be found to have less weight than the writer has given them, the voice of the public will unquestionably reach the walls of the legislature. For, in this country, the general sentiment of the wise and worthy, is law.



*An account of the discovery of Vinland, or America, by the Icelanders, in the eleventh century, taken from Mallet's Northern Antiquities, volume I.*

NOTE. **T**H E authorities from which monf. Mallet, the faithful historian of Denmark, has compiled the following account, are of most unquestionable credibility. Iceland was peopled by a colony of Norwegians, under Ingulph, in the year 874. The Icelandic chronicles, or annals, are very exact in relating the maritime expeditions in the northern seas, and preserving the names of the adventurers. These annals of Iceland, the authenticity of which is undeniable, are said by critics to be a more complete history, than is fur-

nished by any other country in Europe, for the same period. The following account stands on the testimony of Torfæus, and Angrim Jonas, two writers of undoubted credit, who had faithfully copied the old historians of their country.\*

“There was,” say the ancient chronicles, an Icelander, named Heriol, who, with his son Biarn, made every year a trading voyage to different countries, and generally wintered in Norway. Happening one time to be separated from each other, the son steered his course for Norway, where he supposed he should meet his father; but, on his arrival there, he found he was gone to Greenland, a country but lately discovered, and little known to the Norwegians.† Biarn determined, at all events, to follow his father, and set sail for Greenland; although, says Angrim, he had no body on board who could direct him in the voyage, nor any particular instructions to guide him; so great was the courage of the ancients! He steered by the observations of the stars, and by what he had heard of the situation of the country he was in quest of.

During the first three days, he bore towards the west, but the wind varying to the north, and blowing strong, he was forced to run to the southward. The wind ceasing, in about twenty-four hours, they discovered land at a distance, which, as they approached, they perceived to be flat and low, and covered with wood; for which reason he would not go on shore, as being convinced it was not Greenland, which had been represented to him as distinguishable, at a great distance, by its mountains, co-

#### NOTES.

\* By the histories and other monuments of art remaining in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and even Iceland, it is almost certain, that those countries were farther advanced in civilization about the ninth century, than England.

† Greenland was settled by Eric Rufus, a young Norwegian nobleman, in the year 982; and before the eleventh century, churches were founded, and a bishopric erected, at Garde, the capital of the settlement.

vered with snow. They then sailed towards the north-west, and were aware of a road which formed an island, but did not stop there. After some days, they arrived in Greenland, where Biarn met with his father.

The following summer, viz. in the year 1002, Biarn made another voyage to Norway, where, to one of the principal lords of the country, named count Eric, he mentioned the discovery he had made, of some unknown islands.

The count blamed his want of curiosity, and strongly pressed him to proceed on with his discovery. In consequence of this advice, Biarn, as soon as he had returned to his father at Greenland, began to think seriously of exploring those lands with more attention. Lief, the son of the same Eric Rufus, who had discovered Greenland, and who was still chief of the colony he had settled there—being desirous of rendering himself illustrious like his father, formed the design of going thither himself; and prevailed on his father Eric to accompany him—they fitted out a vessel with thirty-five hands; but when the old man was setting out on horseback to go to the ship, his horse happened to fall down under him; an accident which he considered as an admonition from heaven, to desist from the enterprize; and therefore returning home, the less superstitious Lief, set sail without him.

He soon descried one of the coasts which Biarn had before seen, that lay nearest to Greenland. He cast anchor, and went on shore, but found only a flat, rocky shore, without any kind of verdure, he therefore immediately quitted it, after having first given it the name of Helleland, or the flat country.† A short navigation brought him to another place, which Biarn had also noted. In this land, which lay very low, they saw nothing but a few scattering thickets and white sand. This he called

## NOTE.

† *Pays plat*, says the French original. But Helleland should rather be rendered stony land; for *hella*, in the northern language, signifies a stone, or rock.

Mark-land, or the level country.‡ Two days' prosperous sailing brought them to a third shore, which was sheltered to the north by an island. They disembarked there in very fine weather, and found plants, which produced a grain as sweet as honey. Leaving this, they sailed westward, in search of some harbour, and at length, entering the mouth of a river, were carried up by the tide, into a lake, whence the stream proceeded. As soon as they were landed, they pitched their tents on the shore, not yet daring to wander far from it. The river afforded them plenty of large salmon; the air was soft and temperate; the soil appeared to be fruitful, and the pasturage very good. The days in winter, were much longer than in Greenland, and they had less snow than in Iceland. Entirely satisfied with their new residence, they erected houses, and spent the winter there.

But before the setting in of this season, a German, named Tyrker, who was of their company, was one day missing. Lief, apprehensive for the safety of a man who had been long in his father's family, and was an excellent handicraft, sent his people all about to hunt for him. He was at length found, singing and leaping, and expressing the most extravagant joy by his discourse and gestures. The astonished Greenlanders enquired the reason of such strange behaviour, and it was not without difficulty, owing to the difference of their languages, that Tyrker made them understand he had discovered wild grapes, near a place which he pointed out. Excited by this news, they immediately went thither, and brought back several bunches to their commander, who was equally surprized. Lief still doubted whether they were grapes; but the German assured him he was born in a country where vines grew, and that he knew them too well to be mistaken. Yielding to this proof,

## NOTE.

‡ *Pays du plaine*, says our author. But markland rather signifies woody land, from *mark*, *fylva*, a wood, or rough thicket.

Lief named the country Vinland, or the land of wine.

Lief returned to Greenland in the spring; but one of his brothers, named Thorvald, thinking he had left the discovery imperfect, obtained from Eric, this same vessel, and thirty men. Thorvald, arriving at Vinland, made use of the houses built by Leif, and living on fish, which was in great plenty, passed the winter there. In the spring he took part of his people, and set out westward to examine the country. They met every where with very pleasing landscapes, all the coasts covered with forests, and the shores covered with a black sand. They saw a multitude of little islands divided from each other by small arms of the sea, but no marks of either wild beasts, or of men, except a heap of wood piled up in the form of a pyramid. Having spent the summer in this survey, they returned in autumn to their winter quarters; but the summer following, Thorvald being desirous of exploring the eastern and northern coasts, his vessel was a good deal shattered by a storm, and the remainder of that season was taken up in repairing her. He afterwards set up the keel, which was unfit for service, at the extremity of a neck of land, thence called Kiellarnæas, or Cape Keel.\* He then proceeded to survey the eastern coasts, where he gave names to several bays and capes which he then discovered.

On his landing one day, attracted by the beauty of the shore, he was aware of three little leathern canoes, in each of which were three persons, seemingly half asleep. Thorvald and his companions instantly ran in and seized them all, except one, who escaped; and by an imprudent ferocity, put them to death the same day. Soon afterwards as they lay on the same coast, they were suddenly alarmed by the arrival of a great number of these little vessels, which covered the whole bay. Thorvald gave immediate orders to his party to defend themselves with planks and boards against their darts, which

## NOTE.

\* Or as we should say in English, Keelness.

quite filled the air; and the savages, having in vain wasted all their arrows, after an hour's combat, betook themselves to a precipitate flight. The Norwegians called them in derision Skrælingues, that is, small and puny men.† The chronicles tell us, that this kind of men are neither endowed with strength nor courage, and that there would be nothing to fear from a whole army of them. Angrim adds, that these Skrælingues are the same people who inhabit the western parts of Greenland, and that the Norwegians, who are settled on those coasts, had called the savages they met with there, by the same name.

Thorvald was the only one who was mortally wounded, and who, dying soon after, paid the penalty that was justly due for his inhuman conduct. As he desired to be buried with a cross at his feet, and another at his head, he seems to have imbibed some idea of christianity, which at that time began to dawn in Norwegian Greenland. His body was interred at the point of the Cape, where he had intended to make a settlement; which cape was named from the crosses, Kraffanæs, or Korsnæs, (Crossness, or Cape cross.) The season being too far advanced for undertaking the voyage home, the rest of the crew staid the winter there, and did not reach Greenland till the following spring. We are farther told, that they loaded the vessel with vine-fets, and all the raisins they could preserve.

Eric had left a third son, named Thorstein, who, as soon as he was informed of his brother Thorvald's death, embarked that very year with his wife Gudride, and a select crew of twenty men. His principal design was to bring his brother's body back to Greenland, that it might be buried in a country more agreeable to his manes, and in a manner more ho-

## NOTE.

† They also called them smælings, which signifies the same thing; *smæll*, in Icelandic, being equivalent to small, in English. This description agrees well enough with the accounts we have of the Esquimaux on the Labrador coast.



coiling current, as the waters piled up against any obstruction find the means of running off, and descending from their forced elevation.

The winds, between the tropics, having a general course westwards, protrude the waters of the Atlantic ocean in the same direction, and cause a current running always nearly in the same direction. This general current, in passing through the chain of the Caribbee and Bahama islands, and amongst the cayos of the same, is diverted and drawn from its general course in almost all directions. Where it is not interrupted or disturbed, it keeps its general course, as along the West-Indian sea, through the gulf of Mexico, to its bottom; and in the channel between Hispaniola, Cuba, and the cayos and islands of Bahama, to the gulf of Florida. The main current, which runs directly west to the bottom of the gulf of Mexico, being there opposed by the continent, piles up its waters to a considerable height. These aggregated waters run off laterally, and descend, as it were, down an inclined plane, along the coasts of Mexico, Louisiana, and Florida, and, rounding the sable point, rush out of the gulf of Florida. The current which runs north-west, through the old Bahama channel, meets, at its embouchure, the current coming north-east, round the point, from the gulf of Mexico; and these, in one combined current, set through the gulf of Florida, north-easterly. From hence this current, in a bended and expanded flow, sets north-easterly along the coast of America, to about north latitude 41 degrees and a half.

The governor then remarks, that this course of the waters, produced by the constant blowing of the trade-winds across the Atlantic ocean, is analogous to currents produced by the periodical monsoons in the southern and Indian seas: he then returns, and takes up the current of the gulf stream, as it sets along the New England coasts, where we before left it; and, from experienced facts, states the following course, and limits of it: namely, that the northern edge of the current lies in  $38\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of latitude, in the meridian of the island of Nantucket; and, in the meridian of George's Bank, it is in latitude 39 degrees, where its course is

E. N. E. In the meridian of the isle of Sable, its northern edge is in  $41\frac{1}{2}$  degrees; and here its course is E. S. E. and S. E. by E. From hence he traces the course of the current across the Atlantic again, in a south-easterly direction, till it approach the coast of Africa, where it is deflected along the coast, at some small distance, in a southerly direction, holding that course till it arrive at, and supply the place of those waters, carried, by the constant trade-winds, from the coast of Africa, across the Atlantic, towards the west, as aforesaid; and thus producing a perpetual whirling or circulating current, including within its circuit, a considerable breadth of space, forming a kind of eddy, or perhaps returning or lee currents. And this state of the matter, he observes, compared by its causes, and in its effects, is the actual fact.

This current, thus revolving, in an orbit, round the Atlantic ocean, in a continual circulation, it is conformable to the laws of hydraulics, that there should be, in the space included within the inner edges of this orbit, an eddy, into which all floating substances, such as wood and weeds, which fall into the general current, shall be finally absorbed. Now the fact is, that weeds, called the Saragosa weeds, as also the gulf weeds, have been observed at certain latitudes and longitudes, within the area of the orbit of this general current, and nearly on what may be supposed the inner edge of it.

Although there are not, in the northern parts of the Atlantic ocean, any settled monsoons, or any trade-winds, as between the tropics, yet, this author observes, to the northward of the space above described, a general eastern current takes place, running along the north boundary of this space, to the east, southerly, across the Atlantic, towards the coasts of Europe, and sets continually through the Straits into the Mediterranean sea; just as the current in the Indian sea sets, during the north-east monsoon, into the gulf of Persia, and through the straits of Babelmandel into the Red Sea. Various operations and combinations of winds, and various circumstances of banks, and elevated ground, in this northern part

of the Atlantic, may be assigned as causes of this effect. These are not yet sufficiently explored, even so much as to admit of a theoretic combination. The matter, however, is fact, and of common notoriety, as is the fact, that the passage from America to Europe, is at least one-third shorter, than the passage from Europe to America. It is so much so, that it is a common expression among the American navigators, that, "the course is down hill all the way home," as they used to call England.

Skilful navigators, who have acquired a knowledge of the extent to which the northern edge of the Gulf Stream reaches on the New England coast, have learnt in their voyages to New England, New York, or Pennsylvania, to pass the banks of Newfoundland in about  $44^{\circ}$  or  $45^{\circ}$  N. latitude, to sail thence, in a course between the northern edge of the Gulf Stream, as above described, and the shoals and banks of Sable Island, George's Bank, and Nantucket, by which they make better and quicker passages from England to America.

By an examination of the currents in the higher latitudes of the northern parts of the Atlantic, and of their course along the coasts of Greenland, and the Esquimaux shores, if they should prove such as the reasoning in this paper leads to, a much quicker passage yet may be found.

By a particular and still more accurate examination of the northern and southern edge of the Gulf Stream, of the variation of these circumstances, as winds and seasons vary; and experimentally ascertaining what, where, and of what nature, the lee-currents on the edges, both inner and outer, of the Gulf Stream, are, great facilities and assistance must be derived to navigation. The knowledge of this would lead to the ascertaining the eddies, or other partial currents in the great space of ocean included within the great circulating current. The knowledge of the western edge of the current, which sets south, along the coasts of Africa, and of all its variations, as also of the lee-currents upon that edge, would be of essential use in navigating (and perhaps from) the West Indies. A practical knowledge of the variable currents, and how they vary under

the operation of various causes, in the space aforesaid, as running across the Atlantic, might be of great benefit in forwarding a quick passage from America, perhaps in shortening the passage to Europe in winter. Various other uses of this enquiry might be pointed out, but to have marked, that this hypothetic theorem is not without its use, is sufficient.



*Copy of sir William Keith's scheme, respecting the government of America, presented to the king of Great Britain, November, 1728; and referred in council, to the lords commissioners of trade.*

*To the king's most excellent majesty.*  
May it please your majesty.

SINCE the observations, contained in the following discourse, were occasionally made, in your majesty's, and your royal father's service abroad, during the space of twelve years; I most humbly beg leave, to lay them at your royal feet, as a natural effect of the purest loyalty to your sacred person; and the only means, which is left in my power, to serve the public, and to demonstrate that I am,

May it please your majesty,  
your majesty's

most humble, most faithful,  
and most obedient subject,

WILLIAM KEITH.

*A short discourse, on the present state of the colonies in America, with respect to Great Britain.*

HAPPY are the people, whose lot is to be governed by a prince who does not wholly depend upon the representations of others, but makes it a chief part of his delight, to inspect into the condition of his subjects, according to their several ranks and degrees—who, from the clearness of his own mind, distinguishes the true merit of his servants, leaving the liberties and properties of his people, to be equally guarded and justly defended, by a punctual execution of the laws.

The unbounded extent of knowledge, to be daily acquired by the judicious enquiries and application of such a prince, will soon abolish the use of flattery, and the pernicious effects of all designed misrepresenta-

tion. The paths of virtue and honour, with a strict adherence to truth, will be the only avenues of access, to the sovereign's esteem; and the royal favours, in such a reign, will ever be agreeably dispensed, in proportion to the useful conduct, and true merit of the party.

So great an example from the throne, will doubtless inspire every honest breast, with a better share of public spirit; men's thoughts will not then be so intent on what they can get for themselves, as on what they can do for their country. And as for such parts of the prince's prerogative and executive power, as necessarily must be entrusted with ministers, they will ever be thought an advantage and security to a nation; while the conduct of the ministry principally shines in the support of liberty, which cannot fail to gain the hearts and affections of a free people.

*On a provincial dependent government.*

WHEN, either by conquest or increase of people, foreign provinces are possessed, and colonies planted abroad, it is convenient, and often necessary, to substitute little dependent provincial governments, whose people, by being enfranchized, and made partakers of the liberties and privileges belonging to the original mother state, are justly bound by its laws, and become subservient to its interests, as the true end of their incorporation.

Every act of a dependent provincial government, ought therefore to terminate in the advantage of the mother state, unto whom it owes its being, and by whom it is protected in all its valuable privileges. Hence it follows, that all advantageous projects, or commercial gains in any colony, which are truly prejudicial to, and inconsistent with, the interest of the mother state, must be understood, to be illegal; and the practice thereof unwarrantable, because they contradict the end, for which the colony had a being, and are incompatible with the terms, on which the people claim both privileges, and protection.

*On a British colony in America.*

WERE these things rightly understood, amongst the inhabitants of the British colonies in America, there would be less occasion for such instructions and strict prohibitions, as

are daily sent from England to regulate their conduct in many points. The very nature of the thing would be sufficient to direct their choice, in cultivating such parts of industry and commerce only, as would bring some advantage to the interest and trade of Great Britain: they would soon find, by experience, that this was the solid and true foundation, whereon to build a real interest in their mother country, and the certain means to acquire riches without envy.

On the other hand, where the government of a provincial colony is well regulated, and all its business and commerce truly adapted to the proper end and design of the first settlement—such a province, like a choice branch springing from the main root, ought to be carefully nourished, and its just interest well guarded. No little, partial project, or party gain, should be suffered to affect it: but rather, it ought to be considered and weighed in the general balance of the whole state, as an useful and profitable member; for, such is the end of all colonies; and, if this use cannot be made of them, it would be much better for the state, to be without them.

*Advantages, arising to Britain from the trade of the colonies.*

IT has ever been the maxim of all polished nations, to regulate their government, to the best advantage of their trading interest; whence it may be helpful, to take a short view of the principal benefits, arising to Great Britain, from the trade of the colonies.

1. The colonies take off, and consume, above one-sixth part of the woolen manufactures exported from Britain; which are the chief staple of England, and the main support of all the landed interest.

2. They take off, and consume, more than double that value, in linen, and calicoes, which are partly the product of Britain, and Ireland, partly the profitable returns made for that product, when carried to foreign countries.

3. The luxury of the colonies, which increases daily, consumes great quantities of English manufactured silks, haberdashery, household furniture, and trinkets of all sorts; as also

a very considerable value in East India goods.

4. A great revenue is raised to the crown of Britain, by returns made in the produce of the plantations, especially tobacco, which, at the same time, helps England to bring nearer to a balance, her unprofitable trade with France.

5. These colonies promote the interest and trade of Britain, by a vast increase of shipping and seamen, which enables them to carry great quantity of fish to Spain, Portugal, Leghorn, &c. furs, logwood, and rice, to Holland, where they keep Great Britain considerably in the balance of trade with those countries.

6. If reasonably encouraged, the colonies are now in a condition, to furnish Britain with as much of the following commodities, as it can demand, viz. masting for the navy, and all sorts of timber; hemp, flax, pitch, tar, oil, rosin, copper ore, with pig and bar iron; by means whereof the balance of trade to Russia, and the Baltic, may be very much reduced in favour of Great Britain.

7. The profits arising to all those colonies by trade, are returned in bullion, or other useful effects, to Great Britain; where the superfluous cash, and other riches, acquired in America, must centre—which is not one of the least securities that Britain has, to keep the colonies always in due subjection.\*

8. The colonies upon the main are the granary of America; and a necessary support to the sugar-plantations in the West-Indies, which could not subsist without them.

By this short view of the trade in general, we may plainly understand, that these colonies may be very beneficially employed, both for Great Bri-

NOTE.

\* If this maxim was true in 1728, ought not we of the present generation seriously to consider, what will be the probable consequences of our trading with Britain, for articles of luxury and extravagance—a commerce, which not only turns the balance of trade against us, and drains us of our circulating cash, but also keeps us constantly and deeply indebted to her?

tain and themselves, without interfering with any of the staple manufactures of England. And, considering the bulk and end of the whole traffic, 'twere pity that any material branch of it should be depressed, on account of private and particular interests, which, in comparison with these, cannot justly be esteemed a national concern: for, if the trade of the colonies be to the advantage of Britain, there is nothing more certain, than that the discouragement of any substantial branch, for the sake of any company, or private interest, would be a loss to the nation. But, in order to set this point yet in a clearer light, we will proceed to consider some of the most obvious regulations in the American trade, for rendering the colonies truly serviceable to Great Britain.

*Regulations in the plantation trade.*

1. THAT all the product of the colonies, for which the manufactures and trade of Britain have a constant demand, be enumerated amongst the goods, which, by the law, must be first transported to Britain, before they can be carried to any other market.

2. That every valuable merchandise, found in the English colonies, and rarely any where else—and for which there is a constant demand in Europe, shall also be enumerated, in order to assist Great Britain in the balance of trade with other countries.

3. That all kinds of woollen manufactures, for which the colonies have a demand, shall continue to be brought from Britain only; and linen, from Great Britain and Ireland.

4. All other kinds of European commodities, to be carried to the colonies, (salt excepted) entry thereof first to be made in Britain, before they can be transported to any of the English colonies.

5. The colonies to be absolutely restrained, in their several governments, from laying any manner of duties on shipping or trade from Europe; or, upon European goods, transported from one colony to another.

6. That the acts of parliament, relating to the trade and government of the colonies, be revised, and collect-

ed into one distinct body of laws, for the use of the plantations; and of such as trade with them.

Supposing these things to be done, it will evidently follow, that the more extensive the trade of the colonies is, the greater will be the advantage accruing to Great Britain therefrom; and, consequently, that the enlargement of the colonies, and the increase of their people, would still be an addition to the national strength. All smaller improvements, therefore, pretended to, and set up, for private gain, by the lesser societies, in Great Britain, or elsewhere, although they might have a just pretence to bring some sort of public benefit along with them, yet, if they shall appear to be hurtful to the much greater, and more national concern of the trading, useful colonies, ought, in justice to the public, to be neglected, in favour of them—it being an unalterable maxim, that a lesser public good must give place to a greater; and that it is of more moment to maintain a greater, than a lesser number of subjects, well employed, to the advantage of any state.

*On the legislative power.*

FROM what has been said of the nature of colonies, and the restrictions, that ought to be laid on their trade, it is plain, that none of the English plantations in America can, with any reason, or good sense, pretend to claim an absolute legislative power within themselves: so that—let their several constitutions be founded on ancient charters, royal patents, custom by prescription, or what other legal authority you please—yet still they cannot be possessed of any rightful capacity to contradict, or evade the true intent and force of any act of parliament, wherewith the wisdom of Great Britain may think fit to affect them, from time to time. And, in discoursing on their legislative powers (improperly so called in a dependent government) we are to consider them, only as so many corporations, at a distance, invested with ability to make temporary by-laws for themselves, agreeable to their respective situations and climates, but no ways interfering with the legal prerogative of the crown, or the true legislative power of the mother state.

If the governors and general assemblies of the several colonies, would be pleased to consider themselves in this light, one would think it was impossible, they could be so weak, as to fancy, that they represented the king, lords, and commons of Great Britain, within their little districts. And, indeed, the useless, or rather hurtful and inconsistent constitution of a negative council in all the king's provincial governments, contributed, as it is believed, to lead them into this mistake: for, so long as the king has reserved to himself, in his privy council, the consideration of, and negative upon, all their laws, the method of appointing a few of the richest and proudest men in a small colony, as an upper house, with a negative on the proceedings of the king's lieutenant governor, and the people's representatives, seems not only to cramp the natural liberty of the subject there, but also the king's just power, and prerogative: for, it often happens, that very reasonable and good bills, sometimes proposed for the benefit of the crown, by the wisdom of a good governor, and, at other times, offered by the people's representatives, in behalf of their constituents, have been lost, and the enacting of such made impracticable, by the obliquity of a majority in the council; only, because such things did not square with their private, particular interest and gain, or with the views, which they form to themselves, by assuming an imaginary dignity and rank above all the rest of the king's subjects. And as to the security, which, it is pretended, either the crown, or a proprietary may have by such a negative council, it is in fact quite otherwise: for that caution would be much better secured, if this council was only a council of state, to advise with the governor, and be constant witnesses of all public transactions: and it cannot be thought, that an officer, who is not only under oaths and bonds, but answerable by law for his misdeeds, and removable at pleasure, would, in the face of witnesses so appointed, contradict a rational advice, thereby subjecting himself to grievous penalties, and losses: neither is it to be supposed, that these men, if they had

only the privilege of advising, would oppose such good bills, or other reasonable propositions, as they well knew they had no legal power to reject. But while they find themselves possessed of a peremptory negative, without being in any sort accountable for their opinions, it is easy to imagine, how such a power may be used on many occasions, to serve their private interests, and views in trade; as well as to indulge the too natural propensity, which mankind have, especially abroad, to rule over, and oppress their poor neighbours. Besides, an artful, corrupt governor will find means, by preferment, &c. so to influence a negative council, that knowing themselves to be under no bonds, or any other valuable penalty, to answer the party aggrieved by their opinions, they may, without risque, proceed in such manner, as to screen the governor in many things, which, otherwise, he would be personally, and singly bound to account for in a legal and just way.

If then a council of state, only to advise with the governor, shall appear (in all emergencies and cases that can be proposed) to be equally useful; and not attended with the inconsistencies, obstructions, and disadvantages of a negative council; the one seems to be much preferable to the other, and more agreeable to that liberty, and just equality, which is established by the common law amongst Englishmen, and consequently less productive of those greivances, and complaints, which have been so frequent hitherto from the plantations.

At first view, it will appear natural enough for an Englishman, who has tasted the sweetness of that freedom, which is enjoyed under the happy constitution of king, lords, and commons of Great Britain, to imagine, that a third part should be formed in the little governments of the plantations, in the imitation of the house of lords; but, if we rightly consider it, that part of the constitution is already most properly and fully supplied by the lords of his majesty's privy council: besides, let us suppose, that instead of an house of lords in Britain, a like number of select commoners were invested with a power to set apart, and to put a negative

upon the proceedings of the house of commons consisting of three times the number of persons, of equal rank, and representing all the commons of Great Britain in parliament, the inconsistency and unreasonableness of the thing does presently obtrude itself upon our minds; and yet, such is the very case of that negative, which is now practised by the councils in America.

*On the civil jurisdiction.*

NEXT to the legislative power, we shall proceed to consider the civil jurisdiction in the plantations, which, by their own arts, is branched out into so many different forms, almost in each colony, that it is scarce practicable to reduce them under such heads, in any one discourse, as to make it intelligible to those, who are altogether unacquainted with American affairs.

It is generally acknowledged in the plantations, that the subject is entitled by birth-right unto the benefit of the common law of England; but then, as the common law has been altered from time to time, and restricted by statutes, it is still a question in many of the American courts of judicature, whether any of the English statutes, which do not particularly mention the plantations, can be of force there, until they be brought over by some act of assembly in that colony where they are pleaded; and this creates such confusion, that, according to the art, or influence of the lawyers and attornies, before judges, who, by their education, are but indifferently qualified for that service, they sometimes allow the force of particular statutes, and at other times reject the whole, especially, if the bench is inclinable to be partial, which too frequently happens in those new and unsettled countries: and, as men's liberties and properties, in any country, chiefly depend on an impartial and equal administration of justice; this is one of the most material greivances which the subjects of America have just cause to complain of: but while, for the want of schools, and other proper instruction in the principles of moral virtue, their people are not so well qualified, even to serve upon juries, and much less to act on a bench of judicature, it seems impracticable to provide a remedy un-

til a sufficient revenue be found out amongst them, to support the charges of sending judges from England, to take their circuits by turns, in the several colonies on the main; which, if it is thought worthy of consideration, will appear neither to be improper, nor impracticable; and, until that can be done, all other attempts to rectify their courts of law, will be fruitless, and may be suspended.

Courts of chancery, which are known to be necessary in many cases, to correct the severity of the common law, seem to subsist there on a most precarious footing; for it does not appear that there is a proper and legal authority to hold such a court, in any of the colonies: nevertheless, by custom, every where some kind of chancery is to be found, in one form or other; so that when a rich man designs to contest any thing in dispute with his poor neighbour, if he can contrive to bring it into chancery, he is sure the matter will rarely or never be brought to issue, which, on many occasions, proves an intolerable oppression; wherefore, it is hoped, that so high a jurisdiction, issuing immediately from the crown, will, in due time, be put on a more regular and certain establishment.

#### *On the military strength.*

A Militia, in an arbitrary and tyrannical government, may possibly be of some service to the governing power; but we learn from experience, that in a free country, it is of little use; the people in the plantations are so few, in proportion to the lands they possess, that servants being scarce, and slaves excessively dear, the men are generally under a necessity there, to work hard themselves, in order to provide the common necessaries of life for their families, so that they cannot spare a day's time, without great loss to their interest; wherefore, a militia there would become more burdensome to the poor people, than it can be in any part of Europe; but, besides, it may be questioned, how far it would consist with good policy, to accustom all the able men in the colonies to be well exercised in arms; it seems at present to be more advisable to keep up a small, regular standing force in each province, which might be readily aug-

mented for a time, if occasion did require; and thus, in case of war, or rebellion, the whole of the regular troops might be, without loss of time, united, or distributed at pleasure; and if, as has been said before, a suitable revenue abroad can be raised for the defence and support of the plantations, it would be no difficult matter, both to form and execute a proper scheme of this nature.

#### *On taxes.*

LAND is so plenty, and to be had so very cheap, in America, that there is no such thing as a tenant to be found in that country, for every man is a landlord in fee of what he possesses, and only pays a small quit, or ground rent, to the lord of the soil; and this makes it impracticable to find an assembly of such freeholders in any of the colonies, who will consent to lay any tax upon lands, (nor indeed is it to be expected, they should voluntarily agree to raise any revenue amongst themselves) except what is absolutely necessary for erecting court-houses, bridges, highways, and other needful expenses of their civil government, which is commonly levied upon stock; an excise on foreign liquors retailed; or a small poll-tax; and the public there is generally in debt, because they are extremely jealous of attempts upon their liberties; and apprehensive, that if at any time the public treasury was rich, it might prove too great a temptation for an artful governor, in conjunction with their own representatives, to divide the spoil, and betray them.

#### *On their independency.*

IT must be allowed, that a share of personal interest or self-love, influences, in some degree, every man; affection gives a natural impulse to all our actions; and though this is most perceptible in trade, or commercial affairs, yet there is not any other transaction in life, that passes without it; and as it is with men in this case, so we find it has ever been with all states, or bodies politic, so long as they are independent one upon another. The wisdom of the crown of Britain therefore, in keeping its colonies in that situation, is very much to be applauded; while they continue so, it is morally impossible that any dangerous union can be formed a-

mongst them; because their interest in trade, and all manner of business, being entirely separated by their independency, every advantage that is lost, or neglected, by one colony, is immediately picked up by another; and the emulation that continually subsists between them, in all manner of intercourse, and traffic, is ever productive of envies, jealousies, and cares, how to gain upon each other's conduct, in government, or trade, every one endeavouring thereby to magnify their pretensions to the favour of the crown, by becoming more useful than their neighbours, to the interest of Great Britain.

*On the management of plantation affairs in England.*

BUT to render the colonies still more considerable to Britain, and the management of their affairs much more easy to the king, and his ministers at home, it would be convenient to appoint particular officers in England, only for dispatch of business belonging to the plantations: for often, persons that come from America, on purpose either to complain, or to support their own just rights, are at a loss how, or where to apply. This uncertainty does not only fatigue the ministers, but frequently terminates in the destruction of the party; by his being referred from office to office, until both his money and patience be quite worn out; such things, in time, may cool people's affections, and give them too mean an opinion of the justice of their mother country, which ought carefully to be prevented; for where there is a liberty, the inhabitants will certainly expect right, and still have an eye towards obtaining it one way or other.

It may be considered, therefore, how far it would be serviceable, to put all the crown's civil officers in the plantations, of what kind soever, under the direction of the board of trade, from whom they might receive their several deputations, or appointments; and unto whom they ought to be accountable, both for their receipts, and management; and, if a particular secretary was appointed for the plantation affairs only, or if, the first lord commissioner of that board was permitted to have daily access to the king, in order to receive his majesty's

commands, in all businesses relating to the plantations, the subject's application would be reduced into so narrow a compass, and the board of trade would always be so perfectly acquainted with the king's pleasure, that great dispatch might be given, even to those distant matters, without taking up too much of ministry's time, and interfering with other perhaps more important business; the people of the colonies would be pleased to find themselves thus equally regarded, without giving one any undue preference to another; and all the rents, customs, revenues, and other profits in any manner arising from the plantations, would then centre in one place where another proper member of the same board might be appointed treasurer of that particular revenue; to answer all such orders as should be issued from time to time, for the plantations; service and, as the revenue from America, would in all probability be increased daily, it may reasonably be expected that the expense of paying the board of trade, and other officers, wholly employed in plantation affairs, which is now borne by the civil list, would then, more properly, arise, and be discharged out of the American fund; and, the overplus remaining would, in time, become a most useful stock for purchasing of the proprietary lands; erecting forts; and extending the present settlements as far as the great lakes, or might be applied to such other uses, as his majesty should think proper for that service.

*Of a revenue in America.*

ALL that has been said in respect of the improvement of the plantations, will, it is supposed, signify very little, unless a sufficient revenue can be raised to support the needful expense; in order to which, it is humbly submitted, whether the duties of stamps upon parchment, and paper in England, may not, with good reason, be extended by act of parliament, to all the American plantations.

When we do but cast an eye upon the vast tracts of land, and immense riches which the Spanish nation have, in little more than one century, very oddly acquired in America, inasmuch that the simple privilege of trading with them, on very high terms too,









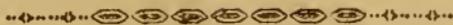
Nonsense may charm us in a maid,  
But never in a wife.

I love to see a female friend,  
Who looks as if she thought;  
Who on her household will attend  
And do whate'er she ought.

A quaker plainness in her dress,  
Kitchen and servants clean;

Provision neither in excess,  
Nor scandalously mean.

Oh could I such a female find;  
Such treasure in a wife;  
I'd pass my days to peace resign'd,  
Nor fear the ills of life.



### FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

*Paris, June 21.*

AT the moment when France thought herself happy in the establishment of the rights and liberties, every thing is again thrown into confusion.

On Friday, the national assembly, (that is to say, that part of the states, lately called the commons) had finally voted the provisional grant of taxes, till the end of the sessions; the consolidation of the national debt; a loan for the immediate payment of the arrears, due from government; and a considerable sum of money to be forthwith sent into the provinces for the relief of the poor—at the same time the clergy had determined to join the third estate on the next day, Saturday.

In the morning, at three o'clock, an officer with sixty men was posted at the door of the assembly room, to prevent the entrance of the deputies, and, at nine o'clock, the heralds proclaimed a suspension of the meeting, till Monday, when his majesty would go to the house, and receive them.

The president and several members arriving at their usual hour, and finding the doors shut against them, remained some time in the street; but at length adjourned to the tennis-court, and there held their assembly, till late in the evening, when they separately took the following oath:

“We solemnly swear, never to separate from the national assembly, but to unite ourselves in every place, wherever circumstances may require, until the constitution of the kingdom is established on a solid foundation.”

“Resolved, that this determination shall be printed, and sent to the different provinces.”

At the same time, monsieur De Gocies, on the part of the inhabitants of St. Domingo, put the colonies un-

der the protection of the national assembly, and declared that henceforwards they would call themselves Colonies Nationales.

All Paris is in the greatest consternation, and the court under the utmost embarrassment; the intention of the king, in going to the house, is kept a profound secret; and the people are the more alarmed, as they see no reason why any secret should be made, if his design was favourable; on the other hand, the firmness of the assembly, in their proceedings of yesterday, has evidently put the court party in the greatest dilemma: for this evening, at six o'clock, no orders are as yet given for his majesty's equipage, nor any notice sent to the officers who should attend him. The general report is, that the king will not go to the house to-morrow, and that a counter proclamation will be issued on the breaking up of the council.

Every day brings fresh accounts of the distress of the country for want of bread. In the neighbourhood of Senlis, Soissons, Chantilly, &c. it is credibly affirmed, that the bakers will not be able to furnish a single loaf at any price, after Wednesday. To Paris, Versailles, Marli, &c. not a cart load of flour is brought, without the protection of a guard.

June 29. La seauce royale, which we formerly announced, took place on Tuesday last, at which time the king abolished all the arrets entered into by the tiers etat. Each order of the assembly went separately to their respective chambers, the tiers etat remaining in their own. After the king's departure, they voted in their own capacity, a confirmation of the arrets, which they had just agreed to, notwithstanding the king had commanded them to be abolished. They then severally took an oath, not to consider themselves as being dissolved,

although the king should issue his orders for that purpose!

Immediately after this, mons. Neckar, the minister of finance, went to the king, and intreated permission to resign his seals of office. This was peremptorily refused by the sovereign. On going out of the palace, he was embraced by the assembly of tiers etat, and conducted by them in triumph to his official apartments.

Twelve months ago, files of musqueteers, with drawn bayonets, were placed in, and surrounded the courts of justice and the houses of parliament in Paris. At this moment, the third and inferior estate of the kingdom is bidding defiance to arbitrary power and the decrees of their sovereign. This may be considered as a critical epoch in the history of nations, and of France in particular; whilst famine is halting to the very gates of the capital.

Liberty will have another feather in her cap—the seraphic contagion was caught from Britain—it crossed the Atlantic to North America—from whence the flame has been communicated to France.

*London, May 29.*

*Extract of the speech of M. Neckar, spoken at the opening of the states general, May 9, 1789.*

“The time probably will come, gentlemen, in which you will associate in your deliberations, the deputies of the colonies, and will cast a look of compassion on that unhappy race of men, who have been hitherto coolly considered only as the objects of a barbarous traffic. Men, similar to ourselves in faculty of thought, and especially so, in the sorrowful one of suffering. Men, nevertheless, whom, deaf to their lamentations, we crowd, we heap in the holds of our vessels, in order to convey them to the bondage which awaits them in our islands.

“What nation can, with more propriety than France, endeavour to mitigate a system of slavery, supposed to be necessary, by substituting, for the evils inseparable from the African trade (evils which destroy the inhabitants of the new world, and of the old) that fostering care, which would tend to multiply in our colonies, a peo-

ple intended to assist us in our cultivation.

“A distinguished nation has already given the signal—a token of her discernment and compassion. Humanity hath already found a defence, even in personal interell and political calculation; and before long, her glorious cause will find advocates at the tribunal of every nation. Ah, what transcendant satisfaction, what accumulation of honour, is in reserve for those sittings of our states general, now they are revived in the midst of an enlightened age!”

*Extracts from the instructions of some of the bailiwicks in France, relating to the abolition of the slave trade.*

“Noblesse of Beauvais,

“That the states general take into consideration the situation of the negroes in our colonies.”

“Clergy of Melun and Moret,

“Seeing that, in the eye of religion, difference of colour causes none among her children, her ministers cannot forbear perpetually to exclaim against the slavery of the negroes in the colonies.”

“Tiers etat of Chateau Thierry,

“The third estate, considering that France hath been at all times an asylum for kings, and the protector of oppressed nations—that slavery itself, on breathing the air of her happy climate, becomes free—cannot omit exclaiming against the public outrage upon humanity, and upon the nation, occasioned by the commerce and slavery of the negroes—not desiring, however to prevent the measures necessary to be taken, to guard against the detriment to the cultivation of the colonies.”

“Noblesse of Montes and Mudon,

“We also recommend an examination into the means of destroying the slave trade, and preparing for the destruction of the slavery of the blacks; and we must be permitted to wish, that France may have the honour of effacing the last vestiges of this deprecation on human nature.”

“Clergy of the same,

“Disgusted humanity ought to hold out to the nation, represented in the states general, an abuse, by which every feeling mind is wounded. This abuse is the shameful right that

man has assumed of buying his fellow-man; depriving him of his liberty, subjecting him to rigorous and continual labour, and making him, to the end of his life, the victim of caprice and cruelty. The king should, therefore, be petitioned to encourage the respectable society of friends to the blacks, and to authorise them to consider, and to propose to government, the most proper means of abolishing the infamous commerce of the slave trade."

May 30. It has been stated in the house of commons, that there are at present mortgages on the British West India islands, to the immense amount of seventy millions sterling. Little more than a century ago, Guadaloupe and its dependencies, with all the property on them, were sold by the French court for about 3000l. and the islands of Martinico, St. Lucia, Grenada and the Grenadines, for 2500l. About the same time the knights of Malta purchased the islands of St. Kitt's, St. Martin's, St. Bartholomew, Santa Cruz, and Tortola, for 5000l. and it is probable that, had the whole of the West India islands (Jamaica not excepted) been then sold, the purchase money would not have equalled a fourth of the sum now secured by a part of the possessions of Great Britain in that quarter.

June 7. His royal highness the dauphin of France died between twelve and one o'clock the 4th instant, in the eighth year of his age, to the great grief of their most christian majesties and the royal family.

The dauphin was in his eighth year; for four of which he had been almost constantly afflicted with diseases, which baffled the art of the first physicians, and have now terminated in his dissolution. His royal highness's remains will be interred in the burying place of the kings of France, in the church of Notre Dame, in Paris. All the public places of amusement are shut up, and will remain so till after his burial. The duc de Normandie, now the only son of his most christian majesty, is a fine child, about five years old, and bids fair to become, in due time, the king of France.

June 29. One of the first and most necessary articles of business, on which the states general of France will enter, as soon as the assemblies are re-

duced to proper regulations, is, that of the improvement of waste lands; by which they may, in future, in some measure, avoid the disasters of famine, with which they are now threatened.

The troubles in France have increased to an height hitherto unknown. The duke of Dorset is, by this circumstance, prevented from coming to England.

We are assured from respectable authority, that the great controverted question in France has received its final determination. The two superior orders have yielded to the commons, in consequence of a letter from the king. On Saturday last, the three orders met, and formed one house; none of the clergy dissenting, and of the nobles only forty-five; so that now every thing is peace and concord within doors.

#### *Troubles in Brabant.*

The following are the articles proposed by the emperor, to the commons of Brabant, and which having refused to accede to, they have been divested of all power.

Article I. A fixed subsidy to be granted as in Flanders.

Art. II. Fifteen towns in the province to send members to the states, instead of the three chief towns only.

Art. III. The wishes of two orders forming the majority, to carry the consent of the third.

Art. IV. The council of Brabant to seal and publish the edicts, regulations, &c. in the usual form.

These being all refused, the emperor has revoked all the charters of liberties granted to the people of Brabant. Their archives and treasure chests have been sealed up by his officers, and a committee is appointed to manage the cash accounts of the province.

It is easy to perceive how arbitrary this law is. The noblesse and clergy dare not refuse their consent to the emperor's will; and, if the above articles were agreed to, the commons would, in fact, become nothing more than proclaimers of the laws agreed to by the other two orders.

A treaty of sextuple alliance, between the courts of France, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Spain, Copenhagen, and Naples, is confidently said to be

on the point of being concluded; the respective ambassadors, who are appointed to negotiate the treaty, having received their final instructions on this grand affair.

This measure forebodes further war, which is strengthened in appearance, by the preparations making in every quarter of Europe.

The Turks are most firmly resolved to proceed, and have absolutely refused all propositions for peace—their preparations are immense—all their forces both by land and sea are in motion.

The states general of France now assembled, consist of twelve hundred members, exclusive of those from the West India islands; which, strange to tell! have claimed the right of sending deputies to that body, and their claim has been recognized.



#### AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

*Boston, August 8.*

It is a fact—mortifying as it may be—that lord Dorchester's secretary has advertised lands, within the territory of the sovereign states of America, and in the vicinity of the western posts, to be given away, in two hundred acre lots, to any loyalists, &c. who shall choose to settle on them.

*New York, August 20.*

Upwards of twenty persons fell unhappy victims to the heat of the last week: and it is said, that as many of them died by over labouring, as by drinking cold water.

The general convention of the protestant episcopal church, met at Philadelphia, July 28th, and adjourned August 8th, to meet again at the same place, September 29.

We are informed that the greatest harmony pervades that respectable body: and that among other business, they have formally recognized dr. Seabury's consecration, which act they have communicated to him. It is expected he will meet the convention in September. That the churches to the eastward have wrote to each of our bishops, requesting them jointly to consecrate the rev. dr. Bass of Massachusetts, bishop, as soon as convenient. And that, as the convention is not broken up, the clergy from the Carolinas, &c. will remain at Philadelphia till the meeting in September.

*Lexington, (Kentucky) June 13.*

On Wednesday the 3d instant, two men and three boys were fishing on Floyd's Fork of Salt River, when a party of Indians fell in with them, killed the two men, and took the boys prisoners.

About the 20th ult. the Indians fired on nine Frenchmen going up to the Wabash river, killed four, and wounded three; coming up to the dead, they discovered one of them to be a French trader, who was married to a daughter of John Brandt, the famous Indian chief; on which they assisted in pulling the arrows out of the wounded, and then went off.

*Philadelphia, August 1.*

A letter from a gentleman at Louisville, Falls of Ohio, to his friend in Pittsburg, dated the 1st. of June, says, "The first and most general topic of conversation at this place, is the hostile disposition of the Indians, which, in several instances, has discovered itself in the vicinity of this place. A few day ago, a very respectable woman was murdered by a party of Indians, and mangled in the most barbarous manner; and a negro girl and two white children taken prisoners. Judge Simms's settlement is in the greatest apprehension, and not without reason. Six soldiers are now at this garrison, who were wounded on Thursday at that settlement, and one killed on the spot. Since, it is reported, two surveyors of that party were killed, but it is not so well ascertained as the former; however, no one doubts it: the same report says, that a party was detached a few days after to pursue some Indians, who were discovered in the settlement, and took eight prisoners, who are lodged at this time at a block-house near the mouth of the Miami."

*Sept. 1.* A letter from an officer belonging to the federal troops, dated, Rapids of Ohio, 1st July, says, "Our affairs, in this quarter, at present bear a gloomy aspect. I am just returned from Post Vincennes, on the Wabash, with a detachment of fifty-five men, who were employed as an escort to provision for that garrison; and believe me, sir, it is almost next to an accident, that my whole party was not cut off: the river was lined with

Indians. I routed two parties, and, finding where their strength lay, evaded coming to action, by crossing to the other side of the river; and, in short, I made such expedition, that they had not time to assemble in one body. They killed one man, and wounded another, who were sent down express, in a light canoe to me, directing me to fortify on an island, until I could be reinforced. I completed a passage to and from the post, in twenty-one days. The distance between the two places is called five hundred and twenty miles. This will prove to you how easy it is to ascend the river Ohio. The Indians are daily committing depredations in Kentucke; and from the Miami, we learn, that the troops there would be unsafe to go two hundred yards from their post, as lurking fellows are frequently seen in wait for them. I want much to know if our new councils are about to take measures to get possession of the western posts. This, and this alone will secure peace with the Indians. The presence of the governor is much wanted, at the different settlements on the Mississippi; and, indeed, if he does not come out soon, we may judge from appearances, those settlements will generally break up."

Another letter from the same gentleman, says, "Since the date of my last, I learn, that on the 1st of next month, major Hardin, with two hundred volunteers on horseback, from the district of Kentucke, are to assemble at the Rapids, on their way to some of the Indian towns on White River, in order to destroy a banditti that live there, and are very troublesome to the settlement."

*Return of patients admitted, cured, &c. from the institution of the Philadelphia dispensary, to the 15th of December, 1788.*

From April 12, to December 12, 1786.

Patients admitted,		719
Cured,	562	—
Died,	32	
Relieved	33	
Discharged disorderly,	7	
Removed to the hospital and house of employment,	2	
Discharged incurable	1	
Remaining under care,	82	—719

From December 12, 1786, to December 1, 1787.

Patients admitted,		1647
Cured,	1297	—
Died,	69	
Relieved,	131	
Discharged disorderly,	24	
Removed to the hospital and house of employment,	6	
Remaining under care,	120	—1647

From December 1, 1787, to December 1, 1788.

Patients admitted,		1596
Cured,	1294	—
Died,	81	
Relieved,	84	
Discharged disorderly,	27	
Removed to the hospital and house of employment,	13	
Remaining under care,	97	—1596

Besides which, 1280 patients have been admitted from December 1, 1788, to August 1, 1788. Total number of patients, who have been attended under the care of the dispensary, from its first institution in April 1786, to the present time, five thousand two hundred and forty-two.

Published by order of the board of managers,

*William White,  
George Duffield,  
Thomas Clifford,  
Samuel Powell.*

August 1st, 1789.

#### DEATHS.

In *New York*. Master George Washington Knox—Mr. Hayman Levy—Major John Lucas—Robert G. Livingston.

In *Philadelphia*. Rowland Evans, esq.—Mrs. Celia Magens—Mrs. Mary Allston.

*VIRGINIA*. At *Winchester*. Mrs. Rachel Donaldson—At *Fredericksburg*. Mrs. Washington, mother of the president of the united states.

*NEW JERSEY*. Near *Elizabeth Town*. Mrs. Susannah Livingston, consort of his excellency governor Livingston.

*SOUTH CAROLINA*. At *Chekey*. Capt. Lauchlin M'Intosh.

*MARYLAND*. In *Cecil co*. Mrs. Rebecca Grace May—In *Charles co*. William Harrison, esq.

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## A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For SEPTEMBER, 1789.

*An essay on the causes of the variety of complexion and figure in the human species. To which are added strictures on lord Kaim's discourse, on the original diversity of mankind. By the reverend Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D. vice-president, and professor of moral philosophy, in the college of New Jersey; and M. A. P. S.—P. 129.*

THE whole of the Tartar race are of low stature. Their heads have a magnitude disproportioned to the rest of the body. Their shoulders are raised, and their necks are short. Their eyes are small, and appear, by the jutting of the eyebrows over them, to be sunk in the head. The nose is short, and rises but little from the face. The cheek is elevated, and spread out on the sides. The whole of the features are remarkably coarse and deformed. And all these peculiarities are aggravated, as you proceed towards the pole, in the Laponian, Borandian, and Samoiede races, which, as Buffon justly remarks, are Tartars, reduced to the last degree of degeneracy.—A race of men, resembling the Laplanders, we find in a similar climate in America. The frozen countries round Hudson's bay are, except Siberia, the coldest in the world. And here the inhabitants are between four and five feet in height. Their heads are large—their eyes are little and weak—and their hands, feet, and limbs, uncommonly small.

These effects naturally result from extreme cold. Cold contracts the nerves, at it does all solid bodies. The inhabitants grow under the constriction of continual frost, as under the forcible compression of some powerful machine. Men will, therefore, be found in the highest latitudes, forever small, and of low stature\*. The

## NOTE.

\* A moderate degree of cold is necessary to give force and tone to the nerves, and to raise the human body to its largest size. But extreme

excessive rigours of these frozen regions, affect chiefly the extremities. The blood, circulating to them with a more languid and feeble motion, has not sufficient vigour to resist the impressions of the cold. These limbs, consequently, suffer a greater contraction and diminution than the rest of the body. But the blood, flowing with warmth and force to the breast and head, and perhaps with the more force, as its course to the extremities is obstructed, distends these parts to a disproportionate size. There is a regular gradation, in the effect of the climate, and in the figure of the people, from the Tartars to the tribes round Hudson's bay. The Tartars are taller and thicker than the Laplanders, or the Samoiedes, because their climate is less severe. The northern Americans are the most diminutive of all; their extremities are the smallest, and their breast and head of the most disproportioned magnitude, because, inhabiting a climate equally severe with the Samoiedes, they are reduced to a more savage state of society†.

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cold overstrains and contracts them. Therefore, these northern tribes are not only small, but weak and timid.

† The neighbourhood of the Russians, of the Chinese, and even of Tartars, who have adopted many improvements from the civilized nations that border upon them, gives the Laplanders and Siberians considerable advantages over the northern Americans, who are in the most abject state of savage life, and totally destitute of every art, either for convenience or protection. The principles, stated above, apply to all these nations, in proportion to the degree of cold, combined with the degree of savageness. The inhabitants of the northern civilized countries of Europe, are generally of lower stature than those in the middle regions. But civilization, and a milder climate, prevent them from degenerating equally with the northern Asiatics and Americans.

A a

Extreme cold likewise tends to form the next peculiarities of these races, their high shoulders, and their short necks. Severe frost prompts men to raise their shoulders, as if to protect the neck, and to cherish the warmth of the blood that flows to the head; and the habits of an eternal winter will fix them in that position. The neck will appear shortened beyond its due proportion, not only because it suffers an equal contraction with the other parts of the body; but because the head and breast, being increased to a disproportioned size, will encroach upon its length; and the natural elevation of the shoulders will bury what remains, so deep as to give the head an appearance of resting upon them for its support. That these peculiarities are the effect of climate\*, the examples, produced by French missionaries in China, of most respectable characters, leave us no room to doubt, who assure us, that they have seen, even in the forty-eighth degree of northern latitude, the posterity of Chinese families who had become perfect Tartars in their figure and aspect; and that they were distinguished, in particular, by the same shortness of the neck, and by the same elevation of the shoulder†.

That coarse and deformed features are the necessary production of the climate, cannot have escaped the attention of the most incurious observer. Let us attend to the effects of extreme cold. It contracts the aperture of the eyes—it draws down the brows—it

#### NOTES.

\* As climate is often known peculiarly to affect certain parts of the body, philosophy, if it were necessary, could find no more difficulty in accounting for the short necks of the Tartars, and other northern tribes, as a disease of the climate, than she finds in giving the same account for the thick necks so frequently found in the regions of the Alps. But, the observations before made, will probably convince the attentive reader, that there is no need to resort to such a solution of the phenomenon, when it seems so easily to be explained by the known operation of natural causes.

† See *Recueil 24 des lettres éditantes*.

raises the cheek, by the pressure of the under jaw against the upper; it diminishes the face in length, and spreads it out at the sides—and distorts the shape of every feature.

This, which is only a transient impression in our climate, soon effaced by the conveniencies of society, and by the changes of the seasons, becomes a heightened and permanent effect in those extreme regions, arising from the greater intensity, and the constant action of the cause. The naked and defenceless condition of the people, augments its violence—and beginning its operation from infancy, when the features are most tender and susceptible of impression, and continuing it, without remission, till they have attained their utmost growth, they become fixed at length in the point of greatest deformity, and form the character of the Hudson or Siberian countenance.

The principal peculiarities, that may require a farther illustration, are the smallness of the nose, and depression of the middle of the face—the prominence of the forehead—and the extreme weakness of the eyes.

The middle of the face is that part which is most exposed to the cold, and consequently suffers most from its power of contraction. It first meets the wind, and it is farthest removed from the seat of warmth in the head. But a circumstance of equal, or, perhaps, of greater importance, on this subject, is, that the inhabitants of frozen climates, naturally drawing their breath more through the nose, than through the mouth‡, thereby direct the greatest impulse of the air on that feature, and the parts adjacent. Such a continual stream of air augments the cold, and, by increasing the contraction of the parts, restrains the freedom of their growth||.

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‡ A frosty air, inhaled by the mouth, chills the body more than when it is received by the nostrils; probably, because a greater quantity enters at a time. Nature, therefore, prompts men to keep the mouth closed, during the prevalence of intense frost.

|| On the same principle, the mercury, in the thermometer, may be

Hence, likewise, will arise an easy solution of the next peculiarity, the prominence of the forehead. The superior warmth and force of life, in the brain, that fills the upper part of the head, will naturally increase its size, and make it overhang the contracted parts below.

Lastly, the eyes, in these rigorous climates, are singularly affected. By the projection of the eye-brows, they appear to be sunk into the head; the cold naturally diminishes their aperture; and the intensity of the frost, concurring with the glare of eternal snows, so overstrains these tender organs, that they are always weak, and the inhabitants are often liable to blindness, at an early age.

In the temperate zone, on the other hand, and in a point rather below than above the middle region of temperature, the agreeable warmth of the air, disposing the nerves to the most free and easy expansion, will open the features, and increase the orb of the eye\*. Here, a large full eye, being the tendency of nature, will grow to be esteemed a perfection. And, in the strain of Homer, *βωπις πάλια ἦεν* would convey, to a Greek, an idea of divine beauty, that is hardly intelligible to an inhabitant of the north of Europe. All the principles of the human constitution, unfold-

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contracted and sunk into the bulb, by directing upon it a constant stream of air, from a pair of bellows, if the bulb be frequently touched, during the operation, with any fluid, that, by a speedy evaporation, tends to increase the cold.

\* It is perhaps worthy of remark, that, in the three continents, the temperate climates, and eternal cold, border so nearly upon one another, that we pass almost instantly from the former to the latter. And we find the Laplander, the Samoiede, the Mongou, and the tribes round Hudson's bay, in the neighbourhood of the Swede, the Russian, the Chinese, and the Canadian. Without attention to this remark, hasty reasoners will make the sudden change of features, in these nations, an objection against the preceding philosophy.

ing themselves freely in such a region, and nature acting without constraint, will be there seen most nearly in that perfection, which was the original design and idea of the Creator†.

II. Having endeavoured to ascertain the power of climate, in producing many varieties in the human species, I proceed to illustrate the influence of the state of society.

On this subject I observe,

1. In the first place, that the effect of climate is augmented by a savage state, and corrected by a state of civilization. And,

2. In the next place, that, by the state of society, many varieties in the human person are entirely formed.

In the first place, the effect of climate is augmented by a savage state of society, and corrected by a state of civilization.

A naked savage, seldom enjoying the protection of a miserable hut, and compelled to lodge on the bare ground, and under the open sky, imbibes the influence of the sun and atmosphere at every pore. He inhabits an uncultivated region, filled with stagnant waters, and covered with putrid vegetables, that fall down, and corrupt on the spot where they have grown. He pitches his wigwam on the side of a river, that he may enjoy the convenience of fishing, as well as of hunting. The vapour of rivers, the exhalations of marshes, and the noxious effluvia of decaying vegetables, fill the whole atmosphere, in an unimproved country, and tend to give a dark and bilious hue to the complexion‡. And the sun, acting im-

#### NOTES.

† It may perhaps gratify my countrymen, to reflect, that the united states occupy those latitudes, that have ever been most favourable to the beauty of the human form. When time shall have accommodated the constitution to its new state, and cultivation shall have meliorated the climate, the beauties of Greece and Circassia may be renewed in America; as there are not a few already, who rival those of any other quarter of the globe.

‡ The forests, in uncultivated countries, absorb a great part of these putrid vapours, otherwise they would be contagious and mortal. But as na-

mediately on the skin in this state, will necessarily impress a deep colour.

This effect is augmented by the practice of painting, to which savages are often obliged to have recourse, in order to protect themselves from the impression of the humid earth, on which they lie, or of a noxious atmosphere, to which they are exposed without covering. Painting, taken up at first through necessity, is afterwards employed as an ornament; and a savage is seldom seen without having his skin covered with some composition, that spoils the fineness of its texture, and impairs the beauty and clearness of its natural colour. This is known to be the effect of the finest paints and washes, that are used for the same purpose, in polished society. Much more will it be the effect of those coarse and filthy unguents which are employed by savages. And as we see, that coloured marks, impressed by punctures in the skin, become indelible, it is reasonable to believe, that the particles of paints, insinuated into its texture by forcible and frequent rubbing, will tend, in like manner, to create a dark and permanent colour.

NOTE.

ture never makes her work perfect, but leaves the completion of her schemes to exercise the industry and wisdom of man, the growing vegetables do not absorb the whole effluvia of the decaying, and of the noxious marshes that overspread the face of such a region. Nothing but civilization and culture can perfectly purify the atmosphere. Uncultivated, as well as warm countries, therefore, naturally tend to a bilious habit, and a dark complexion. It may seem an objection against this observation, that in America we often find bilious disorders augmented in consequence of cutting down the timber, and extending the plantations. The reason of which, probably, is, that the indolence or necessities of a new country, frequently lead men to clear the ground, without draining the marshes; or small plantations are surrounded by unimproved forests. Thus, the vegetables, that absorbed the noxious moisture, being removed, it is left to fall in greater abundance on man.

To this may be added, that the frequent fumigations, by which they are obliged to guard against the annoyance of innumerable insects, in undrained and uncultivated countries—and the smoke, with which their huts, unskilfully built, and without chimneys, are eternally filled, contribute to augment the natural darkness of the savage complexion. Smoke, we perceive, discolours the skin of those labourers and mechanics, who are habitually immersed in it—it stains every object, long exposed to its action, by entering the pores, and adhering strongly to the surface. It insinuates itself, in a similar manner, into the pores of the skin, and there tends to change the complexion, on the same principles, that it is changed by inserted paints.

And, lastly, the hardships of their condition, that weaken and exhaust the principle of life—their scanty and meagre fare, which wants the succulence and nourishment that give freshness and vigour to the constitution—the uncertainty of their provision, which sometimes leaves them to languish with want, and sometimes enables them to overstrain themselves by a surfeit—and their entire inattention to personal and domestic cleanliness—all have a prodigious effect to darken the complexion, to relax and emaciate the constitution, and to render the features coarse and deformed. Of the influence of these causes, we have an example, in persons reduced to extreme poverty, who are usually as much distinguished by their thin habit, their uncouth features, and their swarthy and squalid aspect, as by the meanness of their garb. Nakedness, exposure, negligence of appearance, want of cleanliness, bad lodging, and meagre diet, so discolour and injure their form, as to enable us to frame some judgment of the degree, in which such causes will contribute to augment the influence of climate in savage life. Independently on climate, these causes will render it impossible, that a savage should ever be fair. And, the co-operation of both, will usually render men, in that state of society, extremely dark in their complexion. And, generally, they will be more coarse and hard in their features, and less robust in their persons, than men

who enjoy, with temperance, the advantages of civilized society\*.

As a savage state contributes to augment the influence of climate; or, at least, to exhibit its worst effects upon the human constitution; a state of civilization, on the other hand, tends to correct it, by furnishing innumerable means of guarding against its power. The conveniencies of clothing

and of lodging—the plenty, and healthful quality of food—a country drained, cultivated, and freed from noxious effluvia—improved ideas of beauty—the constant study of elegance, and the infinite arts for attaining it, even in personal figure and appearance, give cultivated an immense advantage over savage society,

## NOTE.

## NOTE.

\* One of the greatest difficulties, with which a writer on this subject has to combat, is the ignorance and superficial observation of the bulk of travellers, who travel without the true spirit of remark. The first objects that meet their view, in a new country, and among a new people, seize their fancy, and are recited with exaggeration; and they seldom have judgment and impartiality sufficient to examine and reason with justice and caution—and, from innumerable facts, which necessarily have many points of difference among themselves, to draw general conclusions. Such conclusions, when most justly drawn, they think they have refuted, when they discover a single example that seems not to coincide with them. In reasonings of this kind there are few persons who sufficiently consider, that, however accurately we may investigate causes and effects, our limited knowledge will always leave particular examples that will seem to be exceptions from any general principle. To apply these remarks. A few examples, perhaps, may occur, among savages, of regular and agreeable features, or of strong and muscular bodies; as in civilized society, we meet with some rare instances of astonishing beauty. If, by chance, a person of narrow observation, and incomprehensive mind, have seen two or three examples of this kind, he will be ready, on this slender foundation, to contradict the general remark I have made, concerning the coarse and uncouth features of savages, and their want of those fine and muscular proportions, if I may call them so, in the human body, that indicate strength, combined with swiftness. Yet, it is certain, that the general countenance of savage life, is much more uncouth

and coarse, more unmeaning and wild, as will afterwards be seen, when I come to point out the causes of it, than the countenance of polished society: and the person is more slender, and rather suited for the chase, than robust, and capable of force and labour. An American Indian, in particular, is commonly swift; he is rarely very strong. And it has been remarked, in the many expeditions which the people of these states have undertaken against the savages, that, in close quarters, the strength of an Anglo-American is usually superior to that of an Indian of the same size. The muscles, likewise, on which the fine proportions of person so much depend, are generally smaller and more lax, than they are in improved society, that is not corrupted by luxury, or debilitated by sedentary occupations. Their limbs, therefore, though strait, are less beautifully turned. A deception often passes on the senses, in judging of the beauty of savages—and description is often more exaggerated than the senses are deceived. We do not expect beauty in savage life. When, therefore, we happen to perceive it, the contrast, with the usual condition of that state, imposes on the mind. And the exalted representations of savage beauty, which we sometimes read, are true only by comparison with savages. There is a difference, in this respect, between man, and many of the inferior animals, which were intended to run wild in the forest. They are always the most beautiful, when they enjoy their native liberty, and range. They decay and droop, when attempted to be domesticated, or confined. But man, being designed for society and civilization, attains, in that state, the greatest perfection of his form, as well of his whole nature.



fical scholars are more vicious than others in similar circumstances. The clergy are in general acquainted with the classics, and it would be necessary for our hero to summon all his courage, in pronouncing them abandoned profligates. Yet, this is the precise conclusion, which we must draw from his premises. In what instance did the Christian God suffer by a comparison with the Pagan divinities; or, in what classical scholar has our author's penetration discovered a propensity to idolatry? But we are told, that the classics, which are free from the imputation of infecting morality, "contain little else but the histories of murders, perpetrated by kings, and related in such a manner as to excite pleasure and admiration." The gentleman's memory is defective—let him look over the authors mentioned above, and see if there are not several, whose works contain no more of the histories of murders of any kind, than his own essay. Is he yet to be informed, that to the history of antiquity, christianity is indebted for some of her most noble defences? If so, Newton's dissertation on the prophecies will set him right in that particular.

But what history will he find, that is not a continued proof of human depravity? Certainly, modern as well as ancient relations have but one object, the recording of facts for the advantage of future ages. I leave it to every impartial mind to determine, how consistent that man is with himself, who, in one breath, declaims against history, and recites a long string of evils which proceed from the study of it, and, in the next, recommends it as a part of liberal education. Is it possible, that a person can seriously condemn the classics, as having an immoral tendency, and at the same time pronounce a panegyric on the writings of dr. Swift? One would be tempted to think, that the author's real motive for decrying the classics, was not so much a concern for the interests of morality, as an implacable spite at Grecian and Roman literature. So that viewing the matter in any possible light, this part of his argument appears to be nothing more than the miserable subterfuge of baffled sophistry. Again, "the study of the Latin and Greek languages

is improper in the present state of society and government in the united states. While Greek and Latin are the only avenues to science, education will always be confined to a few people." But why confined to a few? Has our author shewn a single reason to justify his assertion? Is the expense too great? and will the wealthy alone enjoy the privilege of instruction? Look at our colleges! Are not the most of those who attend them, persons in the middle sphere of life? Or do the rich prove the best scholars? This experience denies. At the lowest computation, there are upwards of five hundred students in the colleges of Newhaven, Cambridge, New York, Princeton, Philadelphia, and Carlisle. This does not seem to favour the idea, that knowledge is accessible to few.

Our author proposes to make some succeeding positions the subjects of future consideration; I shall therefore pass them over, and offer a few cursory observations on his fancied refutation of the arguments advanced in support of the propriety of studying Latin and Greek. These observations shall be very brief, as a laboured confutation of dogmatic, unsupported assertions, would be an unnecessary waste of time, and an unpardonable trespass upon patience.

The first argument, upon which the gentleman fastens his talons, is, "that a knowledge of the Latin or Greek grammar has been said to be necessary for our becoming acquainted with English grammar." If, by this is meant, that the English grammar should be regulated by the Latin or Greek, he is perfectly right in rejecting the opinion; though he need not claim the merit of exploding this error; it never was advanced but by some Utopian projectors, and the sober advocates of classical learning, never thought their cause so desperate as to require such puny aid. However, he might have assigned some better reason for his own judgment, than that "he has known many bachelors and masters of arts who were incorrect English scholars;" unless he can shew that corrupt pronunciation, or false English grammar, is the result of classical education, it is needless to point out the incorrectness of masters of arts—"The

Greek," he proceeds "is supposed to be the most perfect language both in its construction and harmony, that has ever been spoken by mortals; now this language was not learned through the medium of any other"—the pre-eminence of the Greeks "arose entirely from their being too wise to waste the important years of education in learning to call substances by two or three different names, instead of studying their qualities and uses." Do not laugh, gentle reader, when you find this same author, who now writes with great zeal against the absurd practice of "learning to call substances by two or three different names," gravely advising the study of French and German. Will the name of a thing in either of these languages, inspire a better knowledge of its qualities and uses, than the name of it in Latin or Greek? but observe the logic of the first part of this paragraph; it is to this effect:

The Greek is supposed to be the most perfect language that has ever been spoken by mortals.

But there is wide scope for improvement in the English tongue.

*Ergo*, we should never open a Greek book.

Similar to this is the gentleman's reasoning, when he attempts to prove, that we should not study the Greek and Latin, to become acquainted with the taste and eloquence of authors, who wrote in these languages.

We are told, that "Shakespeare owes his fame, as a sublime and original poet, to his having never read a Latin or Greek author;" and that "to this passion for ancient writings, we must ascribe the great want of originality, that marks too many of the poems of modern times—Why the reading of English, French, or German books, should be more favourable to originality, than the reading of those, which are written in Greek or Latin, it lies upon our author to explain; perhaps he will do it in his future essays.

The gentleman asserts, that "the study of the Greek and Latin languages has been one of the greatest obstructions that has ever been thrown in the way of the propagation of useful knowledge." How so? Why, "by rendering our language unintelligible to the greatest part of the

people." Admitting this to be true, will the evil be remedied by omitting the study of these languages? or will all the unintelligible words, which have been imported from these languages into our own, be entirely done away with the languages themselves? Would it greatly decorate an Englishman's or an American's stile, to foist a swarm of French or German words into his composition? Yet this must be the case, if these languages are generally studied.

The gentleman is deeply concerned, that, on this account, the poor have "not the gospel preached to them:" but, if he will take the trouble to look into the world, he will find the far greatest proportion of pious people, belonging to that class.

When the utility of Greek and Latin is urged "as necessary to the learned professions of law, physic, and divinity," the gentleman replies, "the most useful books in each of these professions, are translated into English:" but he does not consider that living languages are in a state of perpetual fluctuation—He says that "custom will always govern the use of words." This is a most powerful argument for the study of Greek and Latin; because custom often warps words from their original meaning, and, at different periods, assigns different significations to the same word. If then the Latin and Greek are translated, and the originals thrown aside, the intention of an author may, in several important points, be wholly lost, unless the gentleman can give us security, that the English words, which are used to express an author's sense, will ever convey the precise ideas which were affixed to them, at the time when his book was translated.

He goes on, "*I see* no use at present for a knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, for a lawyer, a physician, or a divine, in the united States, except it be to preserve the remembrance of a few technical terms, which may be retained without it." In this instance, it seems, our author's logic depends upon the acuteness of his optics. What fine reasoning is it to say, "*I see* no use for such a branch of study, and therefore it must be superfluous and pernicious. Charity herself cannot suppose a person to be

over-stocked with modesty, when he thinks his bare opinion sufficient to overset the judgment of the learned, who have flourished through a series of ages, and whose names will adorn the annals of literature—Nor can our thoughts of his humility be more favourable, when, with an imperious, dictatorial air, he condemns, as guilty of folly and absurdity, those venerable personages who preside over the interests of learning in the united states. It is a rule in good composition, to give the reader's mind some scope for exertion, in discovering implied inferences, and the connexion of an author's thoughts. Had the gentleman remembered this direction, he would probably have spared himself the trouble of making part of this last remark, and me the trouble of pointing out its inconsistency. He says, "I do not see the use," &c. From the tenor of his whole essay, it appears that he is ignorant of his subject in more respects: than one, and this, I presume, is an observation not out of the reach of common capacities.

To corroborate his previous assertions, he informs us, that "two of the most eminent and successful lawyers in the united states, are strangers to the Latin language." Without any apprehensions of injuring the cause of Grecian or Roman literature, I will help him to a still better argument, viz. that a certain gentleman, of publishing propensity, has learned both Latin and Greek, and is not a whit the wiser.

Respecting the disputes among critics, about "the meaning of words," &c. in the New Testament, we may hence draw an argument for the propriety of studying the Greek. If we do not, it will be impossible to form a settled judgment concerning disputed passages; and of course we must implicitly rely on the opinion of others, or have no opinion at all—a situation to which an independent mind would not wish to be reduced. Here our author starts a mighty difficulty—"it follows, that a knowledge of the languages and dialects, in which the different parts of it (the New Testament) were originally composed, is equally necessary." It is not easy to tell what he means by the different

languages\* of the New Testament; and as for the dialects, his consequence will be admitted, without scruple; and to what does it amount? Evidently to nothing more than this, that divines ought to be good classical scholars. His conclusion, however, that this knowledge of the dialects, &c. is indispensably necessary to the common people, can no more be allowed, than that the common people are bound to study medicine; because they are all interested in its success:

After some farther remarks, our author directs our attention to two distinguished personages in America; and when he has mentioned some of their services, for which the benedictions of the present and future generations will be showered upon them—he tells us, that they "were strangers to the formalities of a Latin and Greek education."

Gratitude to those illustrious patriots, to whom, I suppose, he alludes; and veneration for their exalted virtues, are written in indelible characters upon the heart of every friend to mankind. But our author's inference against the utility of the Greek and Latin, can be of no service, unless he will shew, that their laurels are the fruit of their never having studied these languages. Equally just would be the supposition, that the study of physic is altogether useless, because the Indians are capable of performing cures, which may be far out of the reach of a regular physician's skill. But this would be, to many, a very unpalatable doctrine. To obviate any prejudice which might arise; our author proposes a plan for preserving the knowledge of Greek and Latin, without making it a part of liberal education. He wishes to have certain persons appointed for the express purpose of translating and explaining Greek and Latin books, &c. With what an elevated idea, does this project present us? How noble the

## NOTE.

\* Some, indeed, suppose, that the gospel of Matthew was originally written in Hebrew; but as this is a contested point, it can never justify an expression, so general, as "all the languages," &c.

thought, that the literati of America, (to use a common phraseology) must pin their faith upon the sleeves of a few hired pedagogues! However congenial such a proposal may be to our author's mind, no person of dignified sentiment will subscribe the humiliating terms.

Whilst the gentleman is mounted upon his hobby-horsical Pacolet, he knows not where to stop. After banishing Greek and Latin, the next step of improvement, is to cashier all the words which are of Greek or Latin etymology—and when he has done this, our language will be wonderfully simplified, and our dictionaries reduced to the size of common grammars—Is not this excellent reasoning? What use have we for such words as festivity, hilarity, &c. It is a sufficient answer, to say, the very same that we have for any other words in the language.

It is somewhat odd, that our author has deigned to employ a word of Greek or Latin derivation; but I am too hally; had he acted upon his own principles, the world would never have seen his production. There is no danger of transgressing the bounds of truth, in saying, that, with all his ingenuity, he would not be able to write half a page, which did not contain some word of Latin or Greek derivation.

In pointing out the advantages, that will naturally result from the disuse of the Latin and Greek—our author has done nothing more than assert, which he calls demonstration: and, in this manner, it is easy to prove, that he was in a dream, or, in a delirium, when he wrote his treatise.

To conclude—The piece, upon which I have so freely animadverted, appears to be the effusion of momentary frenzy; and the best apology which can be made for the author, is, that he has written without reflexion, or sacrificed his judgment to caprice.

#### GLOTTOPHILUS.

New York, July 13, 1789.



*An Essay on free trade and finance particularly shewing, what supplies of public revenue may be drawn from merchandize, without injur-*

*ing our trade, or burdening our people.—P. 136.*

**B**UT perhaps the advantage of this kind of taxation will appear in a more striking light, by considering its practical and general effects, on a nation which adopts it: in which view of the matter, I think it will be very manifest,

I. That any man of business, whether he be merchant, farmer or tradesman, may live easier and better, i. e. be happier through the year, and richer at the end of it, in a country where this tax is paid, than he could live in the same country, if the tax was not paid; for as the tax is laid on useless consumptions, it would, of course, diminish those consumptions, and, of course, save the first cost of the part diminished, and all the additional expense, which the use of that part would require. If a man lives in a country, abounding in luxury, he must go in some degree into it, or appear singular and mean; and that part, which he would be in a manner compelled to adopt would probably cost him more than his tax; but 'tis here to be considered, that the first cost of an article of luxury, is not nearly all the cost of it. One article often makes another necessary, and that a third, and so on almost *ad infinitum*. If you buy a silk cloak, there must also be trimmings: and that will not do, without a hat or bonnet: and these require a suitable accommodation in every other part of the dress, in order to keep up any sort of decency and uniformity of appearance: and there also must be spent a great deal of time to put these fine things on, and to wear them, to shew them, to receive and pay visits in them, &c. And when this kind of luxury prevails in a country, beyond the degree which its wealth can bear, the consequence is pride, poverty, debt, duns, lawsuits, &c. &c. The farmer finds the proceeds of the year vanished into trifles; the merchant and tradesman may sell their goods indeed, but can't get payment for them. Every family finds its expense greatly increased, and the time of the family much consumed in attending to that very expense. Many families soon become embarrassed, and put to very mortifying shifts, to keep up that appearance, which such a corrupt taste

almost compels them to support. But were these families, with the same income, to live in a country of more economy, and less luxury, they would easily pay the taxes on the luxuries they did use—keep on a good footing with their neighbours—appear with as much distinction—live happy and unembarrassed through the year, and have money in their pockets at the end of it. In such a country, payments would be punctual, and industry steady; and, of course, all business, both of merchandize, husbandry, and mechanic arts, might be carried on with ease and success. These are no high colourings, but an appeal to plain facts, and to the sense of every prudent man on these facts; and I here with confidence ask every wise man, if he would not choose to live in a country, where articles of hurtful luxury and useless consumption, were, by taxes or any other cause, raised so high in their price, as to prevent the excessive use of them, rather than in a country, where such articles were of easy acquirement, and the use of them so excessive among the inhabitants, as to consume their wealth, destroy their industry, and corrupt the morals and health of the people?

II. I think, it is very plain, that articles of hurtful and useless consumption are making such rapid progress among us, and growing into such excessive use, as to throw the economy, industry, simplicity, and even health of our people into danger, and of consequence, raising the price of such articles so high, as will be necessary to produce a proper check to the excessive use of them, will require a tax so great, as, when added to a small and very moderate impost on articles of general and necessary consumption, will bring money enough into the public treasury, for all the purposes of the public service. We will suppose, then, that all this is done, and when this is done, we will stop a moment, and look round us, and view the advantages resulting from this measure, over and above the capital one of checking and restraining that excessive luxury, which threatens, if not an absolute destruction, yet at least a tarnishment of every principle, out of which our prof-

perity, wealth, and happiness must necessarily and forever flow. I say, we'll stop a minute and view the advantageous effects of this measure. The first grand effect, which presents itself to my view, is, that our army would be paid,\* that our brethren, our fellow citizens, who, by their valour, their patience, their perseverance in the field, have secured to us our extensive country, and all its blessings, would be enabled to return to their friends and connexions, not only crowned with the laurels of the field, but rewarded by the justice and gratitude of their country, and be thereby enabled to support their dignity of character, or at least be put on a footing with their fellow citizens (whom they have saved) in the procurement of the means of living.

The next advantage of this measure, which occurs to me, is, the easement and exoneration of the labourers of the community, the husbandman and tradesman, out of whose labour all our wealth and supplies are derived. By them we are fed, by them we are clothed: by the various modifications of their labour, our staples are produced, our commerce receives its principle, and our utmost abundance is supplied: we are therefore bound, by every principle of justice, gratitude, and good policy, to give them encouragement and uninterrupted security in their peaceful occupations, and not, by an unnatural and ill-fated arrangement of our finances, compel them to leave their labours, which are the grand object of their attention and our supplies, to go in quest of money to satisfy a collector of taxes.

But justice and gratitude operate only on minds, which these virtues can reach. There may be some few among us, of no little weight, who are content, if they can obtain the services, to let the servant shift for himself, and who, when they are sure of the benefit, remember no longer the benefactor; and as, in this great argument of universal concern, I wish

## NOTE.

\* This was written in March, 1783, about the time, when the continental army was dismissed, but not paid.

to find the way to every man's sense, and address myself, not only to those who have virtue, but even to those who have none, I will therefore mention another advantage of this measure, which I think, will (virtue or no virtue) reach the feelings of every man, who retains the least sense of interest, viz. that in this way all our public creditors would be paid and satisfied, either by a total discharge of their principal, or an undoubted well-funded security of it, with a sure and punctual payment of their interest, which would be the best of the two; because a total discharge of the principal at once, if sufficient money could be obtained, would make such a sudden, so vast an addition to our circulating cash, as would depreciate it, and reduce the value of the debt paid, much below its worth at the time of contract, and introduce a fluctuation of our markets, and other fatal evils of a depreciated currency, which have been known by experience, and severely enough felt, to make them dreaded; it would therefore be much better for the creditor to receive a certain well-funded security of his debt, than full payment: for in that case, if he needed the cash for his debt, he might sell his security, at little or no discount, which is the constant practice of the public creditors in England, where every kind of public security has its rate of exchange, settled every day, and may be negotiated in a very short time. Supposing this should be the case, stop and see what an amazing effect this would have on every kind of business in the country. The public bankruptcies have been so amazingly great, that vast numbers of our people have been reduced by them to the condition of men, who have sold their effects to broken merchants, that cannot pay them; their business is lessened, or, perhaps, reduced to nothing, for want of their stock, so detained from them. Supposing, then, that their stock was restored to them all, they would instantly all pass into business, and the proceeds of their business would flow through the country, in every direction of industry, and every species of supply: in fine, the whole country would be alive; and as it is obvious to every one, that it is much better

living in a country of brisk business, than one of stagnated business, every individual would reap benefits from this general animation of industry, beyond account, more than enough to compensate the tax which he has paid to produce it. All these advantages, hitherto enumerated, would put the labour and industry of our people of all occupations on such a footing of profit, and security, as would soon give a new face to the country, and open such extensive prospects of plenty, peace, and establishment, throw into action so many sources of wealth, give such stability to public credit, and make the burdens of government so easy and almost imperceptible to the people, as would make our country, not only a most advantageous place to live in, but even make it abound with the richest enjoyments and heartfelt delights. These are objects of great magnitude and desirableness; they animate and dilate the heart of every American. What can do the heart more good, than to see our country a scene of justice, plenty, and happiness? are those rich blessings within our reach? can we believe they are so absolutely within our power, that they require no more than very practicable efforts to bring us into the full possession of them? These blessings are doubtless attainable, if we will go to the price of them: and that you may judge whether they are worth the purchase, whether they are too dear or not; I will give you the price current of them all, the price, which, if honestly paid, will certainly purchase them.

In order to have them, then, we must pay about a dollar and half a gallon, for rum, brandy, and other distilled spirits; a dollar a gallon, above the ordinary price, for wines; a dollar and a half for bohea tea, and about that sum, above the ordinary price, for hyson tea; a double price on silks of all sorts, laces of all sorts, and thin linens and cottons of all sorts, such as muslins, lawns, and cambricks, and also on jewelry of all sorts, &c.; about a dollar and third a yard, above the ordinary price, for superfine cloths of all sorts, &c. &c. a third of a dollar a bushel, on salt, (for I don't mean to lay quite all the tax on the rich, and wholly excuse the poor,)

about a dollar a hundred, for sugar, one tenth of a dollar a pound, on coffee, the same on cocoa, above the ordinary price, &c. &c. with an addition of five per cent, on all articles of importation not enumerated, except cotton, dying woods, and other raw materials for our own manufactures; for, whilst importations are discouraged, our own manufactures will naturally be increased, and ought to be encouraged, or at least be disburdened. On this state of the matter, I beg leave to observe, that the war itself, for seven years past, has laid a tax on us, nearly equal to the highest of these, and, on some articles of necessary consumption, from two hundred to a thousand per cent. higher, such as salt, pepper, allspice, allum, powder, lead, &c. &c. and yet I never heard any body complain of being ruined by the war, because rum was twelve shillings per gallon, tea twelve shillings per pound, mantuas three dollars a yard, pepper ten shillings a pound, or superfine cloths eight dollars a yard, &c. Nor does it appear to me, that the country has paid a shilling more for rum, silks, superfine cloths, &c. for the last seven years, than was paid for the same articles the seven preceding years, i. e. the whole tax was paid by lessening the consumption of these articles. Nor do I think, that the health, habits, or happiness of the country, have suffered in the least, on the whole, from its being obliged to use less of these articles than was before usual; but be this as it may, 'tis very certain, that the country has suffered but little from the increased price of these articles, which I propose to tax, except at some particular times, when those prices were raised much higher than the point to which I propose to raise them, i. e. at particular times, rum has been as high as three dollars a gallon, tea three dollars a pound, sugars, and coffee, three shillings and six-pence a pound, mantuas four dollars a yard, &c: but 'tis observable, that the principal increased prices, which have really hurt and distressed the country, during the war, have been of other articles, which I propose to tax very lightly, or not at all; such as salt, which has at times been six dollars a bushel, and perhaps three

or four dollars on an average, coarse cloths and coarse linens, snabrigs, cutlery, and crockery-wares, &c. which have often risen to five or six prices, and stood for years together at three or four: and yet the burden of these excessive prices, of even necessary articles of unavoidable consumption, has not been so great, if you except the article of salt, as to be so much as mentioned very often among the ruinous effects and distresses of the war. (To be continued.)



*Character novi generis plantæ, quam nuper inter fœdus cum indigenis componendum, in Silva Americana detexit Samuel Latham Mitchill, M. D.*

### RENSSALÆRIA.

*Calyx.*

**P**ERIANTHIUM foliis octo constans, quorum tria externa infera; reliqua corollæ proxima; colorata, concava; rotundo-acuminata, persistentia.

*Corolla.* Monopetala, ventricosa, bilabiata, ringens. Tubus brevissimus. Limbus dehiscens. Labium superius bifidum; inferius tripartitum, utrinque barbatum, in medio elevatum.

*Nectarium.* In superiore tubi parte, supra pistillum, situm, circa originem pilosum, subulatum.

*Stamina.* Filamenta quatuor, incurva, pilosa, corollæ tubo inserta, approximata; quorum duo superiora breviora. Antheræ triquatræ, gibbosæ, externè glabræ, intus tomentosæ, connatæ, magnæ.

*Pistillum.* Germen conicum, superum. Stylus cylindraceus, filiformis, apice incurvatus. Stigma simplex, obtusum.

*Pericarpium.* Capsula crassa, gibba, teretiufcula, bilocularis, bivalvis.

*Semina.* Plurima, parva.

Hoc genus ad Didynam. Angiosperm. cl. Linnæi pertinet.

Fort Schuyler, Sept. 1788.



*Azakia: a Canadian story.*

**T**HE ancient inhabitants of Canada were, strictly speaking, all savages. Nothing proves this better than the destiny of some Frenchmen, who first arrived in this part of the world. They were eaten by the pro-

ple whom they pretended to humanize and polish.

New attempts were more successful. The savages were driven into the inner parts of the continent; treaties of peace, always ill observed, were concluded with them; but the French found means to create in them wants, which made their yoke necessary to them. Their brandy and tobacco easily effected what their arms might have operated with greater difficulty. Confidence soon became mutual, and the forests of Canada were frequented with as much freedom by the new inmates, as by the natives.

These forests were often also resorted to by the married and unmarried savage women, whom the meeting of a Frenchman put into no terrors. All these women, for the most part, are handsome, and certainly their beauty owes nothing to the embellishments of art: much less has it any influence on their conduct. Their character is naturally mild, and flexible, their humour gay; they laugh in the most agreeable and winning manner. They have a strong propensity to love; a propensity, which a maiden, in this country, may yield to, and always indulges without scruple, and without fearing the least reproach. It is not so with a married woman; she must be entirely devoted to him she has married; and, what is not less worthy of notice, she punctually fulfils this duty.

An heroine of this class, and who was born among the Hurons, one day happened to wander in a forest that lay contiguous to the grounds they inhabited. She was surprised by a French soldier, who did not trouble himself to enquire, whether she was a wife or a maiden. Besides, he found himself little disposed to respect the right of a Huron husband. The shrieks of the young savage, in defending herself, brought to the same place, the baron of St. Castins, an officer in the troops of Canada. He had no difficulty to oblige the soldier to depart: but the person, he had so opportunely saved, had so many engaging charms, that the soldier appeared excusable to him. Being himself tempted to sue for the reward of the good office he had just rendered, he pleaded his cause in a more gentle and insinuating

manner, than the soldier, but did not succeed better. "The friend that is before my eyes, hinders my seeing thee," said the Huron woman to him. This is the savage phrase, for expressing that a woman has a husband, and that she cannot be wanting in fidelity to him. This phrase is not a vain form; it contains a peremptory refusal; it is common to all the women of those barbarous nations; and its force, the neighbourhood of the Europeans, and their example, were never able to diminish.

St. Castins, to whom the language and customs of the Hurons were familiar, saw immediately that he must drop all pretensions; and this persuasion recalled all his generosity. He therefore made no other advances, than to accompany the beautiful savage, whom chance alone had directed into the wood, and who was afraid of new rencontres. As they passed on, he received all possible marks of gratitude, except that which he at first requested.

Some time after, St. Castins being insulted by a brother officer, killed him in a duel. This officer was nephew to the general governor of the colony, and the governor was as absolute as vindictive. St. Castins had no other resource than to betake himself to flight. It was presumed, that he had retired among the English of New-York; which, indeed, was very probable; but, persuaded that he should find an equally safe asylum among the Hurons, he gave them the preference.

The desire of again seeing Azakia, which was the name of the savage he had rescued, contributed greatly to determine him in that choice. She knew immediately her deliverer. Nothing could equal her joy, at this unexpected visit, and she declared it as ingenuously, as before, she had resisted his attacks. The savage, whose wife she was, and whose name was Ouabi, gave St. Castins the same reception, who acquainted him of the motive of his flight. "May the Great Spirit be praised, for having brought thee among us," replied the Huron! "This body," added he, laying his hand on his bosom, "will serve thee as a shelter for defence; and this head-breaking hatchet will put to flight, or strike

dead thy enemies. My hut shall be thine: thou shalt always see the bright star of the day appear and leave us, without any thing being wanting to thee, or any thing being able to hurt thee."

St. Castins declared to him, that he absolutely desired to live as they did, that is, to bear a part in their labours and their wars; to abide by their customs; in short, to become a Huron; a resolution, which redoubled Ouabi's joy. This savage held the first rank among his people—he was their grand chief—a dignity which his courage and services had merited for him. There were other chiefs under him, and he offered one of the places to St. Castins, who accepted of the rank only of a private warrior.

The Hurons were then at war with the Iroquois, and were intent on forming some enterprise against them. St. Castins would fain make one in the expedition, and fought as a true Huron: but was dangerously wounded. He was brought back with great difficulty to Ouabi's house, on a kind of litter. At this sight, Azakia appeared overwhelmed with grief; but, instead of vain lamentation, she exerted all possible care and assiduity to be of service to him. Though she had several slaves at command, she depended only on herself, for what might contribute to the relief of her guest. Her assiduity equalled her solicitude. One would have said, that it was a lover watching over the precious life of her beloved. Few could help drawing the most flattering consequences, on such an occasion; and this was what St. Castins did. His desires and his hopes revived with his strength. One only point disconcerted his views, which was the services and attentions of Ouabi. Could he deceive him, without adding ingratitude to perfidy? "But," said St. Castins, arguing the case with himself, "the good-natured Ouabi is but a savage, and he cannot be so scrupulous herein, as many of our good folks in Europe." This reason, which was no reason in fact, appeared very solid to the amorous Frenchman. He renewed his tender advances, and was surprised to meet with new refusals. "Stop! Celario," which was the savage name that was given to St. Castins; "stop," said

Azakia to him; the shivers of the rod, which I have broken with Ouabi, have not yet been reduced to ashes. A part remains still in his power, and another in mine. As long as they last, I am his, and cannot be thine." These words, spoken in a peremptory manner, quite disconcerted St. Castins. He dared not insist upon the matter farther, and fell into a melancholy reverie. Azakia was deeply affected by it. "What can I do?" said she to him; "I cannot become thy companion, but by ceasing to be the companion of Ouabi; and I cannot quit Ouabi, without causing in him the same sorrow thou feelest in thyself. Answer me, has he deserved it?"—"No!" cried out Celario, "no! he deserves to be entirely preferred before me; but I must abandon his dwelling. It is only by ceasing to see Azakia, that I can cease to be ungrateful to Ouabi."

These words chilled with paleuess the young savage's face: her tears flowed almost at the same instant, and she did not endeavour to conceal them. "Ah! ungrateful Celario!" cried she, with sobs, and pressing his hands between her own; "is it true, ungrateful Celario! that thou hast a mind to quit those, to whom thou art more dear than the light of the bright star of the day? What have we done to thee, that thou shouldst leave us? Is any thing wanting to thee? Dost thou not see me continually by thy side, as the slave that wants but the beck to obey? Why wilt thou have Azakia die of grief? Thou canst not leave her, without taking with thee her soul: it is thine, as her body is Ouabi's." The entrance of Ouabi stopped the answer of St. Castins. Azakia still continued weeping, without restraining herself, without even hiding for a moment the cause. "Friend," said she to the Huron, "thou still see'st Celario; thou see'st him, and thou mayest speak to and hear him; but he will soon disappear from before thine eyes: he is going to seek after other friends." "Other friends," cried the savage, almost as much alarmed as Azakia herself; and what, dear Celario, what induces thee to tear thyself from our arms? Hast thou received here any injury, any damage? Answer me: thou knowest my authority in th

parts. I swear to thee, by the great Spirit, that thou shalt be satisfied, and revenged."

This question greatly embarrassed St. Callins. He had no reasonable subject for complaint; and the true motive of his resolution ought to be absolutely unknown to Ouabi. There was a necessity of pretending some trivial and common reasons, which the good Ouabi found very ridiculous. "Let us speak of other things," added he; "to-morrow I set out on an expedition against the Iroquois; and this evening I give to our warriors the customary feast. Partake of this amusement, dear Celario." "I am equally willing to partake of your dangers and labours," said St. Callins, interrupting him; "I shall accompany you in this new expedition." "Thy strength would betray thy courage," replied the Huron chief; "it is no great matter to know how to face death; thou shouldst be able to deal death among the enemy; thou shouldst be able to pursue the enemy, if they are put to flight; and thou shouldst be able to fly thyself, if they be an over match. Such were at all times our warlike maxims. Think now, therefore, only of getting thyself cured, and taking care of this habitation during my absence, which I confide to thee." It was in vain for St. Callins to make a reply. The warriors soon assembled, and the feast began. It is scarce over, when the troops march off, and St. Callins remains more than ever exposed to the charms of Azakia.

It is certain, that this young savage loved her guest, and loved him with a love purely ideal, without doubting that it was such a love. She even took a resolution, which others, who loved as she did, certainly would have not have taken, which was to procure for St. Callins the opportunity of obtaining from another what herself had obstinately refused him. The charms of the rival she gave herself, were well calculated to attract his regards. She was but eighteen years old, was very handsome, and which was not less necessary, was still a virgin. It has been before observed, that a maiden enjoys full liberty among the North American Indians. St. Callins, encouraged by Azakia, had di-

vers conferences with Zisma, which was the name of this young Huron lady, and in a few days he could read in her eye that she would be less severe than his friend. It is not known whether he profited of the discovery; at least it did not make him forget Azakia, who, on her side, seemed to have no inclination to be forgotten. St. Callins felt himself, notwithstanding all his interior struggles, more attracted towards her. An accident, which every where else might have contributed to unite them, had like to have separated them forever.

They were informed, by some run-aways, who had made more speed than others, that Ouabi had fallen into an ambuscade of the Iroquois; that he had lost some of his party; and that he himself was left on the field of battle. This news filled St. Callins with true sorrow. His generosity made him set aside all views of interest. He forgot, that, in losing a friend, he found himself rid of a rival. Besides, the death of this rival might also occasion that of Azakia. Her life, from that moment, depended on the caprice of a dream. Such was the force of a superstitious custom, sacred from time immemorial among these people. If in the space of forty days, a widow, who has lost her husband, sees and speaks to him twice successively in a dream, she infers from thence, that he wants her in the region of souls, and nothing can dispense with her putting herself to death.

Azakia had resolved to obey this custom, if the double dream took place. She sincerely regretted Ouabi; and though St. Callins gave her cause for other sorrows, if she was to die, the prevalence of the custom had the ascendant over inclination. It is not easy to express the inquietudes, the terrors that tormented the lover of this beautiful and credulous Huron. Every night he fancied her a prey to those sinister visions; and, every morning, he accosted her with fear and trembling. At length, he found her preparing a mortal draught: it was the juice of a root of the citron tree; a poison, which, in that country, never fails of success. "Thou seest, dear Celario," said Azakia to him, "thou seest the preparation for the

long journey which Ouabi has ordered me to make." "Oh heavens!" said St. Castins, interrupting her, "how can you believe in a foolish dream, a frivolous and deceitful delusion?" "stop, Celario," replied the Huron; "thou deceivest thyself. Ouabi appeared to me last night; he took me by the hand, and ordered me to follow him. The weight of my body opposed this order. Ouabi withdrew with a mournful countenance. I called him back, and the only answer he gave me, was to stretch out his arms to me, and he afterwards disappeared. He will return without doubt, dear Celario; I must obey him, and, after bewailing thy hard lot, I will swallow this draught, which will lull my body into the sleep of death; and then I will go, and rejoin Ouabi, in the abode of souls."

This discourse quite dismayed St. Castins. He spoke against it every thing that reason, grief, and love could suggest to him most convincing; nothing seemed to be so to the young savage. She wept, but persevered in her design. All that the disconsolate Celario could obtain from her, was a promise, that, though Ouabi should appear to her a second time in a dream, she would wait, before she put herself to death, to be assured of his; of which St. Castins was resolved to know the truth, as soon as possible.

The savages neither exchange nor ransom their prisoners; contenting themselves to rescue them out of the enemy's hands, whenever they can. Sometimes the conqueror destines his captives to slavery; and he oftener puts them to death. Such are particularly the maxims of the Iroquois. There was, therefore, reason to presume, that Ouabi had died of his wounds, or was burnt by that barbarous nation. Azakia believed it to be so, more than any other: but St. Castins would have her at least doubt of it. On his side, he re-animates the courage of the Hurons, and proposes a new enterprise against the enemy. It is approved of—they deliberate upon electing a chief, and all voices unite in favour of St. Castins, who had already given proofs of his valour and conduct. He departs with his troop, but not till after he

had again Azakia's word, that, notwithstanding all the dreams she might yet have, she would defer, at least till his return, the doleful journey she had designed.

This expedition of the Huron warriors was attended with all imaginable success. The Iroquois believed them to be too much weakened or discouraged, to think of undertaking any thing, and were themselves on their march to come and attack them; but they were no way cautious how they proceeded. It was not so with St. Castins's band of warriors. He had dispatched some of his people to reconnoitre. They discovered the enemy without being seen by them, and returned to give advice thereof to their chief. The ground was found very fit for lying in ambuscade; and the Hurons availed themselves so well of it, that the Iroquois saw themselves hemmed in, when they believed they had no risque to run. They were charged with a fury that left them no time to know where they were. Most of them were killed on the spot; and the remainder maimed, or grievously wounded. The Hurons march off directly to the next village; and surprise the Iroquois assembled there: They were going to enjoy the spectacle of seeing a Huron burnt; and already the Huron was beginning to sing his death song. This, no savage, whom the enemy is ready to put to death, ever fails to do. Loud cries, and a shower of musket balls, soon dispersed the multitude. Both the fugitives, and those that faced about to resist, were killed. All the savage ferocity was fully displayed. In vain St. Castins endeavoured to stop the carnage. With difficulty he saved a small number of women and children. He was apprehensive, particularly, that in the midst of this horrid tumult, Ouabi himself was massacred, supposing he was still living; and was in that habitation. Full of this notion, he ran incessantly from one place to another. He perceived on a spot, where the battle still continued, a prisoner tied to a stake, and having all about him the apparatus of death; that is, combustibles for burning him by a slow fire. The chief of the Hurons flies to this wretched cap-

tive, breaks his bonds—knows him—and embraces him with transports of joy.—It was Ouabi.

This brave savage had preferred the loss of his life to that of his liberty. He was scarcely cured of his wounds, when life was offered him, on condition of remaining a slave; but he had chosen death, determined to procure it, if refused to him. The Iroquois were a people that would spare him that trouble; and, one moment later, his companions could not have saved him.

After having dispersed or made slaves of the remains of the Iroquois in that quarter, the Huron army marched home. St. Cassins wanted to give up the command of it to Ouabi, which he refused. On the way, he informed him of Azakia's purpose to die, persuaded that he was not alive, and that he had required her to follow him; he acquainted him also of the poison she had prepared on that account, and of the delay he had obtained from her with great difficulty. He spoke with a tenderness and emotion that deeply affected the good Ouabi, who called to mind, some things, he had not much attended to, at the time they happened: but he then let him know nothing of what he intended.—They arrive: Azakia, who had another dream, fancied this return as the signal of her fate. But, how great was her surprise, to see, among the number of the living, the husband she was going to meet in the abode of spirits!

At first, she remained motionless and mute; but her joy soon expressed itself by lively caresses and long discourses. Ouabi received the one, and interrupted the others. Afterwards, addressing himself to St. Cassins: "Celario," said he, "thou hast saved my life, and, what is still dearer to me, thou hast twice preserved to me Azakia: she therefore belongs more to thee than to me. I belong to thee myself: see whether she be enough to acquit us both. I yield her to thee through gratitude, but would not have yielded her, to deliver myself from the fire kindled by the Iroquois."

What this discourse made St. Cassins feel, is hard to be expressed; not that it seemed so ridiculous and strange to him, as it might to many Europeans: he knew that divorces were very fre-

quent among the savages. They separate, as easily as they come together. But, persuaded that Azakia could not be yielded up to him without a supernatural effort—he believed himself obliged to evince equal generosity. He refused what he desired most, and refused in vain—Ouabi's perseverance in his resolution was not to be conquered. As to the faithful Azakia, who had been seen to resist all St. Cassins's attacks, and to refuse surviving the husband, whom she believed to be dead, it might perhaps be expected that she would long hold out against the separation her husband had proposed. To this she made not the least objection. She had hitherto complied only with her duty; and thought she was free to listen to her inclination, since Ouabi required it of her. The pieces of the rod of union were brought forth, put together, and burnt. Ouabi and Azakia embraced each other, for the last time, and, from that moment, the young and beautiful Huron was reinstated in all the rights of a maiden. It is also said, that, by the help of some missionaries, St. Cassins put her in a condition of becoming his wife, according to the rules prescribed to christians. Ouabi, on his side, broke the rod with the young Zisna; and these two marriages, so different in the form, were equally happy. Each husband, well assured that there were no competitors, forgot that there had been any predecessors.



*Hints for young married women.*

IT has often been thought, that the first year after marriage is the happiest of a woman's life. We must first suppose that she marries from motives of affection, or, what the world calls love; and, even in this case, the rule admits of many exceptions, and she encounters many difficulties. She has her husband's temper to study, his family to please, household cares to attend, and, what is worse than all, she must cease to command, and learn to obey. She must learn to submit, without repining, where she has been used to have even her looks studied.

Would the tender lover treat his adored mistress like a rational being, rather than a goddess, a woman's

task would be rendered much easier, and her life much happier. Would the flatterer pay his devoirs to her understanding, rather than her person, he would soon find his account in it. Would he consult her on his affairs, converse with her freely upon all subjects, and make her his companion and friend, instead of flattering her beauty, admiring her dress, and exalting her beyond what human nature merits, for what can at best be only called fashionable accomplishments, he would find himself less disappointed, and she would rattle the marriage chains with less impatience and difficulty. Now, can a sensibleman expect that the poor vain trifler, to whom he pays so much court, should make an intelligent, agreeable companion, an assiduous and careful wife, a fond and anxious mother?

When a man pays court only to a woman's vanity, he can expect nothing but a fashionable wife, who may shine as a fine lady, but never in the softer intercourse of domestic endearments. How often is it owing to these lords of the creation, that the poor women become, in reality, what their ridiculous partiality made them suppose themselves? A pretty method this is of improving the temper, informing the mind, engaging the affections, and exciting our esteem, for those objects that we entrust with our future happiness.

I will now give my fair friends a few hints with regard to their conduct in the most respectable of all characters, a wife, a mother, and a friend. But first let me assert, and I do it with confidence, that nothing can be more false, than the idea that "a reformed rake makes the best husband!" this is a common opinion, but it is not mine: at least, there are too many chances against it.

A libertine, by the time he can bear to think of matrimony, has little left to boast, but a shattered constitution, empty pocket, tradesmen's bills, bad habits, and a taste for dress, and vices of every denomination. The poor wife's fortune will supply the rake with these fashionable follies a little longer. When money, the last resource, fails, he becomes peevish, sour, and discontented; angry that she can indulge him no longer, and un-

grateful and regardless of her past favours. Disease, with all her miserable attendants, next steps in! ill is he prepared, either in body or mind, to cope with pain, sickness, poverty, and wretchedness. The poor wife has spent her all in supporting his extravagancies. She may now pine for want, with a helpless infant crying for bread; shunned and despised by her friends, and neglected by her acquaintance.

This, my beloved fair, is too often the case with many of our sex. The task of reforming a rake, is much above our capacity. I wish our inclinations, in this instance, were as limited as our abilities: but, alas! we vainly imagine we shall be rewarded for our resolution, in making such trial, by the success that will attend our undertaking.

If a young woman marries an amiable and virtuous young man, she has nothing to fear; she may even glory in giving up her own wishes to his! never marry a man whose understanding will not excite your esteem, and whose virtues will not engage your affections. If a woman once thinks herself superior to her husband, all authority ceases, and she cannot be brought to obey, where she thinks she is so well entitled to command.

Sweetness and gentleness are all a woman's eloquence; and sometimes they are too powerful to be resisted, especially when accompanied with youth and beauty. They are then enticements to virtue, preventatives from vice, and affection's security.

Never let your brow be clouded with resentment! never triumph in revenge! who is it that you afflict? the man upon earth that should be dearest to you! upon whom all your future hopes of happiness must depend. Poor the conquest, when our dearest friend must suffer; and ungenerous must be the heart, that can rejoice in such a victory!

Let your tears persuade: these speak the most irresistible language, with which you can assail the heart of a man. But even these sweet fountains of sensibility must not flow too often, lest they degenerate into weakness, and we lose our husband's esteem and affection, by the very methods which were given us to ensure them.

Study every little attention in your person, manner, and dress, that you find please. Never be negligent in your appearance, because you expect no body but your husband. He is the person whom you should chiefly endeavour to oblige. Always make home agreeable to him: receive him with ease, good humour, and cheerfulness; but be cautious how you enquire too minutely into his engagements abroad. Betray neither suspicion nor jealousy. Appear always gay and happy in his presence. Be particularly attentive to his favourite friends, even if they intrude upon you. A welcome reception will, at all times, counterbalance indifferent fare. Treat his relations with respect and affection: ask their advice in your household affairs, and always follow it, when you can consistently with propriety.

Treat your husband with the most unreserved confidence, in every thing that regards yourself; but never betray your friends' letters or secrets to him. This, he cannot, and, indeed, ought not to expect. If you do not use him to it, he will never desire it. Be careful never to intrude upon his studies or his pleasures: be always glad to see him, but do not be laughed at, as a fond, foolish wife. Confine your endearments to your own fireside. Do not let the young envy you, nor the old abuse you, for a weakness, which, upon reflexion, you must condemn.

These hints will, I hope, be of some service to my fair country-women. They will, perhaps, have more weight, when they know that the author of them has been married about a year, and has often, with success, practised those rules herself, which she now recommends to others.

ARRIA.



*Fatal consequences of forced nuptials.*

*The wretch who is sentenc'd to die,  
May escape and leave justice behind;  
From his country, perhaps, he may fly.  
But oh!—Can he fly from his mind?*

I Am the most miserable of men; and, notwithstanding it might be more prudent to conceal the cause of my affliction, I find an inclination to dis-

close it in this public manner, too strongly to be resisted. I am a young fellow of five and twenty, neither deformed in my person, nor, I hope, unhappy in my temper; my fortune is easy, my education liberal, and I suppose I am as well calculated to pass in a croud, as the generality of my acquaintance.

About twelve months ago, I fell passionately in love with a young lady, whose beauty, and merit, entitled her to a rank much more exalted than what I could raise her to, though she was much my inferior in point of fortune. She was at that time courted by a young gentleman in the law; and matters had actually gone so far, that a day was appointed for the solemnization of the nuptials. All this I was very well informed of; yet impetuously hurried by the violence of my passion, I disclosed it to the father. He was a man of the world;—my circumstances were much better than his intended son-in-law's; and he paid less attention to the happiness, than he shewed for the advancement, of his daughter. Why should I take up your time, reader? Maria's match with her former lover was immediately broken off, and the unhappy young lady, who never presumed to disobey her father's commands, was torn from the man of her heart, and married to one she could never love.

I was in hopes that a little time, and a tender behaviour on my side, as a man never loved more fondly than myself, would have utterly erased mr. Bridgegrove from the bosom of my wife, and placed me in his stead. But, had I not been besotted with my love, I might have easily known, that a laudable impression upon the mind of a sensible woman, is never to be eradicated:—no, it is impossible. When a young raw girl, indeed, entertains something like a regard for a man, without knowing the reason of her esteem, it is nothing but a struggle of desire, or, more properly speaking, the wheyness of inclination, which, in a little time, she laughs at herself, and, as she grows in understanding, easily skims off. But, where a woman of sense has placed her affections on a man of merit, the passion is never to be erased; the more she ponders on his worth, the more



placed on a more deserving object: Harriot possesses every beauty of person, and every virtue of mind, that can render her either beloved, or respected; and is, in one word, as accomplished a young woman as any in the country, and her fortune is by no means inconsiderable.

Among the number of people who visited at our house, the son of a very eminent citizen frequently obliged us with his company; a circumstance that pleased me not a little, as he was far from a disagreeable man; his person was remarkably genteel, and his face possessed a more than ordinary degree of sensibility; he conversed with much ease, was perfectly acquainted with men and things; and, what rendered him a still greater favourite, he sung with great taste; and played with a considerable share of judgment, on a variety of instruments.

This gentleman had not long commenced an intimacy in my family, before he shewed a very visible attachment for Harriot, hung upon every thing she said, and approved of every thing she did; but, at the same time, seemed rather more ambitious to deserve her esteem, than to solicit it. This I naturally attributed to his modesty, and it still more confirmed me in the opinion which I entertained of his affection: had he treated her with the customary round of common place gallantry, I should never have believed him serious; but when I saw him assume a continual appearance of the most settled veneration and esteem; when I saw him unremittingly studious to catch the smallest opportunity of obliging, I was satisfied there was no affectation in the case, and convinced that every look was the spontaneous effusion of his heart.

The amiable Harriot, unacquainted with art, suspected none; and being of a temper the most generous herself, naturally entertained a favourable opinion of every body else; Mr. Selby, in particular, possessed the highest place in her regard; the winning softness of his manners, the uncommon delicacy of his sentiments, and his profound respect for her, to say nothing of his personal attractions, all united to make an impression on her bosom, and to inspire her with the

tendrest emotions of what she thought a reciprocal love. She made her sister her confidant upon this occasion, about a week ago, and Maria very properly told the matter immediately to me. Finding Harriot's repose was seriously concerned, I determined to give Mr. Selby a fair opportunity of declaring himself the next evening, that there might be no possibility of a mistake in the case, and that my poor girl might be certain he had a heart in exchange for her own. With this view I engaged him on a *tete a tete* party, and while he was lamenting, that my wife and sister were not with us to participate in the amusement, I said gaily, "Egad, Tom, I have a strange notion, that Harriot has done your business; you are eternally talking of her, when she's absent, and as eternally languishing at her, when she's by: how is all this? come, own, have I been right in my guess? and treat me with the confidence of a friend."

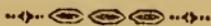
This question quite disconcerted him; he blushed, stammered, and, with a good deal of pressing, at last drawled out, "that Miss Harriot, to be sure, was a most deserving young lady; and that, were he inclined to alter his condition, there was not a woman in the world he would be so proud of having for a wife. But, tho' he was extremely sensible of her merit, he had never considered her in any light but that of a friend, and was, to the last degree, concerned, if any little assiduities, the natural result of his esteem, had once been misinterpreted, and placed to a different account."

The whole affair was now out, the man's character was immediately before me; and tho' I could have sacrificed him on the spot, for the meanness and barbarity of his conduct, yet I bridled my resentment, and would not indulge him with a triumph over Harriot, by letting him see I considered his late declaration as a matter of any consequence; I therefore assumed a gaiety, which was quite a stranger to my heart, and replied, "I am excessively glad, Tom, to hear you talk in this manner: faith, I was afraid all had been over with you; and my friendship for you was the only reason of my enquiry; as I

shrewdly suspect the young baggage has already made a disposal of her inclinations."

After passing a joyless evening, we parted, quite sick of one another's company; and pretty confidently determined to have no intercourse for the future.

I went to Maria, and told her how things had turned out, and desired her to break them with all the delicacy she was mistress of, to her unfortunate sister; she did so; but the shock is likely to prove fatal. Harriot has ever since kept her bed, and, for the three last days, has been quite delirious: she raves continually on the villain, who has murdered her peace of mind, and my ever-engaging Maria sits rivetted to the bed-side, as continually drenched in tears. In spite of all my endeavours to keep the matter private, the tattling of nurses and servants has made it but too public, and denied us even the happiness of being secretly miserable. The moment I heard it talked of, I called upon Mr. Selby and demanded satisfaction: but could I expect a man to be brave, who was capable of acting such a part as his, to a woman of honesty and virtue? No, sir, he called his servants about me in his own house, and after my departure, went and swore the peace before a magistrate. This is the only method which I have now left to punish him, and the only one also of exhorting parents and guardians to require an instant explanation from any man, who seems remarkably assiduous about a young lady, and yet declines to make a positive declaration of his sentiments.



*Character of a well-bred man. By a lady.*

SOME have supposed the fine gentleman and the well-bred man to be synonymous characters; but I will make it appear that nothing can be more widely different; the former leaves nature entirely, the latter improves upon her. He is neither a slave nor an enemy to pleasure; but approves or rejects, as his reason shall direct. He is above stooping to flatter a knave, though possessed of a title; nor ever over-looks merit, though he should find it in a cottage.

His behaviour is affable and respectful, yet not cringing or formal; and his manners easy and unaffected. He misses no opportunity wherein he can oblige his friends, yet does it in so delicate a manner, that he seems rather to have received than conferred a favour. He does not profess a passion he never felt, to impose upon the credulity of a silly woman; nor will he injure another's reputation, to please her vanity. He cannot love where he does not esteem, nor ever suffers his passion to overcome his reason. In his friendship he is steady and sincere, and lives less for himself than for his friend.



*American Anecdote.*

DURING the war before last, a company of Indian savages defeated an English detachment. The conquered could not escape so swiftly as the conquerors pursued. They were taken, and treated with such barbarity, as is hardly to be equalled even in these savage countries.

A young English officer being pursued by two savages, who approached him with uplifted hatchets, and seeing that death was inevitable, determined to sell his life dearly. At this instant an old savage, armed with a bow, was preparing to pierce his heart with an arrow; but scarcely had he assumed that posture, when he suddenly let fall his bow, and threw himself between the young officer and his barbarian combatants, who instantly retired with respect.

The old Indian took the Englishman by the hand, dispelled all his fears by his caresses, and conducted him to his cabin, where he always treated him with that tenderness, which cannot be affected. He was less his master than his companion; taught him the Indian language, and made the rude acts of that country familiar to him. They lived contentedly together, and one thing only disturbed the young Englishman's tranquillity: the old man would sometimes fix his eyes on him, and, while he surveyed him attentively, tears fell in torrents from his eyes.

On the return of spring, however, they recommenced hostilities, and every one appeared in arms. The





the heroism of a lady, are not uncommon—the novelty is the bow—a stem of genuine bamboo—which, destined for the defence of liberty in Africa, served the same cause in America—was preserved by an officer, of the patriot army—presented to Mr. Peale—and is now deposited in his Museum.



*Letter to the Philadelphia county society for the promotion of agriculture and domestic manufactures.*

GENTLEMEN,

OUR farmers in Pennsylvania have hitherto been too much in the practice of depending on the annual decay of weeds, arising in a course of years from their worn-out fields, for the principal source of nourishment to their crops. It is time a different plan should be adopted, if we expect to derive that advantage from our farms, which they will afford, by a proper cultivation. This must be effected by giving the ground a full dressing of twenty large cart-loads of good stable manure to the acre, every seven or eight years; and adapting a rotation of productive crops during that period. In this system, clover is absolutely necessary, as forming the basis of the whole, and without which, no valuable plan of agriculture can be pursued. Clover, well put in, and having a top dressing of Plaster of Paris, six bushels to the acre, will afford, the first year, three tons of good hay to the acre; the second year, it may be cut once, and afterwards pastured to the middle of October; the third year, it will afford excellent pasture to your hogs, sheep, and milch cows, during the summer. In the month of September, it may be ploughed, and immediately sowed with winter barley; and afterwards with wheat, or other grain, as best suits the inclination, or the interest of the farmer. A plantation, properly divided into fields, for such a rotation of crops, would annually afford a sufficiency of hay, pasture, and a variety of the most useful and profitable crops, without leaving a single acre of ground unproductive.

Considering clover as necessary to the best plan of conducting a farm, it is the duty of every real friend to this necessary science, to promote the cultivation of it. A great obstacle to

the propagation of this valuable plant, arises from the extravagant price of the seed, owing to the difficulty of cleansing it. Could this difficulty be obviated, clover seed might be sold at one-half the price now demanded for it.

I beg leave to communicate to the society some information I lately received from Mr. Henry Wynkoop, on this subject. Mr. Wynkoop says, that, in the state of New York, where they have been long in the custom of raising clover seed for sale, after the hay is threshed, the heads of the clover are put into a hoghead, to which is added a sufficient quantity of water to moisten the whole, in order to induce a fermentation. The farmer should carefully attend to this critical operation, and suffer the fermentation to proceed only as far as to affect the capsules, or chaff, without injuring the seed. After this operation, the clover-heads are spread on a barn floor to dry, when a slight threshing will easily extricate the seed. The Germans, in Lancaster county, procure the seed of timothy, by first submitting it to a slight degree of fermentation. The hay, intended for seed, is bound in small sheaves, and then put up into a stack, having the heads damped with a little water, sufficient to produce a slight degree of fermentation, without injuring the seed.

The above plan appears to me reasonable. I shall therefore make a trial of it, and shall communicate the result of the experiment to the society. Other members doing the same, a comparison of our observations may tend to throw some light on the subject, and the publication of them, supported by the opinion of the society may be attended with some advantage to our fellow citizens.

I am, &c.

GEORGE LOGAN.

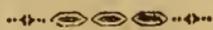
Stenton, September 5, 1789.



*Valuable properties of the elder tree*

THE elder tree possesses the following valuable properties: 1. Saving turnips from the fly. 2. Preserving wheat from the yellows. 3. Preserving fruit trees from the blight. 4. Preserving cabbage plants from caterpillars. The fact has been

ascertained by his British majesty's privy council, in their inquiries relative to the Hessian fly. The dwarf elder has the most potent effluvia; and it requires no other trouble, than to strew the leaves over the ground, or to strike fruit trees with the twigs."



*To the manufacturers of pot and pearl-ash.*

THE price of pot and pearl-ash, for several years past, has been much reduced, and does not afford the manufacturers a due compensation for their trouble, besides their being deprived of one half the profit, that might be made on those ashes that are exported, called the second and third qualities. It is attended with a disadvantageous consequence to export any of them, or to let the English import any except of the first quality, as they have got into a method of refining salts and bad pot-ash in England, of late, which has reduced the price of our first kind of ashes at least five pounds sterling per ton, besides the duty they demand of us. It is well known to be the greatest branch of manufacture in the five northern states: and as the duty and freight are the same on the second and third, as on the first quality, and we have works prepared for the purpose, and are ready to pay the cash for the second and third qualities, it behoves us in season, to prevent foreigners from receiving three quarters of the profits of our most material cash article.

*New port, August 12, 1789.*



*Thoughts on the rot in sheep. From the letters of the Bath agriculture society*

THE cause of the rot in sheep, says Mr. Boswell, in his late useful and ingenious publication, is unknown.—Mr. Arthur Young, in recapitulating all the information he could get, in his Eastern Tour, observes, that the "accounts are so amazingly contradictory, that nothing can be gathered from them;" but concludes, "that every one knows that moisture is the cause."

In differing from an author of Mr. Young's acknowledged merit, supported by the general opinion of mankind, I am led to examine my own

sentiments with caution and distrust; but, unless it is only meant, that moisture is generally the remote cause, it will be difficult to account for the rot being taken on fallows in a single day, and in water meadows sometimes in half an hour, when in grounds of a different sort, although excessively wet and slabby, sheep will remain for many weeks together, uninjured.

Another opinion, which has many adherents, is, that the rot is owing to the quick growth of grass, or herbs, that grow in wet places.

Without premising, that all-bounteous Providence has given to every animal its peculiar taste, by which it distinguishes the food proper for its preservation and support, (if not vitiated by fortuitous circumstances) it seems very difficult to discover on philosophical principles, why the quick growth of grass should render it noxious;—or why any herb should at one season produce fatal effects, by the admission of pure water only into its component parts, which, at other times, is perfectly innocent, although brought to its utmost strength and maturity, by the genuine influence of the sun. So far from agreeing with those who attribute the rot to quick-growing grass, which they call flashy, insipid, and destitute of salts, to me the quickness of growth is a proof of its being endued with the most active principles of vegetation, and is one of the criterions of its superior excellence. Besides, the constant practice of most farmers, who, with the greatest security, feed their meadows in the spring, when the grass shoots quick, and is full of juices, militates directly against this opinion.

Let us now consider, whether another cause may not be assigned more reconcileable with the various accounts we receive of this disorder. If our arguments, however specious, are contradictory to known facts, instead of conducting us in the plain paths of truth, they leave us in the mazes of error and uncertainty.

Each species of vegetables and animals has its peculiar soil, situation, and food, assigned to it. Taught by unerring instinct, "the sparrow findeth her a house, the swallow a nest, and the stork in the heavens knoweth her appointed time." The whole fea-

thered tribe, indeed, display a wonderful sagacity and variety in the choice and structure of their habitations. Nor can it be doubted, that the minutest reptile has its fixed laws, appointed by Him, whose "tender mercies are over all his works."

The numerous inhabitants of the air, earth, and waters, are strongly influenced by the seasons, and by the state of the atmosphere; and the same causes, perhaps, that rapidly call myriads of one species into being, may frequently prove the destruction of another. Is it then improbable, that some insect finds its food, and lays its eggs, on the tender succulent grass, found on particular soils, (especially wet ones) which it most delights in?—or, that this insect should, after a redundancy of moisture, by an instinctive impulse, quit its dark and dreary habitation, and its fecundity be greatly increased by such seasons, in conjunction with the prolific warmth of the sun?

The flesh-fly lays her eggs upon her food, which also serves to support her future offspring; and the common earthworm propagates its species above ground, when the weather is mild and moist, or the earth dewy.

The eggs, deposited on the tender germ, are conveyed with the food into the stomach and intestines of the animals, whence they are received into the lacteal vessels, carried off in the chyle, and pass into the blood; nor do they meet with any obstruction, until they arrive at the capillary vessels of the liver.—Here, as the blood filtrates through the extreme branches, answering to those of the Vena Porta in the human body, the discerning vessels are too minute, to admit the impregnated ova, which, adhering to the membrane, produce those animalcula that feed upon the liver, and destroy the sheep. They much resemble the flat fish called plaice, are sometimes as large as a silver two-pence, and are found both in the liver and in the pipe, (answering to that of the vena cava) which conveys the blood from the liver to the heart.

If the form of this animal is unlike any thing we meet with among the insect tribe, we should consider, that it may be so small in its natural state, as to escape our observation.—Or, might

not its form have changed with its situation?—"The caterpillar undergoes several changes before it produces a butterfly."

The various accounts, which every diligent enquirer must have met with, (as well as the indefatigable Mr. Young) seem very consistent with the theory of this disorder.

If dry lined land, in Derbyshire, will rot, in common with water-meadows, and stagnant marshes—if some springy lands rot, when others are perfectly safe—is it owing to the circumstance of water, or that of producing the proper food or nest of the insect? Those who find their after-grass rot till the autumnal watering, and safe afterwards, might probably be of opinion, that the embryo laid there in the summer, is then washed away or destroyed.

With regard to those lands, that are accounted never safe, if there is not something peculiar in the soil or situation, which allures or forces the insect to quit its abode at unusual seasons, it may be well worth enquiring, whether from the coarseness of their nature or for want of being sufficiently fed, there is not some grass in these lands always left of a sufficient length to secure the eggs of the insect above the reach of the water.

Such who assert that flowing water alone is the cause of the rot, can have but little acquaintance with the Somersetshire clays, and are diametrically opposite to those who find their worst land for rotting cured by watering. Yet, may not the water which produces this effect, be impregnated with particles destructive to the insect, or to the tender germ which serves for its food or nest?

For solving another difficulty, that "no ewe ever rots while she has a lamb by her side," the gentlemen of the faculty can best inform us, whether it is not probable that the impregnated ovum passes into the milk, and never arrives at the liver. The same learned gentlemen may think the following question also not unworthy their consideration:

"Why is the rot fatal to sheep, hares, and rabbits, (and sometimes to calves) when cattle of greater bulk, which probably take the same food, escape uninjured?"

Is the digestive matter, in the stomach of these, different from that of the others, and such as will turn the ova into a state of corruption; or, rather, are not the secretory ducts in the liver, large enough to let them pass through, and be carried off in the usual current of the blood?

It seems to be an acknowledged fact, that salt-marshes never rot. Salt is pernicious to mott insects. They never infest gardens where sea-weed is laid. Common salt and water is a powerful expellent of worms, bred in the human body.

I could wish the intelligent farmer would consider these truths with attention, and not neglect a remedy which is cheap and always at hand.

Liile, in his book of husbandry, informs us of a farmer, who cured his whole flock of the rot, by giving each sheep a handful of Spanish salt, for five or six mornings successively. The hint was probably taken from the Spaniards, who frequently give their sheep salt to keep them healthy.

On some farms, perhaps, the utmost caution cannot always prevent the disorder. In wet and warm seasons, the prudent farmer will remove his sheep from the lands liable to rot. Those who have it not in their power to do this, I would advise to give each sheep a spoonful of common salt, with the same quantity of flour, in a quarter of a pint of water, once or twice a week. When the rot is recently taken, the same remedy, given four or five mornings successively, will, in all probability, effect a cure. The addition of the flour and water will, in the opinion of the writer of this, not only abate the pungency of the salt, but dispose it to mix with the chyle in a more friendly and efficacious manner.

Were it in my power to communicate to the society the result of actual experiment, it would doubtless be more satisfactory. They will, however, I am persuaded, accept of these hints, at least as an earnest of my desire to be serviceable. Should they only tend to awaken the attention of the industrious husbandman, or to excite the curiosity of some other enquirer, who has more leisure and greater abilities, I shall have the satisfaction of thinking, that my specu-

lations, however imperfect, are not entirely useless.

BENJAMIN PRICE.



*American maple sugar and melasses.*  
*An estimate of the capacity of the sugar maple lands of New York, or Pennsylvania, to supply the demand of the united states, for sugar and melasses.*

*The demand.*

BY authentic documents, obtained from the custom-house of Philadelphia, it appears that the medium importation of brown sugar, for each year, from 1785, to 1789, is

5,692,848

—Loaf sugar, on a medium,

4,489

—Melasses 543,900 gallons, which, at 10lbs. per gallon, is 5,439,000lbs. half of which weight in sugar may be considered as equal to 543,900 gallons of melasses,

2,719,500

Total importation into Philadelphia, per annum,

8,416,828

Supposing the whole importation of the union, to be five times that of Philadelphia, the demand for the united states, will then be 42,084,140 pounds weight.

*The capacity of supply.*

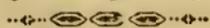
Mr. William Cooper (of Cooper's town, on the Otsego Lake) upon experience and enquiry, gives information, that there are usually made from a tree, five pounds of sugar, and that there are fifty trees on an acre, at a medium. But suppose only four pounds to a tree, and twenty trees to an acre, then 105,219 acres will yield 8,416,828 pounds weight. And supposing, as above stated, the whole demand of the union 42,084,140 lbs. or five times the importation into Philadelphia, then 526,000 acres will supply the united states. It need not be observed, that there are three times 526,000 acres of sugar-maple lands in each of the states of New York and Pennsylvania, which are particularly mentioned, from their being known to the estimator.

The sugar maple tree is found, how-

ever, in great abundance, in many other parts of the united States.

It will be frankly admitted, that the result of the above estimate, has a wild and visionary appearance; but as it is made upon a moderate statement of facts, very carefully ascertained, and as the whole calculation is freely exposed to examination, it will not be unsafe to place some confidence in it, until exaggeration of fact or error shall be pointed out.

*A friend of manufactures.*



*Method of making sugar in the West-India islands, from the juice of the sugar-cane, when cured in hog-heads, as in Antigua.*

AS soon as a sufficient quantity of juice is procured, it is put into the kettle, under which a good fire is made, and no scum is taken off, until the liquor is nearly ready to boil; which is discovered by the scum's cracking or parting. Then the scum is taken off, and a person is kept constantly skimming it, as the scum rises, until it becomes sugar. This is discovered by it's granulating, or the grain appearing upon the skimmer or ladle: it is then immediately taken out of the kettle, and put into a cooler, where it remains, until it is blood warm. Then it is put into casks, with small holes at the bottom, in order that the melasses may drain out. After remaining in the casks two or three weeks, it is fit for use, and is sent to market.

*N. B.* A small quantity of unslacked lime is put into the kettle, when the juice is warm, or before; say about three table-spoonfuls to one hundred gallons. Large copper skimmers and ladles with long wooden handles, are made use of; a good fire is kept under the kettle, from the time of the juice being put in, until it becomes sugar.



*Receipt for the cure of the scurvy, leprosy, &c.*

To the PRINTER.

Sir,

I Request permission to present the public with a receipt of a most valuable and sovereign remedy, from the vegetable kingdom, which, by ample and extensive experience, has

hitherto been found to prove extremely powerful and efficacious in entirely eradicating, with perfect ease and safety, every species of scurvy, leprosy, and all disorders whatever, which derive their origin from any impurities of the blood and juices. Those, afflicted with the scrophula, vulgarly called the king's evil, though in general an hereditary disease, by duly persevering in the regular use of it, will assuredly find such amazing benefit, as happily to convince them of its great value and utility. In the very worst stages of the true rheumatism, its effects are remarkably successful; and I know not any thing in the whole *materia medica*, that bids fairer to prove of infinite service also in the gout. The medicine, which I now lay before the public, is an agreeable vegetable syrup, very easily made, exceedingly pleasant to take, and at the same time so mild and safe in its operation, as not in the least to endanger or disturb the economy of the human frame (which is so often the case with many medicines, that the remedy sometimes proves worse than the disease) attended likewise with the satisfaction of knowing, together with the liberty of freely examining and investigating, upon the true principles of botany, every ingredient of which it is composed. Even with the veronica alone (male speedwell) the great Boerhaave, in his history of plants, declares, that he has cured above a hundred diseases; and many of the inhabitants of France can also testify the very powerful and happy effects of that single plant in removing a great variety of disorders.

I have only to observe, that the present season of the year is the most proper time to enter upon a course of the above-mentioned syrup.

July 12

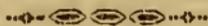
*Recipe.*

TAKE of the leaves of male speedwell, four ounces; bark of elder, two ounces; winter's bark, three ounces; angelica root, sliced thin, half a pound; comfrey root, fennel root, of each (sliced) four ounces.

Boil these ingredients together in two gallons of soft water, over a slow fire, till one half is consumed; then strain off the decoction into a clean earthen pan, and let it stand all night

to settle; in the morning, carefully pour off the clear liquor, from the sediment, and dissolve therein three pounds of treble refined sugar, and two pounds of virgin honey, which are to be gently simmered into a thin syrup.

The dose is a large tea-cup full, night and morning, or rather in some cases, morning, noon, and night; adding to each dose, at the time of taking it, a small tea-spoonful of the late celebrated dr. Huxham's essence of antimony, which greatly heightens and improves the virtue of the medicine.



*Reflexions on the gout—By James S. Gilliam, M. D. of Petersburg, Virginia.*

**T**HE causes of the slow and fluctuating progress of our knowledge of the gout, are sufficiently manifest.

The pathology of diseases, by which the aid of the physician has, in every age, been in a great measure regulated, is only to be deduced from an ample collection of facts. Hence, discoveries in medicine, have seldom been the offspring of superficial observation; at least the labour and genius of several successive ages are required to determine the extent of their utility and application.

From the records of physicians, we are not enabled to decide, at what period the gout originated, or became an object of investigation: but the simple manner of life, in practice with the early inhabitants of the world, must, for a considerable time, have interrupted its occurrence. The most permanent causes, however, of its not being contemplated as a new appearance of disease, seems to be the proximity of its symptoms to the rheumatism. Mankind, biassed by an idea, that, amidst the uncertainty of human reasoning, experience is the best guide, have seldom allowed a sufficiently ample range to their reflexion and judgment, in discriminating new genera of disease.

The knowledge of the gout was extremely limited in ancient Greece and Rome: and for many centuries subsequent to the fall of the latter, the culture of medicine languished, with the general wreck of literature in Eu-

rope. Traditional knowledge being considered as the ultimate extent of human investigation, no efforts towards discovery were to be expected. Nor was the revival of learning immediately productive of beneficial effects with regard to medicine. The philosophy of Aristotle, subtlety interwoven in the healing art, continued still to corrupt the practice of medicine. It was not, till near the close of the seventeenth century, that a perfect history of the gout appeared. But the learned author seems to have neglected an exposition of the cause of that complaint—perhaps, from the difficulty of distinguishing cause from effect, as the symptoms of the gout are various, and many of them have a relation to other diseases. The pre-eminence of small beer to wine, which he wishes to establish, I apprehend, will not be generally admitted.

It is at present a prevalent opinion, that there are different states of the gout, each requiring a diversity of treatment: but, as all of them arise from the same cause, and frequently succeed each other, in a short space of time, in the same patient—the habit of body, and seat affected, modifying the effect—we presume, that accuracy of discrimination is in this instance by no means attainable, or necessary. Nosologists, who have attempted it, vary extremely; and their labours do not obviously lead to practical utility.

Whether the gout be an hereditary disease or not, is a query, perhaps not reducible to a satisfactory resolution. It has been observed more generally to prevail in certain families than in others, nearly under the same circumstances: and perhaps a peculiarity or imbecillity of temperament is transmitted from parent to offspring, which the operation of future exciting causes may, at an earlier period of life than usual, awaken into the gout. This disease, however, so frequently occurs, without our being able to trace it to any hereditary predisposition, that the influence of this cause is in most cases extremely equivocal. The state of the system, on which the gout depends, is probably a general debility, especially affecting the extremities, on account of the languor of the circulation in those parts. For, although

we do not believe that a gout ever arises from a vitiation of the fluids, or any defect primarily existing in them—it is evident, that the morbid state of the moving powers of the system, may be considerably increased, by a deficiency of the circulation. Hence, the utility of covering the part affected, with flannel, is abundantly obvious. Cayenne pepper and gum guaiacum in tassa, may also as general stimuli, afford temporary relief; but the inexperienced should be cautious in receiving the opinions of the panegyrists of those remedies, as they do not reflect, that stimulants are various in their operation. Wine, ardent spirits, æther, opium, gum guaiacum, Cayenne pepper, alkaline salts, and blisters, are temporary and diffusive in their effects; and are chiefly to be employed, where the symptoms are very violent. No durable relief can be expected from them. They are generally sudden in their operation, and should be considered as preparative to the employment of the bark, exercise, jellies, or rich soups without vegetables. These are durable stimulants, and should, as far as our experience informs, be used in all appearances of the gout.

I suppose the gout of the stomach and bowels to depend on the same cause with the other forms of that complaint; but, on account of the tender structure and particular connexion of these organs, with the rest of the system, I would recommend the remedies to be more fully and diligently administered, than in any other instances. In affections of the stomach, I have known it impossible to administer the bark, without the previous application of a blister, which I have never known to fail, in producing the most salutary effects in such cases. When the bowels are affected, it will be best to unite a little cinnamon with the bark. To prevent a return of the gout, I always recommend the use of the bark to be continued, during the intervals of relief.

Sulphur has lately been recommended as a remedy for the gout; but its good effects can only extend to the preservation of a lax habit of body, where there is reason to apprehend injury from constipation. In any other view, it will rather debilitate the pa-

tient, than abate the progress of the disease.

Where patients complain of considerable thirst, the use of the vitriolic acid I have found extremely beneficial; and, if a distilling acidity prevail, alkaline salts may be occasionally taken with advantage.

From our view of the subject, it will readily be inferred, that bleeding, purgatives, or emetics, cannot be employed with safety in the gout; and that the efficacy of the Peruvian bark, blisters, exercise, and jellies, is superior to the Portland powder; a remedy, I conceive, to have been deservedly in high estimation. I cannot imagine, with some physicians, that the subduction of a disease from the constitution, can endanger its existence. If apoplexy or asthma have accompanied the removal of the gout, they have not directly originated from that cause. The obesity induced by the return of appetite and digestion, in a system long enfeebled by a violent disease, may predispose to apoplexy. And it would be prudent to regulate such predisposition by exercise and diet. But as the asthma is generally allowed to be a disease not connected with any particular temperament of the whole body, but a particular constitution of the lungs, it surely cannot arise from the removal of the gout.

*Petersburg, May 21, 1789.*



*Resolves respecting the education of poor female children.*

THE Massachusetts charitable society, having considered, at a late meeting of their members, the expediency of calling the public attention to the want of female education among the poorer class of inhabitants in this metropolis; and having themselves founded a school for the instruction of the poor female children, of such of their own members as may be reduced to adversity, have thought proper to publish their intentions on the subject, hoping that the benevolent will encourage and enlarge the design.

The said society would have been gratified, could they have extended the benefits of their school so as to have comprehended the poor female children in general: but they find

that this cannot be done consistently with their charter, unless by some assistance out of the society. If such assistance shall be given, the above-mentioned institution may be increased to one large and common establishment; where, not only the poor female children of said society, but also any others belonging to the town can be instructed.

Corresponding with this idea, the following articles, as adopted by the society, are published by their order:

1st. That nothing has a more certain tendency to promote the happiness and usefulness of individuals, than an early and well projected method of education, as they are thereby enabled to acquire an easy and reputable subsistence, and, consequently rendered valuable members of the community to which they belong.

2d. That, for want of the proper means of education and employment, the children of the reduced, and of the indigent in general, are frequently in a manner lost to society; or, what is worse, become a prey to vice, to misery, and infamy.

3d. That, under a republican form of government, especially, the consequences of ignorance are in a great measure subversive of the principles on which such government is founded; for it is a maxim, drawn from nature and experience, that the only means of inducing the people to make a proper use of their liberty, is to enlighten, instruct, and employ them.

4th. And, whereas the extensive influence of females, on the manners and habits of society, as universally experienced and acknowledged, must render their education a proper object of the most serious attention; and yet very small advantages are enjoyed, especially by the indigent, for instruction in the branches of knowledge, peculiarly useful to the sex: therefore, an institution, for conferring upon the female children of reduced members of this society, the advantages of a judicious system of female education, may prevent the distresses which they might otherwise be called upon to relieve, and operate as one of the most effectual exercises of charity and benevolence, within the power of this society; and that a small sum, expended for this valuable pur-

pose, by producing effects important and permanent, would be more beneficial, than a much larger sum granted in the usual way, as a temporary relief of present distresses.

5th. That, from these considerations, and upon these principles, it is hereby resolved, that a sum be assigned for employing a proper person or persons, to superintend the instruction of such female children, or orphans of reduced members of this society, as shall choose to avail themselves of such provision, and for otherwise supporting an institution to be founded for the above purpose.

6th. That, until such institution shall be completed, the said sum, with the interest thereof, shall be considered as an accumulating fund, appropriated for this purpose alone, and, if judged expedient hereafter, the society shall augment the appropriation.

7th. That, so soon as a sufficient fund shall be established, proper measures shall be taken for procuring one or more persons to superintend a school in the town of Boston, under such regulations and directions as shall hereafter be appointed.

8th. That, should any additional grant, bequest, or devise, be hereafter made, by members, or others, to the society; for the express purpose of extending the advantage of such institution, to the female children of the poor at large, or in certain proportions, as the funds shall admit; such grants, &c. shall be used and employed for that purpose alone, so as to form a school for female education in general, according to rules and regulations hereafter to be made: and, for this purpose, the society will cheerfully concur with any man, or body of men, for completing an institution, of this kind, on the most broad and liberal basis.

By order of the society,

THOMAS DAWES, *president.*

*Boston, December 23, 1786.*



*Copy of a letter written by major general Greene, after the action at Giltford court-house, to the society of Friends at New Garden, with the society's answer.*

*Friends and countrymen,*

I Address myself to your humanity, for the relief of the suffering wounded at Guilford court-house. As a people, I am persuaded, you disclaim any connexion with measures calculated to promote military operations; but, I know of no order of men more remarkable for the exercise of humanity and kind benevolence; and, perhaps, no instance ever had a higher claim upon you, than the unfortunate wounded, now in your neighbourhood.

I was born and educated, in the professions and principles of your society; and am perfectly acquainted with your religious sentiments, and general good conduct, as citizens. I am also sensible, from the prejudices of many belonging to other religious societies, and the misconduct of a few of your own, that you are generally considered as enemies to the independence of America: I entertain other sentiments, both of your principles and wishes.

I respect you as a people, and shall always be ready to protect you, from every violence and oppression, which the confusion of the times afford but too many instances of.

Don't be deceived; this is no religious dispute; the contest is for political liberty; without which, cannot be enjoyed the free exercise of your religion. The British are flattering you with conquest, and exciting your apprehensions respecting religious liberty. They deceive you in both; they can neither conquer this country, nor will you be molested in the exercise of your religious sentiments. It is true, they may spread desolation and distress over many parts of the country; but, when the inhabitants exert their force, the enemy must flee before them. There is but one way to put a speedy issue to the extremities of war, which is for the people to be united. It is the interest of the enemy to create divisions among you, and, while they prevail, your distress will continue. Look at the horrid murders which rage among the whigs and tories. Have the enemy any friends to suffer or feel for? They have not; neither do they care how great your calamities are, if it but contributes to the gratification of their pride and ambition. You would nei-

ther have liberty nor property, could the enemy succeed in their measures. How have they deceived you in their proclamations? and how have they violated their faith with your friends in South Carolina?

They are now fleeing before us, and must soon be expelled from our borders, if the people will continue to aid the operations of the army.

Having given you this information, I have only to remark, that I shall be exceedingly obliged to you, to contribute all in your power to relieve the unfortunate wounded at Guilford, and dr. Wallace is directed to point out the things most wanted, and to receive and apply donations, and from the liberality of your order, upon the occasion, I shall be able to judge of your feelings, as men, and principles, as a society.

Given at head-quarters. North Carolina, March 26. 1781, and the fifth year of American independence.



*To major-general Nathaniel Greene,  
Friend Greene,*

WE received thine, being dated March 26, 1781: agreeable to thy request we shall do all that lies in our power; although this may inform, that from our present situation, we are ill able to assist, as much as we would be glad to; as the Americans have lain much upon us, and of late the British have plundered and entirely broke up many amongst us, which renders it hard; and there is at our meeting-house, in New Garden, upwards of one hundred now living, that have no means of provision, except what hospitality the neighbourhood affords them, which we look upon as a hardship upon us, if not an imposition; but, notwithstanding all this, we are determined, by the assistance of Providence, while we have any amongst us, that the distressed, both at the court-house and here, shall have part with us; as we have as yet made no distinction as to party and their cause, as we have now none to commit our cause to, but God alone, but hold it the duty of true christians at all times to assist the distressed.

*Guilford co. N. C. 3d mo. 30th. 1781.*

*Law case. In the court of errors and appeals of the state of Delaware.*

*Benjamin Robinson and William Robinson, appellants, against the lessee of John Adams, respondent.*

**A**N action of trespass of ejectment was brought by the respondent against the appellants in the common pleas of Sussex, for a tract of land situated in that county. The action was removed into the supreme court, by *certiorari*; and, upon the trial, there the jury found a special verdict.

The verdict states, "that Thomas Bagwell was seized in his demesne as of fee of a moiety of a tract of land called Long-Neck, of which the land in question is part, and by his will, dated the fifteenth day of April, 1690, devised the same in manner following: "I Thomas Bagwell, &c. for my wordly estate that the Lord hath endowed me with, do give and bequeath as followeth: *Item*, I make my dear wife the executrix—*Item*, I give to my two sons, namely, William and Francis, all my land at the Horekilm, in Sussex county, &c. to be equally divided between them, and their heirs for ever—*Item*, this plantation where I now live, &c. I give to my son John, to him, his heirs forever; that is, from a white oak by the creek side, &c. to the head line—*Item*, I give to my son Thomas, the rest of my land here, to be equally divided, and he to have share in the orchard: and likewise my part of the cedar island, I give to Thomas and John, to be equally divided between them, to them and their heirs for ever; only my two daughters, namely, Ann Bagwell and Valiance Bagwell, to have an equal share of the said island, so long as they keep themselves unmarried, and no longer—*Item*, I give to my son Thomas, two hundred acres of land adjoining William Burton's branch, to him and his heirs forever—*Item*, I give to my son John one negro woman—*Item*, I give to my daughters Ann and Valiance, two hundred twenty and five acres of land adjoining John Abbot, Thomas Mills, and Francis Wharton, to them and their heirs for ever. If any one of my aforesaid children should die, before they come to lawful age, their lands to go to the survivors; that is,

if Thomas should die before he comes to lawful age, I give his share of land where William now lives, to my daughter Elizabeth Tilney, to her, and the lawful begotten heirs of her body, forever; provided Thomas have heirs before he comes to lawful age, then to him, and his heirs forever; and likewise, if William should die without heirs, to go to Francis; and if Ann should die without heirs, to go to Valiance; and if John should die before he comes to lawful age, without heirs, then his share of land here, where I now live, I give to my daughter Comfort Leatherberry, to her, and her lawful begotten heirs of her body for ever. *Item*, I give to every one of my grand children a calf, to them and their heirs for ever; to my daughters Ann and Valiance, a feather bed a piece, to them, and their heirs for ever; to my four sons, Thomas, William, Francis, and John, a gun a piece, to them, and their heirs for ever; to my son Thomas, my pistols and holsters for ever. &c. And all the rest of my personal estate I give to my wife, and my six aforesaid children, to be equally divided among them, to them, and their heirs for ever; to wit, Thomas, William, Francis, John, Ann, and Valiance. I set my boys at age at eighteen, and my girls at sixteen; and their estate to be divided presently after my decease, by my friends William Curtis, William Burton, and William Parker, which I leave overseers over my children, &c." That the testator died seized as aforesaid—that his will was duly proved the sixteenth of September, 1690—that he left issue, all his sons and daughters beforementioned—that after his death, William, his eldest son, entered into the premises, in the declaration of the plaintiff mentioned, and being thereof seized, died intestate, leaving issue William, his only son by one venter, and Agnes, his only daughter, by another venter: that the said William and Agnes, after their father's death, entered into the premises, of which he died seized, and made partition, as by the records of the orphan's court appeareth, and the lands in the declaration mentioned, were allotted to the said William, the son, who died intestate, seized thereof, leaving two daughters.

Patience and Elizabeth, and a widow, Ann—that the said Ann, as tenant in dower, and the said Patience, and Elizabeth, as heirs of the said William, entered, and were seized, &c.—that the said Patience and Elizabeth died without issue—that their mother, Ann, married Benjamin Burton, and died, leaving issue by him, two daughters, Ann, and Comfort, who entered, and were seized, &c.—that the said Ann married Thomas Robinson, and died, leaving issue, the appellants—that Comfort died without issue—that Agnes, the daughter of William Bagwell, the first, married John Adams, by whom she had issue several children, of whom John Adams, the lessor of the plaintiff, is the eldest son and heir at law—that he entered and demised, &c. upon whom the defendants entered, &c. But, whether upon the whole matter, &c. the jurors doubt, and pray the opinion of the court, &c. And if, &c. they find for the plaintiff, and assess damages, to five shillings and six-pence for costs, besides the costs expended: but if, &c. they find for the defendants.

Upon this verdict, the supreme court in April, 1787, gave judgment for the plaintiff, from which judgment the defendants appealed. An *habere facias possessionem* was awarded to issue, for delivering possession to the plaintiff, upon security tendered, &c.

It is stated by the counsel on both sides, that the only question in this cause is, whether William Bagwell, the son of Thomas Bagwell, took under his father's will, an estate in fee simple, or an estate in fee tail. If he took an estate in fee simple, then by our intestate acts, that estate is vested in the appellants. If he took an estate in fee tail, the land in question descended to the lessor of the plaintiff, now respondent, the heir in tail.

It is time that this controversy should be finally decided, or large as the contested property is, it may prove ruinous to all persons concerned. We are informed that several suits have been brought for this estate—verdicts given against one another—and contradictory opinions of very eminent lawyers in several parts of America, obtained. The present action has continued above fifteen years.

It is contended by the counsel for

the appellants, that William Bagwell, the devisee, took an estate in fee simple, subject to an executory devise, to Francis Bagwell, contingent on William's dying under age, and without issue.

Their argument opened with an observation, that “estates in fee tail are no favourites of the law, and particularly ought not to be so under republican forms of government, so that if there be any doubt in this case, the determination should incline rather towards the appellants, than the respondent.”

Estates in fee tail are not liable to division by will, or upon intestacy, as estates in fee simple are: and these distributions are very beneficial. \* It is much to be wished, that every citizen could possess a freehold, though some of them might happen to be small. Such a disposition of property cherishes domestic happiness, endears a country to its inhabitants, and promotes the general welfare. But, whatever influence such reflexions might have upon us, on other occasions, they can have little, if any, on the present, for reasons that will hereafter appear.

“The intention of testators,” say the counsel for the appellants, “ought

#### NOTE.

\* It is greatly to be desired, that the persons appointed by our courts, for viewing and dividing lands among the children of intestates, would not suffer themselves so easily to be prevailed upon to report, that the lands will not bear a division. Thus, very often an estate is adjudged, as incapable of division, to one of the children, that might well be divided into five or six, if not more, farms, as large as many in the eastern states, upon which the industrious and prudent owners live very happily. By the usual way of proceeding among us, one of the children is involved in a heavy debt, that frequently proves ruinous to him: or, if the debt of valuation is paid to the other children, it is in a number of such trifling sums, and at such distances of time, one from another, that they are of very little use to those who receive them. This matter deserves very serious consideration.

to prevail in the construction of wills—that these are presumed to be made in extreme weakness, and without good advice—that therefore great indulgence has been shewn to improprieties of expression—and judges have frequently added, subtracted, changed and transposed words—that according to this rule, these words in the will—“and likewise, if William should die without heirs, to go to Francis,” should be read thus—“and likewise if William should die before he comes to lawful age without heirs of his body, his estate to go to Francis”—that this alteration is agreeable to the meaning of the testator, because, after having just before mentioned his children, and William amongst them, he says—“if any one of my *aforesaid* children should die before they come to lawful age, their lands to go to the survivors”—and then immediately proceeds, binding this part and the following into one sentence, by these strongly connecting explanatory words—“that is, if Thomas should die before he comes to lawful age, I give his share of land where William now lives, to my daughter Elizabeth Tilney, to her and the lawful begotten heirs of her body forever; provided Thomas have heirs before he comes to lawful age, then to him and his heirs forever; and likewise, if William Bagwell should die without heirs, to go to Francis,” &c.—that this construction is consistent with the design of the testator, expressed in the foregoing part of his will, where he gives William an estate in fee simple—that this estate, being given to the testator's immediate heir at law, ought not to be diminished by the following words, unless they necessarily require it so to be—that they do not thus require it to be diminished—that all the different parts of the will are reconcilable—that there was a fee simple given to William, with an executory devise over to Francis, upon the contingency of William's dying before he came to lawful age, and without heirs of his body—that the contingency never happened; but William died seized of the fee simple.”

Many authorities have been read, and ably applied in support of these principles.

By the counsel for the respondent it is urged, that the construction contended for, on the other side, is arbitrary and inadmissible—that there is plainly an estate in fee tail given to William Bagwell, because, it is impossible, as was conceded by the counsel for the appellants, that he could die “without heirs,” as long as his brother Francis, to whom the limitation over is made, was living; and therefore, that limitation demonstrates, that by the words “without heirs,” was meant “without heirs of his body”—that there is no necessity for overthrowing the fee tail thus evidently limited—that the words “if any one of my *aforesaid* children should die before they come to lawful age,” &c. were proper, if only some of them were under age—that there is reason to believe, from the facts stated, of William's being the eldest son, and of his living by himself; and more especially from the words made use of in the limitation over upon his death, in which there is no mention of his “dying before lawful age,” that he was of age at the making of the will—that this construction is confirmed by the limitations over upon the deaths of Thomas and John, which are expressly made to depend not only upon their “dying without heirs,” as with respect to William, but also upon their “dying before they come to lawful age”—that these words are omitted again in the limitation over upon the death of Ann, and in all probability for the same reason—that the testator has, in this manner, repeatedly varied his language in conformity to his own views—that these views, thus declared, ought not to be controuled by implications, and disappointed by additions, subtractions, changes, or transpositions, supposed to be more agreeable to his mind—that this would be to make wills, not to interpret them—that the construction, in favour of the respondent, is more easy and natural than that in favour of the appellants, and is much recommended, by not offering such violence to the expressions of the testator.”

The counsel for the respondent have insisted on this construction with a great force of argument, drawn from reason and authorities. We have,

therefore, thought fit to employ a considerable time in our deliberations upon this cause.

[*To be continued.*]



*An account of communications and donations, made to the American philosophical society, at Philadelphia, since the publication of their second volume of transactions.*

June 16, 1786. **A** Letter from messrs. Christopher jun. and Charles Marshall, with specimens of sal glauberii, and sal ammoniac, made at their laboratory in Philadelphia.

These salts are equal in quality, if not superior, to any imported, and are sold at a lower rate.

Aug. 18. A letter from mr. Charles W. Peale, with a drawing and description of a fan-chair, invented, and made for him, by mr. Cram, an ingenious mechanic of Philadelphia. Presented by dr. Benjamin Rulh.

A letter, with a drawing and description of a tide-mill, on somewhat of a new construction, by mr. Robert Leslie, now of Philadelphia. Presented by Francis Hopkinson, esq.

Nov. 3. A letter from a society, lately instituted at Cape Francois, under the name of *Du cercle Philadelphes*; with sundry publications by the same society. Presented by dr. Benjamin Rulh.

A model and description of a machine for clearing wells, &c. of pernicious damps or fixed air; by mr. Ebenezer Robinson of Philadelphia; with a satisfactory account of its success. Presented by dr. S. Duffield.

Nov. 17. A letter from mr. John Jones, of Suffex county (Delaware) accompanying the model of a bridge, on an improved plan. Presented by David Rittenhouse, esq.

Dec. 1. Part of an exceedingly large tooth, of some unknown species of animal. It was lately found at Tioga, on the banks of the Susquehannah, and is entirely different from the large teeth frequently found on the Ohio. Presented by David Rittenhouse, esq.

Dec. 15. An anonymous paper on the subject of stove-rooms and green-houses: particularly recommending

the use of a basin of water, on the heated stove, in order to mollify the air in the stove-room, and render it more salubrious. Presented by Samuel Vaughan, esq.

Jan. 19, 1787. An elegant copy of the medical commentaries in ten volumes, published by dr. Andrew Duncan, of Edinburgh, and sent over by him, as a donation to the society. Presented by the rev. dr. Ewing.

Feb. 16. A letter from David Rittenhouse, esq. containing a number of new and curious observations, on the generation of clouds. Directed to, and presented by Francis Hopkinson, esq.

A paper from mr. John Churchman, of Nottingham (Maryland) containing a new theory of the variation of the magnetic needle, founded on the hypothesis of two bodies (besides the moon) revolving round the earth, in small circles parallel to the equator; one near the north pole, and the other near the south pole; and that the needle, being wholly governed by the attraction of these magnetic satellites, will, in whatever part of the world, always rest in the plane of a circle, passing through them and the given place.

April 6. A letter from mr. Deneufville, giving an account of a glass-house, for the manufactory of white-glass, erected by him near Albany, with a specimen of the glass. Presented by mr. John Vaughan.

May 18. An elegant copy of a treatise, entitled, "A defence of the constitutions of the government of the united states." Written by his excellency John Adams, and by him presented to the society, through the hands of the president, dr. Franklin.

A letter from the rev. Thomas Barnes, and dr. Thomas Henry, secretaries of the Manchester society, with two volumes of their transactions.

Two letters from mr. John Whitehurst, of London, with the second edition of his "enquiry into the original state and formation of the earth."

A volume of tracts, mathematical and philosophical, by mr. Charles Hutton, of London.

A letter from mr. Herschel, of Bath, with a catalogue of one thou-

and nebulae, or clusters of fixed stars—all presented by dr. Franklin.

A letter from Francis Hopkinson, esq. directed to dr. Franklin, with a drawing and description of a chronometer, or time-piece, on a very simple construction.

A paper, containing a drawing and description of a nautilus, or ferry-boat, in which it is proposed, that one man shall work a number of oars or paddles, by the assistance of the lever; by mr. Eneas Lanont, of Baltimore.

June 15. A letter from the rev. Temple Henry Croker, of the island of St. Christopher; containing a number of experiments and observations on magnetism, particularly the dipping needle, tending to prove, that the magnetic influence acts in a horizontal direction; and therefore cannot be owing (according to dr. Halley's hypothesis) to a central load-stone. Presented by dr. Franklin.

July 13. A letter from Henry Laurens, esq. of South Carolina; with a donation to the society of fifty pounds sterling, towards the completion of their hall. Presented by Samuel Vaughan, esq.

A donation of ten guineas, for the same purpose, from mr. William Vaughan, of London; presented by his brother, mr. John Vaughan.

Sept. 18. A letter from mr. Patrick Wilson, professor of astronomy in the college of Glasgow, containing a general description of mr. Herchel's forty feet telescope, lately mounted, with an account of two satellites, which he has thereby discovered, revolving round the georgium sidus. Communicated to, and presented by dr. Franklin.

A letter from L. S. of New Jersey, giving an account of a chimney, built some years ago, and plastered on the inside with mortar, in which a quantity of salt had been mixed. This chimney, he observes, though never swept, was not in the least danger of taking fire; as the moisture attracted by the plaster, during the night, especially in a damp state of the atmosphere, occasioned the soot to scale off and fall down. Presented by dr. Franklin.

Sept. 21. A dissertation, containing a number of ingenious experi-

ments and observations on evaporation in cold air; by dr. Casper Wistar, of Philadelphia. Communicated to, and presented by dr. Franklin.

Description of a spring-block, designed to assist vessels in sailing; by a candidate for Magellan's prize medal. The motto—"Vires acquirit cedendo."

A paper, "entitled, the discovery of the means of finding the longitude:" by another candidate for the prize medal. The motto—"Measure a thing without an end."

Oct. 5. A paper, in French, giving a particular account of a remarkable distemper, which raged among cattle in the southern parts of Montargis, during the year 1784. By M. Gassillier.

A paper from Timothy Matlack, esq. and dr. Wistar, of Philadelphia; giving an account and description of part of a thigh-bone, of some unknown species of animal, of enormous size; lately found near Woodbury-creek, in Gloucester county, New Jersey. By a comparison of measures, it appears, that the animal, to which this bone belonged, must have exceeded in size the largest of those whose bones have been found on the Ohio, of which we have any account, in the proportion of about ten to seven; and must have been nearly double the ordinary size of the elephant.

A letter from mr. Robert Patterson, of Philadelphia; containing an explanation, on the principles of hydrostatics, of that curious phenomenon first observed by dr. Franklin, viz. that when a glass tumbler, about two thirds filled with equal parts of water and oil, is moved gently, backwards and forwards; or made to swing at the end of a chord, like the pendulum of a clock, the surface of the water, in contact with the oil floating upon it, will be thrown into a violent, wave-like commotion; while the upper surface of the oil will remain comparatively placid and even. The doctor, in relating this experiment, which he does not himself explain, observes, "that having shewn it to a number of ingenious persons, those who are but slightly acquainted with the principles of hydrostatics, &c. are apt to fancy immediately, that they understand it, and readily attempt to explain it; but that their



who have hitherto thought that the want of power was its only imperfection.

Your memorialists, with the utmost deference, beg leave to represent, that public credit is the vital spark of modern policy; for the history of the world demonstrates, that, whatever may be the extent of territory, the degree of population, or the fertility of soil, unless the faith of national engagements is placed upon a basis inviolable and immutable, the advantages of nature will be lost in the uncertainty of their enjoyment; and government will afford no encouragement to industry, or protection to virtue; but, while it oppresses with its power, must corrupt by its example. The domestic experience of America renders it unnecessary, indeed, to explore the annals of ancient or cotemporary nations, in order to collect this salutary lesson; and there is only wanting, an exercise of that wisdom, which it inculcates, to convert her calamity into a blessing, and make the remembrance of what has been lost, the instrument of securing what may yet be acquired. The decay of public credit, engendering licentiousness and anarchy, has once threatened the perversion of all that was noble in her exertions, and the waste of all that was valuable in her success. To avert a similar danger, the most unequivocal demonstration of an intention to restore the faith and purity of her name, is naturally expected, from the guardians of the public interest and honour. And your memorialists now fervently pray them to consider, that procrastination, in a business of so delicate a nature, may be as fatal, as a defect of power, or a want of disposition to be just.

In the resources of the union, your memorialists discover an ample fund, and in the conduct of their fellow-citizens, they perceive a fair and honourable desire to discharge the engagements which were incurred in the common cause. The only task, therefore, that seems to be imposed upon the present government, is to adopt that mode, which shall be best calculated to promote the public welfare, at the same time that it does justice to the individuals who are interested. Immediately to pay off the

public debt, principal and interest, if not impracticable, would be greatly inconvenient, and is certainly unnecessary; for the example of those nations, who enjoy the highest commercial reputation, has evinced, that a permanent appropriation for the punctual payment of the interest, will enable the public creditor to enjoy, by the facility of a transfer, all the advantages of the principal, without injuring the credit of the country, or straining her resources.

Your memorialists, in addition to these observations, beg leave respectfully to suggest, that it has been the deliberate opinion of some of the most enlightened statesmen, that a certain amount of funded debt (and surely the debt of the united states would not be deemed too great) is a national benefit. The creation of a new species of money by this means, naturally increases the circulation of cash, and extensively promotes every kind of useful undertaking and enterprise, in agriculture, commerce, and mechanics. On this ground, alone, therefore, the advantages of a funding system would be sufficient to justify its establishment; but there are other arguments, arising from the political situation of America, which ought to render it particularly an object of favour and attention. It has been well maintained, that, after the revolution in England, a funding system was there encouraged, as the best means of attaching the great and powerful body of stockholders to the government. The policy, which prevailed in that case, is infinitely more forcible, when applied to the case of the united states—for, the credit of the union being perfectly established, every citizen, who was not originally, will be desirous of becoming, a proprietor in the public funds. Those individuals, who may hitherto have been inimical to the principles of the revolution, or averse to the adoption of the subsisting constitution, will be irresistibly invited to partake of the benefits, and consequently to promote the prosperity of the confederation—each state will find an interest in the welfare and punctuality of the rest—the federal government will be zealously supported, as a general guarantee; and, in short, a debt



sure instrumental in alleviating the burden of that weighty and important charge, to which you have been called by the unanimous voice of your fellow-citizens, and which your love to your country has constrained you to take upon you.

Deeply possessed of a sense of the goodness of God, in the appointment of your person to the highest station in the national government, we shall continue, in our public worship, and all our devotions before the throne of grace, to pray, that it may please God to bless you in your person, your family, and your government, with all temporal and spiritual blessings, in Christ Jesus.

Signed by order of the meeting,

W. HENDEL, p. t. præses.

F. DELLIKER, p. t. scriba.

A N S W E R.

Gentlemen,

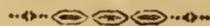
I AM happy in concurring with you in the sentiments of gratitude and piety towards almighty God, which are expressed with such fervency of devotion in your address; and in believing that I shall always find in you, and the German reformed congregations in the united states, a conduct correspondent to such worthy and pious expressions.

At the same time I return you my thanks for the manifestation of your firm purpose, to support in your persons, a government founded in justice and equity; and, for the promise, that it will be your constant study to impress the minds of the people, entrusted to your care, with a due sense of the necessity of uniting reverence to such a government, and obedience to its laws, with the duties and exercises of religion. Be assured, gentlemen, it is, by such conduct, very much in the power of the virtuous members of the community, to alleviate the burden of the important office which I have accepted, and to give me occasion to rejoice in this world, for having followed therein the dictates of my conscience.

Be pleased also to accept my acknowledgments for the interest you so kindly take in the prosperity of my person, family, and administration. May your devotions before the throne

of grace be prevalent in calling down the blessings of heaven upon yourselves and your country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.



Mr. CAREY,

THE following interesting letters from Sir Charles Beevor, deserve to be preserved as standing monuments of the connexion between humanity and public happiness. They prove the following particulars, relative to the new system of punishments:

1. That *labour* is one of the first and best means of reforming criminals.

2. That this labour is most effectual, when it is allited by *solitude*. The following lines of Shakespeare, may be applied to every man, who is made the prisoner of his own reflections.

“*Consideration* like an angel came,  
“And whipt th’ offending Adam  
“out of him.”

3. These letters prove that the new system of punishments has a greater effect in deterring from crimes, than the old mode of public punishments.

4. They prove, further, that the houses, appropriated for the purpose of reforming criminals, yield a profit to the state.

And, lastly, they demonstrate, that the reformation, produced in the criminals by means of labour and solitude, was sincere and durable, except in one instance.

By giving these letters a place in your useful Museum, you will oblige many of your

READERS.

May 28, 1789.

*An account of the origin, progress, and regulations, with a description of the newly-established Bridewell, or Penitentiary-House at Wymondham, in Norfolk. By Sir Thomas Beevor, bart. addressed to the secretary of the Bath Society.*

S I R,

ONE avocation in which I have lately been engaged, I will relate to you. Having read Mr. Howard’s book, describing the state and condition of our prisons, it naturally led my thoughts to that subject. The idea, that *as many prisoners died yearly in England by the jail-distem-*

per, as by all the executions put together; and the accounts of the dissoluteness and profligacy, which, by the intermixture of them, were learnt and practised in those places of confinement, determined me to attempt, at least, a reformation of those crying evils, in this county.

Happily my wishes met the ideas of the other gentlemen acting in the commission of the peace here; and to their great honour, by their unanimous concurrence and assistance, I have been able to get erected a new Bridewell and Penitentiary-house at Wymondham, built upon such a plan, as enables the governor to keep the sexes and degrees of offenders entirely separate from each other, and under such regulations and discipline, as promise, with God's blessing, to work a thorough reformation in their manners, whereby they may, and many probably will, again become useful members of society. The house is constructed agreeably to the directions of the late act of parliament, and so contrived, that there are separate cells for each prisoner, airy, neat, and healthy; in which they sleep, and, when necessary, work the whole day alone. This solitude is found to affect the most unfeeling and hardened among them, beyond fetters or stripes; and is that part of their punishment, from which reformation is chiefly expected. Their cells are all arched, so that no fire can reach beyond the cell in which it begins. The rules and orders for the government of the house, were, at the desire of the justices at their quarter sessions, drawn up from, and according to, the directions of the said act, by myself, and have met with their approbation.

Lord Loughborough, who came this circuit at our last assizes, expressed himself so well pleased with the plan and regulations, that he told me he would send thither every convict sentenced to confinement, and accordingly sent six from the assizes. As this attention to the lives and morals of those unhappy members of society should be extended, I will, by the first opportunity, if you desire it, send you a copy of the rules and orders of the house, together with the returns constantly made by the governor to each quarter sessions, by which you will see

effected, what Mr. Howard despaired of, viz. "that the prisoners' earnings in the house have uniformly exceeded the sum expended for their maintenance." I wish and hope this example may excite a like attention in other counties.

I am, &c.

THOMAS BEEVOR.

Hethel-Hall, Norfolk,

Dec. 21, 1784.

LETTER II.

Hethel, Jan. 20, 1785.

SIR,

I Herewith transmit you a copy of the rules, orders, and regulations, to be observed and enforced at the house of correction at Wymondham; and which are also now extended to the other houses of correction in this county. If they appear severe, let it be understood, they are the severities of the legislature, not of the compiler. The first seven rules are inserted verbatim from the schedule, to the act of the 22d of his present majesty. The rest are either included in the body of the same act, or required by the act of the 19th, called, The Penitentiary Act. But I will make no apology for them; nor can I, with any propriety, deem them too harsh, since they have met with the entire approbation of the gentlemen of this county, as well as that of the judges of the assize, who have perused them.

Prisons, surely, should be places of real punishment, and even carry terror in their name. I am certain they ought not to afford either indulgencies or amusements, to the persons consigned to them. However, I must observe, that persons committed for small offences, or on light suspicion, are under less restraint. They are allowed to work in some sort of society, two, three, or four together; and if the house be full, they sometimes lodge two in a cell, and are never fettered. All the prisoners, when sick, are attended by a surgeon or apothecary, with as much assiduity and tenderness, as the greatest humanity can require.

I have sent you, likewise, a table of the prisoners' fare or diet in the house; by which you will see that, although not pampered, they are wholesomely fed. Experience justifies

sies me in saying this; for except such as were diseased, when they entered the house, I have not known one prisoner who has been sick in it for these twelve months past. Included is also the form of a return made by the keeper of the house, to every quarter sessions of the peace, whereby the state of the prison is constantly known to the justices, and all abuses obviated, or speedily remedied.

I am, &c.

THOMAS BEEVOR.

*Rules, orders, and regulations, to be observed and enforced at the houses of correction, in the county of Norfolk.*

I. That the several persons, committed to the houses of correction, to be kept to hard labour, shall be employed (unless prevented by ill health) every day (except Sundays, Christmas-day, and good-Friday) for so many hours as the day-light in the different seasons of the year will admit, not exceeding twelve hours; being allowed to rest half an hour at breakfast, an hour at dinner, and half an hour at supper; and that the intervals shall be noticed by the ringing of a bell.

II. That the governor of each house of correction shall adapt the various employment directed by the justices, at their quarter sessions, to each person, in such manner, as shall be best suited to his or her strength and ability, regard being had to age and sex.

III. That the males and females shall be employed, and shall eat, and be lodged, in separate apartments, and shall have no intercourse or communication with each other.

IV. That every person, so committed, shall be sustained with bread, and any coarse but wholesome food, and water: but persons under the care of the physician, surgeon, or apothecary, shall have such food and liquors, as he shall direct.

V. That the governor, and such other persons, (if any) employed by the justices to assist the governor, shall be very watchful and attentive, in seeing that the persons so committed, are constantly employed during the hours of work; and if any person shall be found remiss or negligent, in performing what is required to be

done by such person, to the best of his or her power and ability, or shall wilfully waste, spoil, or damage the goods committed to his or her care, the governor shall punish every such person, in the manner hereafter directed.

VI. That if any person, so committed, shall refuse to obey the orders given by the governor, or shall be guilty of profane cursing or swearing, or of any indecent behaviour or expression, or of any assault, quarrel, or abusive words, to or with any other person, he or she shall be punished for the same, in the manner hereafter directed.

VII. That the governor shall have power to punish the several offenders, for the offences herein before described, by closer confinement, and shall enter in a book (to be kept by him for the inspection of the justices, at the quarter sessions, and the visiting justice or justices) the name of every person who shall be so punished, expressing the offence, and the duration of the punishment inflicted.

VIII. That the governor shall prevent all communication between the persons committed upon charges of felony, or convicted of theft or larceny, and the other prisoners.

IX. That the governor shall employ in some work or labour (which is not severe) all such prisoners as are kept and maintained by the county, though by the warrant of commitment, such prisoner was not ordered to be kept to hard labour; and he shall keep a separate account of the work done by prisoners of this description, and shall pay half of the net profits to them, on their discharge, and not before.

X. That the governor, nor any one under him, shall sell any thing used in the house, nor have any benefit or advantage whatsoever, directly or indirectly, from the sale of any thing, under the penalty of ten pounds, and dismissal from his employment; neither shall he suffer any wine, ale, spiritous, or other liquors, to be brought into the house, unless for a medical purpose, by a written order from the surgeon or apothecary, usually attending there.

XI. That clean straw to lodge upon, shall be allowed to each prisoner

weekly or oftener if necessary; and that the prisoners shall be obliged to sweep out and clean their rooms every day, and the dirt and dust be conveyed out of the prison daily.

XII. That no person, without permission of a visiting justice, shall go into the lodging-rooms, or see or converse with any prisoner committed upon a charge of felony, or convicted of a theft or larceny; and all the prisoners shall, every night in the year, be locked up, and all lights extinguished, at or before the hour of nine; and shall, during rest, be kept entirely separate, if rooms sufficient can be found for that purpose, and, during their labour, as much separate as their employment will admit of.

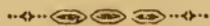
XIII. That the governor may put handcuffs or fetters upon any prisoner who is refractory, or shews a disposition to break out of prison; but he shall give notice thereof to one of the visiting justices, within forty-eight hours after the prisoner shall be so fettered, and shall not continue such fettering longer than six days, without an order in writing, from one of the visiting justices.

XIV. That every prisoner be obliged to wash his face and hands once, at least, every day, before his bread be given to him.

XV. That each prisoner be allowed a clean shirt once in a week.

XVI. That the three prohibitory clauses of the 24th, George II. chap. 40, be painted on a board, and hung up in some conspicuous part of the prison, together with a printed copy of these rules, orders, and regulations.

(To be continued.)



*Letter from an Indian chief to his friend in the state of New York.*

*Dear sir,*

**Y**OUR letter came safe to hand. To give you entire satisfaction, I must, I perceive, enter into the discussion of a subject, on which I have often thought. My thoughts were my own, and being so different from the ideas entertained among your people, I should have certainly carried them with me to the grave, had I not received your obliging favour. You ask me, then, whether, in my opinion,

civilization is favourable to human happiness? In answer to the question, it may be observed, that there are degrees of civilization from Canibals to the most polite European nations; the question is not, whether a degree of refinement is not conducive to happiness, but, whether you, or the natives of this land, have obtained the happy medium? On this subject, we are at present, I presume, of very different opinions; you will, however, allow me in some respects to have had the advantage of you in forming my judgment. I was, sir, born of Indian parents, and lived, while a child, among those you are pleased to call savages; I was afterwards sent to live among the white people, and educated at one of your schools; since which period, I have been honoured, much beyond my deserts, by an acquaintance with a number of principal characters both in Europe and America. After all this experience, and after every exertion to divest myself of prejudice, I am obliged to give my opinion in favour of my own people. I will now, as well as I am able, collect together and set before you, some of the reasons that have influenced my sentiments on the subject before us.

In the governments you call civilized, the happiness of the people is constantly sacrificed to the splendor of empire; hence your code of civil and criminal laws have had their origin; and hence your dungeons and prisons. I will not enlarge on an idea so singular in civilized life, and perhaps disagreeable to you; and will only observe, that among us, we have no law but that written on the heart of every rational creature by the immediate finger of the great Spirit of the universe himself. We have no prisons—we have no pompous parade of courts; and yet judges are as highly esteemed among us, as they are among you, and their decisions as highly revered; property, to say the least, is as well guarded, and crimes are as impartially punished. We have among us no splendid villains, above the controul of that law, which influences our decisions; in a word, we have no robbery under the colour of law—daring wickedness here is never suffered to triumph over helpless innocence—the estates of widows and orphans are ne-

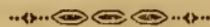
ver devoured by enterprising sharpers. Our sachems, and our warriors, eat their own bread, and not the bread of wretchedness. No person, among us, desires any other reward for performing a brave and worthy action, than the consciousness of serving his nation. Our wise men are called fathers—they are truly deserving the character; they are always accessible—I will not say to the meanest of our people—for we have none mean, but such as render themselves so by their vices.

Civilization creates a thousand imaginary wants, that continually distress the human mind. I remember to have read, while at one of your schools, the saying of a philosopher to this purport, "the real wants of human nature are very few;" on this maxim our people practise, without ever having learned to read. We do not hunger and thirst after those superfluities of life, that are the ruin of thousands of families among you. Our ornaments, in general, are simple, and easily obtained. Envy and covetousness, those worms that destroy the fair flower of human happiness, are unknown in this climate.

The palaces and prisons among you, form a most dreadful contrast. Go to the former places, and you will see, perhaps, a deformed piece of earth swelled with pride, and assuming airs, that become none but the Spirit above. Go to one of your prisons—here description utterly fails!—certainly the sight of an Indian torture, is not half so painful to a well informed mind. Kill them, if you please—kill them, too, by torture; but let the torture last no longer than a day. Let it be, too, of such a nature, as has no tendency to unman the human mind. Give them an opportunity, by their fortitude in death, of entitling themselves to the sympathy of the human race, instead of exciting in them the mortifying reflexion of being enveloped in the gulph of eternal infamy. Those you call savages, relent—the most furious of our tormentors exhausts his rage in a few hours, and dispatches the unhappy victim with a sudden stroke.

But for what are many of your prisoners confined? For debt! Astonishing! and will you ever again call

the Indian nations cruel?—Liberty, to a rational creature, as much exceeds property, as the light of the sun does that of the most twinkling star: but you put them on a level, to the everlasting disgrace of civilization. Let me ask, is there any crime in being in debt? While I lived among the white people, I knew many of the most amiable characters contract debts, and I dare say with the best intentions. Both parties at the time of the contract, expected to find their advantage. The debtor, I suppose, by a train of unavoidable misfortunes, fails. Here is no crime, nor even a fault; and yet your laws put it in the power of that creditor, to throw the debtor into jail, and confine him there for life: a punishment infinitely worse than death to a brave man. And I seriously declare, that I had rather die by the most severe tortures ever inflicted by any savage nation on the continent, than languish in one of your prisons for a single year. Great Maker of the world! and do you call yourselves christians? I have read your bible formerly, and should have thought it divine, if the practice of the most zealous professor had corresponded with his professions. Does then the religion of him whom you call your Saviour, inspire this conduct, and lead to this practice? Surely no. It was a sentence that once struck my mind with some force, that 'a bruised reed he never broke.' Cease then, while these practices continue among you, to call yourselves christians, lest you publish to the world your hypocrisy. Cease to call other nations savage, while you are tenfold more the children of cruelty, than they."



*On the impracticability of a passage into the Pacific ocean, round the north-west part of America.*

**B**ESIDES those voyages, which satisfy us that we must not look for a passage on this side the latitude of 67 degrees north, we are indebted to the Hudson's Bay company for a journey by land, which throws much additional light on this matter, by affording what may be called demonstration, how much farther north, at least in some parts of their voyage, ships must go, before they can pass

from one side of America to the other.

The northern Indians, who come down to the company's factories to trade, had brought to the knowledge of our people, a river, which, on account of much copper being found near it, had obtained the name of the Copper-mine River. The company directed Mr. Hearne, a young gentleman in their service, to proceed over land, under the convoy of those Indians, for that river, which he had orders to survey, if possible, quite down to its exit into the sea; to make observations for fixing the latitudes and longitudes; and to bring home maps and drawings, both of it, and the countries through which he should pass.

Accordingly, Mr. Hearne set out from Prince of Wales's Fort, on Churchill River, in lat. 58. 47½. N. longitude, 94. 7. W. on the 7th of December, 1770; and all his proceedings are regularly recorded in a well-written journal, the publication of which would be a very acceptable present to the world, if he could be prevailed on to give it; as it draws a plain, artless picture of the savage modes of life, the scanty means of subsistence, and indeed the singular wretchedness, in every respect, of the various tribes, who, without fixed habitations, pass their miserable lives in roving over the dreary deserts and frozen lakes of the immense tract of continent through which Mr. Hearne passed, and which he may be said to have added to the geography of the globe\*.

## NOTE.

\* As a proof of the inconceivable wretchedness and misery to which the people are subject, we shall give the two following extracts from Mr. Hearne's journal: one of which is inserted in Cook's last voyage.

"We arrived at the Copper-mine River, on the 13th of July, and, as I found afterwards, about forty miles from its exit into the sea. On our arrival at the river, the Indians dispatched three men before, as spies, to see if any Esquimaux Indians were about the river: and on the 15th of the same month, as I was continuing my survey towards the mouth of the river, I met the spies, who informed

In the month of June 1771, being then at a place, called by the natives, *Congecatha wha choga*, he found his latitude, by two observations, to be 68. 47. N. and his longitude by account, 24. 1. W. of Churchill River. They left this place on the 2d, and travelling still to the westward of north, on the 13th they reached Copper-mine River, and Mr. Hearne was greatly surprised to find it differ so essentially from the descriptions which had been given of it by the natives, at the Fort. For, instead of being navigable by ships, as they reported, it was scarcely navigable, in that part, by an Indian canoe, having three falls in sight at one time, and being choked up with falls and stony ridges, which reached almost quite across it.

Here Mr. Hearne began his survey of the river, and continued it quite to its mouth, near which it was that the Indians committed the horrible massacre recorded in the note. He found the river all the way, even to its exit into the sea, encumbered with shoals and falls, and emptying itself into it over a dry flat of the shore, the tide being then out, which seemed, by the edges of the ice, to rise about twelve or fourteen feet. This rise, on account of the falls, will carry it but a very small way into the river's mouth, so that the water in it had not the least brackish taste. Mr. Hearne is nevertheless sure of the place, it emptied itself into, being the sea, or a branch of it, by the quantity of whale-bone and sealskins, which the Esquimaux had at their tents, and also by

## NOTE.

me there were five tents of Esquimaux on the west side of the river; and by their accounts of the distance, I judged they were about twelve miles off. On receiving this news, no attention was paid to my survey, but their whole thought was engaged on planning the best method of stealing on them the ensuing night, and killing them while asleep. The better to complete their design, it was necessary to cross the river, and, by the account of the spies, no place was so proper for the purpose, as where we were, it being fine and smooth, and at some distance from any cataract. Accordingly, after they had put their guns, targets,

the number of seals which he saw upon the ice. The sea, at the river's mouth, was full of islands and shoals, as far as he could see by the assistance of a pocket telescope; and the ice was not yet (July 17th) broken up, but thawed away only for about three quarters of a mile from the shore, and for a little way round the islands and shoals, which lay off the river's mouth. But he had the most extensive view of the sea, when he was

about eight miles up the river, from which station, the extreme parts of it bore N. W. by W. and N. E.

By the time Mr. Hearne had finished his survey of the river, which was about one o'clock in the morning of the eighteenth, there came on a very thick fog and drizzling, and as he had found the river and sea in every respect unlikely to be of any utility, he thought it unnecessary to wait for fair weather, to determine

## NOTE.

spears, &c. in order, we were ferried over the river, the doing of which, (as we had only three canoes) took up a considerable time. It must be observed, that before we set out on the west side, all the men painted their targets, some with the image of the sun, others with the moon, others with different kinds of birds and beasts of prey, and some had the images of fairies, and other imaginary beings on them, which, according to their silly imaginations, are the inhabitants of the different elements, as the earth, sea, air, &c. By a strict enquiry into the reason of this superstition, I found that each man had the image of that being on his target, which he relied most on for success, in the intended battle with the Esquimaux: and some were contented with a single representation, whilst others, doubtful, I suppose, of the power of any single being, would have their targets covered to the very margin, with hieroglyphics, quite unintelligible.

This piece of superstition being completed, we began to advance towards the tents of the Esquimaux, always walking in low grounds, and being very careful how we crossed any hills, for fear of being seen by the inhabitants. The number of my gang being so far superior to the five tents of Esquimaux, and the warlike manner in which they were equipped, in proportion to what might be expected of the poor Esquimaux, rendered a total massacre inevitable, unless kind Providence should work a miracle for their preservation. The land was so situated, that we walked under cover of the hills till we came within two hundred yards of their tents, where the Indians that were with me lay some time in ambush,

## NOTE.

watching the motions of the Esquimaux; for we were in full sight of their tents. The Indians advised me to stay there till the fight was over, with which I could by no means comply, for I thought, when the Esquimaux were surpris'd, they would fly every way for refuge, and, if they found me alone, not knowing me from an enemy, they would lay violent hands on me, when there were none to assist. I therefore determin'd to accompany them, assuring them at the same time that I would have no hand in the murder, unless I found it necessary for my own safety. They seem'd highly pleas'd at my proposal, and directly fix'd a spear and bayonet for me, but I had no target. By the time this was all settled, it was near one o'clock in the morning, when, finding all the Esquimaux asleep in their tents, they ran on them without being discovered, until they came close to their very doors—they then began the cruel massacre, while I stood neuter in the rear, and, in a few seconds, a scene truly shocking presented itself to my view. For as the poor unhappy victims were surpris'd in the midst of their sleep, they had neither power nor time to make any resistance, but men, women, and children, ran out of their tents, quite naked. But, alas! where could they fly for shelter? They, every soul, fell a sacrifice to Indian barbarity; in all, near thirty. The shrieks and groans of the poor expiring souls were horrible, and this was much increased by the sight of one poor girl (about eighteen years old) whom they killed so near to me, that when the first spear was struck into her, she fell down and twist'd about my feet and legs, and it was with much difficulty I disengag'd

the latitude more exactly by observation; but by the extraordinary care he took in observing the courses and distances, as he walked from Congecatha-wha-chaga, where he had two very good observations, he thinks the latitude may be depended on, within 20m. at the utmost. It appears from the map, which Mr. Hearne constructed, of this singular journey, that the mouth of the Copper-mine

## NOTE.

myself from her dying grasp. As the Indians pursued her, I solicited for her life, but so far was it from being granted, that I was not fully assured of my own being in entire safety for offering to speak in her behalf. When I begged her life, the two fellows that followed her, made no reply, till they had both their spears through her, fixed into the ground: they then both looked me sternly in the face, and began to upbraid me, by asking me if I wanted an Esquimaux wife? at the same time paying no regard to the shrieks of the poor girl, who was twining round the spears like an eel. Indeed I was obliged at last to desire that they would be more expeditious in dispatching her out of her misery, lest otherwise I should be obliged, out of pity, to assist in performing that friendly office.

The brutish manner in which they used the bodies which they had deprived of life, is too shocking, and would be too indecent to describe, and the terror of mind I was in, from such a situation, is so much easier to be conceived than described, that I shall not attempt it. When they had completed this most inhuman murder, we observed seven more tents on the opposite side of the river—It must here be observed, that when the spies were on the look out, they could not see the seven tents just under them, on account of the bank hanging too much over; and only saw the five tents that were on the other side of the river, which that part is not above eighty yards across. The inhabitants of these other tents were soon in great confusion, but did not offer to make their escape. The Indians fired many shot at them across the river, but the poor Esquimaux were so unacquainted with the nature of guns, that when the bul-

River lies in latitude, 72 N. and longitude, 119 W. of Greenwich.

Mr. Hearne's journey back from the Copper-mine River to Churchill, lasted till June 30, 1772, so that he was absent almost a year and seven months. The unparalleled hardships he suffered, and the essential service he performed, have met with a suitable reward from his masters. He has been several years governor of Prince

## NOTE.

lets struck the rocks they ran in great bodies to see what was sent them, and seemed curious in examining the pieces of lead which they found flatted on the rocks, till at last one man was shot through the leg, after which they embarked in their canoes, with their wives and children, and paddled to a shoal in the river.

“When my Indians had made all their observations on the bodies, as beforementioned, and had plundered their tents of all their copper work, (which they and the Copper Indians used instead of iron) they assembled at the top of a high hill, standing in a circle, with their spears erect in the air, and gave shouts of victory, calling *Tima! Tima!* by way of derision to the surviving Esquimaux who were standing on the shoal. We then went up the river about half a mile, to the place where our canoes and baggage were, with an intent to cross over, and plunder the other seven tents. It taking up a considerable time to get all across the river, as we had only three canoes, and being entirely under cover of the rock, the poor Esquimaux, whom we left on the shoal, thought we were gone about our own business, and had returned to their own tents again: and the land was so situated on the east side, that the Indians went under cover of the hills, until they were within one hundred yards of their tents, where they saw the Esquimaux busy in tying up their bundles. They ran on them again with great fury, but having their canoes ready, they all embarked, and reached the shoals beforementioned, except one poor old man, who, being too attentive in tying up his things, had not time to reach his canoe, and so fell a sacrifice to Indian fury. After the Indians had plundered these

of Wales Fort, where he was taken prisoner by the French, in 1782, and last summer returned to his station.

The consequences resulting from this extensive discovery, are obvious. We now see that the continent of North America stretches from Hudson's Bay so far to the north-west, that Mr. Hearne travelled near one thousand three hundred miles before he arrived at the sea, and that the whole of

his track, to the northward of 61 deg. north latitude, lay near six hundred miles due west of the western coast of Hudson's Bay, at the same time that his Indian guides were well aware of a vast tract of land stretching farther in the same direction. How futile now appear the arguments of those, who, about forty years ago, studded so much for a north-west passage thro' Hudson's Bay?

## NOTE.

tents of what they thought worth their notice, they threw their tent-poles into the river, broke their stone kettles, and did all they could to distress the poor survivors. We found an aged woman, at a small distance, up the river, snaring of salmon, whom they butchered in the same manner, every man having a thrust at her with his spear."

The other extract is as follows:

"This day, January 11th, 1772, as the Indians were hunting, some of them saw a strange snow-shoe track, which they followed; and, at a considerable distance, came to a little hut, where they found a young woman sitting alone. They brought her to the tents; and, on examining her, they found she was one of the western dog ribbed Indians, and had been taken prisoner by the Arathapscow Indians in the summer of 1770, and when the Indians, who took her prisoner, were near this place in 1771, she eloped from them, with an intent to return to her own country. But it being so far off, and when she was taken prisoner having come all the way in canoes, with the winding of rivers and lakes, she had forgot the way, and had been in this little hut ever since the beginning of fall. By her account of the moons past since her elopement, it appears to have been the middle of last July, when she left the Arathapscow Indians, and she had not seen a human face since. She had supported herself by snaring rabbits, partridges, and squirrels, and was now in good health, and I think, as fine a woman of a real Indian, as I have seen in any part of North America. She had nothing to make snares of but the sinews of the rabbits legs and feet, which she twisted together for that purpose, and of

## NOTE.

the rabbits skins had made a neat and warm winter's clothing. The stock of materials she took with her, when she eloped, consisted of about five inches of an iron hoop for a knife; a stone steel, and other hard stones for flints, together with other fire tackle, as tinder, &c. about an inch and a half of the shank of the shoeing of an arrow, of iron, of which she made an awl. She had not been long at the tents, before half a score of men wrestled to see who should have her for a wife. She says, that when the Arathapscow Indians took her prisoner, they stole upon the tents in the night, when all the inhabitants were asleep, and murdered every soul except herself and three other young women. Her father, mother, and husband, were in the same tent with her, and they were all killed. Her child, of about five months old, she took with her, wrapt in a bundle of her own clothing, undiscovered; in the night. But when she arrived at the place where the Arathapscows had left their wives, which was not far off, it being then day-break, these Indian women began immediately to examine her bundle, and having there found the child, took it from her, and killed it immediately. The relation of this shocking scene only served the savages of my gang for laughter. Her country is so far to the westward, that she says she never saw any iron or other metal till she was taken prisoner, those of her tribe, making their hatchets and chisels of deer's horns, and knives of stone and bone; their arrows are shod with a kind of slate, bone, and deer's horns, and their instruments to make their wood work, are nothing but beavers' teeth. They have frequently heard of the useful materials that the nations, to the east

*Correspondence between Noah Webster, esq. and the rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D. president of Yale college, respecting the fortifications in the western country.—P. 141.*

## LETTER III.

*From Noah Webster, esq. to the rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D.*

*Reverend sir,*

**I**N my letter of the 15th ult. I gave a particular account of the travels of Ferdinand de Soto into Florida, with the course of his marches, and his winter quarters. From the facts there stated, it appears probable that he threw up many of the breast-works or forts, which are still to be traced in the Carolinas and Georgia, on the Ohio and Mississippi. Nor have I a doubt that those old forts, discovered by Mr. Carver, may be ascribed to the same expedition: as it is evident, Ferdinand was north of the Missouri, and remained forty days at Pacaha, which was probably on the Mississippi, or the river St. Pierre. Still it remains questionable, whether all the forts discovered in these western regions can be rationally ascribed to Ferdinand. To this opinion, the extent of the works at Muskingum is a forcible objection. I rely on Captain Heart's description of these works, published in the *Columbian Magazine* for May 1787; for it is taken from actual mensuration. By this description, it appears that there are two forts nearly in the same form, at a distance from each other, but the area of one is much larger than the other. The largest is called, for distinction's sake, the town, which is surrounded with a line of walls of earth from six to ten feet high, and from twenty to forty feet thick; and this line of walls is about a quarter of a mile square. From an opening on the west side, there is a covered way one hundred and twenty feet wide, and

## NOTE.

of them are supplied with by the English, but, instead of drawing nearer, to be in the way of trading for iron work, &c. are obliged to remove farther back, to avoid the Arapahaw Indians, as they make surprising slaughter among them every year, both winter and summer,

leading one hundred and twenty yards to the low grounds. This way is guarded on each side with walls, raised nearly to a plane with the walls of the town, and consequently thirty feet high at their termination in the low grounds. At the north west corner of the town, there is an oblong mount, seventy-four by forty-four yards square, and six feet high. Near the south wall is another mount, fifty by forty yards, besides others of less consideration in other quarters of the fort. The other fort is about half the size of the foregoing, with openings in the center of the opposite walls, and at the angles, some of which are guarded by circular mounts, ten feet high.

At a small distance from the latter fort, is a pyramid, or circular mount, a little oval, fifty feet high, three hundred and ninety in circumference, surrounded with a ditch, five feet deep and fifteen feet wide; a parapet outward, seven hundred and fifty-nine feet in circumference, with an opening in the parapet, towards the fort. Between the town and fortification are several large caves, mounts, graves, &c.

These are the outlines of Mr. Heart's description. Now the question arises, could these extensive works be raised by Ferdinand's army, which consisted of little more than twelve hundred men; and that in the short space of four months? if Ferdinand was at Muskingum at all, it was the second winter after his landing; and he was in quarters but little more than four months, viz. from the 18. of December to the 25. of April; or could such fortifications be necessary to secure his troops and horses? if not, we know of no motive which could induce him to bestow so much labour on his camp. These considerations make it very problematical, whether these works are to be ascribed to the Spaniards.

To assist in resolving this question, it must be mentioned, that Ferdinand had frequently several hundred Indians in his service. The Cassique of Ocuta furnished him with four hundred of his subjects. Great numbers were furnished by other Cassiques, who were upon good terms with Ferdinand, as he marched through their districts; and others, who felt some re-

luffance in carrying the baggage for the Spaniards, were compelled to do it. Befides thefe attendants, Ferdinand, whenever he was opposed by arms, defeated the Indians, and took a number of prifoners, whom he retained as flaves. What number he had in his fervice at Chicaca, the fupposed Mufkingum, is not mentioned; but, on his arrival, it is exprefly faid, he fent for the Caffique in a friendly manner, who came, and made him prefents of mantles and fkins. From thefe facts and circumftances, it appears that Ferdinand was in a country well peopled by Indians, which made it neceffary for him to fecure his troops from a fudden attack in their quarters, and he doubtlefs availed himfelf of their friendfhip on his firft arrival, to procure their affiftance in fortifying his camp. He might have five hundred or a thoufand Indians to employ with his own troops in conftituting thefe works.

The divifion of his camp into two forts, may be eafily accounted for, by confidering he had feveral hundred horfes, and a vaft number of fwine, to fecure from the Indians, who foon had a tafte of fwine's flefh, and began to fteal the pigs. One fort was probably referved for thefe. Yet even thefe circumftances will hardly obviate the objection. It is almoft incredible that fo fmall a number of men fhould erect fuch vaft fortifications, or that fo much art and defign fhould be neceffary in guarding a temporary camp. That the natives of this country did fometimes throw up breaft works of earth, is a fact. Mr. Smith, in his hiftory of New Jerfey, page 136, obferves, "that different nations, were frequently at war with each other, of which husbandmen fometimes find remaining marks in their fields. A little below the falls of Delaware, on the Jerfey fide, and at Point-no-point in Pennsylvania, and feveral other places, were banks, that were formerly thrown up for intrenchments againft incursions of the neighbouring Indians, who, in canoes, ufed fometimes to go in warlike bodies, from one province to another." Such remains are difcovered in every part of America; but in none of them do we find fuch traces of immense labour, and proficiency in the

art of fortification, as in the works of Mufkingum. Ferdinand frequently found tribes of Indians, fortified againft his approaches; but he defcribes their works as mere lines of palifadoes; never once mentioning a wall of earth or ftone, or an intrenchment. It is certain, however, that Ferdinand always, when it was practicable, chofe for his camp an Indian fettlement: for his troops depended for fubfiftence on their ftores of maize and beans. He might find fuch a fettlement on the banks of the Mufkingum, furrounded with fome kind of rude wall, which he might improve into a regular fortification. That he was in a populous country, is certain; and why might not the natives fortify on the Mufkingum, as well as on the Delaware?

But how fhall we account for the mounts, caves, graves, &c. and for the contents, which evince the exiftence of the cuftom of burning the dead, or their bones? can thefe be afcribed to the Spaniards? I prefume, fir, you will be of opinion they cannot. Mr. Heart fays thefe graves are fmall mounts of earth, from fome of which human bones have been taken; in one were found bones in the natural pofition of a man, buried nearly eaft and weft, and a quantity of ifinglafs on his breaft; in the other graves, the bones were irregular, fome calcined by fire, others burnt only to a certain degree, fo as to render them more durable; in others the mouldered bones retain their fhape, without any fubftance; others are partly rotten, and partly the remains of decayed bones; in moft of the graves were found ftones, evidently burnt, pieces of charcoal, Indian arrows, and pieces of earthen ware, which appeared to be a compofition of fhells and cement.

That thefe mounts and graves are the works of the native Indians, is very evident; for fuch fmall mounts are fcattered over every part of North America. "It was cuftomary with the Indians of the Weft Jerfey," fays Mr. Smith, page 137, "when they buried the dead, to put family utenfils, bows and arrows, and fometimes wampum into the grave, as tokens of their affection. When a perfon of note died far from the place of his

own residence, they would carry his bones to be buried there. They washed and perfumed the dead, painted the face, and followed singly; left the dead in a sitting posture: and covered the grave pyramidically. They were very curious in preserving and repairing the graves of their dead, and pensively visited them."

It is said by the English, who are best acquainted with the manners of the natives, that they had a custom of collecting, at certain stated periods, all the bones of their deceased friends, and burying them in some common grave. Over these cemeteries, or general repositories of the dead, were erected those vast heaps of earth, or mounds, similar to those which are called in England barrows, and which are discovered in every part of the united states.

The Indians seem to have had two methods of burying the dead; one was, to deposit one body (or, at most, but a small number of bodies) in a place, and cover it with stones, thrown together in a careless manner. The pile, thus formed, would naturally be nearly circular; but those piles, that are discovered, are something oval. About seven miles from Hartford, on the public road to Farmington, there is one of those Carnedds, or heaps of stones. I often passed by it, in the early part of my youth, but never measured its circumference, or examined its contents. My present opinion is, that its circumference is about twenty-five feet.

The inhabitants, in the neighbourhood, report, as a tradition received from the natives, that an Indian was buried there, and that it is the custom, for every Indian that passes by, to cast a stone upon the heap. This custom I have never seen practised; but have no doubt of its existence; as it is confirmed by the general testimony of the first American settlers\*.

*New York, January 20, 1788.*

*(To be continued.)*

NOTE.

\* The existence of a custom of paying respect to these Indian heaps, as they are called, is proved by a ludicrous practice, that prevails among the Anglo-Americans in the vicinity, of making strangers pull off their hats,

*Method of preparing a liquor, that will penetrate into marble; so that a picture, drawn on its surface, will appear also in its inmost parts.*

TAKE of aqua-fortis and aqua-regia, two ounces of each; of sal-ammoniac one ounce; of the best spirit of wine, two drachms; as much gold as may be had for four shillings and six-pence; of pure silver, two drachms. These materials being provided, let the silver, when calcined, be put into a vial; and having poured upon it the two ounces of aqua-fortis, let it evaporate, and you will have a water yielding first a blue, and afterwards a black colour: likewise, put the gold, when calcined, into a vial, and having poured the aqua-regia on it, set it by to evaporate; then pour the spirit of wine upon the sal-ammoniac, leaving it also to evaporate; and you will have a gold-coloured water, which will afford divers colours. And after this manner you may extract many tinctures of colours out of other metals: this done, you may, by means of these two waters, paint what picture you please upon white marble, of the softer kind, renewing the figure every day for some time, with some fresh superadded liquor; and you will find that the picture has penetrated the whole solidity of the stone, so that cutting it into as many parts as you will, it will always represent to you the same figure on both sides.

NOTE.

as they pass by this grave. A man passing by with one who is a stranger to the custom, never fails to practise a jest upon him, by telling him that a spider, a caterpillar, or some other insect, is upon his hat; the unsuspecting traveller immediately takes off his hat, to brush away the offending insect, and finds, by a roar of laughter, that a trick is put upon him. I have often seen this trick played upon strangers, and upon the neighbours who happen to be off their guard, to the great amusement of the country people. The jest, however, is a proof that the aborigines paid a respect to these rude monuments, and, in ridicule of that respect, probably, originated the vulgar practice of the English, which exists to this day.

Mr. Bird, a stone-cutter at Oxford, prattised this art before the year 1660; several pieces of marble so stained by him, are to be seen in Oxford; several others being shown to K. Charles II. soon after the restoration, they were broken in his presence, and found to correspond through the whole substance.



*Remarks on the amendments to the federal constitution, proposed by the conventions of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, South and North Carolina, with the minorities of Pennsylvania and Maryland, by the rev. Nicholas Collin, L. L. D.*

NUMBER IX.

THE deep silence of the federal constitution on matters of religion, is blamed by some religious persons; yet the two minorities of Pennsylvania and Maryland, with the convention of New Hampshire, are dissatisfied because express stipulations are not made for liberty of conscience; and request the following amendments. "The rights of conscience shall be held inviolable, and neither the legislative, executive, nor judicial powers of the united states, shall have authority to alter, abrogate, or infringe any part of the constitutions of the several states, which provide for the preservation of liberty in matters of religion\*." "That no person, conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms in any case, shall be compelled personally to serve as a soldier. That there be no national religion established by law; but that all persons be equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty†." "Congress shall make no laws touching religion, or to infringe the rights of conscience‡."

It would be very unjust and pernicious to establish any religious system in the united states; but it is needless to guard against such a visionary evil. Congress cannot, by any construction, claim such a power; nor will they

NOTES.

- \* 1st. prop. of the min. of Penns.
- † 11th and 12th am. by the min. of Mar.
- ‡ 11th. am. by the conv. of N. H.

have any inclination for it. But if, by a very wonderful chance, a majority of congress were so bigotted, their project would not have the least probability of success, while the several great denominations are a check upon each other, and while sound philosophy makes a rapid progress in the train of civilization. Besides, the people of America will hardly submit to the payment of necessary taxes; is it then likely they would pay tithe to the clergy?

Partiality to any sect, or ill treatment of any, is neither in the least warranted by the constitution, nor compatible with the general spirit of toleration; an equal security of civil and religious rights, is therefore given to all denominations, without any formal stipulations; which, indeed, might suggest an idea, that such an equality was doubtful. If the constitution must at all have any amendment on this subject, it should be to guarantee to every state in the union, perfect liberty of conscience; because it is much more probable that superstition, mingled with political faction, might corrupt a single state, than that bigotry should infect a majority of the states in congress.

At the same time, rights of conscience should be properly understood. Religion, as such, is a transaction between man and his Maker, and is above the cognizance of any human tribunal; however unreasonable, or even profane it may appear, God alone is the judge. But when any person claims, from a religious principle, the right of injuring his fellow-citizens, or the community at large, he must be restrained, and, in atrocious cases, punished. If he is a fool, or a madman, he must not be a tyrant. It is impossible that God could order him to be unjust, because he commands us all to be just and good. Frantic devotees murdered Henry IV. of France, William I. prince of Orange, and other benefactors of mankind; superstition has destroyed many hundred thousands of mankind, and, in different periods, laid waste the four quarters of the globe.

A wise government will, therefore, keep a watchful eye on any form of superstition, which is baneful to mo-



inquiry, it was found, not only that the types, paper, and leather were all made in America, but also the materials for making the types, and all the instruments used in the printing business; this far exceeded every hope, even as to the manufacture of the materials, which is extremely laborious and difficult. The same society have found that upwards of 60 paper mills exist in Pennsylvania, so as almost to preclude the importation of paper.

At Albany, they have established a glass manufactory, and at Boston is established another\*. The Albany glass is as cheap as that from Europe.

In New York, the castor-nut, or palma-christi, grows well; and one or more mills are established, for the making of castor oil.

In the course of three years, the nail manufactory has been pushed with so much spirit and success, that importation of nails no longer answers.

Coarse linens are so universally made in various parts of New England, as to undersell those of the same quality from Europe, which can no longer be sent to any of the places north of Philadelphia: of the southward I know nothing, but that they raise much cotton in Virginia and Maryland.

Duck is made in a number of farmers' families, through Connecticut particularly, and other parts of New-England. It is expected that they will shortly make sufficient for the consumption of the country. In Boston, a company have built a house 180 feet long, and two stories high, for the manufacture of this article. More hands offer, than can be employed in this manufactory, and this without any injury to other objects, as I understand it is carried on in the winter only. I hear that a man in Connecticut works his spinning and winding wheels by water, and is now building a weaving-mill, to be turned by the same.

NOTE.

\* A third, not inferior to any on the continent, is established in Frederic county, Maryland, and most extensively prosecuted by John Frederic Amelung, esquire, a very worthy and ingenious German.

The cotton manufactory is established at Philadelphia and Beverly, and will be at Lancaster, or York, in Pennsylvania. The Boston assembly have granted 500l. to the one at Beverly, as a gratuity for the advancement it has made. It is carried on with Arkwright's machines.

At Hartford, they make excellent second cloths, particularly of the pepper and salt colour. The French minister, mr. Jay, baron Steuben, mr. Wadsworth, and a great number of the principal gentlemen are setting the fashion of wearing them. Baron Steuben has invented a button out of the conch-shell, the same that wampum is made of, to wear with them.

They breed the silk-worm in Connecticut. These work silk in the summer, and the egg is kept all winter. They have for many years bred the silk-worm, and made silk in Connecticut, and now in such quantity, that some is exported to the neighbouring states. A lady of my acquaintance here has a gown and petticoat now making of it; and her husband, who had left off wearing silk stockings, from patriotic motives, is again adopting them.

The quantity of beer and porter made here, has more than doubled within a year, and has turned many farmers to the cultivation of barley. The brewers are, indeed, at present circumscribed in their manufacture, by the want of barley, which has occasioned an importation from Great-Britain.

Carding-machines are made as cheap and as well at Philadelphia, as in Europe.

The importation of steel has been considerably lessened at the port of Philadelphia, within these two years, by the making of it in the country; it is said the importation is lessened one-fourth.

Fifty-thousand barrels of salted beef were made last year in Connecticut and other parts of New-England; some of which they have exported to the East and West Indies; and they can undersell the Irish in their own markets.

One Rumsey has invented a steam-engine that can be worked cheaper, and with greater effect than Watt and Bolton's; he is gone to England to H h

get a patent; he has had one in many states here already.

The Virginia, or Patowmac canal, is nearly finished; boats already go down the greater part of the navigation, and carry goods at one-fifth of the price that waggons do.

The builders of the Boston bridge are gone to Europe, and have built one, if not more, on the same plan, in Ireland; the wood was all carried from Massachusetts: the Boston bridge stands, and gives at least 25, perhaps 40, per cent. interest.

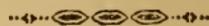
My budget is now out, not for want of materials, but for want of knowing them; but I can add, that the manufactory society at Philadelphia are of great service in calling forth talents, in making known the state of manufactures in the country, and encouraging all. There is a spirit of emulation, of industry, of improvement, and of patriotism, raised throughout the states, in this and other branches, of the necessities of a nation, that bids fair, not only to make them independent of other nations, but, in many points, even in manufactures, their rivals. In no period have they made a more rapid progress, than within this year or two; and at no period, have they seemed to be so likely to make a rapid one as in the present. Every nerve and sinew seems to be at its utmost stretch, and this not by the interposition of the legislature; but by the patriotic or interested and enterprising spirit of individuals; perhaps, even by the want of an effective government, I might almost have added: for it might have meddled, and, as in most similar cases, might have marred.

Manufactures are not the only line in which they have exerted themselves with success. Agriculture and commerce have gone on, perhaps with equal rapidity, if I was sufficiently informed on those subjects. Some facts I do know, however, that make it at least probable. Vermont has 200,000 inhabitants; Kentucky 50,000; 12,000 passed Fort Pitt, for the Ohio, last summer. Col. Morgan is commencing a settlement on the Spanish territory, opposite the mouth of the Ohio, which, no doubt, will be in time, united to this part of America. The lands near the lakes, are

settling very fast, particularly near Niagara. Kennebeck, and all the lands between that and Nova Scotia, are also settling extremely fast, and all this without any farms being deserted on the sea-coast. The cultivation of hemp is introducing all over Massachusetts, and on the low lands near Philadelphia; barley, in Rhode-Island and Jersey; tobacco, in such quantity in Kentucky, as to raise the jealousy of Virginia. Virginia can raise more wheat than any state in the union; its inhabitants say, than any two, &c. &c. In commerce, excepting the fact already mentioned, of the exportation of beer, I can only give you one fact: from Massachusetts alone, there have forty-four sail of vessels gone to the East Indies; and of these, some to Kamschatka: but, to crown the whole of this highly flattering picture to every lover of mankind, it appears, by the returns lately made to congress, that notwithstanding the ravages made in the war, in population, by the military operations on the continent, by the still greater losses at sea, and by the still greater check population must have received by the separation of so many fathers from their families, and by the discouragement of matrimony; I say, notwithstanding all these circumstances, the returns to congress prove, that the population is as great, now, as it was at the beginning of the war.

I am, sir, &c.

P. S. I must not omit, that lead and copper mines are discovered near Philadelphia, in the counties adjoining, and they are opening the last; that the Philadelphia Philosophical Society, are about to publish another volume; and that dr. Franklin has given 500l. to the Library Company. The Pennsylvania test law is repealed, and the college put on the same footing as before the war.



*The Worcester Speculator, No. III.*

**T**HERE is no instance, in which the benevolence of the Deity is more apparent in the natural world, than in his accommodating the temperature and fertility of every climate to the original necessities of its inhabitants. That this peculiarly distinguishes the climates of the American

states, must be evident to every one, who is acquainted with their situation. By the fertility and salubrious quality of the air and soil—by the no less useful than beautiful variegation of hill and dale—it seems as if nature designed that this luxuriant spot should terminate the most unbounded wishes of her civilized sons.

Having soil and climate suited to the various productions of prolific nature, it must be imputed to that roving enterprising spirit, which characterizes man, that the inhabitants of this country should engage in extensive commerce. Whenever a country has grown so populous, or the soil so barren, that agriculture cannot satisfy her needy children, then, and then only should commerce be encouraged. The reasons are obvious—the prosperity of a nation depends upon the internal peace and contentment of its inhabitants. A free intercourse with foreign nations begets dissipation, the greatest bane of a community; it introduces a different train of thought among the commonality. They soon look with contempt upon those employments, which, heretofore were the sources of subsistence and contentment. They now leave their patrimonial and household gods, the sure protectors of their happiness; and, riot for a moment, in dissipation and extravagance, dependent for the trappings of their new sphere, they alienate their patrimony, and become the ready tools of ambition and faction.

These observations very naturally arise, upon a view of the present situation of the American police, but more particularly of the state of this commonwealth\*. That our embarrassments are principally occasioned by the neglect of agriculture, and an application to an ill-judged commerce, is a truth, which may easily be demonstrated. For many years, while commerce was prohibited, the Americans made great proficiency in agriculture and manufactures. While industry walked hand in hand with public virtue, our demands, though many, were readily answered. Peace found our finances low, and our ma-

nufactures imperfect—a taste for high life and extravagance soon universally prevailed. The populace fondly imagined, that independence would prove a Midas, and render unnecessary every future exertion. The doctrine, so flattering to indolence, that commodities could be purchased much cheaper than they could be manufactured, was universally believed. The farmer, who had considered himself as the most important character in the commonwealth, now looked upon his farm as an unnecessary incumbrance. He allowed his sons to take, as they imagined, a more expeditious and less laborious method of acquiring respect and opulence. His daughters, who, heretofore, had ornamented themselves with the modest work of their own hands, now abandon their half-spun webs. The rich dairy is borne away to purchase gewgaws for their empty heads. The income of his estate, with which he was wont to pay his honest debts, becomes now too scanty to discharge his proportion of the public tax. At length he is obliged to mortgage his estate, and becomes a noisy advocate for paper money, and a levelling act.

A landed interest, divided through a whole community, while it discards luxury, by encouraging industry, preserves that equality among the inhabitants, which is the only foundation of a lasting republic. Whatever, therefore, tends to lessen an equality of landed possessions, is repugnant to good policy in a free government. That unrestricted commerce will have this effect, is a truth too obvious to need demonstration. If similar causes will produce similar effects, we may read our destiny in the termination of the Spartan republic. For more than 500 years, while commerce was restricted, the Spartans flourished, and were renowned for the exercise of every public and private virtue: but when this restriction was taken off, in the days of Lysander, luxury, with its concomitant train of vices, poured in, like a torrent, and wholly deluged and destroyed that commonwealth.

Should another Lycurgus arise to regulate our commerce, and encourage agriculture and manufactures, we may yet be drawn back to some point of excellence—but should we

## NOTE.

\* Massachusetts.

proceed in our present mistaken policy, our destruction is as inevitable, as the decrees of Heaven.

September, 1787.



*Directions for the improvement of the rising generation.*

**I**F you are a descendant of the magnates—but the very supposition proves you ignorant of the word magnates—if your father then is a great man, that is, has a coach, and three or four negro drivers, it will be necessary for you to attend to the following directions:

As you are to inherit a large patrimony; or, to come down to your capacity, as you are to have a plantation left you—to blame your parents for not sending you to school, to learn to read and write, would be the height of cruelty. It proves you were not designed for the drudgery of business: bad writing is a mark of genteel education, I might have said a characteristic, but perhaps you would have hurt your eyes in looking for it in a dictionary.

At your first setting out in life, purchase a large library—and as you are never to spend a moment's time in it, no matter who the authors are, so they be neatly bound, gilt, and lettered.

It was formerly necessary for a young gentleman to be acquainted with the combat of the duel; but it seems, the soft, feminine, and superfluous manners of our modern men of honour, were to mitigate the rigour of that iron, and gothic custom: fire-arms, and edge-tools are incompatible with modern refinement. The soul, sunk into womanish softness, recoils at the elevation of a pistol; and (as *Vigil* says) “startles back at destruction.” But, notwithstanding the duel is totally abolished, the challenge has gained ground—some directions on this head may be necessary.

As you are never to fight, the more insolent the challenge, the better: let it be couched in the strong laconic diction—“thou villain! meet me behind.” &c. &c. &c. \* Puley, versus Johnson, as recorded in the Maryland Gazette, may be extracted

*verbatim*. Let your challenge be legible. Many, by foolishly connecting the idea of fighting, with a challenge, have most egregiously failed in this essential point—their physiognomy has been distorted—a tremor has pervaded the system—with a *conatus* to run off through the thumb and fingers, the motions of the pen become zig-zag, and the champion, for awhile, yields to the desultory movements of a St. Anthony's dance.

If this foolish timidity should get the better of you for a moment—rally, call up all the auxiliaries of choler, spleen, and resentment; your challenge will then be rank, “it will smell to heaven.”

Some barbarous Goth, unacquainted with the modern improvements of satisfying injured honour, at receiving or giving a challenge, may, perhaps, insist on going to the field of Mars—if so, go out; it cannot be supposed your seconds will be barbarians, for, in general, their conduct and regulations have been favourable to humanity. This ceremony over, honour and reputation are no longer in the lurch; the tumult of fear subsides, every emotion is of the generous kind, you will embrace the antagonist who has deflowered your sister, and drown rancor in the flowing bumper.

As a member of refined society, you will mingle in female company; didactic—but you know nothing of Greek—dry rules fall very short of life; as Chesterfield says, study the best living models. There are many exemplars of fine young fellows, whom you must imitate. The ancients had a foolish story, that Venus carried on an amour with Mars, the warrior, and was once detected with him in a dark grove; never credit such idle tales. Depend upon it, the nearer a man assimilates himself to female manners, capacity, and softness, the more acceptable; on no other principles can we account for the effeminacy, lepidity, and languid lassitude of our modern beaux.

Let your dress be strictly Anglic; the circumstances, form of government, and prosperity of your country, require the strictest imitation. It will prove, that every spark of prejudice and false patriotism was buried with the closing of your wounds.

NOTE.

\* Two journeymen barbers.

Your conversation in the female circle is simple, and consists of a few tender phrases easily committed to memory. The following ingenious table is taken from the memorandum book of a celebrated beau of the present age—commit it to memory.

An object of approbation is

monstrous { beatific,  
captivating,  
transporting,  
divine,  
cælestial,  
angelic,  
seraphic,  
cherubic.

An object of disapprobation is

monstrous { odious,  
ugly.

Monstrous, being a good-natured kind of a dissyllable, will help you out on every occasion; and monstrous pretty, and monstrous ugly, conform as strictly to logic, as grammar.

As you are a man of property, you must represent it, and get in member of assembly. To discharge this office with dignity, at particular times associate with some lawyer or doctor, no matter which, so you get their *technics*; and be careful to commit to memory the following energetic phrases. Energetic phrases are strong expressions, and without ideas, have a happy effect on your audience.

A suspension of *hepsercorpus*; vulgarly, *habeas corpus*.

Trial by jury; the palladium of rights.

Papoxisms of expiring liberty.

Patriotic phrenzy.

The unequal vibrations of a mob.

The spasmodic convulsions of expiring patriotism.

We give up art of our rights, to have the other secured.

This one sentence omitted in any political piece would be an *hiatus valde deflendus*.

Amor patriæ.

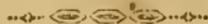
Dulce est pro patria mori.

The new constitution is defective—but do not attempt to point out the defects.—Mingle, interlard, and interperse these at proper intervals, in your piece, and if they do not give you the name of patriot, there will be a *bathos* of unintelligibility in it, that will confound the most learned.

Singularity on any subject is a mark

of profound sense, and deep penetration: I would then recommend opposition without reserve; if it does nothing else, it will make you a dubious character, and consequently ostensible.

By the aid of your riches I have carried you to the house of assembly; let us return to domestic life. Diversions are rational, and a mark of easy fortune. It would be well then to import an European *bitch*, there is music in the very yell of an imported *puppy*; our country-dogs only bark. You must be a sportsman, there is an hilarity in the very word; the idea of its being European will amply atone for the want of game, and the impenetrableness of our forells. Attend strictly to these directions, and if you do not make a brilliant figure in the present age, there is no truth in reality.



*Reviewers' opinion of dr. Smith's essay on complexion and figure\* ; with remarks on the same.*

To the PRINTER of the AMERICAN MUSEUM.

SIR,

YOU will oblige some of your readers, by inserting the opinion of the critical reviewers, of London, on dr. Smith's essay, on the causes of the variety of complexion and figure among mankind, and at the same time giving the † following remarks a place in your Museum. A. B.

*Reviewers' opinion.*

AT different times, we have glanced at this subject, and have felt great embarrassment, not only from its real difficulty, but from the danger of improper and undeserved imputations. Yet we see not, that, with a liberal and candid mind, the danger can be considerable. The Copernican system has advanced in reputation, and is at last established, notwithstanding the opposition which the Mosaic history affords; and the best divines allow, that the Scriptures were certainly not designed to teach us a system of philosophy. In

NOTES.

\* See American Museum, p. 30, 123, 181.

† The remarks are at the end of this piece.

the population of the world, this argument has additional force. Moses relates the history of one family, and of one race, evidently with a design of establishing the genealogy of the Jews, and, eventually, that of Christ. The language there employed, 'of the whole world,' is the same with that used in other parts of Scripture, where a limited portion is only meant; and the whole race of mankind is that race which is to form the peculiarly favoured nation of God. If, indeed, this view of the question was not perfectly clear, the allusions of different parts of Scripture might be adduced. There were giants, says Moses, on the earth in those days; and another race is evidently alluded to, when he speaks of the sons of God going in to the daughters of men. If this then was the case previous to the deluge, and only hinted at incidentally, we may well suppose that it may be the case in a subsequent period, though not particularly pointed out; and if with some authors, we suppose the deluge partial, it will appear more decisive. It is enough for our purpose, however, to observe, that in examining this question, we mean not wilfully to oppose the inspired writers; but considering it as a philosophical one, we shall give the arguments which arise from a careful view of the different facts.

After this apology, we may venture to say that *dr. Smith's essay*, in which he endeavours to show that the human race sprung from one pair, is extremely vague and inaccurate; that it is far from proving the principle which he wishes to establish. It is, in other respects, exceptionable; for, to an unreasonable diffuseness, it adds no little confusion. A philosopher, in discussing this subject, would have examined the various figures and complexions of mankind. He would have distinguished what was decidedly the effects of climate and habit; for much variety is owing to these causes, from what is more permanent, and consequently ought to be the subject of his investigation. Instead of pursuing this method, he takes at one view all the varieties, and when he has proved some of these to be the effects of heat or cold, or different

customs, he thinks that he has, with equal certainty, demonstrated the rest to be of the same kind. So loose and inclusive is his reasoning, that he has never enquired what really constitutes a different species: in botany it is preserving the general and essential characters in changes of situation, and losing, in time, the accidental differences, which climate and culture have produced. In animals, where the distinction ought to have begun, it has been neglected. If the production of a fertile offspring be the criterion of the sameness of the species, men are undoubtedly the same species. But this distinction is found to be fallacious, particularly in domesticated animals; and, if carefully examined, we shall see that, in zoology, the species are not, in reality, ascertained with accuracy. We must then, at last, refer to the botanical distinction.

Another cause of inaccuracy, in our author, is a very indefinite use of terms. We have 'dark, swarthy, and black,' used with little discrimination. There are three colours which distinguish three different races of men: the fair sanguine European; the shining jetty Negro, and the duller copper-coloured American. To these all the varieties must be referred; and if an author can prove that climate will bring an unmixed race of Americans in Europe to a fair complexion, or in Africa to the jetty black, he will have, in one part, obtained his end. He must otherwise fail. If, indeed, he proves so much, more remains behind. The face of the African and American differ as much as their colour; and both differ from the German of Tacitus, whom we chuse as our standard of the European, because of the similarity in the respective states of civilization. He will not, even then, have finished his work. The Huns, the Tartars, and the Greeks, differ still more from each other. What climate gives the two former their peculiarity? What manners produce such a striking difference on the two latter? The Tartars, whom we have put between, by design, have inhabited climates as cold as those of the Huns, and as warm as those of the Greeks; yet they have always differed. As we

have pointed out what doctor Smith should have done, let us now see what he has done.

In the beginning he neglects medical differences: we suppose he means anatomical ones; for he is very diffuse on the subject of the bile, which is fortunately of great service to him, because it is yellow, and because it may become black. If, however, he had proceeded to anatomical differences, he would have found the membrane immediately under the skarf skin, black in the negro; he would have found it tawny when he was just born, and daily grow blacker before the bile had any colour. He would have found it in the American, of a copper colour; and, in the European, of a reddish white. He would have found an original difference in the shape of the skull and legs; a difference in the treatment of diseases, and the effects of medicines.

He alleges, with justice, that the skin is changed, though the bile be not affected; and it is certainly true, that heat of climate blackens the hair, without affecting the constitution in general. It blackens also the complexion; agreed: but the swarthy Spaniard is as distant in colour from the Negro, though perhaps of Moorish race, as the Highlander; for a dirty brown is extremely distant from a jetty black. Our author's whole reasoning proves no more. The curly hair is a very important difference. If our author had examined it, he would have found it proceed from the tortuosity of the pores through which it proceeds. He has struggled with this difficulty as much as the hair seems to do for its growth. The Malays, in hot climates, have curly hair; and the blacks, in temperate ones, lose the distinction. This is true, in some measure; but the most curly hair of the Malay is much straighter than the longest hair of the Negro. Our readers will smile when dr. Smith, after much labour, comes to tell us, that, in consequence of a continuation for some ages in a temperate climate, the Negro has actually had a queue from five to six inches long. The Malay, in a hotter climate than this third race of Negroes in America, have, in no instance, where it is allowed to grow, hair so short.

The effects of heat and cold, on the forms of the bodies, is explained with still less success. In the 48th degree of latitude, we are assured, that the posterity of Chinese families have become perfect Tartars. We know that, in the West India islands, the fourth race from a Negro woman is almost an European; and from the same cause. Weak must be the argument that wants such support. We cannot give a better specimen of our author's reasoning than the following.

“The principal peculiarities that may require a farther illustration are the smallness of the nose, and depression of the middle of the face; the prominence of the forehead, and the extreme weakness of the eyes.

“The middle of the face is that part which is most exposed to the cold, and consequently suffers most from its power of contraction. It first meets the wind, and it is farthest removed from the seat of warmth in the head. But a circumstance of equal, or, perhaps, of greater importance on this subject, is that the inhabitants of frozen climates naturally drawing their breath more through the nose than through the mouth, thereby direct the greatest impulse of the air on that feature, and the parts adjacent. Such a continual stream of air augments the cold, and by increasing the contraction of the parts, restrains the freedom of their growth.

“Hence, likewise, will arise an easy solution of the next peculiarity, the prominence of the forehead. The superior warmth and force of life in the brain that fills the upper part of the head, will naturally increase its size, and make it overhang the contracted parts below.”

Yet, on this subject, his foundation is secure, for he is only explaining the differences of, confessedly, the same race in different climates. It is, however, impossible to accumulate more false physiology, or more erroneous facts, in a similar space. If he looks at the Laplanders and the Esquimaux, the description will be found not to be just. The theory then must of course be erroneous.

Another cause of apparent change, and a very important one, if we look at its influence, is expression, in consequence of the state of society.

“Every object that impresses the senses, and every emotion that rises in the mind, affects the features of the face the index of our feelings, and contributes to form the infinitely various countenance of man. Paucity of ideas creates a vacant and unmeaning aspect. Agreeable and cultivated scenes compose the features, and render them regular and gay. Wild, and deformed, and solitary forests tend to impress on the countenance, an image of their own rudeness. Great varieties are created by diet and modes of living. The delicacies of refined life give a soft and elegant form to the features. Hard fare, and constant exposure to the injuries of the weather, render them coarse and uncouth. The infinite attentions of polished society give variety and expression to the face. The want of interesting emotions leaving its muscles lax and unexerted, they are suffered to distend themselves to a larger and grosser size, and acquire a soft unvarying swell that is not distinctly marked by any idea. A general standard of beauty has its effect in forming the human countenance and figure. Every passion and mode of thinking has its peculiar expression—And all the preceding characters have again many variations according to their degrees of strength, according to their combinations with other principles, and according to the peculiarities of constitution or of climate, that form the ground on which the different impressions are received.”

This is, in general, extremely just ; but expression neither flattens the nose, raises the forehead, or bends the legs ; much less does it give a variety to the more internal conformations in which the Negro differs from the European. The native American approaches nearer to us than the Negro : yet let us attend to *dr. Smith* with all the impressions of a preconceived hypothesis on his mind. He is describing an Indian youth at the college.

“There is an obvious difference between him and his fellow-students in the largeness of the mouth, and thickness of the lips, in the elevation of the cheek, in the darkness of the complexion, and the contour of the face. But these differences are sen-

sibly diminishing. They seem the faster to diminish in proportion as he loses that vacancy of eye, and that lugubrious wildness of countenance peculiar to the savage state, and acquires the agreeable expression of civil life. The expression of the eye, and the softening of the features to civilized emotions and ideas, seems to have removed more than half the difference between him and us. His colour, though it is much lighter than the complexion of the native savage, as is evident from the stain of blushing, that, on a near inspection, is instantly discernible, still forms the principal distinction. There is less difference between his features and those of his fellow-students, than we often see between persons in civilized society. After a careful attention to each particular feature, and comparison of it with the correspondent feature in us, I am now able to discover but little difference. And yet there is an obvious difference in the whole countenance.”

This struggle between facts and theory is violent ; but let us extract, in a few words, the truth. The features remain, the difference is in expression. Let us mention another fact : where the likeness does not depend on the colour and the form of the eye, the resemblance between the features of children and their parents is most obvious when asleep ; and, in some instances, it has appeared striking in the dead body, though not observable in life. There is undoubtedly a cause of general resemblance, which may be attributed to our tendency to imitation. Frequent intercourse will give a general similarity : this fact our author has made the most of ; but he allows that it neither changes the shape of the nose or lips of an African ; and we can allow, in turn, that it changes the expression so much, that a nose and lips, till they are examined, will almost seem changed.

The effects of civilization, and the melioration, if the word may be allowed, of the species, by introducing into the South, the fairer and more sanguine daughters of the North, our author has well explained. He has shown too, with sufficient accuracy, the effects of hard living, severe treatment, filth, and exposure to the wea-

ther. We can only say, that these have produced little effect on his argument; for the same race, in better situations, have recovered their former distinguishing marks.

Dr. Smith afterwards traces the different objections to his system, and allows, that in the same parallels of latitude the complexion is different. If we examine the globe, we shall find a very considerable diversity in countries where the heat and the dryness are nearly the same. Let us take the 20th degree of latitude, which is with the tropic of Cancer, and passes directly through the kingdom of the Negroes. It cuts Nubia, where the inhabitants are not black; Arabia, almost in its widest part: but the Arabians are only swarthy, and, when transported to more temperate climes, are almost fair. It divides the Decan, where those best defended from the heat are only brown, and the poorer sort of a darkish hue, very different from black; passes through Siam and China; the northern part of Owhyhee; the kingdom of Mexico; and the south-western end of Cuba. In this vast extent, we meet often with as great heat, nearly as much drought, but with a race of beings as dissimilar as can be supposed. In the more southern regions, we meet with greater heat and less moisture, but people differing greatly from the Negroes, whose peculiarity is attributed to these causes alone. It is contended, that in Borneo we meet with a race of Negroes. If this be true, we admit the whole system. From all we have heard, from all we have seen or read, the native inhabitants are very different. Their skin is, indeed, a shining olive; but their noses are not flat, their foreheads not raised, and their lips often thin. The Aborigines must not be confounded with the Malays on the coast, who are of a blacker hue, though far distant from the Negro race.

Dr. Smith concludes with some remarks and strictures on that part of lord Kaimes's 'Sketches of the History of Man,' where he contends that there is more than one race. The charge of infidelity is pretty liberally scattered. Lord Kaimes's religious sentiments are not now at issue, and we think too, that he has defended this argument

weakly. Our author, on the other hand, is not always candid or just in his strictures.

Dr. Smith may, in his turn, ask how many species of men there are? We dare not answer this question; for our knowledge is not yet sufficiently extensive. From the proposed expedition to explore the inland parts of Africa, an expedition formerly thought of, and almost on the point of being carried into execution, we may expect much information on this subject. At present, we can perceive only, with some clearness, the European of Tacitus, the Negro, the Hun, and the American. The Chinese, the Hindoo, or the Malay, may have descended from the stock of Europeans, and may have produced the Americans: we speak only of what is pretty clearly defined; though, if the latter suggestions be admitted, the last must be excluded from the rank of a distinct species. We have not mentioned the Albinoes, who are evidently a degenerated race: we have not made any remarks on the supposed change of colour in the Jews in Abyssinia, because it is not yet ascertained.

The English editor has added notes to this essay, which shew him to be possessed of no inconsiderable knowledge. He agrees, however, almost entirely with Dr. Smith, whose opinions he sometimes explains, and often endeavours to confirm.

We must not leave this enquiry, without remarking, that whatever conclusion we form of the distinct species, it ought not to affect the work of humanity in securing a better treatment to the Negroes. If they are found to be of a different species, they are still men; and if it appears that our own rank in the creation is the superior one, it should only suggest that mercy and compassion which we hope for from beings infinitely superior to ourselves.

At any rate, a work of benevolence and importance ought not, in the slightest degree, to be influenced by a speculative question—by a question which it is possible will never be decided.

#### *Remarks on the preceding piece.*

I Have read the observations of two sets of the reviewers in England, on Dr. Smith's *essay, on the causes of*  
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the variety of complexion and figure among mankind. The monthly reviewers speak of that essay with approbation. The critical reviewers on the other hand, who generally make it a point, if possible, to differ from the monthly, condemn the structure, the philosophy, and the title of the essay. The title they say is diffuse, the philosophy not sufficiently supported by facts, or well enough reasoned; and the structure not scientific. They have, however, done the essay short as it is, the honour of a very long and laboured criticism, and have undertaken to reason on the opposite side of the question, which, I make no doubt, will, with every intelligent person, who shall carefully read both, be much in favour of the doctor's performance. The gentleman with whom these reviewers have entrusted the fabricating of this criticism is evidently an anatomist, and probably not much more. After apologizing to religion, for attacking the essay, they proceed to blame the structure of it. They say that "a philosopher would have examined the various figures and complexions of mankind," as if this examination did not run through the whole essay. But they add, "he should have distinguished what was decidedly the effect of climate and habit, from what is more permanent"—that is, he should have drawn the picture of a man entirely free from the modifications of every climate, and upon whom all climates act to produce their respective changes. With their leave, that is an absurdity; no man exists free from the modifying influence of some climate—and therefore the picture of such a man cannot be drawn. It is impossible to say, at this distance of time, what the first man was; but we have a general idea of the animal man sufficient for our purpose in this discussion, without the anatomical exactness which they require; and which, in this case is not attainable. They seem to require it only because it is impossible: that thereby the question may never be capable of a decision. I defy any anatomist, and even a reviewing anatomist, to tell the exact length, and thickness, and tension of the nerves, the precise stain of the membrane immediately below the scarf skin, and other particu-

lars of a similar kind that compose the general idea of the human species: or which compose that body upon which all accidental, climatical, or other changes are impressed. The dr. therefore was perfectly right in not attempting what is in its nature impossible, or at least beyond the present measure of human knowledge.

They proceed, "so loose and inconclusive is his reasoning that he has never enquired what really constitutes a different species. And then they tell us how the botanists have defined a species, and what attempts have been made to define a species among animals. They acknowledge that the true distinction of a species among animals has never been given, altho' they blame the writer of the essay for not doing it, and what is more, for not making it the foundation of all his following reasoning. Such a definition would necessarily have been attended with so much uncertainty, that no precise or certain philosophy could have been built upon it. In this instance at least the doctor has discovered himself to be a better philosopher than his reviewers. They presume, after struggling with the difficulty of species, and confessing that "in zoölogy, the species are not in reality ascertained with accuracy" to say that he ought to have adopted the botanical definition of a distinct species. "It is, say they, preserving the general and essential characters in changes of situation, and losing in time the accidental differences which climate and culture have produced." Now this definition requires us to ascertain what are the general and essential characters of the human species. These are not perfectly agreed upon by anatomists, nor by reviewers themselves—but whenever they will be good enough to agree, and point them out, I will undertake to show from the essay, to any fair and philosophic reasoner, that the general and essential characters of human nature are preserved in all changes of situation, and that it loses, in time, accidental differences which climate and society have produced. "Another cause of inaccuracy, say they, is a very indefinite use of terms. We have dark, swarthy, and black, used with little discrimination." This is palpable mis-

representation—where, in the whole essay do they find black confounded with the dark and swarthy? on the other hand, if they were not so much biased by an opposite system as to lose both attention and candour, they would have found the gradation of colour from the fair and sanguine, marked by dark, swarthy, olive, copper, the Abyssinian black, and the jet black of Guinea.

But let the reader examine their criticism, in that part of it where they mention the different complexions under the 20th degree of latitude, and then judge who is guilty of an indefinite use of terms. This degree, they say, “cuts Arabia almost in its widest part; but the Arabians are only swarthy.” Pray what do they mean by swarthy? The good gentlemen are either ignorant, or dishonest. The northern Arabians are indeed swarthy, as *dr. Smith* evidently understands that term. But the southern Arabians are as black as the Abyssinians; that is, they are characterised by the intermediate grade of colour, between the copper, and the jet black. But they, with obvious duplicity, or want of information, range the whole country under one colour. They proceed to say, “it divides the Decan, where those best defended from the heat are only brown, and the poorer sort, of a darkish hue, very different from black. What do they mean by a brown, and a darkish hue? The latter term is certainly much more indefinite than any in the essay. Besides, in any way in which the terms can be understood, their remark is totally false; and, if it does not proceed from great ignorance, must from a much more dishonourable cause. The most intelligent travellers inform us, that the poorer class of people are as black as the Nubians, and much darker than our North American Indians—and I have seen six of them in this country, whose colour verified these relations. They add—which, however, is not immediately connected with the indefinite use of terms, but is with the general argument.—“It is contended that, in Borneo, we meet with a race of Negroes—If this be true, we admit the whole system.” Then I say the whole system ought to be admitted;

for we have the best evidence that the Borneans are just such as *dr. Smith* has described them—Not so black as the inhabitants of Guinea, but fully as black as those of Nubia; and their hair is short and curled. But, “the Aborigines, they say, must not be confounded with the Malays on the coast, who are of a blacker hue.” Very right, and agreeable to the principles of the essay. Islanders are never so dark as continentals, in the same latitude; nor the inhabitants of mountains, so dark as those of low lands. The centre of Borneo is a high mountainous country: and if all the inhabitants of the island were Aborigines, the mountaineers would be less highly coloured than the lowlanders.

They mention the striking differences that exist between the Huns, the Tartars, and the Greeks; and ask, “what climate gives the two former their peculiarity? What manners produce such a striking difference on the two latter?” Such questions might be asked a thousand times, after they had been as often solved, to prejudiced or careless readers. Those who read the essay with attention and discernment, will find these questions resolved, and a satisfactory reply made, to several of their remarks, in this part of their criticisms.

After pointing out “what *dr. Smith* should have done, they come to shew what he has done.” They complain of his diffuseness on the subject of the bile, because it was “fortunately of great service to him:” and then say, “if however, he had proceeded to anatomical differences, he would have found the membrane, immediately under the scarf skin, black in the Negro; he would have found it tawny, when he was just born, and daily grow blacker, before the bile had any colour. He would have found it in the American, of a copper colour, and in the European, of a reddish white.” Be it so—And yet this fact, if it be a fact, does not militate against the general principles of the essay. The original causes of colour may be such as *dr. Smith* has pointed out, and, at least, plausibly established. He has proved at the same time, nearly to demonstration, that the causes which affect colour, produce such radical changes in the constitution as

are communicated to offspring. If they find the cellular membrane of an Indian, or a Negro, somewhat discoloured at the birth, they will find that of a brunette family proportionably discoloured, without militating against the identity of the human race; or the principles on which complexion has been accounted for. But to minds, like theirs, already prepossessed in favour of a peculiar opinion, the slightest appearances afford an argument, which they are seldom at pains to examine with accuracy, because they do not wish to examine it. They say, that in Tartars and Negroes, "the shape of the skull and legs is different" from the shape of the same members in the whites.—Agreed—it is so—tho' not in the degree which they seem to imagine. And does not the essay acknowledge it? Does it not profess to account for the phenomenon, by showing that the properties of parents are, in a degree, always transmitted to their children? Is not a consumptive habit transmitted? Will not a lady who has injured her own health, or shape, by too tight lacing, often shew the effects of it in her child? And why may not the head, in time, be affected, as well as the lungs, or the bowels? They proceed with equal wisdom to say, "the curly hair is a very important difference. If our author had examined, he would have found it to proceed from the tortuosity of the pores, through which it proceeds." If they had examined, would they have found all curled hair to rise out of tortuous pores? If so, might not the tortuosity of the pores, rather proceed from the tortuosity of the hair, or the causes that produce it? Will the curvature of the root of the hair necessarily produce the curvature of that part that is out of the skin? Will tortuous pores, more than straight ones, necessarily check its growth, and render it short and sparse? What becomes of the tortuosity of the pores in the Negroes of this country whose hair is growing longer; thicker, and straighter? Oh! most excellent philosophers! The good gentlemen, however, are pleased to smile only at the doctor's Negro queue of six inches; which they say has been the growth of some ages; instead of three generations.

"The Malays, they add, in a hotter climate than this third race of Negroes in America, have, in no instance, where it is allowed to grow, hair so short." That is true, because the climate of Asia in general tends to long hair, as that of Africa does to short and curled hair. In the Asiatic islands, therefore, although they lie beneath the equator, the hair of a Malay will never become so short as that of a Negro on the continent of Africa. But that it becomes shorter in the equatorial regions, even of Asia, than in the peninsula of Arabia, and the two Indias, is a striking verification of the principles of dr. Smith's essay. The hair of the Negroes who have been removed to America, although it is growing longer, and straighter, yet lengthens slowly, however, because, as the essay justly observes, the melioration is always much less rapid, than the deterioration of the human species. They have, in the next place, done dr. Smith the honour to make two pretty long quotations from him—one in their smiling humour, and the other in a more grave one. He has reason to be very much obliged to them, because every judicious reader can compare his style and manner with theirs. After the former quotation, indeed, notwithstanding the extreme good humour in which they made it, they acknowledge, that, "on this subject, his foundation is secure."—But they add, "it is, however, impossible to accumulate more false physiology, or more erroneous facts, in similar space. If he looks at the Laplanders and the Esquimaux, the description will be found not to be just." Of the Esquimaux, at least, we in America can judge better than they; and dr. Smith need be under no apprehension of not being able to prove, by the most indubitable facts, that the description he has given of them is characteristic and just. After the second quotation, they acknowledge the propriety of his reflexions; but object to them, "that they are not sufficient to account for some phenomena," which he never intended to account for by them.

They then proceed to another quotation for which he ought to be equally obliged to them, as for the former. But let the well informed reader com-

pare his remarks with theirs—I mean the remarks in the essay, which follow the quotation, and he will be at no loss in favour of which he ought to determine.

They have traced a parallel of latitude, in the 20th degree, round the globe, and have informed us, that a great variety of complexions exist under the same line. They ought, also, to have informed us, that the author of the essay has enumerated all those varieties, and endeavoured to account for them; and on the justness, and the sound philosophy of that account, I believe he may, with every candid and enlightened reader, risk his literary reputation.

They hope for considerable supports to their opinion; from expeditions that are shortly to be undertaken into the heart of Africa. So may the Cartesians refute the Newtonian philosophy, by the expectation of future phenomena. But, even at present, they say “we can perceive with some clearness” the following distinct species of men—“the European of Tacitus, the Negro, the Hun, and the American.” In a former part of their strictures, they had made the Hun clearly distinct from the Tartar. But that may have been only a small oversight—they continue—“the Chinese, the Hindoo, or the Malay, may have descended from the stock of Europeans, and may have produced the Americans.”—This is a concession I did not expect. If they may have produced the American, both the tawny North-American, and the black Toupinambo of South-America, why not the blacker Negro of Africa? If they may have produced the Malay of Borneo with his curled hair and tortuous pores, why not the inhabitants of Guinea, or Monomotapa, although the tortuosity be a little greater? From such remarks as these, dr. Smith cannot possibly have any thing to fear; and if the principles of his philosophy are shaken, it must be by a very different kind of arguments. They allow, in the conclusion, that the English editor of dr. Smith’s essay, possesses no inconsiderable knowledge, who has added notes to explain and confirm the doctor’s opinions. It is certainly somewhat in favour of the merits of that essay,

that it has gone through two editions in Britain, and that it has been thought worthy of the annotations of a philosopher of genius and information.



*An examination of the question, whether the children of the poor should receive a literary education or not?*

WITHOUT the labour of the poor, society could not subsist; the prince would be left solitary in his palace, and the rich man would perish amidst the abundance of his wealth; yet there is no man who would choose a laborious state; nothing but necessity could compel him to unremitting toil and coarse fare, and nothing but habit from his earliest days could reconcile him to it. Had he ever known better things, or had he been accustom’d, in the beginning of life, to ease and good living, it would have been a cruel and insupportable change to return from that to a state of penury and hard labour.

If, then, it be absolutely necessary that there should be a great proportion of mankind destined to drudgery, in the meanest occupations, who must sweat under heavy burdens, and yet be satisfied with a scanty morsel, it is surely an object of importance to render this state as supportable as we can make it. As nothing but early habit can render it tolerable, therefore to give to the meanest of the people an education beyond that station which providence has assigned them, is doing them a real injury. This accustoms them to a more easy and comfortable manner of living than they have afterwards the probability of enjoying, which only serves to render their advanced years more unhappy; or it tempts them to aspire to a station beyond what they can ever reasonably hope to attain; the prospect of which makes them discontented with their humble sphere.

The son of a day labourer has before his eyes the example of his father, who, by persevering industry, and hard labour, brings home what is barely sufficient to afford food and clothing to his family. He entertains no idea of his having a title to a better station in life than his parents possessed. He sees he must submit to a

like toil, or be reduced to the more despicable state of beggary or want; he, therefore, enters cheerfully on his task, and is happy to find employment.

We may pity the state of such, but we seldom hear them complain. Having never known better things, they are contented with their lot. Temperance and exercise renders a crust of bread and a cup of water more delicious to their taste, than the richest feast is to a pampered appetite. The fatigue of the day renders the sight of their cottage pleasant, and they lie down to a sound sleep without feeling the hardness of the board they rest on.

This manner of living, which habit has rendered familiar, is far from being so unhappy as many are inclined to think it. A person who has been accustomed to live delicately would soon faint beneath that toil, which to them is little more than a recreation. Instead of groaning, we hear them whistling and singing in the midst of their labour. They may enjoy few of the luxuries of life, and be ignorant of many pleasures which affluence affords, but they are also freed from many of those disquietudes, and uneasy passions, which vex the spirits of the great, and often render even their existence insupportable. If their industry affords them only the plainest food and clothing, it is some compensation that they are perplexed with no other care. They are happily ignorant of the pangs of disappointed ambition, of mortified pride, and of humbled vanity. Their sleep is not disturbed by guilty fears, nor is their mind tortured by long laboured schemes or hazardous designs. Their days and years glide gently on in simplicity and peace.

Let us now suppose a child, born to this station of life, taken from his father's cottage by a wealthy neighbour; that he is comfortably fed and clothed until he is twelve years of age, without being put to any hard labour; that he receives knowledge and education far beyond what his parents possessed, or were ever able to afford him, and that he is then ordered to return to his father's hovel, to coarse fare and to labour, of which he had hitherto no idea; can we say that such a seeming benefactor had done this person a real

good service? Is he not, on the contrary, rendered miserable, or wholly in that situation, which otherwise would have become familiar and easy to him?

It may be replied, Why compel him to return to this servile state; why not let him rise to a better? if he cannot bear the sultry heat of the mid day sun, or stand the beating rain and chilling cold, let him go to an easier occupation. Be it so: but who then is to undergo that labour which he should have performed, for which he was born, and which providence at first assigned him? It must be either left undone, or others, born to better things, must submit to it. Thus, by a partial service done to him, a real injury is done to society, or a kind of injustice to some other individual.



*Account of the climate of Pennsylvania, and its influence upon the human body. From medical enquiries and observations.—By Benjamin Rush, M. D. professor of chemistry in the university of Pennsylvania.—Printed and sold by Prichard and Hall.—P. 27.*

**T**HE warmest weather is generally in the month of July. But intensely warm days are often felt in May, June, August and September. In the annexed table of the weather for the year 1787\*, there is an exception to the first of these remarks. It shows that the mean heat of August was greater by a few degrees than that of July.

The transitions from heat to cold are often very sudden, and sometimes to very distant degrees. After a day in which the mercury has stood at 86° and even 90°, it sometimes falls in the course of a single night to the 65th, and even to the 60th degree, insomuch that fires have been found necessary the ensuing morning, especially if the change in the temperature of the air has been accompanied by rain and a south-east wind. In a summer month in the year 1775, the mercury was observed to fall 20° in an hour and an half. There are few

NOTE.

\* The table will appear in a subsequent number.

summers in which fires are not agreeable during some parts of them. My ingenious friend Mr. David Rittenhouse, whose talent for accurate observation extends alike to all subjects, informed me, that he had never passed a summer, during his residence in the country, without discovering frost in every month of the year, except July.

The weather is equally variable in Pennsylvania during the greatest part of the winter. The mercury fell from  $27^{\circ}$  to  $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  below 0, in four and twenty hours, between the fourth and fifth of February 1788. In this season nature seems to play at cross-purposes: heavy falls of snow are often succeeded in a few days by a general thaw which frequently in a short time leaves no vestige of the snow: the rivers Delaware, Schuylkill and Susquehanna, have sometimes been frozen (so as to bear horses and carriages of all kinds) and thawed so as to be passable in boats, two or three times in the course of the same winter. The ice is formed for the most part in a gradual manner, and seldom till it has been previously chilled by a fall of snow. Sometimes its production is more sudden. On the 31st of December 1764, the Delaware was completely frozen over between ten o'clock at night and eight the next morning, so as to bear the weight of a man. An unusual vapour like a fog was seen to rise from the water, in its passage from a fluid to a solid state.

This account of the variableness of the weather in winter, does not apply to every part of Pennsylvania. There is a line about the  $41^{\circ}$  of the state, beyond which the winters are steady and regular, insomuch that the earth there is seldom without a covering of snow during the three winter months. In this line the climate of Pennsylvania forms a union with the climate of the eastern and northern states.

The time in which frost and ice begin to shew themselves in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, is generally about the latter end of October or the beginning of November. But the intense cold seldom sets in about the 20th or 25th of December: hence the common saying, "as the day lengthens, the cold strengthens." The coldest weather is commonly in

January. The navigation of the river Delaware, after being frozen, is seldom practicable for large vessels, before the first week in March.

As in summer there are often days in which fires are agreeable, so there are sometimes days in winter in which they are disagreeable. Vegetation has been observed in all the winter months. Garlic was tasted in butter in January 1781. The leaves of the willow, the blossom of the peach-tree, and the flowers of the dandelion and the crocus were all seen in February 1779; and I well recollect, about thirty-two years ago, to have seen an apple orchard in full bloom, and small apples on many of the trees, in the month of December.

A cold day in winter is often succeeded by a moderate evening. The coldest part of the four and twenty hours is generally at the break of day.

In the most intense cold which has been recorded in Philadelphia, within the last twenty years, the mercury stood at  $5^{\circ}$  below 0. But it appears from the accounts published by Messrs. Mason and Dixon, in the 58th volume of the transactions of the Royal Society of London, that the mercury stood at  $22^{\circ}$  below 0 on the 2d of January, 1767, at Brandywine, about thirty miles to the westward of Philadelphia. They inform us, that on the first of the same month the mercury stood at  $20^{\circ}$ , and on the day before at  $7^{\circ}$  below 0. I have to lament that I am not able to procure any record of the temperature of the air in the same year in Philadelphia. From the variety in the height, and quality of the soil, and from the difference in the currents of winds, and the quantities of rain and snow which fall in different parts of the state, it is very probable this excessive cold may not have extended thirty miles from the place where it was perceived.

The greatest degree of heat upon record in Philadelphia, is  $95^{\circ}$ .

The standard temperature of the air in the city of Philadelphia, is  $59\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , which is the temperature of our deepest wells, as also the mean heat of our common spring water.

The spring in Pennsylvania is generally less pleasant, than in many other countries. In March the weather is

stormy, variable, and cold. In April, and sometimes in the beginning of May, it is moist, and accompanied by a degree of cold which has been called rawness, and which, from its disagreeable effects upon the temper, has been called the *sirocco* of this country. From the variable nature of the weather in the spring, vegetation advances very differently in different years. The colder the spring, the more favourable it proves to the fruits of the earth. The hopes of the farmer from his fruit-trees, in a warm spring, are often blasted by a frost in April and May. A fall of snow is remembered with regret, by many of them, on the night between the third and fourth of May, in the year 1774. The colder the winter, the greater delay we observe in the return of the ensuing spring.

Sometimes the weather, during the spring months, is cloudy and damp, attended occasionally with a gentle fall of rain, resembling the spray from a cataract of water. A day of this species of weather is called, from its resemblance to a damp day in Great-Britain, "an English day." This damp weather seldom continues more than three or four days. The month of May, 1786, will long be remembered, for having furnished a very uncommon instance of the absence of the sun for fourteen days, and of constant damp or rainy weather.

The month of June is the only month in the year which resembles a spring month in the southern countries of Europe. The weather is then generally temperate, the sky is serene, and the verdure of the country is universal and delightful.

The autumn is the most agreeable season of the year in Pennsylvania. The cool evenings and mornings, which generally begin about the first week in September, are succeeded by a moderate temperature of the air during the day. This species of weather continues with an increase of cold scarcely perceptible, till the middle of October, when the autumn is closed by rain, which sometimes falls in such quantities as to produce destructive freshets in the rivers and creeks, and sometimes descends in gentle showers, which continue with occasional interruptions by a few fair

days, for two or three weeks. These rains are the harbingers of the winter, and the Indians have long ago taught the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, that the degrees of cold during the winter, are in proportion to the quantity of rain which falls during the autumn\*.

From this account of the temperature of the air in Pennsylvania, it is evident that there are seldom more than four months in which the weather is agreeable without a fire.

In winter, the winds generally come from the north-west in fair, and from the north-east in wet weather. The north-west winds are uncommonly dry as well as cold. It is in consequence of the violent action of these winds that trees have uniformly a thicker and more compact bark on their northern, than on their southern exposures. Even brick houses are affected by the force and dryness of these north-west winds: hence it is much more difficult to demolish the northern than the southern walls of an old brick house. This fact was communicated to me by an eminent bricklayer in the city of Philadelphia.

The winds in fair weather in the spring, and in warm weather in the

#### NOTE.

\* I cannot help agreeing with Mr. Kirwan in one of his remarks upon the science of meteorology in the preface to his estimate of the temperature of different latitudes. "This science (says he) if brought to perfection, would enable us at least to foresee those changes in the weather, which we could not prevent. Great as is the distance between such knowledge, and our own present attainments, we have no reason to think it above the level of the powers of the human mind. The motions of the planets must have appeared as perplexed and intricate to those who first contemplated them; yet by persevering industry, they are now known to the utmost precision. The present is (as the great Leibnitz expresses it) in every case pregnant with the future, and the connexion must be found by long and attentive observation."

The influence which the perfection of this science must have upon health, agriculture, navigation and commerce, is too obvious to be mentioned.

summer, blow from the south-west and from west-north-west. The raw air before mentioned, comes from the north-east. The south-west winds likewise usually bring with them those showers of rain in the spring and summer, which refresh the earth. They moreover moderate the heat of the weather, provided they are succeeded by a north-west wind. Now and then showers of rain come from the west-north-west.

There is a common fact connected with the account of the usual winds in Pennsylvania, which it may not be improper to mention in this place. While the clouds are seen flying from the south-west, the scud, as it is called, or a light vapour, is seen at the same time flying below the clouds from the north-east.

The moisture of the air is much greater than formerly, occasioned probably by the exhalations, which in former years fell in the form of snow, now descending in the form of rain. The depth of the snow is sometimes between two and three feet, but in general it seldom exceeds between six and nine inches.

Hail frequently descends with snow in winter. Once in four or five years large and heavy showers of hail fall in the spring and summer. They generally run in narrow veins (as they are called) of thirty or forty miles in length, and two or three miles in breadth. The heaviest shower of hail that is remembered in Philadelphia, did not extend in breadth more than half a mile north and south. Some of the stones weighed half an ounce. The windows of many houses were broken by them. This shower fell in May 1783.

From sudden changes in the air, rain and snow often fall together, forming what is commonly called sleet.

In the uncultivated parts of the state, the snow sometimes lies on the ground till the first week in April. The backwardness of the spring has been ascribed to the passage of the air over the undissolved beds of snow and ice which usually remain, after the winter months are past, on the north-west grounds and waters of the state, and of the adjacent country.

in the spring, is sometimes so sudden as to swell the creeks and rivers in every part of the state to such a degree, as not only to lay waste the hopes of the husbandman from the produce of his lands, but in some instances to sweep his barns, stables, and even his dwelling house into their currents\*. The wind during a gene-

## NOTE.

\* The following account of the thaw of the river Susquehannah, in the spring of 1784, was published by the author in the Columbian Magazine for November 1786. It may serve to illustrate a fact related formerly in the history of the winters in Pennsylvania, as well as to exhibit an extraordinary instance of the destructive effects of a sudden thaw.

“The winter of 1783-4, was uncommonly cold, inasmuch that the mercury in Fahrenheit’s thermometer stood several times at 5 degrees below 0. The snows were frequent; and, in many places, from two to three feet deep, during the greater part of the winter. All the rivers in Pennsylvania were frozen, so as to bear waggons and sleds with immense weights. In the month of January a thaw came on suddenly, which opened our rivers so as to set the ice a-driving, to use the phrase of the country. In the course of one night, during the thaw, the wind shifted suddenly to the north-west, and the weather became intensely cold. The ice, which had floated the day before, was suddenly obstructed; and in the river Susquehannah, the obstructions were formed in those places where the water was most shallow, or where it had been accustomed to fall. This river is several hundred miles in length, and from half a mile to a mile and an half in breadth, and winds through a hilly, and in many places a fertile and highly cultivated country. It has as yet a most difficult communication with our bays and the sea, occasioned by the number and height of the falls which occur near the mouth of the river. The ice in many places, especially where there were falls, formed a kind of dam, of a most stupendous height. About the middle of March our weather moderated, and a thaw became general. The effects of it were ere-  
K k

ral thaw, comes from the south-west or south-east.

(To be continued.)

NOTE.

markable in all our rivers; but in none so much as in the river I have mentioned. I shall therefore endeavour in a few words to describe them. Unfortunately the dams of ice did not give way all at once, nor those which lay nearest to the mouth of the river, first. While the upper dams were set a-flow, by the warm weather, the lower ones, which were the largest, and in which, of course, the ice was most impacted, remained fixed. In consequence of this, the river rose in a few hours, in many places, above thirty feet; rolling upon its surface large lumps of ice, from ten to forty cubic feet in size. The effects of this sudden inundation were terrible. Whole farms were laid under water. Barns—stables—horses—cattle—fences—mills of every kind, and in one instance, a large stone house, forty by thirty feet, were carried down the stream. Large trees were torn up by the roots—several small islands covered with woods, were swept away, and not a vestige of them was left behind. On the barns which preserved

their shape, in some instances, for many miles were to be seen living fowls; and, in one dwelling, a candle was seen to burn for some time, after it was swept from its foundation. Where the shore was level, the lumps of ice, and the ruins of houses and farms, were thrown a quarter of a mile from the ordinary height of the river. In some instances, farms were ruined by the mould being swept from them by the cakes of ice, or by depositions of sand; while others were enriched by large depositions of mud. The damage, upon the whole, done to the state of Pennsylvania by this fresh, was very great. In most places it happened in the day time, or the consequences must have been fatal to many thousands.

“I know of but one use that can be derived from recording the history of this inundation. In case of similar obstructions of rivers, from causes such as have been described, the terrible effects of their being set in motion by means of a general thaw, may in part be obviated, by removing such things out of the course of the water and ice, as are within our power; particularly cattle, hay, grain, fences, and farming utensils of all kinds.”



THE BERMUDIAN.

**B**ERMUDA, parent of my early days,  
To thee belong my tributary lays;  
In thy blest'd clime, secur'd from instant harms,  
A tender mother press'd me in her arms,  
Lull'd me to rest with many a ditty rare,  
And look'd, and smil'd, upon her infant care;  
She taught my lisping accents how to flow,  
And bade the virtues in my bosom glow.

Hail, nature's darling spot! enchanted isle!  
Where vernal blooms in sweet succession smile!  
Where, cherish'd by the soft'ring sea-born gale,  
Appears the tall Palmetto of the vale;  
The rich Banana, tenant of the shade,  
With leaf broad spreading to the breeze display'd;  
The memorable tree of aspect bold,  
That grac'd thy plains, O Libanus of old,  
The fragrant lime, the lemon at his side,  
And golden orange, fair Hesperia's pride;  
While genial summer, who, approaching fast,  
Claims to disperse the short-liv'd wintry blast,  
O'er the green hill and cedar-bearing plain  
Boasts, undisturb'd, a long protracted reign.

Here blushing health descending from above,  
 The daughter fair of cloud-compelling Jove,  
 Pleas'd with the scene, in simple nature gay,  
 And importun'd by temperance to stay,  
 In pity to the weary peasant's toil,  
 With blessings crown'd the wave-surrounded soil.

Too happy land! if, in the search around,  
 The source of opulence could here be found,  
 And thy worn offspring, ev'ry care resign'd,  
 His dwelling peaceful, and serene his mind,  
 With independence blest'd, could sit him down  
 In age, secure from niggard fortune's frown;  
 But early torn reluctant from their home,  
 Amidst the tempest's roar condemn'd to roam,  
 Thy scatter'd sons, a race of giant form,  
 Whose souls at peril mock, and brave the storm,  
 At honest labour's call, with fruitless pains,  
 Are far dispers'd o'er Britain's wide domains.

Eternal blessings with profusion smile,  
 And crown with lasting bliss my parent isle!  
 Blest'd be the narrow field, the little cot,  
 And blest'd the lab'ring swain's contented lot!  
 For thee, may commerce, to the southern gale,  
 Successfully expand her swelling sail,  
 And from Peruvian mines, the slave, for thee,  
 With treasures load the wave-dividing tree;  
 With joy returning, each endeavour sped,  
 No more compell'd to roam for scanty bread,  
 All heart-corroding cares at length suppress'd,  
 Each want supply'd, and ev'ry wish possess'd,  
 May thy lost children, to their friends restor'd,  
 Taste ev'ry blessing fortune can afford:  
 While I, whose birth more inauspicious far,  
 Confess'd the reign of some malignant star,  
 Whose name, alas! from fair enjoyment's date,  
 Stands far remov'd upon the roll of fate,  
 With weary step each distant realm explore,  
 A wand'ring exile from my native shore.

Oft when, in shades envelop'd, night descends,  
 And darkness o'er the hemisphere extends,  
 When gloomy silence hushes ev'ry sound,  
 And dead tranquillity prevails around;  
 When the distress'd, forgetful of their woes,  
 In balmy sleep their heavy eyelids close;  
 While no repose my weary soul can find,  
 Thy lov'd idea rises in my mind.  
 Swift at the thought, and for enjoyment keen,  
 Regardless of the seas that roll between,  
 Where o'er surrounding depths thy cliffs arise,  
 With rapid wing my busy fancy flies;  
 And representing scenes of past delights,  
 A painful pleasure in my breast excites.

E'en now transported to my native land,  
 Upon the summit of some hill I stand;  
 The cedars view, uncultur'd as they grow,  
 And all the varied scenery below:  
 Far at a distance, as the eye can reach,  
 Extend the mazes of the winding beach:

Here on the coast the bellowing ocean roars,  
 While foaming surges lash the whiten'd shores ;  
 Suspicious rocks in wild confusion stand,  
 Lift their tall crags, and sadden all the strand.

Before Aurora gilds the eastern skies,  
 The sun-burnt tenants of the cottage rise ;  
 With many a yawn their drowsy comrades hail,  
 Rub their dim eyes, and taste the morning gale.  
 Some bear the halker, plenteously supply'd  
 With hooks and lines, the able fishers pride ;  
 Others with dextrous hands the toils display,  
 Well skill'd to circumvent the scaly prey ;  
 With wide extended nets the shores they sweep,  
 Or man the bark and plough the finny deep.  
 The happy islander, return'd at night,  
 Recounts the day's adventures with delight,  
 Astonishes the list'ning crowd with tales  
 Of rocks avoided, and of dang'rous gales,  
 Of groupers, who, deluded by the bait,  
 Shar'd many a former grouper's wretched fate,  
 And rockfish, who had tugg'd the well stretch'd line,  
 Oblig'd their pond'rous carcase to resign.  
 The little urchin, playing on the strand,  
 At distance kens the bark return'd to land ;  
 He lies impatient, views the scaly store,  
 And bids his parent welcome to the shore.

Meanwhile the housewife decks the cleanly board,  
 With all her homely cottage can afford ;  
 Her little brood are seated to their wish,  
 And taste the blessings of the smoaking dish ;  
 Of childish stories prattle all the while,  
 Regarding either parent with a smile ;  
 The finny monster's grateful taste admire,  
 And for it bless their providential fire.  
 He with delight the youthful tribe surveys,  
 His gladden'd eyes still brighten as they gaze ;  
 Of earthly joys he knows no higher pitch,  
 And bids the prince be great, the miser rich.

Where rising Phœbus darts the morning ray,  
 The verdant hills a diff'rent scene display ;  
 Promiscuous houses in the vale are seen,  
 Whose decent white adorns the lively green.  
 The weary peasant, here reclin'd at ease,  
 Beneath his fig-tree, courts the southern breeze ;  
 Or, while the great at fruitless cares repine,  
 He sits the monarch of his little vine.

There scatter'd isles, whose banks the waters lave,  
 Grace with their herbage the pellucid wave.  
 The lordly bullock there, unrais'd to toil,  
 Securely stalks, the tyrant of the soil ;  
 While tender lambkins on the margin play,  
 And sport and gambol in the sunny day.

The slurdy craftsman, with laborious hand,  
 Fells the tall tree, and drags it to the strand ;  
 Resounding shores return the hammer's blows ;  
 Beneath the stroke the gaudy pinnace grows,  
 Launch'd and completely mann'd in quest of gain,  
 Spreads her light sails, and tempts the wat'ry main.

Near yonder hill, above the stagnant pool,  
 My stern preceptor taught his little school;  
 Dextrous t' apply the scientific rod—  
 The little truants shudder'd at his nod;  
 Whene'er he came, they all submissive bow'd,  
 All scann'd their tasks, industriously loud,  
 And, fearful to excite the master's rage,  
 With trembling hand produc'd the blotted page,  
 Skilful he was, and dabbled in the law;  
 Bonds, notes, petitions—any thing—could draw;  
 'Twas even whisper'd, and 'tis strictly true,  
 He claim'd acquaintance with the muses too,  
 And by the goddesses inspir'd, at times,  
 His lofty genius mounted into rhymes.  
 Great bard! what numbers can thy praise rehearse,  
 Who turn'd *Qui mihi* into English verse;  
 Taught num'rous epigrams in rhyme to glide,  
 And e'en at lines of heav'nly Maro try'd?  
 Though many an epitaph of thine was known  
 To grace the cold commemorating stone.  
 Thy own remains, in some neglected spot,  
 Now lie, unfung, unheeded, and forgot.

No more frequented by the festive bands,  
 Behold yon solitary mansion stands.—  
 There fair Ardella tripp'd along the vale,  
 Her auburn tresses floating in the gale;  
 Sweet as the fav'rite offspring of the May,  
 Serenely mild, and innocently gay.  
 Ardella, once so cheerful, and so blest'd,  
 Now by misfortune's iron hand oppress'd:  
 Methinks I see the solitary maid  
 Pensive beneath the spreading cedar's shade,  
 (No soothing friend, no voice of comfort near)  
 Heave the big sigh, and shed the silent tear.  
 "Awake to consolation, nor repine  
 "Because the sorrows of to-day are thine:  
 "In air let sublunary cares be hurl'd,  
 "And look exulting to a better world;  
 "Triumphant virtue there shall bear the sway,  
 "And lift thee far above the solar ray."

Far to the south, above the wat'ry roar,  
 Where the blue ocean rolls against the shore,  
 And the tall cliffs and sloping mountain's side  
 O'erlook the deep, and stop the coming tide,  
 Of ancient date, now calling for repair.  
 Is seen the parish church, the house of pray'r.  
 No stately columns there superbly rise,  
 No tow'ring steeple greets the distant skies,  
 No pompous domes magnificence impart.  
 Strike the pleas'd eye or show the master's art.  
 To mark the silent mansions of the dead,  
 No obelisk of marble rears its head,  
 No finely decorated tomb is shown,  
 No sculptur'd monument of Parian stone;  
 But the rude native quarry, as it lies,  
 A far more coarse remembrancer supplies,  
 Which the dejected son, reduc'd to mourn  
 The much lov'd parent from his bosom torn,

The last sad honours to his ashes paid,  
Sighing, erefts to the departed shade.

Touch'd with the theme, by pow'rful fancy led  
To more remote apartments of the dead,  
I fee sad Atticus, in filent gloom,  
Indignant quit the folitary tomb,  
His ancient well-remember'd form renew,  
And pafs before me flowly in review.  
The happy thought, the mirth-exciting joke,  
The turn fatyrical, the pointed ftroke,  
The vein of humour, the remark fo dry,  
The witty fallj, and the keen reply,  
Around the focial table forn'd to fhine,  
Without a rival, Atticus, were thine.

Talents like thefe (for they have feldom fail'd)  
While bus'nefs flagg'd, and indolence prevail'd,  
And fullen prudence, frowning, flood aloof,  
Entic'd the jovial circle to thy roof,  
And for life's eve, thy glory in the wane,  
Prepar'd a fund of indigence and pain.

Thrice happy thou, if to difcretion led  
By the much valued partner of thy bed,  
Thou hadft been taught more lafting blifs to prize<sup>6</sup>  
And learn'd from her example to be wife !  
But ſhe, ſuch it's unable to withftand,  
When deadly pale difeafe, with tyrant hand,  
Thy cruel deftiny relentlefs wrote,  
Thy viſage fadden'd, and thy dwelling fmote,  
For thy unhappy lot with grief oppreſs'd,  
Before thee funk to everlafting reft.

Though at a diftance from my ſearching eye,  
Amidft furrrounding woods, thy dwelling lie,  
Though envious time and weaning abſence ſtrive  
Thy cheriſh'd image from my breaſt to drive,  
Yet near my heart (for they ſhall ſtrive in vain)  
His wonted place ſhall Candus retain.

If manly ſenſe, if an extenſive mind,  
Unſway'd by prejudice, and unconfin'd,  
A judgment happy to decide with ſkill,  
But mild and open to conviction ſtill,  
A voice in poliſh'd numbers taught to roll,  
Whoſe accents waſt the muſic of the ſoul,  
An honeſt heart, a temper that can learn  
To love mankind, and to be lov'd in turn,  
If ſentiments humane, combin'd with theſe  
May challenge merit and expect to pleaſe,  
Of gentle manners, affable and free,  
The praiſe, O Candidus, is due to thee.

Beneath my bending eye, ſerenely neat,  
Appears my ever-bleſs'd paternal feat.  
Far in the front the level lawn extends,  
The zephyrs play, the nodding cypreſs bends ;  
A little hillock ſtands on either ſide,  
O'erſpread with evergreens, the garden's pride,  
Promiſcuous here appears the bluſhing roſe,  
The guava flouriſhes, the myrtle grows ;

The earth-born woodbines on the surface creep,  
 O'er the green beds the red carnations peep,  
 Aloft their arms triumphant lilacks bear,  
 And jessamines perfume the ambient air.  
 The whole is from an eminence display'd,  
 Where the brown olive lends his pensive shade.  
 When zephyrs there the noon tide heat assuage,  
 Oft have I turn'd the meditative page,  
 And calmly read the ling'ring hours away,  
 Securely shelter'd from the blaze of day.  
 At eve refresh'd, I trod the mazy walk,  
 And bade the minutes pass in cheerful talk ;  
 With many a joke my brothers would assail,  
 Or please my sisters with the comic tale ;  
 While each fond parent, charm'd, the group survey'd,  
 Attentive heard, and smil'd at all we said.

Thrice happy sea ! Here once were centred all  
 That bind my heart to this terrestrial ball ;  
 The sight of these each gloomy thought destroys,  
 And ties my soul to sublunary joys,

Ye pow'rs supreme, who rule the spangled sky,  
 On whose protection firmly they rely,  
 Grant them each bliss the fertile mind can form,  
 And lift them high above misfortune's storm !

But hark ! I see them to the green repair,  
 To taste the sweets of the refreshing air ;  
 Descend, my soul, on airy pinions light,  
 The circle join, and feast thy gladden'd sight.

Hail, ever honour'd authors of my birth,  
 The poor's assistants, and the friends of worth !  
 My best of brothers, hail ! Companion dear,  
 Unshaken friend, and partner of my care.  
 My sisters too ! transported let me gaze,  
 And bless the sweet'ners of my former days.  
 A long lost wand'rer to your arms receive,  
 Soothe all his sorrows, and his cares relieve.

How incomplete is each terrestrial joy,  
 Where disappointments all our hopes destroy !  
 Two other sons should in the circle stand !  
 For these, alas ! I search a distant land ;  
 Lament them lost, an honour to their race,  
 And with a sigh, behold their vacant place.

Though *Carolina*, skill'd in social lore,  
 With open arms receiv'd me to her shore ;  
 Although her sons, an hospitable band,  
 Have hail'd me, welcome, to their fertile land ;  
 Though (thanks to all my guardian powers) there  
 I found a brother and a friend sincere,  
 Still (for 'tis natural) affection's tide  
 Flows where my honour'd parents both reside.

For ever blotted be the fatal day,  
 That tore me from their circling arms away  
 When the tall ship, regardless of my pain,  
 Call'd me reluctant to the sounding main ;  
 Aloft her swelling sails triumphant bore,  
 And left them pensive on the winding shore !

My aged parent's awful voice I hear—  
 The solemn sound still vibrates in my ear—  
 " Adieu, my son! with winds propitious go,  
 " Obtain what knowledge travel can bestow.  
 " Thy neighbour's friend, an enemy to strife,  
 " Uprightly walk the mazy path of life.  
 " Let honour's rules thy ev'ry act control,  
 " Nor suffer vice to bend thy stubborn soul.  
 " Should sov'reign gold, the tyrant of mankind,  
 " Attempt from justice to divert thy mind,  
 " Exulting still, prefer the frugal crust,  
 " And spurn, with high contempt, the guilty dust.  
 " Let all the forms of Fortune be defy'd,  
 " *Virtue* thy friend, and *Providence* thy guide."



## FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

*Stockholm, June 5.*

A Corps of 1100 Russians assembled at Ruskiala, a village, on the borders of the province of Carelia, waiting only for the arrival of a sufficient number of pieces of ordnance, to make an irruption into that province. Major Gripenberg, who was posted in the neighbourhood, with a battallion of the regiment of Tavastellius, and four cannon, resolved an attack on the 17th ult. though his whole force consisted only of about two hundred and fifty men. In their approach the Swedes were so fortunate as immediately to dismount some field pieces, with which the Russians disputed the entrance of the village, and soon after the powder magazine of the enemy blew up, by which a great number of them perished.

The battle then commenced, and continued with great obduracy for upwards of three hours. Major Gripenberg computes the loss of the enemy at about 400 killed, and a considerable number wounded. He quitted the field, however, though he had only 17 killed and 30 wounded. The Russians also after the action, evacuated Ruskiala, and retreated to Sordawalla. The Swedes fired red hot shot, being informed that the Russians had deposited their powder in one of the adjoining houses. Major Gripenberg has been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel; every officer under his command has been advanced one degree; and a reward of a Swedish ducat is ordered to be given to each private soldier.

*Paris, June 17.*

*States-general of France.*

The chamber of the third estate seeing all their conciliatory measures ineffectual, and that the nobles were determined not to unite with them in their assembly, have passed the two last days in considering on the legal manner of constituting themselves as the representatives of the people at large, and on the title their assembly should hereafter assume. The motion was at length made, "that the national assembly is now legally constituted: and this motion was carried by 91 voices against 80.

A second motion was then made, that that national assembly immediately deliberate on the affairs of the nation, which was unanimously agreed to. It was then proposed, that all the existing taxes, that have been imposed without the consent of the nation, were illegal, and ought therefore to cease; and for the immediate service of government they should now be granted anew, under the same form as heretofore, to continue till some new provisions should be made, or till the last day of this present session, and no longer.

They next took into consideration the public debt, and placed the creditors of the state under the protection of the honour and loyalty of the nation at large.

About two o'clock, when these important proceedings were at an end, the president was sent for to receive from the keeper of the seals, the promised answer to their justificatory address of last week, to the king, which was read to a very full assembly. The

galleries of the hall, which are capable of containing near three thousand people, as well as all the avenues, were completely crowded. The letter, in the king's own hand writing, and addressed to the president of the third estate, is as follows :

" I shall never refuse to receive any of the presidents of the three orders, when charged to convey a particular message to me, and when they shall have asked by the\* customary organ of my keeper of the seals, the moment it shall please me to appoint. I disapprove the repeated expression of " privileged classes," employed by the third estate to designate the two higher orders. These unusual expressions are fit only to foment a spirit of division absolutely contrary to the advancement of the welfare of the state, since this welfare can only be effected by the concurrence of the three orders, composing the states-general, whether they deliberate separately or in common. The reserve which the order of the nobles had made in their acquiescence in the conciliatory overture made by me, ought not to have prevented the order of the third estate from giving me a proof of their deference. Adopted by the third estate, it would have determined the order of nobles to desist from their modification. I am persuaded, that the more the deputies of the third estate shall give me marks of confidence and attachment, the more faithfully will their measures represent the sentiments of the people whom I love, and by whom I shall make it my happiness to be beloved."

If there appears some little (perhaps pelitic) disapprobation of certain ideas of the commons in this letter, the nobles have had their share in the royal answer to their absurd resolution, on the same conciliatory proposition, which is as follows :

" I have examined the resolution of the order of nobles. I have seen with pain that they persist in their reserve of the modifications they annexed to the plan proposed by my commissioners. A greater proportion of deference on the part of the

nobles, would have perhaps produced the reconciliation I desired."

The commons yesterday evening sent a deputation to Marli, to communicate to his majesty the very important resolutions they came to yesterday, and their intention of co-operating with him in the great national work of reformation, still determining to act with the same moderation, by leaving the door at all times open to their brethren of the clergy and nobles.

June 25. Events of such high importance have occurred, and their succession has been so rapid within the last four days, that it is impossible we can find room for a circumstantial detail. The following is a succinct narrative.

The decisive resolutions of the commons threw the court into the greatest alarm. A majority of the clergy voted their union with the commons on the 22d; the nobility presented a violent address against the proceedings of the national assembly to the king, who in his answer evidently adopted their sentiments. The queen, the comte d'Artois, the Polignacs, &c. had got entire possession of him at Marli; it was at a council held there, at which Monsieur and the comte d'Artois assisted, that the violent measures, beforementioned, were concerted. The king was encouraged to come forward and crush the whole business, by a bold stroke of authority. M. Necker was to be exiled from France; the prince de Condé named generalissimo; the prince de Conti, minister, &c. We have seen that the commons were not to be intimidated, but continued their meeting on Monday, when they were formally joined by the clergy in a body.

The royal session was postponed till Tuesday, when his majesty appeared, and the business commenced by a marked insult to the commons, who were kept waiting in a nasty unwholesome place, till the other orders were seated, and at length were compelled to enter by a back door.

After the keeper of the seals had informed the president of the commons that his majesty would not hear the discourse which he intended to address to him, the king opened the assembly by the following speech :

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NOTE.

\* The commons had demanded a direct communication with the king.

“Gentlemen,

“At the time I took the resolution of assembling you; when I had surmounted all the difficulties which threatened a convocation of my states; when I had, to use the expression, even preconceived the desires of the nation, in manifesting beforehand my wishes for its welfare, I thought I had done every thing which depended on myself for the good of my people.

“It seemed to me that you had only to finish the work I had begun; and the nation expected impatiently the moment when, in conjunction with the beneficent views of its sovereign, and the enlightened zeal of its representatives, it was about to enjoy that prosperous and happy state which such an union seemed likely to afford.

“The states general have now been opened more than two months, and have not yet even agreed on the preliminaries of their operations. Instead of that source of harmony which should spring from a love of the country, a most fatal division spreads an alarm over every mind. I find that the dispositions of Frenchmen are not changed; but to avoid reproaching either of you, I shall consider, that the renewal of the states general, after so long a period, the turbulence which preceded it, the object of this assembly, so different from that of your ancestors, and many other objects, have led you to an opposition, and to prefer pretensions which you are not entitled to.

“I owe it to the welfare of my kingdom, I owe it to myself, to dissipate these fatal divisions. It is with this resolution, gentlemen, that I convene you once more around me—I do it as the common father of my people—I do it as the defender of my kingdom’s laws, that I may recall to your memory the true spirit of the constitution, and resist those attempts which have been aimed against it.

“But, gentlemen, after having clearly established the respective rights of the different orders, I expect from the zeal of the two principal classes—their attachment to my person—I expect from the knowledge they have of the pressing urgencies of the state, that in those matters which concern the general good, they should be the

first to propose a re-union of consultation and opinion, which I consider as necessary in the present crisis, and which ought to take place for the general good of the kingdom.”

His majesty delivered this speech with great emphasis and propriety.

The keeper of the seals then read a declaration from the king, containing thirty-five articles.

1st. The distinction of orders preserved, as essentially connected with the constitution of the kingdom; in consequence of which the king declares null the arrests of the third estate of the 15th of June, and ulterior, as unconstitutional.

2d. All verified powers declared good, excepting the decrees upon contested deputations.

3d. All limitations and restrictions opposed to the powers of the deputies, declared null.

4th. In case of any oath taken by deputies, relative to restrained powers, the king leaves the execution of it to their conscience.

5th. The king permits the deputations to ask for fresh powers from their provinces. &c.

6th. The king declares he will not permit any such limitations of power in future.

7th. Deliberations relative to general affairs and taxes, to be in common between the orders.

8th. All deliberations relative to the constitution to be deliberated by each order.

9th. Privileges and *Veto* of the clergy, in matters of religion, preserved.

10th. Poll-tax abolished, to be united to any other territorial tax, without distinction of right or birth.

11th. Free fiefs abolished, as soon as the revenues of the state shall equal the expenses.

12th. Tenths, rights, and feudal duties preserved.

13th. Exemption from all personal charges to the two first orders; the said charges to be paid for in money, and to be contributed to equally by the three orders.

14th. The states to fix to what offices nobility is to be attached: the king, however, to ennoble any one he pleases as a recompense for services.

15th. The states to fix upon the

means of personal security, the suppression of *Lettres de Cachet*, and to substitute whatever may be necessary for the security of the state, and the honour of families.

16th. The liberty of the press left to the judgment of the states, keeping it consistent with religion, morals, and the honour of the citizens.

17th. Provincial states to be established, with two-tenths of the voices to be of the clergy, three-tenths noblese, and five-tenths of the third estate.

18th. To be elected, or an elector, they must be possessed of landed property.

19th. The states general to fix the manner in which the next states-general are to be convened.

20th. An intermediate commission to be established for the provincial states, and deliberation to be in common in those states.

21st. The organization of those states left to the states-general.

22d. Hospitals, taxes of towns, the preservation of the woods, &c. left to the inspection of the provincial states.

23d. Constitutions and privileges of the provinces left to the judgment of the states-general, who are to regulate their form of administration.

24th. The amelioration of the domains to be examined by the states, &c.

25th. Custom houses removed to the frontiers.

26th. The States to examine into the duty on salt, and, till it is suppressed, the payment of it to be softened.

27th. The states to examine into the inconviency of the *Droits des Aides*, observing that the balance between the receipt of that, and the duty to be substituted in its place, should be equal.

28th. The king engages to reform the civil and criminal justice.

29th. Total suppression of enregimentments under certain restrictions.

30th. Corvées abolished.

31st. The king desires the right of mortmain to be abolished throughout his kingdom, as he has done in his domain.

32d. The *Capitaineries* to be reformed and modified by the king.

33d. The inconveniencies of the

militia left for the examination of the states.

34th. No change in the laws, taxes, or other parts of administration or legislation, to take place during the holding of the states.

35th. The armies, police, and power over the military, to be reserved exclusively to the king.

The king then declared he was going to make his will known: it was contained in fifteen articles:

1st. No tax without consent of the states.

2d. Either old or new taxes only to be in force till the next holding of the states-general.

3d. The king prohibits himself from making any loan without the consent of the states, except in case of necessity, war, &c. and then the loan not to exceed 100 millions.

4th. The states to examine the account of the finances, both receipts and expenditures.

5th. State of finances to be published annually.

6th. The expenses of each department to be fixed and invariable.

7th. The creditors of the state to be put upon the faith of the public.

8th. Certain honorary rights preserved to the clergy and noblese.

9th. When the two first orders shall have realized the giving up of the pecuniary privileges, the king will sanction it.

10th and 11th. Contested deputations to be judged in common by the orders, and determined by the remission of two-thirds of the voices, or the judgment to be referred to the king.

12th. Any resolution to be examined into at the request of one hundred members.

13th. Commissioners to be appointed in the three orders to confer.

14th. The presidents of each order to have a seat in the commissions to be established, according to the dignity of their order.

15th. None but the deputies to be admitted to the deliberations of the states or the chambers.

The king then ordered every one to retire, and to meet again the next day in the chamber of orders.

The nobles, and part of the clergy, shouted *vive le roi!* but the commons remained in profound silence; nor

would they quit the hall, where, together with about fifty of the clergy, who would not separate from them, they instantly proceeded to discuss the royal proceedings. Four times the king sent an officer to order them, on their allegiance, to break up the meeting; four times did they decidedly deny the authority of the king to command them to separate, and by their firmness carried their point.

M. le Camus, one of the Paris deputies, then moved, "that the national assembly do persist in all its preceding resolutions;" those of the clergy who remained, nobly desiring their presence to be specified. This proposition was unanimously adopted, nor would they hear of a motion of adjournment all next day.

Another motion followed from the Comte de Mirabeau, to the following effect, and nearly in these words: "the national assembly feeling the necessity of securing the personal liberty, the freedom of opinion, and the right of each deputy of the States-general, to enquire into, and censure all sorts of abuses and obstacles to the public welfare and liberty, do resolve, That the person of each deputy is inviolable: that any individual, public or private, of what quality soever, any corporate body of men, any tribunal, court of justice, or commission whatsoever, who should dare, during the present session, to prosecute, or cause to be prosecuted, arrest, or cause to be arrested, detain, or cause to be detained, the person of one or more deputies, for any proposition, advice, or speech, made by them in the States-general, or in any of its assemblies, or committees, shall be deemed infamous, and a traitor to his country; and that in any such case, or cases, the national assembly will pursue every possible means and measures to bring the authors, instigators, or executors of such arbitrary proceedings, to condign punishment." This resolution was carried, 483 against 34.

Every thing was now in the most violent ferment, both at Paris and Versailles.

On the night of this memorable day (Tuesday) an immense multitude of persons of all ranks assembled at nine

o'clock, and being informed that Mr. Neckar was about to depart for Switzerland, forced their way into the inner court of the palace, at Versailles, and with loud and menacing cries, demanded that Mr. Neckar should continue minister; accompanied with the most violent execrations against the archbishop of Paris, and many other still higher personages. The alarm was inexpressible in the palace; the princes, the Comte d'Artois in particular, called to arms; the troops got together from all parts; but when ordered to fire, refused to draw a trigger upon their countrymen, though before the very windows of the palace.

The king sent for Mr. Neckar, who at first refused to come; a second message brought him, amidst the acclamations of thousands, who made him promise not to quit the kingdom. He represented to the king the danger to which the measures he was pursuing exposed his person and the nation. The king said to him, "Neckar, I believe you are an honest man; you never yet deceived me; but, alas! I have been deceived." Adding, "I have some papers at Marli I must shew you. I will go immediately for them." Monsieur offered to execute the commission: "No," says the king, "no man must see them but myself;" and he set out.

Next day (Wednesday the 24th) Mr. Neckar appeared in his station as usual, with the king, and it is supposed that all the violent measures adopted on Tuesday will be annulled.

The commons continued their deliberations, and sent a deputation to compliment Mr. Neckar, who returned a most affectionate, but guarded answer, giving the ancient title of your order to the commons. The report is, that the archbishop of Paris is exiled, as well as the whole house of Polignac; but this is still a momentous crisis. The king is easily misled; and it is no exaggeration to say, that a single spark would instantly light up a civil war. The clergy have again taken courage, and resumed their seats as a body in the national assembly, to the number of 152, headed by two archbishops, and several bishops. The archbishop of Paris has had two narrow escapes for his life.

The duke of Orleans, at the head of more than forty of the principal nobles, and two hundred of the clergy, joined the third estate, subscribed the oath they had previously taken, and gave their unanimous assent to the several resolutions which they had come to.

All the inhabitants of Versailles, together with thousands from Paris, paraded the streets of that town, with torches, the whole of Tuesday night.

A duel likewise has been fought, in consequence of these disputes, between the prince de Poix, captain of the king's private guard, who is notwithstanding a determined friend of the people in the house of nobles, and the marquis de Lambert, one of the Paris deputies for the nobles, wherein the latter received a wound, supposed to be mortal; and the former received another in his hand.

The national assembly continue their sittings sometimes till three or four in the morning.

Paris is full of alarms, joy, misery and rejoicing!

*London, July 3.*

*Famine in France.*

Yesterday morning the right hon. lord Elgin, arrived in town from Paris, which place he left on Sunday last. He travelled the journey in less than fifty hours. At Metz, the dearth of flour was such, that the people, driven by hunger and despair, collected in great bodies, and attacked the houses of several persons, whom they suspected of hoarding meal. The governor drew out two French regiments; and having furnished them with ammunition, ordered them to act against the mob. They refused. The governor ordered them back to their quarters, but without taking from them the ammunition. The German regiments were then brought out, which roused the indignation of the national troops, who burst from their quarters, and joined the mob. A dreadful havoc was the consequence. Upwards of a thousand men on each side were killed, and at length the German regiments were overpowered. The governor escaped in time from the fury of the populace. Such was the account of the affray in Paris, when lord Elgin left it; but no regu-

lar statement of it had come before the public.

The foreign troops from Lorraine and Alsace were said to be on their march to Paris and Versailles. Marshal Broglie, who is to have the command in the Isle of France, is known to be a royalist. The popular party, however, have no apprehensions. The national army is with them, and is in possession of the principal towns; so that no money can be levied from the people without their concurrence.

*July 9.* The committee who met on the exportation of corn to France, reported to the privy council on Monday evening, that no supply for that country could be spared from England. The extreme wisdom of this measure was apparent from documents then laid before the committee.

*July 14.* The following news from Paris was brought by express late last night. The disturbances are farther from adjustment than when the last accounts arrived from thence.

The power of the king is daily abating.

The Irish brigade alone, are steadfastly attached to royalty. How long in this general defection, their attachment may last, is uncertain.

The populace have seized the arsenal, and taken from it all the arms and ammunition—a step that has obliged the king's troops to retire to some distance from the capital.

The king has dissolved the meeting of the national assembly, but in defiance of his authority, the assembly continue to sit and act.

The university is levelled to the ground.

The king, it is further said, has erected a standard for his partizans to flock to, but they are few who resort to it: such is the spirit of the times!

The address presented by a deputation of the national assembly to the French king, on the subject of the introduction of the foreign troops, and the forming of the camps so near the capital, is from the pen of the Count Mirabeau, and a very masterly composition. His majesty's answer is at once conciliating, ambiguous, and vague.

A French nobleman of high rank, is arrived here this morning, who

brings advice, that the party of the people carry every thing before them at Paris. The French guards have openly declared on that side. They, with the populace, attacked the Bastille; many of them entered; when mons. de Launoy, the governor, drew up the bridge, enclosed those who had entered, and cut them to pieces. The troops, and people without, finding their companions detained, attacked the place, and forced it open—and finding what had happened to their party, took the governor out, led him through the streets, obliged him to make the *amende honorable* to the people, and then cut off his hands and his head. The foreign regiments, frightened by the violence of the commotion, have all laid down their arms, or fled, except one regiment of Hussars, which alone remains to guard the person of the king. The queen and the Comte d'Artois are both fled, and a reward is offered for their heads. Many of the principal nobility, who side with the king, are likewise proscribed and gone off. In short, it appears that the king is at the mercy of the *tiers etat*, and must submit wholly to their terms. Such are the effects of popular commotions when they get a head in despotic countries.

The bastille is burned, and all the prisoners set at liberty; the hotel of the prince de Conti, that of the count d'Artois, and several other edifices are destroyed by fire.

Many people have been killed in the affrays and skirmishes which have happened. Almost all the shops are constantly shut, and a general distrust rules there. People press in crowds to get their money from the Caisse d'Escompte. M. Neckar is gone off at the king's command, and he is very fortunate to have escaped from a scene of such confusion. It is said the king himself is gone from Versailles.

*Dreadful massacre, at Vezoul, in Franche Comté.*

The scenes of horror displayed last week in the metropolis, have afforded matter doubtless of severe animadversion on the ferocity of the actors in this painful tragedy. Would to God it were left in my power to palliate, if not to justify, these dreadful excesses

of a long-abused, degraded, and patient people! Many of our historians have almost seemed to cast a doubt on the real existence of the horrid gunpowder conspiracy in all its extent. The fact I have now to relate, happening, as it were, before our eyes, and in the end of the eighteenth century, will put an end to scepticism respecting that point of history, by humbling poor human nature, and proving what monsters occasionally infest the world, in shape of men. This exordium appears strong. Read the fact.

*Minutes of the national assembly.*

Mr. Punelle, one of the deputies of Franche Comté, desired the attention of the members, whillt he recited to them a frightful event which had happened at the Chateau de Quinsay, near Vezoul, in the night of the 19th and 20th inst.

“ Mr. President,

“ I could wish to conceal from the knowledge of the representatives of the nation, from Frenchmen, from the whole world, the dreadful portrait of the bloody catastrophe that has taken place at the castle of Quinsay; I lose myself! I shudder with horror!—I have to relate to you a crime engendered in blackness itself, in the breast of a demon; but to inform you of the particulars, it will be proper to read you the information taken by the *maréchaussée* on the spot.

“ We, &c. brigadier of the *maréchaussée*, &c. &c. certify and swear, that we repaired to Quinsay, near Vezoul, where we found a dying man, attended by the curate of the parish, who informed us, that monsieur de Memmay, the lord of Quinsay, had announced to the inhabitants and troops in garrison at Vezoul, that, on account of the happy event (the revolution in Paris) in which all the nation took a part, he (the monster) intended giving an entertainment to all those who chose to repair to his country seat: which was eagerly accepted: but that monsieur Memmay withdrew from the entertainment, alleging, that his presence might check the gaiety of his guests; besides, that he could not decently appear himself, as he had hitherto been one of the protesting nobles, and a parliamentary parizan against the popular cause—

that an immense crowd of citizens and soldiers being assembled, they were desired to adjourn to a spot at some distance from the house, where they amused themselves in festivity and dancing; but that on a sudden, fire being set to a match, which communicated with a powder mine, formed under the spot where the people were taken up with festivity, *the whole were blown up!*—that on the noise of the explosion, the curate, with others, repaired to the chateau, whither we likewise went, and found numbers floating in their blood, scattered corpses, and dismembered members still palpitating with life, &c.

This information is signed by the brigadier, and authenticated by the lieutenant-general.

This barbarity, sir, exercised against every right and law both human and divine; this cool, cruel, and detestable act of barbarity, contrived by hypocrisy, and perpetrated with diabolical vengeance, has thrown the whole country into confusion. Every man flew to arms, the castle is razed to the ground, all the neighbouring castles are destroyed; the people, who know no restraint when they think men have merited their fury, had recourse to, and still continue the most violent excesses. They have burnt and sacked the record offices of the nobles, have compelled them to renounce all their privileges, have destroyed and demolished many castles, burnt a rich abbey of the order of Citeaux (the famous rich abbey so often the object of Voltaire's animadversion.) The young princess de Beaufrémont and the baroness d'Andelon owed their escape only to a sort of miracle.

“The municipal body of Vezoul, presided by the marquis de Jombert, have taken every step in their power to stay the fatal effects of such a fermentation; but the means are insufficient in a province like ours, where each little village can furnish at least eight or ten men, who have served in the army, and consequently know the use of arms. I entreat the assembly, therefore, to take into consideration, the melancholy situation of the distracted country I have the honour to represent, and to consult on the speediest and most efficacious means of remedying this dreadful evil.”

He then went on to propose such measures as might tend to allay the fury of the people; and added, “A monster of this nature will not, I trust, find an asylum in any country; nor is there a doubt that every power, and every form of government, will make an exception, if necessary, in this dreadful instance, and readily consent to give him up on the very first demand. He should expiate, by a punishment invented for him alone, the horrid crime with which he has dishonoured human nature. But I am unable to dwell on this atrocity; the idea alone absorbs all my faculties, extinguishes all reflexion—I am incapable of proceeding.”

The national assembly, instantly, on the motion of the count de Serant, directed the president to wait on the king, and supplicate him to give immediate orders to have this horrid transaction examined into by the tribunal the nearest to the place where it happened, in spite of any opposition on the part of the parliament of Besançon, or of any other parliament or body of men whatever; and further resolved, that his majesty be desired to give orders to the ministers of foreign affairs, to claim by his ambassadors, at every court, such persons, for several are suspected) as, being guilty of so atrocious a crime, shall have withdrawn, or may withdraw, into foreign countries—that they may be sent into France, delivered into the hands of justice, and punished according to the rigour of the laws.

An amendment was made to this motion by M. Tronchet, for the king to be desired to seize, by letters patent, the presidial court of Venozé, in order to prevent them, by captious edicts, from taking cognizance of the affair; but was withdrawn on the observation of M. de Serant, that it was sufficient to denounce so execrable a crime to the executive power, which would not fail to pursue it with unremitting vigour.

A conspiracy has been discovered in the house of the duke of Orleans, as black as those I have related to you. Several of his attendants are only dismissed; such is the clemency of that prince! Some noble persons attached to him are of the number,

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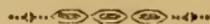
For O C T O B E R, 1789.

*The REFORMER, No. II. By the reverend Joseph Lathrop, of Springfield, Connecticut.*

*Piety the basis of virtue.*

**T**HE necessity of virtue to the happiness of society, was shewn in a former number. It is no less evident that a belief of, and regard to the government of a Deity, is the only sure foundation of virtue. What motive can there be sufficient to engage men in the general practice of sobriety, justice, integrity, and beneficence, and to restrain them from the contrary vices, if they can once disbelieve the doctrines of a divine government, and a future retribution? The beauty and reasonableness of virtue, and its tendency to the happiness of mankind in private and social life, though an argument of real truth and importance, yet is, in some respects, too refined to be clearly perceived, and, in other respects, too disinterested to be strongly felt by men not used to such speculations, or not already formed to a benevolent temper. But the consideration of an ever-present Deity, who exercises a righteous government in the world, and will bring his rational subjects to a solemn judgment, and distribute his rewards and punishments in the most equitable manner, according to their real characters, is an argument of awful weight, and level to the lowest capacity. To talk of virtue, independent of piety, is as absurd in morals, as it is, in nature, to talk of an animal that lives without breath. But how shall a sense of the Deity, his perfections and providence, and a future state, be generally diffused and maintained among a people, so as to become a principle prompting them to virtue, without some public forms of social worship? No means can be imagined so conducive to this end, as that divine institution, which requires us, at stated times, to intermit the common labours and amusements of life, and unite in acknowledging the Supreme Governor of the universe, in paying our devout adora-

tions to him, and in hearing our duty to him, and to one another, inculcated upon us. The sabbath is an institution coeval with man's creation; revived in the time of Moses, numbered with, and placed on the same foot as the most important moral precepts, and constantly observed by the great founder of the christian dispensation, and by his servants, whom he immediately authorized to disseminate his religion in the world. The observance of a sabbath and of social worship, is of such importance to the preservation of religion, and to the happiness of a people, that God enjoins it as a grand condition of his favour, and second only to a belief of his existence. "Ye shall make no idols—I am the Lord your God. Ye shall keep my sabbaths and reverence my sanctuary; I am the Lord. If ye shall walk in my statutes, then will I give you rain in due season, and the land shall yield her increase; ye shall dwell therein safely. I will set my tabernacle among you, and my soul shall not abhor you." If sabbaths, social worship, and public instructions should be discontinued, ignorance, vice and savageness of manners would soon ensue; virtue, and even civility, would, in a great measure, be lost; government would either be subverted, or changed into downright tyranny: society must either disband, or be held together by absolute force. For, as there can be no piety without the worship of the Deity, nor real virtue without piety; so there can be no voluntary union nor mutual confidence in society, without virtue, and consequently no government but that which is of the most arbitrary kind, consisting in mere force and violence,



## THE REFORMER,

NUMBER III.

*Religion patronized by government.*

**F**ROM the forgoing reasonings it follows, that the civil government of a people ought to provide for

the encouragement of divine worship, because, without this, no people can long subsist in a state of freedom and happiness. It is sometimes asked, who should government have any thing to do with religion? But the answer is obvious; because religion has much to do with government. If any imagine, that rulers should never interpose in matters that relate to religion, let them consider, what would be the consequence, if all laws against injustice, fraud, perjury, profaneness, theft, and drunkenness, were abolished, and men were left to pursue, without controul, the dictates of their own lusts. Could society subsist? They will at once say, "this is carrying liberty too far. There must be laws against vice. But why should rulers enjoin men to observe a sabbath, or support and attend public worship?" The reason is plain; if public worship is a proper means of preventing vice, and promoting virtue, there is the same reason why they should make laws in favour of that, as why they should make laws for the punishment of vice. This is to secure the existence and happiness of society, in a way much more consistent with the dignity of human nature and the liberty of mankind, than to do every thing by whips, prisons, and cords.

No free government was ever maintained without some form of religion. No religion is so perfect and rational, so intelligible in its doctrines, pure in its precepts, powerful in its sanctions, and benevolent in its design, as the christian religion. It must then be the wisdom of any government to protect and encourage it, because this is to provide for the preservation of itself.

The law of Christ expressly requires, that divine worship be publicly maintained, and that all christians, according to their abilities, contribute their aid to this purpose. But it has not particularly pointed out the manner in which they shall do it. This is left to human prudence. All that government does in the case, is to prescribe the mode of doing that, which the law of Christ requires, and which every christian owns, must be done in some mode or other. And there can be nothing unjust in this, more than in pointing out certain

ways for the relief of the poor, whom the gospel requires us to relieve in some way or other; or in procuring schools for the education of youth, whom reason and religion require us to educate in knowledge and virtue, by some means or other, or in annexing penalties to certain dangerous vices, which religion obliges us to bear testimony against in some form or other.

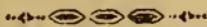
The great end of divine worship is the salvation of men's souls. When we consider it only in this view, we think it absurd, that government should concern itself in the matter; for what has government to do, to direct me, how I shall be saved? Must I not judge for myself what is the way of salvation? Yes, by all means. But though this is the principal end of public worship, yet there is another end which it in fact serves, the present peace and happiness of mankind; and considered in this view, it as properly falls under the patronage of government, as learning or virtue, or any thing else, with which the happiness of society is essentially connected. The latter bear as real and as important a relation to men's future hopes, and on this principle might as reasonably be wrested out of the hands of government, as the former. But government encourages learning and virtue, not on the foot of their connexion with futurity, but on account of their tendency to the present happiness of society: and on the same principle it patronizes the worship of the Deity.

It would be absurd to prescribe certain forms of worship, and compel men to conform to these, and to these only; for every man must be at liberty to judge what is truth, and what is the most acceptable way of serving his Maker, and to conduct himself accordingly, provided his conduct no way interferes with the peace and safety of others. But to require an abstinence from the common labours of life one day in seven, and an attendance on the worship of God in some form or other, is no more an invasion of the rights of conscience, than a prohibition of vice, or an injunction to maintain the poor and support schools, is an invasion on the rights of conscience; for, though

men may conscientiously differ, as to the particular forms of worship, yet christians, and almost all mankind are agreed, that God is to be worshipped in some mode or other; and he that is allowed to choose his own mode of doing that, which he owns himself obliged and professes himself willing to do, very absurdly complains of oppression,

Men may, if they please, traduce religion under the name of tradition, or government under the name of tyranny; but to call things by ill names alters not their nature. Truth ceases not to be truth, nor does a usage, good in itself, become evil, because the one has been believed, and the other practised by our fathers, or even by Jews. If our faith and practice are founded only in human authority, or human custom, they are essentially defective in a religious view; but to make the practice of others the mark of evil, is as absurd, as to make it the standard of right. If we must reject every thing in the gross, as wrong, which was adopted by our fathers, religion must of course change its nature every generation.

The observance of fasts, sabbaths, and public worship has lately been reproached as mere tradition. But however well the writer may mean, he reasons very ill. Instead of shewing it to be of evil tendency with respect to the morals, or the happiness of mankind, contrary to reason or revelation, his only argument is, that it is mere tradition or Judaism; that is, it is doing as others have done; and therefore should be done no more; and it was enjoined on Jews, and therefore ought to be abhorred by christians. But this rule would lead us as much to discard the virtues as the vices of our fathers; and to reject the whole decalogue as the fourth commandment. His arguments to prove that there ought to be no laws in favour of religion, operate alike against all laws in support of learning, virtue and good manners, that is, they operate not at all, unless it be in the minds of the thoughtless and undiscerning.



*Reflexions upon fortitude, with re-*

*markable instances of this quality in the savages of America.*

**F**ORTITUDE and constancy of mind are qualities to which every nation, in proportion as it is civilized, lays a formidable claim, and to which, however, very few, were we to examine the matter thoroughly, can have any tolerable pretension, besides the compliment which on those occasions, each is so extremely liberal in paying to itself. In fact, it might not be difficult to prove, from every day's experience, that the propagation of the sciences, while they improve, generally enervate the mind, and that true fortitude and constancy of soul, are more the result of a self-approving conscience, than the effect of an excellent understanding.

A number of philosophers, who have astonished the world with the greatness of their genius, and the extent of their reading, might talk very prettily on this subject; but when they came once to put any of their own lessons into practice, this boasted resolution, of which they imagined themselves possessed, disappeared in an instant, and, from deserving the universal admiration of mankind, they became entitled to nothing but an absolute contempt. Cicero, in his orations, might express the greatest disregard of death he pleased, and tell us that a man should not hesitate a moment, in sacrificing his life for the good of his country; but the orator found the practice infinitely harder than the precept, and leagued himself with the enemies of the public, after all, in hope of saving the life, which he affected so highly to despise.

Who could talk better upon the virtues, or give more excellent lessons of morality, than lord St. Albans; yet who, when he fell from the pinnacle of honour and preferment, ever shewed a greater servility of mind, or took more infamous methods to repair his shattered fortune?—The most scandalous adulation that could be paid at court, he was constantly paying; and, notwithstanding after his disgrace, he was writing a book, which confers an honour on human nature, yet his intervals were taken up in defending every pernicious measure of the crown, and employed in destroying the liberty of his country. Need

the cause of his disgrace be mentioned here to prove, that notwithstanding his wonderful abilities, he wanted fortitude to resist the force of a trifling sum of money; and honestly to discharge the important duties of his trust? or what shall we say of a man, who, while he was establishing the highest testimony of human genius, for two or three hundred pounds erected an everlasting monument of human baseness too? In reality, science and understanding can do nothing more than reach our constancy and fortitude a nobler way of appearing; the qualities themselves must proceed from a firmer foundation than both—The wisdom of Socrates gave a manner to his fortitude, which left an irresistible charm in his death; but the fortitude itself proceeded not from the excellence of his understanding, but the goodness of his heart.

But to prove beyond a possibility of dispute, that a knowledge of the sciences, has nothing to do in the qualities under consideration, let us only refer to the behaviour of a poor Indian, as related by Lafitaw, taken in battle by his enemies, and condemned as a sacrifice to the manes of such as either he himself or his countrymen destroyed in the field: the moment he is condemned, he opens his death song, and is fastened to a stake, the chiefs of the nation, which has taken him, sitting round a fire, and smoking all the time. Such as choose to be concerned in the execution, begin with torturing at the extremities of his body, till by degrees they approach the trunk; one pulls off all his nails from the roots; another takes a finger and tears off the flesh with his teeth; a third takes the finger thus mangled, and thrusts it into the bowl of a pipe made red hot, and smokes it like tobacco: others cut and slash the fleshy parts of his body, and sear the wounds immediately up with burning irons: some strip the skin off his head, and pour boiling lead upon it; others tear the flesh entirely from his arms, and twist the bare tendrils and sinews round red hot irons, twirling and snapping at the same time; some pound his fingers and toes to pieces between two stones, others all the while distending and stretching every limb and joint, to increase the inconceivable

horror of his pains. During this, the miserable sufferer, sometimes, rendered insensible by the torture, falls into so profound a sleep, that they are obliged to apply the fire to recover him, and untie him; to give a breathing to the fury of their own revenge. Again he is tied, and his teeth drawn one by one, his eyes beat out, and no one trace of humanity left in his visage; in this situation, all over one continued mummy, one inexpressible wound, they beat him from one to another with clubs; the wretch; now up, now down, falling in their fires at every step, till at last wearied out with cruelty, some of their chiefs put an end with a dagger to his sufferings, and terminate the execution; which often lasts five or six hours, by ordering on the kettle, and making a feast as horrid and barbarous as their revenge.

But what renders this more surprising, is a contest which subsists all the time between the sufferer and them, whether he has most fortitude in bearing, or they ingenuity in aggravating his pangs; at every interval they give him, he smokes unconcerned with the rest, without one murmur or appearance of a groan, recounts what exploits he has done, and tells them how many of their countrymen he has killed, in order to increase their fury; nay, he reproaches them with an ignorance of torturing, and points out such parts of his body himself, as are more exquisitely sensible of pain—The women have this part of courage with the men, and incredible soever as such an astonishing constancy of mind may appear, it would be as odd to see one of these people suffer in another manner, as it would be to find an European who could suffer with any thing like their fortitude; an inflexible conformity to the principles in which they are bred is the occasion of this fortitude, and without one spark of learning, occasions a behaviour, which distances the most celebrated stories of antiquity, and baffles the profoundest lessons of all the philosophers.



*An essay on the causes of the variety of complexion and figure in the human species. To which are added, strictures on lord Kaim's discourse,*

*on the original diversity of mankind. By the reverend Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D. vice-president, and professor of moral philosophy, in the college of New Jersey; and M. A. P. S.—P. 186.*

**T**O evince that the state of society has a great effect in varying the figure and complexion of mankind, I shall derive my first illustration from the several classes of men in polished nations. And then I shall shew that men, in different states of society, have changed, and that they have it continually in their power to change, in a great degree, the aspect of the species, according to any general ideas or standard of human beauty which they may have adopted.

1. And, in the first place, between the several classes of men in polished nations, who may be considered as people in different states of society, we discern great and obvious distinctions, arising from their social habits, ideas, and employments.

The poor and labouring part of the community are usually more swarthy and squalid in their complexion, more hard in their features, and more coarse and ill-formed in their limbs, than persons of better fortune, and more liberal means of subsistence. They want the delicate tints of colour, the pleasing regularity of feature, and the elegance and fine proportions of person. There may be particular exceptions. Luxury may disfigure the one—a fortunate coincidence of circumstances may give a happy assemblage of features to the other. But these exceptions do not invalidate the general observation\*.

NOTE.

\* It ought to be kept in mind, through the whole of the following illustrations, that, when mention is made of the superior beauty and proportions of persons in the higher classes of society, the remark is general. It is not intended to deny that there exist exceptions both of deformity among the great, and of beauty among the poor; and those only are intended to be described, who enjoy their fortune with temperance; because luxury and excess tend equally with extreme poverty, to debilitate and disfigure the human constitution.

Such distinctions become more considerable by time, after families have held for ages the same stations in society. They are most conspicuous in those countries, in which the laws have made the most complete and permanent division of ranks. What an immense difference exists, in Scotland, between the chiefs and the commonalty of the highland clans? If they had been separately found in different countries, the philosophy of some writers would have ranged them in different species. A similar distinction takes place between the nobility and peasantry of France, of Spain, of Italy, of Germany. It is even more conspicuous in many of the eastern nations, where a wider distance exists between the highest and the lowest classes in society. The naires or nobles of Calicut, in the East Indies, have, with the usual ignorance and precipitancy of travellers, been pronounced a different race from the populace; because the former, elevated by their rank, and devoted only to martial studies and achievements, are distinguished by that manly beauty and elevated stature, so frequently found with the profession of arms, especially when united with nobility of descent; the latter, poor and laborious, exposed to hardships, and left, by their rank, without the spirit or the hope to better their condition, are much more deformed and diminutive in their persons; and, in their complexion, much more black. In France, says Buffon, you may distinguish by the aspect, not only the nobility from the peasantry, but the superior orders of nobility from the inferior, these from citizens, and citizens from peasants. You may even distinguish the peasants of one part of the country, from those of another, according to the fertility of the soil, or the nature of its product. The same observation has been made on the inhabitants of different counties in England. And I have been assured, by a most judicious and careful observer, that the difference between the people in the eastern, and those in the western counties in Scotland, is sensible and striking. The farmers, who cultivate the fertile counties of the Lothians, have a fairer complexion, and a better si-

gure, than those who live in the west, and obtain a more coarse and scanty subsistence from a barren soil\*.

## NOTE.

\* It is well known, that coarse and meagre food is ever accompanied in mankind, with hard features and a dark complexion. Every change of diet, and every variety in the manner of preparing it, has some effect on the human constitution. A servant now lives in my family, who was bound to me at ten years of age. Her parents were in abject poverty. The child was, in consequence, extremely fallow in her complexion, she was emaciated, and, as is common to children who have lain in the ashes and dirt of miserable huts, her hair was frizzled and worn away to the length of little more than two inches. This girl has, by a fortunate change in her mode of living, and indeed by living more like my own children than like a servant, become, in the space of four years, fresh and ruddy in her complexion, her hair is long and flowing, and she is not badly made in her person. A similar instance is now in the family of a worthy clergyman, a friend and neighbour of mine. And many such instances of the influence of diet, and modes of living, will occur to a careful and attentive observer. It equally affects the inferior animals. The horse, according to his treatment, may be infinitely varied in shape and size. The flesh of many species of game differs both in taste and colour according to the nature of the grounds on which they have fed. The flesh of hares, that have fed on high lands, is much fairer than those that have fed in vallies and on damp grounds. And every keeper of cattle knows how much the firmness and flavour of the meat depends upon the manner of feeding. Nor is this unaccountable. For as each element has a different effect on the animal system—and as the elements are combined in various proportions in different kinds of food, the means of subsistence will necessarily have a great influence on the human figure and complexion. The difference, however, between the common people in the eastern and western counties of Scotland, in several counties in England, and in

If, in England, there exists less difference between the figure and appearance of persons in the higher and lower classes of society, than is seen in many other countries of Europe, it is because a more general diffusion of liberty and wealth has reduced the different ranks more nearly to a level. Science and military talents open the way to eminence and to nobility. Encouragements to industry, and ideas of liberty, favour the acquisition of fortune by the lowest orders of citizens—And, these not being prohibited, by the laws or customs of the nation, from aspiring to connexions with the highest ranks, families in that country are frequently blended. You often find in citizens the beautiful figure and complexion of the noblest blood; and, in noble houses, the coarse features that were formed in lower life.

Such distinctions are, as yet, less obvious in America, because, the people enjoy a greater equality; and the frequency of migration has not permitted any soil, or state of local manners, to impress its character deeply on the constitution. Equality of rank and fortune, in the citizens of the united states, similarity of occupations, and of society, have produced such uniformity of character, that, hitherto, they are not strongly marked by such differences of feature as arise solely from social distinctions. And yet there are beginning to be formed, independently on climate, certain combinations of features, the result of social ideas, that already serve, in a degree, to distinguish the states from one another. Hereafter they will advance into more considerable and characteristic distinctions.

If the white inhabitants of America afford us less conspicuous instances, than some other nations, of the power of society, and of the difference of

## NOTE.

other nations, arises, perhaps, not only from their food, and the soil which they inhabit, but, in part likewise, from their occupations, as husbandmen, mechanics, or manufacturers. Husbandry has generally a happier effect on personal appearance, than the sedentary employments of manufacture.

ranks, in varying the human form, the blacks in the southern republics, afford one that is highly worthy the attention of philosophers—It has often occurred to my own observation.

The field slaves are badly fed, clothed, and lodged. They live in small huts, on the plantations where they labour, remote from the society and example of their superiors. Living by themselves, they retain many of the customs and manners of their African ancestors. The domestic servants, on the other hand, who are kept near the persons, or employed in the families of their masters, are treated with great lenity, their service is light, they are fed and clothed like their superiors, they see their manners, adopt their habits, and insensibly receive the same ideas of elegance and beauty. The field slaves are, in consequence, slow in changing the aspect and figure of Africa. The domestic servants have advanced far before them in acquiring the agreeable and regular features, and the expressive countenance of civilized society. The former are frequently ill shaped. They preserve, in a great degree, the African lips, and nose, and hair. Their genius is dull, and their countenance sleepy and stupid. The latter are strait and well proportioned; their hair extended to three, four, and, sometimes even, to six or eight inches; the size and shape of the mouth handsome, their features regular, their capacity good, and their look animated\*.

## NOTE.

\* The features of the Negroes in America have undergone a greater change than the complexion; because depending more on the state of society, than on the climate, they are sooner susceptible of alteration, from its emotions, habits, and ideas. This is strikingly verified in the field and domestic slaves. The former, even in the third generation, retain, in a great degree, the countenance of Africa. The nose, though less flat, and the lips, though less thick, than in the native Africans, yet are much more flat, and thick, than in the family servants of the same race. These have the nose raised, the mouth and lips of a moderate size, the eyes lively

Another example of the power of society is well known to every man acquainted with the savage tribes dispersed along the frontiers of these republics. There you frequently see persons who have been captivated from the states, and grown up, from infancy to middle age, in the habits of savage life. In that time, they universally contract such a strong resemblance of the natives in their countenance, and even in their complexion, as to afford a striking proof that the differences which exist, in the same latitude, between the Anglo-American and the Indian, depend principally on the state of society\*.

## NOTE.

and sparkling, and often the whole composition of the features extremely agreeable. The hair grows sensibly longer in each succeeding race; especially in those who dress and cultivate it with care. After many enquiries, I have found, that, wherever the hair is short and closely curled in negroes of the second or third race, it is because they frequently cut it, to save themselves the trouble of dressing. The great difference between the domestic and field slaves, gives reason to believe, that, if they were perfectly free, enjoyed property, and were admitted to a liberal participation of the society, rank, and privileges of their masters, they would change their African peculiarities much faster.

\* The resemblance between these captives, and the native savages, is so strong, as at first to strike every observer with astonishment. Being taken in infancy, before society could have made any impressions upon them, and spending in the solitude and rudeness of savage life that tender and forming age, they grow up with the same apathy of countenance, the same lugubrious wildness, the same swelling of the features and muscles of the face, the same form and attitude of the limbs, and the same characteristic gait, which is a great elevation of the feet when they walk, and the toe somewhat turned in, after the manner of a duck. Growing up perfectly naked, and exposed to the constant action of the sun and weather, amidst all the hardships of the savage state, their colour becomes very deep. As it is but a

The college of New Jersey furnishes, at present, a counterpart to this example. A young Indian, now about fifteen years of age, was brought from his nation, a number of years ago, to receive an education in this institution. And from an accurate

## NOTE.

few shades lighter than that of the natives, it is, at a small distance, hardly distinguishable. This example affords another proof of the greater ease with which a dark colour can be impressed, than effaced from a skin originally fair. The causes of colour are active in their operation, and speedily make a deep impression. White is the ground on which this operation is received. And a white skin is to be preserved only by protecting it from the action of these causes. Protection has merely a negative influence, and must therefore be slow in its effects; especially as long as the smallest degree of positive agency is suffered from the original causes of colour. And as the skin retains, with great constancy, impressions once received, all dark colours will, on both accounts, be much less mutable than the fair complexion. That period of time, therefore, which would be sufficient in a savage state, to change a white skin to the darkest hue the climate can impress, would, with the most careful protection, lighten a black colour, only a few shades. And because this positive and active influence produces its effects so much more speedily and powerfully than the negative influence, that consists merely in guarding against its operation; and since we see that the skin retains impressions so long, and the tanning incurred by exposing it one day to the sun, is not in many days to be effaced, we may justly conclude, that a dark colour, once contracted, if it be exposed but a few days in the year to the action of the sun and weather, will be many ages before it can be entirely effaced. And unless the difference of climate be so considerable as to operate very great changes on the internal constitution, and to alter the whole state of the secretions, the negro colour, for example, may, by the exposure of a poor and servile state, be rendered almost perpetual.

observation of him, during the greater part of that time, I have received the most perfect conviction that the same state of society, united with the same climate, would make the Anglo-American and the Indian countenance very nearly approximate. He was too far advanced in savage habits, to render the observation complete, because, all impressions received in the tender and pliant state of the human constitution, before the age of seven years, are more deep and permanent, than in any future, and equal period of life. There is an obvious difference between him and his fellow-students in the largeness of the mouth, and thickness of the lips, in the elevation of the cheek, in the darkness of the complexion, and the contour of the face. But these differences are sensibly diminishing. They seem to diminish the faster, in proportion, as he loses that vacancy of eye, and that lugubrious wildness of countenance, peculiar to the savage state, and acquires the agreeable expression of civil life. The expression of the eye, and the softening of the features, to civilized emotions and ideas, seems to have removed more than half the difference between him and us. His colour, (though it is much lighter than the complexion of the native savage, as is evident from the stain of blushing, that, on a near inspection, is instantly discernible) still forms the principal distinction\*. There is less difference between his features and those of his fellow-students, than we often see between persons of civilized society. After a careful attention to each particular feature, and comparison of it with the correspondent feature in us, I am now able to discover but little difference. And yet there is an obvious difference in the whole countenance. This circumstance has led me to conclude that the varieties among mankind are much less than they appear to be. Each single trait or limb, when examined apart, has, perhaps, no diversity that may not be easily accounted for, from known and

## NOTE.

\* See the preceding note, for a reason why the complexion is less changed than many of the features.

obvious causes. Particular differences are small. It is the result of the whole that surprizes us, by its magnitude. The combined effect of many minute varieties, like the product arising from the multiplication of many small numbers, appears great and unaccountable. And we have not patience, or, it may be, skill, to divide this combined result into its least portions, and to see, in that state, how easy it is of comprehension or solution.

The state of society comprehends diet, clothing, lodging, manners, habits, face of the country, objects of science, religion, interests, passions, and ideas of all kinds, infinite in number and variety. If each of these causes be admitted to make, as undoubtedly they do, a small variation on the human countenance, the different combinations and results of the whole, must necessarily be very great; and, combined with the effects of climate, will be adequate to account for all the varieties we find among mankind\*.

Another origin of the varieties springing from the state of society, is found in the power which men possess over themselves, of producing great changes in the human form, according to any common standard of beau-

NOTE.

\* As all these principles may be made to operate in very different ways, the effect of one may, often, be counteracted, in a degree, by that of another. And climate will essentially change the effects of all. The people in different parts of the same country, may, from various combinations of these causes, be very different. And, from the variety of combination, the poor of one country may have better complexion, features, and proportions of person, than those in another, who enjoy the most favourable advantages of fortune. Without attention to these circumstances, a hasty observer will be apt to pronounce the remarks in the essay to be ill-founded, if he examines the human form, in any country, by the effect that is said to arise from one principle alone, and does not, at the same time, take in the concomitant or correcting influence of other causes.

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ty which they may have adopted. The standard of human beauty, in any country, is a general idea, formed from the combined effect of climate and of the state of society. And it reciprocally contributes to increase the effect from which it springs. Every nation varies as much from others in ideas of beauty, as in personal appearance. Whatever be that standard, there is a general effort to attain it, with more or less ardor and success, in proportion to the advantages which men possess in society, and to the estimation in which beauty is held.

To this object tend the infinite pains to compose the features, and to form the attitudes of children, to give them the gay and agreeable countenance that is created in company, and to extinguish all deforming emotions of the passions. To this object tend many of the arts of polished life. How many drugs are sold, and how many applications are made for the improvement of beauty? how many artists of different kinds live upon this idea of beauty? If we dance, beauty is the object; if we use the sword, it is more for beauty than defence. If this general effort after appearance sometimes leads the decrepid and deformed into absurdity, it has, however, a great and national effect.—Of its effect in creating distinctions among nations, in which different ideas prevail, and different means are employed for attaining them, we may frame some conception, from the distinctions that exist in the same nation, in which similar ideas and similar means are used, only in different degrees. What a difference is there between the soft and elegant tints of complexion in genteel life, and the coarse ruddiness of the vulgar?—between the uncouth features and unpliant limbs of an unpolished rustic, and the complacency of countenance, the graceful and easy air and figure of an improved citizen?—between the shape and meaning face of a well bred lady, and the soft and plump simplicity of a country girl?—we now easily account for these differences, because they are familiar to us, or, because we see the operation of the causes. But if we should find an entire nation distinguished by one of these characters.

N n

and another by the contrary, some writers would pronounce them different races; although a true philosopher ought to understand that the cultivation of opposite ideas of beauty must have a greater effect in diversifying the human countenance, than various degrees, or modes, of cultivating the same ideas. The countenance of Europe was more various, three centuries ago, than it is at present. The diversities, that depend upon this cause, are insensibly wearing away, as the progress of refinement is gradually approximating the manners and ideas of the people to one standard. But the influence of a general idea, or standard, of the human form—and the pains taken, or the means employed, to bring our own persons to it—are, through their familiarity, often little observed. The means employed by other nations, who aim at a different idea, attract more notice by their novelty. The nations beyond the Indus, as well as the Tartars, from whom they seem to have derived their ideas of beauty with their origin\*, universally admire small eyes and large ears. They are at great pains, therefore, to compress their eyes at the corners, and to stretch their ears by heavy weights appended to them, by drawing them frequently with the hand, and by cutting their rims, so that they may hang down to their shoulders, which they consider as the highest beauty. On the same principle, they extirpate the hair from their bodies; and on the face, which they shave, they leave only a few tufts here and there. The Tartars often extirpate the whole hair of the head, except a knot on the crown, which they braid and adorn

## NOTE.

\* It is probable that the countries of India and China might have been peopled before the regions of Tartary; but, the frequent conquests which they have suffered, and particularly the former, from Tartarian nations, have changed their habits, ideas and persons, even more perhaps than Europe was changed by the deluge of barbarians that overwhelmed it, in the fifth century. The present nations beyond the Indus are, in effect, Tartars changed by the power of climate, and of a new state of society.

in different manners. Similar ideas of beauty, with regard to the eyes, the ears, and the hair—and similar customs, in the aborigines of America, are no inconsiderable proofs, that this continent has been peopled from the north-eastern regions of Asia. In Arabia and Greece, large eyes are esteemed beautiful; and in these countries they take extraordinary pains, to stretch the lids, and extend their aperture. In India, they dilate the forehead in infancy, by the application of broad plates of lead. In China, they compress the feet. In Caffraria, and many other parts of Africa, and in Lapland, they flatten the nose, in order to accomplish a capricious idea of beauty. The skin, in many nations, is darkened by art; and all savages esteem certain kinds of deformity to be perfections; and strive to heighten the admiration of their persons, by augmenting the wildness of their features. Through every country on the globe, we might pro-

## NOTE.

† The celebrated dr. Robertson, in his history of America, deceived by the misinformation of hasty or ignorant observers, has ventured to assert that the natives of America have no hair on their face or on their body; and like many other philosophers, has set himself to account for a fact that never existed. It may be laid down almost as a general maxim, that the first relations of travellers are false. They judge of appearances in a new country under the prejudices of ideas and habits contracted in their own. They judge from particular instances, that may happen to have occurred to them, of the stature, the figure, and the features of a whole nation. Philosophers ought never to admit a fact on the relations of travellers, till their characters for intelligence and accurate observation, be well ascertained; nor even then, till the observation has been repeated, extended, and compared in many different lights, with other facts. The Indians have hair on the face and body; but from a false sense of beauty they extirpate it with great pains. And traders among them are well informed, that tweezers for that purpose, are profitable articles of commerce.



different ways. The difference is obvious between the courage I am speaking of, and that intrepid spirit which some men owe to their constitution, whose actions aim at nothing noble and praise worthy. I must make the same distinction here which was made between patience and apathy. The former consists in being superior to danger, and the latter in being insensible of it. Charles XII. of Sweden, was fierce and intrepid, but so is the bear, the lion, and the panther. A man must possess qualities superior to those which distinguished that monarch, before we can properly call him brave.

When we form an idea of cowardice, if we always opposed it to that courage which magnanimity inspires, we should not be liable to mistake the nature of it. The coward is afraid either where there is no proper cause of fear, or where there are motives sufficient to bear him up against the danger. He that is afraid where there is reason to fear, and no such motives to animate him, cannot properly be called a coward. A man would hardly be reckoned one for running away from a wild beast, making towards him, with an open mouth ready to devour him, nor would he be esteemed brave, from throwing himself into his jaws. But if we suppose that by endangering his person, he might rescue another, unable to help himself, then indeed he would be entitled to the character of a man of courage. True courage therefore is founded on magnanimity, and requires some important end to call it forth to action.

From these principles it will be no difficult matter to prove what I advanced in the beginning of this paper, that true courage was connected with the social virtues. For it appears that a social principle must inspire it, and it is natural that the same principle which discovers itself in courage, and an intrepid spirit, should likewise produce the milder virtues of clemency and compassion.

I shall present my readers with the following letter upon the dissolute manners of the age, which my correspondent thinks may be of advantage to society.

To the Visitant.

Sir,

“THE character which you assume of a Visitant, or public admonisher, claims from me a few lines on a matter of some importance to society. Your first appearance in this manner gave me a sensible pleasure: pleased with the hopes, that one who appeared so well qualified for the task he had undertaken, would in this time of general degeneracy, be of general utility. For my part I only mean in this letter to cast in the small mite which my own experience furnishes, against the prevailing corruption of the age.

“In the early part of life, when our passions are strong, I contracted a pretty general acquaintance with my co-evals: pleasure was the object of our wishes, and dissipation its constant attendant: scarcely did we ever deny ourselves the gratification of our desires, however criminal in their nature. Our pursuits were of the most ignoble sort: we continually racked our inventions for fresh matter of criminal enjoyment, and vainly gloried in such enjoyments; and, at the same time, we derided those who, from rectitude of heart, and a generous concern for our welfare, could not but pity and lament our ill conduct. This, sir, was our course of life; and I flatter myself that I have profited by the unhappy consequences of it to my companions.

“One of them was soon stopped in his career of vice and folly, by a disease which proved mortal. Then it was, and not till then, that he saw his error—such was his unhappy condition, that it would require more force of sentiment and language to paint it in its proper colours, than I am master of; I beg leave, therefore, to quote, as very descriptive of it, a few lines from the “Dying Rake’s soliloquy:”

“No friend to assist, no relation to grieve,

“And scarcely a bed my bare bones to receive;

“With solitude curs’d, and tormented with pain,

“Diltemper’d my body, distracted my brain—

“ Thus from folly to vice, and from  
vice to the grave,  
“ I sink, of my passion the victim and  
slave :  
“ No longer debauch, or companions  
deceive,  
“ But alarm'd at the vengeance I'd  
fain disbelieve ;  
“ With horrors foreboding, despond-  
ing I lie,  
“ Though tir'd of living, yet, fearing  
to die.”

“ Truly affecting was this tragical  
scene ; yet, it had but a momentary  
effect on his surviving gay compa-  
nions ; their next debauch burying all  
remembrance of it. But to be as  
brief in my narration as possible,  
many of our former companions per-  
fitted in their folly, until necessity im-  
pelled them to seek, in part, another  
course of life ; which a long mischiev-  
ous habit of indolence had render-  
ed very difficult—emaciated and en-  
feebled as they were, through their  
evil conduct : some of them were on-  
ly industrious for a time, till they had  
gathered enough for more intempe-  
rance ; others, thinking to become  
temperate, fled to matrimony for shel-  
ter ; where, soon after, having still a  
hankering for their past pleasures,  
they fatally relapsed into them : they  
not only squandered away their patri-  
monial inheritance, but even suffered  
their families to want the common  
necessaries of life. Neither did the  
evil end here. Their wives are often  
shamefully and basely insulted : and  
hence ensue animosities, and all those  
dismal calamities, which render a  
state, designed by heaven to smooth  
the rugged path of life—replete with  
misfortunes. Their tender offspring  
are unnaturally neglected and suffered  
to run loose in the world, where, by  
not having their steps watched, they too  
often become a scandal to their friends,  
and a reproach to their country.

“ Such, sir, has been the unhappy  
fate of my companions, which I  
think an instructive lesson to the world,  
because it is the natural effect of a si-  
milar course of life.

“ If what I have said should be  
worthy of your observations in the  
character of a Visitant, it will afford  
me matter of real pleasure : but, if it  
should not, at least, an old man may  
comfort himself with having attempt-

ed to cast in his mite against that grow-  
ing and dangerous evil, of giving, in  
our youth, an ungoverned rein to our  
passions.

“ I am, sir, with unfeigned respect,  
Your very humble servant,  
*Philad. April 16, 1768. A. B.*”



*Thoughts on duelling.*

**T**HE usual excuse for duelling, is  
the preservation of honour—let  
us now examine what this honour is,  
for in all my enquiries I never could  
find a man of honour able to give me  
any information concerning what he  
called honour.

First, honour is not religion—for  
the preservation of it being effected  
by sending a friend into eternity, wel-  
tering in his gore, it is plain that re-  
ligion must not only be for the time  
forgotten, but contemned and desert-  
ed for ever, as a heap of fables fit  
only for women and children.

Secondly, honour is not virtue—  
for most part of the honourable quar-  
rels which have come within my know-  
ledge, originated from events that  
shewed the total absence of virtue—  
such as gaming, attachment to bad wo-  
men, drinking, seduction, &c. &c.

Thirdly, honour is not courage—  
for a man of real courage never lifts  
his weapon in the defence of his vices,  
but in the protection of his country,  
or his person. And when we exa-  
mine the false courage which animates  
a duellist, we find it to be the pride  
of despair, and an impious and dar-  
ing contempt of the Supreme Being,  
which no valiant hero ever yet indulg-  
ed. Besides, of fifty duels, not five  
prove mortal, owing to the pusillani-  
mity of the parties, who tremble into  
each other's arms, on the slightest  
interposition of seconds ; nay, some  
*men of honour* have been known to  
give secret notice to officers of justice,  
that they may be interrupted before  
bloodshed can take place.

Fourthly, honour is not humanity—  
view the bleeding body of a newly-  
killed duellist—in the bloom of years  
and health—cut off ere he yet knew  
the value of the life he has lost—view  
his parents—his frantic father—and  
speechless mother—view their grey  
hairs brought with sorrow to an un-  
timely grave—and all this—in the pro-

tion of a harlot—the loss of a false trick—or the obscene altercation of a drunkard—view this—then say in what the humanity of a duellist consists—take humanity from the heart of man, and tell me what he is.

Since honour, then, can be referred neither to religion, nor virtue, nor courage, nor humanity, where are we to look for its source? I do not hesitate to answer, that it will be found in a mixture of pride, profligacy, and malignity. The quarrel arose in pride; that profligacy which despises the laws of heaven, and the dictates of conscience, led to revenge, and the quarrel was supported, it may be for years, with the blackest malignity of soul. We have seen instances, in which it was supported for many years, and in which no avocations, nor intercourse with foreign and various nations, were able to erase the principle of revenge. The *man of honour* thirsted for the blood of his supposed or real enemy; his soul was influenced by passion and malignity, and nothing but human blood could cool its ardour.

But some will say, “here is a man who supposes I have affronted him; I have done every thing in my power to persuade him that he is mistaken, but he insists on my fighting him; if I refuse, I am branded as a coward, and my companions shun me.” Can any thing be more plain than the duty of the challenged in a similar case? It is to reject his challenge, to assure him that when they meet, the challenged will defend himself, as against an assassin. This objection, being the only one that can possibly be offered, and the only excuse that ever can be made for accepting a challenge, I dismiss it in this manner, and will say no more concerning it.

Honour, in the true sense of that word, means character—and this being the definition of philosophers, and men of understanding, I prefer it to the specious, though fashionable explanations of every profligate in the world, whether he wield a sword or a quill. If honour be character, who is it that can hurt that?—Is it ourselves, or others? The answer is so obvious, that I need scarcely write it. In few words, we are ourselves the source of our honour or our disgrace, our character or our infamy—and does

a man, who calls me booby—who throws a glass in my face in wantonness—who says that I trumped a card, when I had one of the same suite in my hand—who hinders me from seducing his wife or his sister—who is mean enough to abuse me in a common newspaper—who, unknowingly, is witty concerning a foible I am guilty of—who refuses to intoxicate himself to the health of my favourite mistress—who does not return my salute from not having perceived that I did salute him—does such a man take from my honour, my character? Surely not. In some of the instances, he is an ill-bred man. Does that take from my character? In others, he protects the innocent. Does that take from my character? I repeat it, nothing can affect our honour, or our character, unless what comes from ourselves.



### Resignation.

THE darts of adverse fortune are always levelled at our heads. Some reach us; some graze against us, and fly to wound our neighbours. Let us, therefore, impose an equal temper on our minds, and pay without murmuring the tribute which we owe to humanity. The winter brings cold, and we must freeze. The summer returns with heat, and we must melt. The inclemency of the air disorders our health, and we must be sick. Here we are exposed to wild beasts, and there to men more savage than the beasts; and if we escape the inconveniences of the air and the earth, there are perils by water and perils by fire. This established course of things, is not in our power to change; but it is in our power to assume such a greatness of mind, as becomes wise and virtuous men; as may enable us to encounter the accidents of life with fortitude, and to conform ourselves to the order of nature, who governs her great kingdom, the world, by continual mutations. Let us submit to this order; let us be persuaded that whatever does happen, ought to happen, and never be so foolish as to expostulate with nature. The best resolution we can take, is to suffer what we cannot alter, and to pursue, without repining, the road which pro-



complaisant bow, to an honest beggar. But he pays no respect to folly, nor allows it, in any circumstances, the title of wisdom. Of all men living, perhaps he regards villainy with the least complaisance, and the least indulgence. He neither dares, nor wishes to say, let the opinions of those around be ever so different from his own, that among various sentiments he thinks there is no preference. As he knows that practices are wholly the result of principles, that truth is the natural parent of virtue, and error of vice, no temptation could induce him to express an indifference concerning subjects of such mighty importance. To the force of argument, could it be produced, he would yield up his philosophy, his politics, or even his religion; but to fashionable opinion, or to the mere names of great men, he would not concede the difference between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. He would cheerfully spend a day, or even a week, in persuading a person, whom he esteemed erroneous, that his principles were mistaken, and that others were just; and should all his endeavours fail of success, he would still treat his antagonist with entire civility, and tender him every office of good will. The reputed improbability, or the disreputable novelty of an opinion, has no influence on his scrutinies, or his belief; and, could but reasonable evidence be offered, he would recede from every opinion he has once entertained, and admit Hume was a man of candour, Voltaire a philosopher, the earth supported by a great turtle, or the moon a large cheese, fresh from a Welshwoman's dairy.

Gallio entered the years of manhood just before the late war commenced. Debates at that time ran high, and every circle teemed with politics, warmth, and contention. The cause was mighty and interesting, involving property, freedom, happiness, and life. On such an occasion, virtue demanded feeling, and to be indifferent was selfishness and malevolence. In the course of numerous debates, at which Gallio was present, and many of which were managed with reason and propriety, I never knew him fail of winding up the conversation, with a self-approving string

of security, and a declaration that he was of neither side. If you ask him his opinion concerning two parties, however respectable the one, and however unworthy the other, he uniformly expresses it in that contemptible refuge of indolence and insensibility—there is blame on both sides. Choose him an arbitrator of disputes between you and your neighbour, and he will invariably split the difference. In a collection of Christians, strenuously asserting the evidence of revelation, he will observe, that it is very difficult to answer their arguments; in a circle of infidels, strenuously opposing it, he will remark, there is doubtless much weight in what is advanced. With Calvinists he passes for a Calvinist, and with Arminians for an Arminian—without assenting to either sect, or approving of the opinions of either. With whigs he is, in their opinion, a whig, and with tories, a tory; but is neither a tory nor whig, nor did he ever declare himself of either party. If he hears his best friend stigmatized for a scoundrel, he observes—All men have their failings. If his Maker is insulted in his presence, he remarks—Men will make their observations. Gallio is neither the friend, nor the enemy of any man, party, or cause. All persons of unworthy characters, engaged in disreputable parties, or holding opinions incapable of being supported, are pleased with Gallio; for he never censures their characters, opinions, or purposes; but makes such observations, as look like approbation, and leaves them pleased with themselves, and of consequence pleased with him. With the world at large, he is a man of good nature, and with the persons just mentioned, a man of uncommon liberality.

As I am perfectly acquainted with both these persons, it is with no small mortification, that I hear Benevolus frequently characterized as a man of prejudice, rigidness, and illiberality; and candour, liberality, and catholicism as often attributed to Gallio. As I wish my countrymen to adopt just and defensible opinions, I cannot but be chagrined to see the love of truth and virtue, the most illustrious trait in an intelligent character, esteemed

prejudice and illiberality; or to see a total indifference to every thing valuable, or despicable, mistaken for candour. It is true, such an indifference gives no unwarrantable preference to one subject above another; for it gives no preference of any kind. But to feel as friendly to vice as to virtue, to error as to truth, to love an honest man no more than a knave, to view the happiness of millions hanging in dreadful suspense with a phlegmatic insensibility, is prejudice of a most unworthy and contemptible nature.

Like all other prejudices, this leads the mind to an uniform train of erroneous opinions. Among others, none can be of greater magnitude than those I have mentioned. To think lightly of truth and virtue, or to be insensible to the infinite preference of virtue to vice, of truth to error, and of right to wrong, is to entertain as false and as fatal opinions as can be devised. Neither the scepticism of Hume, nor the phrensy of Murray, ever floated through the region of dreams, with a more bewildered flight, than the mind of that person, who feels no attachments nor disrelishes towards moral objects.

There are innumerable persons, who partially wear the character of Gallio. Scelestus never speaks respectfully of virtue, nor contemptuously of vice, because either conduct would lead the company around him to make application to himself; and because he is unwilling to become his own satyrical, or the panegyrist of those who are most unlike him. Yet Scelestus is on every occasion a decided patroniser of whiggism and public spirit; for he thinks his own political life has been esteemed consistent with his declarations. Ægon is totally silent at the mention of all virtuous conduct, except the payment of debts. Ægon, being rich, finds the payment of debts easy, and advantageous to his interests, and is clamorous in its commendation. Helvius is a professed discarder of political conversation, and attachments; but speaks largely in behalf of the exteriors of religion. Helvius, through reluctance to render any service to his country, during the late war, adopted a most suspicious ambiguity of con-

duct; to avoid condemning which, he never commends political integrity in others. At the same time, to gain the reputation of acting upon principle, he became remarkably punctual in his attendance at church. Arrius warmly panegyrises the character of a good friend. Arrius fought for Caligula, to whom he had professed friendship, although he knew the villain was justly chastised for the grossest injury to the family of his benefactor. In the next debauch, Caligula attempted the virtue of Arrius's sister, but Arrius was too good a friend to resent such a trifle.

All these pass for persons of great candour, with every class of mankind, who would be wounded by the reproaches of honesty. Every man, who knows himself to be in this situation, who shrinks from the searching, meaning eye of virtue, who trembles at the approach of discovery, who is conscious that his opinions and practices will not bear examination, who feels himself shaded by the neighbourhood of piety, and who takes the alarm at the promulgation of tenets dangerous to guilt, will be highly pleased to find those, who are in some degree respectable, manifest even an indifference to his vices and follies, and to escape with a laugh of ironical approbation, where he shivered at the stings and scourges of truth. To all, who grant this indulgence to his particular failings, he pays a tribute of good names. His applause, indeed, is by no means the effect of gratitude; for it is designed ultimately for himself. While he celebrates the candour of his favourers, he means to insinuate, that all others, if influenced by candour, would treat his conduct with the same tenderness, and speak of his character with similar respect.

To men of just inquiry, and enlarged sentiments, all the instances abovementioned, will appear to be the effect of gross prejudice, and criminal insensibility. In the eye of such men, he alone will deserve the honourable epithets of candid and impartial, who is the real, fixed friend of all those interests, which the harmonizing dictates of common sense and revelation have represented as valuable. Such persons, it is true, are

liable to error; otherwise they would cease to be men: but, when they are exposed to a few trivial mistakes, the sceptic, the voluptuary, and the worldling will be lost in a wilderness of falshood. This disposition is indeed the great, the only guide to truth and rectitude; and he, who is unpossessed of it, when fairly unveiled, will ever appear alike contemptible for his disposition and his opinions.



*An infallible scheme for paying off the continental debt, and defraying the current expenses of government, without any additional tax either grievous or burdensome to the laborious or industrious subjects of the united states: by an old financier.*

**T**HE great distress of this unhappy country is too visible to all, except those who have the power to redress it. We may observe through the whole continent, one universal complaint of the decay of trade, general bankruptcies, deficiency of money, and rapaciousness of tax-gatherers; and yet I cannot find, amongst all the schemes, proposed to lessen these evils, any one in particular, which seems likely to succeed. But what is still an addition to this melancholy prospect of affairs, is the unbounded extravagance, both in dress and entertainments, in which persons of some property, as well as those of no property, seem willing to indulge.

We are affected in quite a different manner from all the nations upon earth; for, with others, wealth is the mother of luxury, but with us, poverty has the very same effect; with others, scarcity is the parent of industry, but with us, it is the nurse of idleness and vice. We labour to imitate the kingdoms of Europe in nothing but their extravagance, without having the same plentiful aids of commerce, or applying ourselves to the study of fair dealing, to maintain it. So that, in short, by our own ill management, we are brought to so low an ebb of wealth and credit, that our condition seems incapable of relief.

But, having the interest of this our common country at heart, I do not intend this essay as a detail of our present grievances, but as a remedy against them; and for that purpose, I

have laboured to find out such a scheme, as will discharge the public debt, without oppressing the citizens, and that in so short a time, that we may neither complain of being loaded with long-continued taxes, nor quite despair of being once more in a condition to have, at least, the appearance of honesty and industry, if nothing better.

Let us consider what those vices are, which at present prevail most amongst us—upon enquiry, we shall find them to be fraud, treachery, deceit, and ingratitude, with their auxiliaries, perjury, drunkenness, blasphemy, slander, and infidelity.

Would it not then be worthy of our consideration, and that of the different legislatures, to enquire whether a moderate tax upon every particular vice would not be more conducive to our welfare, than the cramping our foreign and domestic trade? Such a tax must of necessity yield a vast revenue, and prove a most infallible scheme for our prosperity.

But before I proceed to particulars, it may not be amiss to premise, that this tax is not designed for any one state or county; but to extend itself universally over the whole continent; because different vices may flourish in different states, or even counties of the same state; like different plants in their different soils: as perjury in one, fraud in another, deceit and ingratitude in a third, treachery in a fourth, plunder and rapine in a fifth, and so of the rest. However, in some states, I take perjury to be the most important and particular staple vice—And, lest any disputes may hereafter arise, about the nature of perjury, or what persons are to be subject to this tax—I must here also premise, that every lie, confirmed by an oath, is undoubtedly perjury, whether before a chancellor, a magistrate, or behind a counter; and therefore do not doubt, but the trading part of our people will be great benefactors to the public in this particular article, as well as those who retire from trade with a moderate competency, under the great law batteries provided for their protection by the legislatures.

These two things being premised, let us suppose that in this extensive empire, five hundred persons are guil-

ty of this little infirmity of perjury each day, which computation must be allowed very moderate—if we recollect that this number is not above a two-hundredth part of the inhabitants of any one of the middling states, Virginia and Massachusetts being left out of the number. And if we further consider what strong inducements our people have to practise it from its being often so exceedingly beneficial—if we consider the use made of it in all sorts of traffic—the great demands for it in law-suits—the great advantage of it in elections—and the undeniable profits of it in all prosecutions, we shall think the number five hundred still more reasonable. Let us suppose every one of this number to be perjured only once every day (which is a very favourable supposition) and subject only to a tax of one-fourth of a dollar for each offence; for which sum, perhaps, he may procure either the death of an enemy, an estate for his friend, or a fortune for himself (all which are esteemed very desirable); the tax will be by far too inconsiderable to make any one murmur, and yet will yield the sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars per day, towards discharging our national debt. Besides, this tax, though very low, may in reality be very profitable to mankind, particularly to attornies, doctors, gamblers, taylors, invoice-makers, whether on saltwater or land, sheriffs, with their deputies, runners, and all that host of worthies, tavern-keepers, auctioniers, brokers, and other honest traders, who will scarce think it answerable to the expense of time, to forswear themselves for any profit, from one shilling to a quarter dollar inclusive; but will at least, for every transgression, expect to gain sufficient to defray the tax. However, I would have all sworn constables, and all collectors of this and many other taxes, entirely exempt from any penalty, as privileged persons; because, by that means, they will be enabled to be serviceable in their respective situations.

Conjugal infidelity, as the world goes at present, would furnish the public with a large sum, even at a very moderate tax; for it is now made an essential part of the polite gentleman's character; and he that has prevailed on the greatest number, pro-

portionally rises in reputation. Let us then compute that in the several parts of this continent, one thousand per day were liable to be taxed for this genteel vice, only at the small sum of a dollar hard money, (no paper currency to be taken in any of these taxes) the revenue arising from this impost would amount to £.375 per day; and in one year, to upwards of £.136,500 current money of Pennsylvania, &c.

I know it may be here objected, that I have computed upon too small a number, and that I might justly account rather upon four or five thousand a day in the several states of the union—but although I own this objection to be very strong, if we were to consider the opportunities of balls, play-houses, night-sermons, horseracing, card playing, private banqueting, and many other commodious scenes for that kind of entertainment; yet I would rather choose to err on the right side, in too small, than too great a computation.

Drunkenness I would only tax at six pence, as it might be prejudicial to trade, as well as the revenue, to discourage it, and consequently subject the proposer to penalties. Let us then compute that only twenty thousand persons (which is not the two hundredth part of the people in the united states) were daily liable to be taxed, the amount would be £.500 per day. And how extremely moderate this computation is, may appear to any one who considers, that besides the usual opportunities of taverns, billiard-tables, and private houses, there are public feasts, weddings, and christenings, and many other irresistible inducements to this manly vice, which, perhaps, if nicely calculated, would daily furnish us with two-thirds more than our computed number, and by that means greatly conduce to the public good—However, I would by all means exempt all country justices of the peace, whether they had the rudiments of their education on the fore-castle of a trading sloop, brig, or other vessel; in the tap-room of a twopenny beer-house; or in the yet more laborious and ingenious occupation, of repairing old soles and heels—or otherwise, in the due management of a cart, waggon, or dray; because, it would

be rather degrading to see such respectable personages insulted by meaner officers, as often as they might be discovered in such a condition.

Swearing would be a most universal benefit towards augmenting these funds; because it serves to season the discourse of all ranks and degrees of men, and may also be serviceable to ladies, upon any sudden and unexpected suspicion of irregular conduct. It is the principal ingredient and decoration of all modern jests, jokes, and love-speeches, disputes, threats, and promises, and consequently capable of affording an incredible revenue; however, let us suppose eighty thousand persons per day liable to a tax of five pence or six pence only, for each offence of this kind, which, considering the great number of taverns, tipping-houses, markets, shops, and gaming-houses, in the different states, is a very inconsiderable number; yet, even this article will furnish us with £.2000 per day, which would amount to a large sum, if only collected for six months in each year.

I am already apprehensive, that all military persons will expect an exemption from taxes on this account; because they may plead precedents for many generations; may allege the power of custom, the decency and agreeableness of it, when properly interspersed with other discourse, or, that the censorious world, would perhaps suspect that they knew nothing of God, if they did not some time or other mention his name, and many other reasons of equal weight: but though these remonstrances are very just, yet, as this is the only means by which standing armies in times of profound peace can possibly conduce to the national good, it will be hard to exempt them—However, as the military power would be liable to this tax in all its branches, and thereby be utterly impoverished, I believe it may not be improper to allow all foot-soldiers and field officers, ensigns, naval officers, cabin boys, and commissaries, forty or fifty oaths a day, entirely free from any tax or penalty.

As for slander, supposing only 40,000 per day, taxed at the foregoing moderate rate of 6d. for every offence, this article would daily afford the public (at the lowest computation)

£.1000, and as this is a favourite talent, we might have ventured to tax it much higher; but I would not wish to discourage so charitable a disposition, especially where it may promote the interest of my country.

As to the ladies, I have been always too great an admirer of their's, to desire any restriction should be laid on their pleasures, either private or public; and, therefore, I would have them taxed only half as much as the men, for every little error of this kind; because slander in men is an unnatural talent, and generally practised to ingratiate themselves with the opposite sex; whereas, this gentle failing in females, is innate, and impossible to be restrained; which is an unfortunate circumstance, that demands our utmost lenity and compassion. I think assemblies, gossiping houses, and all places of public resort for ladies, ought to be exempt from any penalty; because it is so material a part of the discourse and amusement of those places, that to tax them for each offence would be in effect to enjoin them perpetual silence, which (if it were possible) would be as great a mortification to themselves, as a disappointment to all slayers of reputation, and dealers in news.

Luxurious articles of every denomination should also be liable to a tax; and under this head, would be classed all family bibles, common prayer books, lives of the saints, psalm books, and such other books of divinity as are seldom used, unless to enter the births and baptisms of children in them. This being a purpose so repugnant to those sacred writings, that a tax of (at least) ten dollars a year, should be laid upon all such books, whenever the owners of them could not give satisfactory proof of their having opened them at either public or private devotions, above once or twice in a year; always reserving and excepting, nevertheless, to pretty beads, and little misses, four Sundays, annually, for the sole purpose of admiring each other at any church, chapel, or other house of worship they may think proper, when and where it may be allowed them to turn over the leaves without reading a syllable of their contents; as the very appearance of such books, in a public place, might

be the means of setting a good example to those who never touch them upon any pretence whatever: but as I should not wish this to be considered in the nature of a partial tax, nor to bear hard upon those who have been many years used to indulgence, and of course, might think any restraint of this kind, an attack upon their liberty; from these considerations I would willingly allow all old bachelors and widowers above the age of forty, and all maiden ladies above the age of thirty-five, respectively, one whole year free of this tax, hoping that at the expiration thereof, they might conform to the rules prescribed by the laws of their country.

Let us now only consider the several sums arising from the tax on a few only, of our most simple vices, according to the computation made of them: and the equity and infallibility of the scheme must appear as demonstrable as any proposition in Euclid.

For, perjury at 125 dollars per day or 3750 per month, will amount in current money	£. 1,406 5 0
Congugal infidelity £. 375 per day, or per month, to	11,250 0 0
Drunkenness £. 500 per day, or per month	15,000 0 0
Swearing £. 2000 per day, or per month	60,000 0 0
Slander £. 1000 per day, or per month	30,000 0 0
<hr/> Total per month	<hr/> £. 117,656 5 0

which, in the course of one year, will amount to one million, four hundred and eleven thousand, eight hundred and seventy-five pounds, like current money.

But lest by the universal poverty of our people, which is much to be feared, or by their growing more virtuous, (an unnatural change, that can never be reasonably apprehended) this daily income should fall short of what we have computed, I must beg leave to offer some other improvements of this scheme, which will undoubtedly answer all deficiencies; and for this purpose, if a severe tax was laid on

they arrived at the age of knowing something of themselves, or of some occupation, whereby they might even hope to obtain some honest and competent livelihood; and upon all young women who contracted matrimony, before they arrived at the age of discretion, or knew any thing to qualify them for housekeepers and mistresses of families, except the art of bedizen-ing, painting, and dressing themselves a la mode de Harlequin (excepting and always reserving, with or without discretion, all ladies above the age of sixty, who might have a desire to enter into the holy order of matrimony; it being presumed at that period of life, that they would not contaminate future generations by transmitting any issue of so late a marriage.) If any should prove fool-hardy enough to transgress a law so calculated for the happiness of mankind, each offence would be of material benefit to the public; and if providentially it should prove an effectual restraint, there must of consequence be fewer children in each family, and of course, the number of poor throughout the united states, must proportionably decrease.

As to the scheme of taxing bachelors, which hath lately been proposed by many honourable members in different assemblies of the states, I must beg leave to think it highly improper; because bachelors of all ranks and degrees, are real benefactors to the public, by not furnishing either beggars or oppressors of beggars, one of which must infallibly be the consequence of marriage in this great empire.

These, and many other expedients, might easily be furnished upon any emergency, to supply considerable sums for the continental debt. But as there will probably remain a surplus, if this plan be adopted, over and above our public debt, I would allow 100,000*l.* for salaries to such persons as shall be appointed collectors, and I hope this will be considered as an adequate provision, though generally, above one half of every tax is expended in paying the officers for collecting it. The overplus (if any) may be deposited in the treasury of the united states, for any other laudable, or pious use.

Thus would a moderate tax upon our vices, apparently contribute to

save this extensive empire from utter ruin. Many persons who have not the least excuse for their irregularities at present, (except the commendable public-spirited contempt for religion) might then plead in their own defence, that their immoralities had contributed to save their country. And by these means, we might be furnished with a multitude of patriots, who probably would never prove so in any other respect; therefore I must publicly declare, that there can be no other method, half so good as the one proposed, to make private vices, public benefits.

*Philadelphia, April 25, 1788.*



*Importance of a proper system of education—establishment of a federal university recommended.*

**W**HETHER viewed by the contemplative eye of the philosopher, or scanned by the more active mind of the politician and legislator, the happiness arising to society from the progress of science in the world, presents the most pleasing consequences, as our encouragement to establish institutions for the education of youth in every branch of literature. No country is more indebted to the cause of learning than America—to the well-informed mind of her citizens does she owe her present important rank in the scale of nations; to this is she indebted for her unparalleled advances to greatness and empire, and on this does the preservation of her future liberties and all the invaluable rights of human nature essentially depend. What more noble or engaging considerations can be urged, to prove the propriety and policy of our exertions to place on the most liberal and solid grounds, the education of the present generation?—Let schools and colleges be every where reared, as the more pleasing substitutes of jails and houses of correction, that a proper bias may be given to the tender mind, and youth trained up in the way they should in future walk: there is a native ingenuity in the disposition of mankind, which, by early cultivation, may be brought to maturity, and society thereby relieved in a great degree from the evils resulting from ignorance and obstinacy—its natural

offspring; and each individual, instead of being impelled by the fear of punishment, be drawn by a consciousness of duty, to act well his part. Constitutions and forms of government will little avail, without a general prevalence of religion—the cultivation of private virtue—and a refinement of the moral sense. America, from her local situation, possesses greater advantages, for the promotion of literature and the arts, than have marked any other nation, in the early stages of its political existence—not being subject to the constant inroads of barbarians, or the tyranny of superstition, nor interrupted by the frequent din of arms, ever hostile to the arts—Here peace waves her gentle banners, and, under the pleasing auspices of our present happy form of government, and enlightened administrators, science shall expand her genial rays, and the various fountains of learning through the continent, annually issue their streams, which, like the periodical inundations of the Nile, shall enrich the country all around.

While the lesser schools and every literary institution, however small, must be thought worthy the attention of government—I hope to see the establishment of a federal university\*—it is an idea which has been heretofore suggested, and which prefaces much future advantage to the public. Such a university may be erected in a central situation of the union, under the management of able instructors, to which the students, graduating at the different state colleges, may repair, to finish their education, by remaining two or three years, and principally directing their studies to the political interests of their country—the great objects of legislation and national jurisprudence. As we have taken our station among the other nations of the world, it is highly proper we should form on national principles, which can be best done by promoting such institutions as have a tendency to remove local views and habits, and beget mutual confidence,

NOTE.

\* See a plan for this purpose in the American Museum, vol. IV. p. 442.

esteem, and good fellowship, between those who are embarked in the same bottom, and must rise or fall together. The institution above alluded to, I think will be happily calculated to answer those valuable purposes, and have the most beneficial effects, in a political view. In order to avoid the idea, or prevent its being in fact an exclusive kind of education, it ought to be constructed on the most economical plan, that the expense may be no bar to those who may wish to participate of the instruction there to be received, to form themselves for future eminent services to their country, to which their studies ought more particularly to be directed. Contracted and envious minds will always view with pain every exertion made to cultivate and improve the understandings of others, so as to raise them above the level of their own: but this I presume will be no objection of weight to the establishment of those seminaries of learning and science, where men may be well instructed in the rights of human nature, and strengthened in their abilities, to assert those rights, and preserve them inviolate from that tyranny and oppression under which mankind have too often groaned in less enlightened ages.

We find, by a review of the history of ancient Rome, whose lustre and national greatness were once the astonishment of the world, that the arts and sciences, and liberty, ever flourished hand in hand, while they could boast a set of wise and able princes who gave them all due encouragement—and that to check the progress of literature, and to mar every noble exertion of the human powers, formed the first attempts of their tyrannical rulers, to enslave them; and we observe liberty and the arts to have gradually decayed, till they finally sunk into their original barbarity and Gothicism. It remains for America, by an early attention to the encouragement of every art and science, and the cultivation of the human mind, to the highest pitch of improvement, to fit the inhabitants of this western world for the enjoyment of that freedom and independence for which they have so nobly fought—and which will never be wrested from them, while they imbibe with their milk, the first

principles of civil liberty, and are uniformly educated in an abhorrence of every attempt that may be formed to deprive them of this mighty boon of heaven.

FENNO.



*Original letter of William Penn to the commissioners of state, about the privileges of the assembly, &c.*

*Windsor, the 18th 7mo. 1683.*

*Dear friends,*

I Salute you with that love, with which I ever loved you; and in that truth, which is not given to change, and that has begotten in my heart, a real concern for your welfare and happiness every way: and I hope your regard and affection is the same to me and the prosperity of my poor family, as in former times; for it would be no little sorrow to me, to hear any thing of time or distance having weakened your zeal and love towards me and mine.

I have been afraid, lest my long (and the Lord knows, unwilling) stay, should be looked upon as slighting of you, now I was not like to get a-fresh by you, and so might direct my designs to an home advantage, and leave you to struggle with the roughness of a remote wilderness: but the Lord God Almighty knows the sorrow, the expense, the hazard, that attend my absence from you; and that my prayers are most fervently, with a bowed soul, often poured forth to him, that he would clear and help my way towards you, with whom I should rejoice to live and die. Wherefore, dear friends, let not your hearts fail, nor your love decay, but let your care be, that the poor province be not prejudiced any way by my absence, all that is possible in you, and endeavour to sweeten all things; and with the meekness of Moses, and patience of Job, to be good examples to the people. I have considered your hard task, and the rubs the worldly spirit puts in your way, that despise dignities; and for your ease, have appointed one that is not a friend, but a grave, sober, wise man, to be governor in my absence—He married old general Lambert's daughter—was treasurer to the commonwealth's army in England, Scotland, and Ireland—I suppose independent in judgment. Let him see

what he can do 'a while. I have ordered him to confer in private with you, and square himself by your advice—but bear down with a visible authority, vice and faction; that it may not look a partiality in friends, or other than should be, to act as they have done. And if he do not please you, he shall be laid aside: for I do it not that I am displeas'd with your care, or service, quite the contrary. If in any thing you have differ'd from my sense, it is, I believe, because you thought it best for the general service. I desire you to receive this person with kindness, and let him see it, and use his not being a friend, to friends' advantage. But you must know, I have rough people to deal with about my quit rents, that yet cannot pay a ten-pound bill, but draw, draw, draw still upon me. And it being his talent to regulate and set things in method, easy and just, I have pitched upon him to advise therein. He has a mighty repute of all sorts of honest people where he has inhabited, which, with my own knowledge, has made me venture upon him. I had your letter by E. Blackfan. I have in mine to Thomas Loyd, communicat'd my mind about Jos. Growden's business, and other matters. I will add, that the assembly, as they call themselves, are not so, without governor and privy council; and that no speaker, clerk, or book, belong to them; and that the people have their representatives in the privy council to prepare; and the assembly, as it is call'd, has only the power of aye or no, yea or nay. If they turn debaters, judges, or complainers, you overthrow the charter quite in the very root of the constitution of it; for it is to usurp the privy council's part in the charter, and to forfeit the charter itself. Here would be two assemblies, and two representatives, whereas they are but one, to two works: one prepares and proposes, the other assents or denies: the negative voice is by that in them, and that is not a debating, mending, or altering, but an accepting or rejecting power—mind this, I intreat you, that all fall not to pieces.

For Jos. Growden's pleading equity about that land, the charter equity is not concern'd there; for the notion of estates in law and equity shews he

is mistaken. Has he an equity to more than is due? Then where is my right, if he has an equity to what is mine? I am master of my own, and that he must know. Next, for what Thomas Fairman says about measuring his land, and leaving a piece by my order, I renounce it. I never gave him such an order—I love no unfair thing; and for large quantities of lands, I am contented they should keep them, that have them, if they will sell at a moderate rate to newcomers; else it closes up the country from planters, which hurts the whole. For news, I will send all by E. Blackfan. The writs issue out to-day—a parliament sits in 9th mo.—the king promises to exclude the Roman catholics from parliament, rather than not have the liberty of conscience by a law—fears of war with Holland. The Lord order all for his glory, who is worthy for ever.

I am,

Your real and affectionate friend,

WM. PENN.

The governor is call'd Captain Blackwell—he commanded, in the beginning of the wars, the famous maiden troop. Farewell, my dear love to your families—friends as if named, and the people.



To make excellent bread without yeast.

SCALD about a double-handful of Indian meal, into which put a little salt, and as much cold water as will make it rather warmer than new milk; then stir in wheat flour, till it is as thick as a family pudding, and set it down by the fire to rise. In about half an hour, it generally grows thin; you may sprinkle a little fresh flour on the top, and mind to turn the pot round, that it may not bake to the side of it. In three or four hours, if you mind the above directions, it will rise and ferment as if you had set it with top yeast; when it does, make it up in a soft dough; flour a pan, put in your bread, set it before the fire, covered up, turn it round to make it equally warm, and in about half an hour it will be light enough to bake. It suits best to bake at home in a Dutch oven, as it should be put into the oven as soon as it is light.

*Distresses and complaints of a bachelor.*

'Tis hard: but patience must endure  
And sooth the woes it cannot cure.

I AM an idle man, and a bachelor of an easy fortune: I am engaged in no kind of business; but, having had a liberal education, and still retaining an inclination for letters, I pass the greater part of my time in study and contemplation. I have the misfortune to be troubled with weak nerves, and suffer under a thousand evils, which the unfeeling neither comprehend nor know how to pity. As I still retain the appearance of health, my sufferings are regarded with little or no compassion, and my feelings are daily insulted by the attempts of my friends to laugh me out of complaints they are pleased to call imaginary. My disorder is, however, a real one, and whatever may be the cause, deserves commiseration; my present situation has very much increased my malady, and as, for some particular reasons, I cannot remove from it, the impossibility of an escape is no small addition to my torments.

They who enjoy perfect health, will smile when I complain of the miseries I suffer from the whispering of servants, the jarring of windows, and the slamming of doors; but these are slight evils, indeed, to those I am doomed to endure. At the door of the house where I lodge, hangs a young blackbird, who has only two notes, and they are so incessantly repeated, that was it not for the variety of other noises, they would absolutely distract me. In the hall is a parrot, of the small grey kind; he does not make the least attempt to speak, but keeps the most discordant screeching, somewhat resembling, but much worse than, the whetting of a hand saw. Over my head, is a nursery, where five small children pass the greater part of their time: they express their joys and sorrows in notes equally loud and shrill, and are never quiet for a moment, but when they are asleep, which seldom happens to all at the same time; and then the rocking of the cradle, and lullaby of the nurse, afford an agreeable variety to fill up the interval. Now, sir, to a bachelor, the noises of a nursery are the most insufferable of any. I forgot to men-

tion, that one of the children has a favourite spaniel, with a voice as clear as a bell; this contemptible animal has many offensive qualities, and sometimes when I am in a profound reverie, steals into my room and begins to bark so loud and so suddenly, that I do not recover myself for some time to be able to drive him from me; he has another trick, that equally unmans me, though it is an action of endearment; as I sit sometimes with a book in one hand, and the other hanging carelessly over the chair, he makes me start from my seat, by unexpectedly licking my hand. In the next room to that in which I sit, the lady of the house keeps three canary birds, and her eldest son, a boy about nine years of age, has just begun to practise the fiddle—a cuckoo clock, at the head of the stairs, and the creaking of a closet door by the side of it, complete the instrumental part of the concert. However, that more senses than one may be gratified at the same time, in the morning the house-maid cleans the kitchen candlesticks by roasting them before the fire; at dinner time, the cook generally contrives to let two or three hot coals fall into the dripping pan, which, from an under ground kitchen, distributes a most delicious favor over the whole house. In the evening, the olfactory nerves have the most complete gratification, from the fuliginous effluvia of expiring candles, which, being suffered to burn down into the sockets, add the flavor of the solder to the rancid smell of the tallow.

These are some of my distresses by day, but when night comes, and I retire to my chamber in hopes of refreshment and comfort, in sound and undisturbed sleep—when the noise of the nursery has ceased, and the scraping of an untuned fiddle no longer vibrates in my ear—when the blackbird is silent within his wicker cage, the parrot at rest upon his perch, and Juliet, wakeful as she is, has nestled in the bosom of her mistress—then am I again distracted by a noise, if possible, more intolerable than any I have yet described.

We have, sir, as part of our domestic establishment, a dog and a cat. The dog is of the Newfoundland kind, a very faithful affectionate ani-

mal, and has attached himself to me by many little offices of kindness, which I am not accustomed to receive from his betters. He has no fawning or flattery in his nature; whenever he does a good-natured action, he seems to be repaid by the pleasure he takes in doing it, and a look of approbation from me sets his heart at rest. He is in general very silent, and not fond of making new acquaintances. I have made a bed for him at my chamber door, to which he regularly retires, and I believe would not resign his station, or his fidelity, to rest like Juliet, in the bosom of innocence; the cat has a disposition altogether opposite to that of Hector; she is shy and mischievous, no caresses can tempt her to the least familiarity: a fierceness in her look, and an eager watchfulness in her manner, make her an object rather of fear than of attachment. From the irregularities of this ferocious animal, I am deprived of many a night's quiet and sleep. In short, she is a cat of most infamous morals, and I blush at the recital of her depravity. Unfortunately, my chamber windows are directly over the gutter which leads to the adjoining house; this is usually the scene of her nocturnal clamours. Contrary to all the established forms of courtship amongst us two-legged animals, which are generally governed by secrecy—the meetings of those disturbers of my rest are distinguished by noises of most dreadful variety. Sometimes they run up from the lowest note to the top of the scale, with a rapidity not more wonderful than painful to the ear. Now in a key of plaintive sadness, like a moaning and complaining infant; then by a sudden and violent transition, to tones which can only be imitated by the growling of the lion, or the discordant howlings of the tyger. Thus do they pierce the very ear of night with sounds, that, however soft and melodious they are to the cats, are to the human organs harsh and grating to the greatest degree. I have very gravely reasoned with my landlady, on the moral turpitude of keeping such an example of incontinency, continually before the eyes of her lodgers; and have pointed out to her the distresses I suffer from their frantic revels. She either does

not, or will not understand my complaints, with an intention to redress them; as my last resource, I have resolved to send an account of my sufferings to the printer.

It is some alleviation of our sorrows to relate them, and it may possibly render my situation somewhat more tolerable, if it should lead to the reflexion, that in society we should sacrifice some of our private gratifications, if we find them offensive to those with whom we are connected under the same roof, and that it is as much our duty to communicate, as to enjoy happiness.

### A BACHELOR.



#### *Thoughts on the finances of America.*

THE arrangement of the financial affairs of the union involves interests, of the most conspicuous character. On the successful issue of this business depends the establishment of public credit, and all the train of benefits, of a public and private nature, that always accompany it.

The intention of this paper is to point out the similarity of situation in which we are placed, to that of the British, in the reign of king William III.

The re-coinage of the silver had occasioned a great scarcity of specie—the opposition, made by those who were averse to the revolution, generated political feuds, which were attended with a general want of confidence in the government; the public securities, that had been emitted to those who had lent money, rendered services, or furnished supplies, had depreciated, insomuch that the tallies, exchequer bills, &c. had fallen from forty to sixty per cent. discount, and all loans to government were procured on exorbitant premiums. In this alarming crisis, the eloquence and abilities of mr. Montague (then chancellor of the exchequer) saved the nation.

He had a computation made of the exact amount of all the obligations due by government, for which he procured specific funds, to be appropriated by parliament for the payment of the annual interest; the surplus, if any, to be formed into a fund for the extinction of the capital. This grant, “to supply deficiencies, and raise the

public credit," was unanimously entered into, by the commons\*, which was the principal foundation of the public credit of Great Britain, and which is worthy the most serious consideration of every member of the house of representatives†.

The tendency of such measures was to restore public credit, and establish it on the most permanent and respectable footing; since that period, it never has been violated by Great Britain in a single instance. Indeed, the benefits, that were derived from its support, were the foundation of all her greatness; it occasioned immense sums of money to flow into that favoured country, from all quarters, which, by its continual increase and abundance, so lessened its value, that the ministry were enabled to reduce the interest of the public debts (with the consent of the creditors) from six to five per cent. in the year 1717—from five to four per cent. in the year 1727—from four to three per cent. in the year 1750 to 1757—by which reductions an annual saving was made of £. 1,266,971 sterling‡.

But besides this advantage, the plenty of money animated and supported every branch of industry, and rendered the taxes a very easy burden for the people to bear; the funded debt, from the facility of its transfer, became a representative of all alienable property, and thereby aided and increased the circulating medium.

From the day that such a system is adopted and pursued, we may date the commencement of the rising splendor of this country. Every palliative or plan that may fall short of this system, will only tend to the postponement of this glorious period.

#### AGRICOLA.

*Philadelphia, April 13, 1789.*

#### *Anecdote of Blackbeard.*

**A**BOUT a century ago, this dauntless pirate reigned master of the

#### NOTES.

\* See § and 9 William III. chap. 20. section the first.

† See parliamentary debates, vol. 3. page 70.

‡ See American Museum, vol. VI. page 96.

whole coast of North-America. All the rivers, from Georgia to New-Hampshire, were his own. He amassed great treasures, and buried them for safety under ground, as some of the people say: and many nocturnal speculators sweat themselves in quest of them to this day, though to little purpose. Poor Blackbeard, imagining himself in perfect safety, ventured once to send most of his crew ashore, to gather provisions on the banks of Patowmack river. Unluckily for him, his evil star presided at that moment—a British ship of war arrived. The commander, informed of matters, sends his lieutenant up the river after him, in a well manned barge. They approach warily, with the hope of surprising him. Their hopes succeed—They board him sword and pistol in hand—find but few on the deck—all their own. But the lieutenant, a brave Scotsman, well acquainted with his Andra Ferrara, wished to give Blackbeard a chance for his life, and generously challenged him out to single combat. The old man stood ready on the quarter deck. They engaged, and for some time the contest was doubtful; but at length the good genius and better address of the lieutenant prevailing, poor Blackbeard received a severe stroke on the shoulder—bah, cried he, that's well struck, brother soldier!—"Weell, cri'd the lieutenant, gen ye like it, ye sal ha more ont," and the very next stroke severed his black head from his shoulders, and instantly putting it into a boiling pot of water, ordered his men to cleanse it perfectly; and when done, had it tipped with silver, and presented it to a friend, the keeper of a public house, as a cup to drink punch out of; and it remains *en statu quo* to this day, for that purpose.

#### *An account of the highest court of judicature in Pennsylvania. viz.*

The court of the press. *Ascribed to the hon. Benjamin Franklin, Esq.*

#### *Power of this court.*

**I**T may receive and promulgate accusations of all kinds, against all persons and characters among the citizens of the state, and even against all inferior courts: and may judge, sentence and condemn to infamy, noi

only private individuals, but public bodies &c. with or without enquiry or hearing, at the court's discretion.

*In whose favour, or for whose emolument, this court is established.*

In favour of about one citizen in five hundred, who, by education, or practice in scribbling, has acquired a tolerable stile as to grammar and construction, so as to bear printing; or, who is possessed of a press and a few types. This five hundredth part of the citizens have the privilege of accusing and abusing the other four hundred and ninety nine parts, at their pleasure; or they may hire out their pens and presses to others, for that purpose.

*Practice of this court.*

It is not governed by any of the rules of common courts of law. The accused is allowed no grand jury to judge of the truth of the accusation before it is publicly made; nor is the name of the accuser made known to him; nor has he an opportunity of confronting the witnesses against him; for they are kept in the dark, as in the Spanish court of inquisition. Nor is there any petty jury of his peers sworn to try the truth of the charges. The proceedings are also sometimes so rapid, that an honest good citizen may find himself suddenly and unexpectedly accused, and in the same morning judged and condemned, and sentence pronounced against him, that he is a rogue and a villain. Yet if an officer of this court receives the slightest check for misconduct in this his office, he claims immediately the rights of a free citizen by the constitution, and demands to know his accuser, to confront the witnesses, and to have a fair trial by a jury of his peers.

*The foundation of its authority.*

It is said to be founded on an article in the State constitution, which establishes the liberty of the press—a liberty which every Pennsylvanian would fight and die for: though few of us, I believe, have distinct ideas of its nature and extent. It seems indeed somewhat like the liberty of the press, that felons have by the common law of England before conviction, that is, to be either pressed to death, or hanged. If by the liberty of the

press were understood merely the liberty of discussing the propriety of public measures and political opinions, let us have as much of it as you please: but if it means the liberty of affronting, calumniating, and defaming one another, I, for my part, own myself willing to part with my share of it, whenever our legislators shall please so to alter the law; and shall cheerfully consent to exchange my liberty of abusing others, for the privilege of not being abused myself.

*By whom this court is commissioned or constituted.*

It is not by any commission from the supreme executive council, who might previously judge of the abilities, integrity, knowledge, &c. of the persons to be appointed to this great trust, of deciding upon the characters and good fame of the citizens; for this court is above that council, and may accuse, judge, and condemn it, at pleasure. Nor is it hereditary, as is the court of dernier resort in the peerage of England. But any man who can procure pen, ink, and paper, with a press, a few types, and a huge pair of blacking balls, may commissionate himself: and his court is immediately established in the plenary possession and exercise of its rights. For if you make the least complaint of the judge's conduct, he daubs his blacking-balls in your face wherever he meets you; and besides tearing your private character to flutters, marks you out for the odium of the public, as an enemy to the liberty of the press.

*Of the natural support of this court.*

Its support is founded in the depravity of such minds as have not been mended by religion, nor improved by good education.

“There is a lust in man no charm can tame,

“Of loudly publishing his neighbour's shame.”

Hence,

“On eagle's wings, immortal, scandals fly,

“While virtuous actions are but born, and die.” DRYDEN.

Whoever feels pain in hearing a good character of his neighbour, will feel a pleasure in the reverse. And of those, who, despairing to rise in-



appeared very much enlarged. The right hypochondria, epigallic, and umbilical regions, were greatly distended, with a hard, unusual kind of tumor. The most prominent part was at the navel, but not the least fluctuation could be discovered in any part of it. When pressed, it yielded with difficulty, and no impression appeared when the force was withdrawn.

Upon further examination, I found there was a considerable quantity of water diffused in the cavity of the abdomen, not occupied by the tumor. He told me his appetite had been voracious during the increase of the disorder; but that he experienced a great deal of pain and uneasiness for some time after eating heartily.

I was sensible the liver was the seat of his disorder, and that a diminished absorption occasioned a collection of water; but he was so reduced, and in such a miserable situation, respiration being hurried and laborious, that I despaired of rendering him any service. However, wishing to satisfy his friends, I directed him small doses of mercury, combined with opium, and then left him.

On the twenty-eighth day of the month he died, and the day following I opened him, with the assistance of dr. H——, in the presence of a number of gentlemen. The most prominent part of the tumor was at the umbilicus, but it extended over the whole of the right hypochondrium. Upon opening the abdomen, a considerable quantity of water was discharged, and a great number of hydatides, filled with a liquor tinged yellow, adhered to the liver and other viscera.

The tumor upon the liver was of a prodigious size and uncommon appearance, and had, in a great measure, destroyed the texture of that viscus. The matter, which was contained in different cysts, was, in general, of the melicerous kind. One part of it was of a soft pultaceous nature; another part was more fluid, resembling purulent matter, and the remainder, which was much the largest portion, of the consistence and appearance of candied honey. We dissected the matter composing the tumor, all out in two parcels, as it proved to be contained in two sacs,

composed of a number of smaller ones, adhering slightly together. We had no opportunity of weighing the matter after taking it out of the body; but it nearly filled two vessels, each holding seven or eight quarts. The gall bladder was small, and almost empty. The cavity of the stomach was greatly diminished in capacity, by the pressure of the tumor; and the inferior orifice, called pylorus, distorted to the left of the vertebræ. It contained nothing but a small quantity of gallic liquor, extremely acrimonious. The spleen was but little altered by disease; and the intestinal canal appeared nearly in a natural state, except that portion of the great curve of the colon which passes under the right lobe of the liver, and comes in contact with the gall bladder. The coats of the colon at this place were gangrenous, and the capacity of the canal considerably lessened. Throughout their whole extent, a number of hydatides, of unequal size, and filled with liquor of different shades, adhered to the external coat of the intestines. The upper part of the omentum was mortified, and the whole of it emptied of any adipose substance. The thorax was not opened.



*To compose a mixture, by means of which, water or other liquors may be frozen, and the usual phenomena attending natural frost produced at any time of the year in the hottest parts of the world.*

**MIX** by degrees, agitating them well together in a convenient glass, or glazed earthen vessel, equal quantities, by weight, of strong oil of vitriol and water; cool this mixture (which will be very hot) to the temperature of the air; to sixteen parts of this liquor, thus thoroughly mixed and cooled, add twenty-one parts (each by weight) of Glauber's salt, perfectly dry and transparent, freshly reduced to very fine powder, stirring the mixture, that the salt may dissolve as soon as possible.

It is necessary that Glauber's salt for this purpose be kept unexposed to the air, otherwise it will be converted into a white powder, in which state it is unfit for this use.

*Speech of dr. S. L. Mitchill \* to Peter, a chief warrior of the Oneida nation of Indians, delivered during the treaty at Fort Stanwix, in August, 1788.*

Brother,

THE great Spirit, who wishes his Oneidas to be good men, looks with anger and aversion, upon the murder with which they threaten that devoted Onondago.

You know he is much displeas'd, when, in the time of peace, his people stain their knives and tomahawks in their brother's blood. You call yourselves his people. You call that man your brother; and yet you are going, contrary to your own notions of right, to affront the great Spirit, in putting your brother to death.

If that man had burned your cattle, destroyed your corn, or scalped your people, then indeed you might have complain'd in earnest, and brought the criminal to suitable punishment; but since he is charged with none of

NOTE.

\* An Oneida Indian had been found dead in Wood Creek, just after the Onondago nation had marched away from the treaty homeward; the Oneidas supposed him to have been killed by the Onondagoes, and finding one of this nation still remaining in their camp, were seriously meditating his death, in revenge for their dead brother: after the funeral, Peter the priest, one of their chief warriors, came in great haste to his excellency governor Clinton, begging him to interfere, and prevent the massacre; who after having dissuaded them from their purpose, and recommended moderation, desired doctor Mitchill to be called, in order to speak on the subject. This gentleman, who had secretly examined the corpse before interment, could discover no bruises or wounds, but was induced to believe, from many symptoms of suffocation, that the man had, during a fit of intoxication, fallen into the creek and been drowned—whereupon he, on the sudden impulse of the occasion, addressed the savage, in nearly the above words, which Mr. Kirkland, the missionary to the Indians, and interpreter to the commissioners, translated.

these misdeeds, since he came here to bargain peaceably with the white folks, and even trusted himself with unsuspecting confidence among you, surely a regard to the hospitality in which you have been brought up, and the treaty which you are now negotiating, not only positively forbids you to offer him any harm, but loudly commands you to guard and protect him.

I have been told of a maxim which your forefathers have taught the nation, that it is the duty of a brave man and a warrior, to make atonement for the murder of his friend by retaliation; yet I must remark that the rule, however ancient and respectable it may be, does not apply to the present case; for the deceased, as you all must know, if you looked, having no wounds, any where to be seen, could not have been killed unfairly in a quarrel, or murdered treacherously in a thicket.

A physician, who has been accustomed for many years to observe the various methods in which death makes his attacks upon human creatures, now informs you, that from every appearance and circumstance, he is led to conclude, that the mortal enemy first gave the hero a staggering blow with a bottle of rum, next knocked him down into the water with a whole keg, and, afterwards, to accomplish the horrid work, caused the river to suffocate and overcome him.

Even if he had been killed by some Onondago, you certainly cannot with any propriety avenge yourselves upon this man; for he, at that very time, was joining your feasts and dances, and smoking the calumet beside your council fire; but the truth is, and all your nation must be told it, that he, whom they intend to murder, is innocent.

Beware, then, how you proceed, brother! for this act would be a complicated piece of deliberate wickedness. Have the Oneidas no regard to their peace of mind as individuals? Are they wholly unconcerned about their reputation and character as a nation? or, if they are insensible to these nicer objects, does not their religious tradition teach them, that the souls of the wicked will hereafter be sunk in the woful gulph of perdition, and never rise to comfort and happi-

ness, more? Bid them think well before they strike!

But, if they totally reject that monitor, conscience, with which God Almighty has enlightened them—if they are wholly regardless of justice and honour, which every nation ought inviolably to preserve—and above all, if they are entirely unconcerned about a future state of existence, which, however inconsistently, they profess to believe—yet I beseech them not to be deaf to the divine religion of Jesus, to which they have been lately converted, nor to disobey the commands of their blessed Redeemer, who, averse to hatred, bloodshed, cruelty, and revenge, recommends to his followers, by example, as well as precept, love, peace, mercy and forgiveness.

Brother! If the Oneidas call themselves christians, tell them to ponder on this!

[Peter expressed much satisfaction on understanding the speech, and, when he returned from addressing it to the Indians, said they were satisfied, and had resolved to spare the man.]



*Directions for the breeding and management of silk worms. Extracted from the treatises of Abbé Boissier de Salevages, and Putun: and published anno 1750, by order of the Philadelphia society for promoting the culture of silk.—P. 154.*

3. **A**S soon as you perceive your eggs beginning to hatch, and that some of the worms are already come out, it is time to brush the whole from the tablet into a box, which you must have ready made, of thin light boards, (or into a flat square basket) about three inches deep, and lined with soft paper. In this box or basket (which may be in size about half that of the tablet) you spread the eggs in an even layer, not more than half an inch thick. Then you cover the eggs all over, with a thin light mat of tow, loosely pressed flat; and over this mat you lay a leaf of gauze, or rather paper pierced through with a number of small holes, to give a passage for the worms, who always climb through to the top of what covers them. When this paper is pretty well covered with worms, you take

it up from the mat, brush off the worms with a feather, deposit them apart, to be taken care of as shall be hereafter directed, and then return the paper to its place, till it is covered again, repeating these removes till all the worms are come out.

The reason of this apparatus is, that the worms, as soon as they are hatched, begin to spin a very fine thread of silk, which they fasten to anything that happens to be next to them. Thus a number of eggs are tied together, and the thread of one worm gets entangled with that of another. When the worms have passed through the mat, and are crawling upon the paper which lies upon it, removing the paper without moving the mat, breaks all those threads, and makes it easy, without danger or embarrassment, to separate the worms, as they come out, from the bottom, without moving the eggs that are behind. If you have managed with care and address, your worms will all be out in two, or at most, in three days from the time of their beginning to hatch.

4. This process may, perhaps, appear tedious in description; but in practice it will be found easy. And I doubt not but some particulars, which have been here described, might be dispensed with; especially when the quantity of eggs to be hatched, is small. For instance, instead of a stove built on purpose, any small room might be made to answer the end. Was it not so absolutely necessary to guard against a close suffocating air, a room with a Dutch stove would serve, beyond any other contrivance, for keeping up an equal degree of warmth; but then you could not have any change of circulating air. Perhaps a room with a small cannon stove in each end, might answer every purpose; for, by that means, you might have a steady warmth, and yet the air in the room would be gradually changed. And as to a thermometer, though it would certainly be very useful, yet I fancy one might venture to do without it. A little experience would give one a habit of judging pretty nearly of those degrees of warmth which are requisite; and it is certain, that, when the eggs have the benefit of a free cir-

culating dry air, they will, without hazard, endure a degree of heat, which, in other circumstances, would be pernicious.

5. With regard to the quantity of eggs to be set, it may be worth observing, that the smaller your brood is, the greater, in proportion, is your harvest of cocoons or silk balls. An ounce of eggs is called a very small quantity; this yields with good management, one hundred weight of cocoons; and from ten or fifteen ounces, you seldom reap more than fifty pounds of cocoons for every ounce of eggs. The reason of this difference is doubtless this, that a small brood is more easily tended, and enjoys a sweeter air, than a large one; and is therefore less liable to be hurt by sickness and other disasters.

6. I observe, that, in a late article in the public papers, we are encouraged to expect from our climate the advantage of raising two broods of worms in one season. But I find this matter, upon repeated trials, given up in the south of France, and in most parts of Italy, where the climate is at least as favourable to such an attempt, as it can be imagined to be in our country.

If the season, when the eggs are laid, happens to be pretty warm, it is, indeed, common enough to observe a small number of worms come out in eight or ten days after. But, even supposing the whole quantity could be brought to hatch (which would be very difficult, if not impossible) yet as great a difficulty would remain in the procuring them food; for the leaves, which would have put out a second or perhaps a third time in the same season, would be mostly too much grown for the young insects to begin to feed on them; and, besides, such a frequent stripping of the trees would greatly damage their future growth and fertility. I speak not this with a design to damp the ardour of any one in the prosecuting so valuable an article among those which this country is fitted to produce; but to guard against the misleading of the reader into a too sanguine expectation, which would in the end only serve to vex and discourage him by a disagreeable expense of fruitless labour.

I would, therefore, still recom-

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mend it as the safest way, to follow the method pointed out in the first section, as soon as the eggs are laid, to put them away in the coolest place you can find about the house; and then, if any worms should happen to come out, it may not be amiss to amuse yourself with picking them up, and trying to make the most of their premature and unpromising labours.

7. The reader will observe, that many of the directions already given, and of those which are to follow, may be partly dispensed with, when the brood is very small: but when it is proposed to raise a brood of any consequence, it will not only be more necessary, but it will also be very well worth while, to spare no pains, nor any moderate expense, in order to secure success. It cannot surely be necessary to use many arguments with my countrymen, to prevail on them to endeavour in earnest to reap so great an advantage, as the produce of silk, from the climate in which we live. It is presumed, and that upon very good grounds, that nothing is at present wanted, but a sufficient stock of mulberry-trees (which may soon be propagated) to secure to us a plenty of this most valuable and useful commodity.

### SECTION III.

*Of the several ages of the silk-worm.*

THE life of this precious insect, while it continues in the form of a worm or caterpillar, is divided into five periods or ages; the first age is the time included between the hatching of the egg and the first moulting or casting of the skin; the second age is terminated by a second moulting; the third and fourth ages by a third and fourth moulting; and the fifth age by the worm's beginning to spin that web in which it wraps itself as in a second egg. There it undergoes a kind of temporary death, from which it soon revives in its sixth age with a new form, and comes out a moth-fly. To this last stage of its existence, nature puts a final period, as soon as the necessary provision is made for the propagation of the species.

(To be continued.)



*Legal decision.*

**I**N the court of common pleas, London, the following cause was  
Q,



which contained forty-three hundred and sixty-eight grains.

The above grains were planted about six inches apart.



*Remarks on the amendments to the federal constitution, proposed by the conventions of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, New York, Virginia, South and North Carolina, with the minorities of Pennsylvania and Maryland, by the rev. Nicholas Collin, D. D.—P. 236.*

NUMBER X.

WE shall now consider the amendments relative to the regulation of commerce. The conventions of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and North-Carolina, request, "that congress erect no company of merchants, with exclusive advantages of commerce\*," that of New York extends the restriction†, "that congress do not grant monopolies, or erect any company with exclusive advantages of commerce."

Monopolies are in general pernicious, and therefore adopted but in extraordinary cases, by the politicians of the present enlightened era. In this, as in many other political maxims, exceptions must be admitted. It is not my business to shew when or how they may be useful in America; but only to prove that an absolute prohibition should not fetter our commercial operations. I beg leave then to quote a celebrated author on this subject, as his reasoning is very plain and sensible: "When a company of merchants undertake, at their own risk and expence, to establish a new trade with some remote and barbarous nation, it may not be unreasonable to incorporate them into a joint stock company, and to grant them, in case of their success, a monopoly of the trade for a certain number of years. It is the easiest and most natural way in which the state can recompence them for hazarding a dangerous and expensive experiment, of which the public is afterwards to reap the benefit. A temporary monopoly of this

NOTES.

\* 5th, 5th and 22d am. respectively.

† By the 6th am.

kind may be vindicated upon the same principles upon which a like monopoly of a new machine is granted to its inventor, and that of a new book to its author. But upon the expiration of the term, the monopoly ought certainly to terminate,‡" &c. "to render the establishment of a joint stock company perfectly reasonable, with the circumstance of being reducible to strict rule and method, two other circumstances ought to concur. First, it ought to appear, with the clearest evidence, that the undertaking is of greater and more general utility, than the greater part of common trades. And secondly, that it requires a greater capital than can easily be collected into a private copartnery||." He then applies this theory to four particular trades—banks, insurance from fire, sea risk, and capture in time of war; making and maintaining a navigable canal: bringing water for the supply of a great city. At the same time, he disapproves of granting any other privileges to such companies than what are indispensable for the undertaking. In this young and extensive country, few individuals have large capitals; yet many great sources of industry may be opened by a joint stock, as manufactures, public roads, and canals, mines, fisheries, trade with the interior and still unexplored regions. As to those monopolies, which, by way of premiums, are granted for certain years to ingenious discoveries in medicine, machines and useful arts; they are common in all countries, and more necessary in this, as the government has no resources to reward extraordinary merit.

The convention of New York desires, "that the power of congress to pass uniform laws concerning bankruptcy, shall only extend to merchants and other traders; and that the states respectively may pass laws for the relief of other insolvent debtors.§" It is difficult to describe with accuracy the class of traders; every man that buys and sells, may be so called. Be-

NOTES.

‡ Smith on the wealth of nations, 3d vol. p. 142—4.

|| Ib id. 147—8.

§ 19th am.

sides, if a general distinction between citizens and landed proprietors is necessary, it may be drawn by congress, which represents all the states, and all the different classes of society. Uniform laws of this kind are certainly very necessary, because the people of the united states will have as much intercourse, as if they formed only one empire; and by 2d. sect. 4th art. "the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." The evils of tender-laws will, in a great measure remain, while a debt due in another state may be cancelled, reduced, or suspended by a fluctuating local system. Foreigners have a claim to equal justice with domestic creditors, and without it we can expect no beneficial intercourse with them.

The 24th am. of the North Carolina convention, concerning the latter part of the 5th par. of 9th sect. of 11th art. seems to be only an explanation; as the expression in that place is too concise to be clear. If it means to guard against duties on exportation, it is needless, because, by the first part of that par. no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

The same convention proposes\*, "that congress shall not, directly or indirectly, either by themselves or through the judiciary, interfere with any one of the states in the redemption of paper money, already emitted, and now in circulation, or in liquidating and discharging the public securities of any one of the states: but each and every state shall have the exclusive right of making such laws and regulations, for the above purposes, as they will think proper." The perplexed finances of some states will not permit them to cancel the paper money before the new government commences. Indeed this inveterate and extensive evil must be abolished, with such a discretion, as the public good and justice to individuals require. At the same time, it is necessary for the general prosperity of the union, that it should be done with all possible expedition: and that the

NOTE.

\* By the 25th amendment,

laws and regulations made in any state, should not injure other states, nor even a part of the people in that state. I have no doubt but this business may be settled with a moderation and prudence that shall please all parties.

The convention of New York proposes†, "that no money be borrowed on the credit of the united states, without the assent of two thirds of the senators and representatives present in each house."

Borrowing is not a more important trust, than many others, which must be given to the federal government.

Very probably, this resource will not be considerable for several years; neither foreign nations, nor the people of this country, will lend until they see the confederacy well established; an extraordinary majority is not therefore necessary in this case.

The conventions of Virginia and North Carolina request "that no navigation laws, or law regulating commerce, shall be passed without the consent of two-thirds of the members present in both houses‡. The minority of Maryland§, signifies the same, in words a little different. Systematic regulations of commerce embrace many objects, and, if they prove wrong in the course of operations, cannot be changed without confusion, and various disadvantages; they should, therefore, be made with mature deliberation; especially as they do not require a pressing expedition. It appears therefore reasonable to stipulate a greater majority in this case. Yet although this condition is not expressed, there is no danger that any navigation act will be passed without a large majority, because it will affect the states in a sensible and permanent manner. A bare majority will certainly never dare to make an act of oppression against nearly one half! no, three-fourths would not attack the other fourth. The federal government, with all the parade of powers, has no real strength without a very great unanimity. Any twelve would never presume to affront one of the

NOTES.

+ By the 8th amendment.

† Eighth amendment respectively.

‡ In the 11th amendment.

great states. As for the small ones, they are blended with the others, from north to south, and have respectively the same commercial interest with a powerful neighbour; from which they derive an additional security.

Finally, any partiality that might disgrace congress is considerably checked by the express declaration, that "no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another."

Commercial treaties will be considered under the amendment that respects the senate.

*Philadelphia, Nov. 1, 1788.*

## NOTE.

¶ In the 5th par. 9th sect. 1st art.



## Tables of population.

## No. I.

*Number of the inhabitants of Connecticut, as returned to the assembly in 1756.*

Whites,	126,975
Negroes,	3,019
Indians,	617
	<hr/>
	130,611

## No. II.

*Number of the inhabitants of Connecticut, as returned to the assembly in 1774.*

## Whites.

Males, under 10 years,	31,114
Do. between 10 & 20, married,	222
Do. between ditto, unmarried,	24,049
Do. between 20 & 70, married,	28,866
Do. between ditto, unmarried,	9,941
Do. above 70, married,	1,436
Do. ditto, unmarried,	554
	<hr/>

White males,	96,182
--------------	--------

Females, under 10 years,	30,050
Do. between 10 & 20, married,	697
Do. ditto, unmarried,	21,860
Do. between 20 & 70, married,	29,026
Do. ditto, unmarried,	20,486
Do. above 70, married,	922
Do. ditto, unmarried,	1,264
	<hr/>

White females,	94,305
----------------	--------

## Blacks.

Males, under 20,	1,326
Ditto, above 20,	1,572
	<hr/>
Male blacks,	2,878
	<hr/>
Females, under 20,	1,165
Ditto, above 20,	1,042
	<hr/>
Female blacks,	2,207

## Indians.

Males, under 20,	391
Ditto, above 20,	244
	<hr/>
Male Indians,	635
	<hr/>
Females, under 20,	355
Ditto, above 20,	373
	<hr/>
Total female Indians,	728

## Total.

White	{ Males, 96,182	190,487
	{ Females, 94,305	
Black	{ Males, 2,878	5,085
	{ Females, 2,207	
Indian	{ Males, 635	1,363
	{ Females, 728	
		<hr/>
		296,935

## No. III.

*Number of inhabitants in the state of Connecticut, as taken anno 1782, by order of the assembly.*

White males, under 16,	48,925
Ditto, between 16 and 50,	39,388
Ditto, above 50,	10,829
	<hr/>

White males,	99,142
White females,	103,735
Indians and negroes,	6,273
	<hr/>

209,150

## No. IV.

*Number of inhabitants in Rhode Island, as taken in the year 1774, by order of the general assembly.*

## Whites.

Males, above 16,	14,005
—, under 16,	12,733
	<hr/>

Total male whites,	26,738
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<i>Whites.</i>		<i>Indians.</i>	
Females, above 16,	15,349	Males, under 16,	135
—, under 16,	12,348	Ditto, between 16 and 22,	34
Total female whites,	27,697	Ditto, between 22 and 50,	37
		Ditto, above 50,	34
		Total male Indians,	240
		Females, under 16,	122
Males, above 16,	284	Ditto, between 16 and 22,	27
—, under 16,	396	Ditto, between 22 and 50,	78
Total male Indians,	680	Ditto, above 50,	58
Females, above 16,	482	Total female Indians,	285
—, under 16,	320		
Total female Indians,	802		
		<i>Mulattoes.</i>	
		Males, under 16,	129
Males, above 16,	1,286	Ditto, between 16 and 22,	21
—, under 16,	716	Ditto, between 22 and 50,	42
Total male blacks,	2,002	Ditto, above 50,	15
Females, above 16,	1,078	Total male mulattoes,	207
—, under 16,	681	Females, under 16,	127
Total female blacks,	1,759	Ditto, between 16 and 22,	41
		Ditto, between 22 and 50,	57
		Ditto, above 50,	32
		Total female mulattoes,	957
Total.		<i>Blacks.</i>	
White { Males, 26,738	—54,435	Males, under 16,	435
{ Females, 27,697		Ditto, between 16 and 22,	153
Indian { Males, 680	—1,482	Ditto, between 22 and 50,	359
{ Females, 802		Ditto, above 50,	189
Black { Males, 2,002	—3,761	Total male blacks,	1,186
{ Females, 1,759		Females, under 16,	467
Total inhabitants in 1774,	59,678	Ditto, between 16 and 22,	166
		Ditto, between 22 and 50,	398
		Ditto, above 50,	175
		Total female blacks,	1,206

## No. V.

*Return of the inhabitants of Rhode Island in 1783, as taken by order of the general assembly of the state.*

<i>Whites.</i>		<i>Total.</i>	
Males, under 16,	11,752	White { Males, 23,338	—48,566
Ditto, between 16 and 22,	2,296	{ Females, 25,228	
Ditto, between 22 and 50,	6,727	Indian { Males, 240	—525
Ditto, above 50,	2,563	{ Females, 285	
Total male whites,	23,338	Mulat- { Males, 207	—464
Females, under 16,	11,310	to { Females, 257	
Ditto, between 16 and 22,	2,998	Black { Males, 1,186	—2,342
Ditto, between 22 and 50,	8,131	{ Females, 1,206	
Ditto, above 50,	2,789	Total inhabitants in 1783,	51,897
Total female whites,	25,228		

*Abstract of the report of the secretary of the treasury, in obedience to the order of the house of representatives, of the 17th of September, 1789.*

## SCHEDULE, No. I.

Estimate of the expenditure for the civil list of the united states, for the year 1789.

I. In relation to the *late* government.

	<i>Dolls. 90ths.</i>
For congress, - - - -	3,582 1
Department of the treasury, - - - -	15,441 77
Department of war, - - - -	2,555 50
Thirteen loan officers and receivers of taxes,	6,225
	<hr/> 27,804 38 <hr/>

II. In relation both to the *late* and *present* government.

	<i>Dolls. 90ths.</i>
For the department of foreign affairs, now comprehended in the department of state, - - - -	49,104 38
For the officers employed to settle the accounts between the united states and individual states, - - - -	15,059 71
For the government of the western territory,	7,640
Pensions on the civil list, - - - -	4,022 58
	<hr/> 75,826 77 <hr/>

III. In relation to the *present* government.

	<i>Dolls. 90ths.</i>
For the compensation of the president of the united states,	25,000
Vice president, - - - -	5,000
Members of congress, say eighty-one, at six dollars per day, from 3d March to 22d September,	99,144
Travelling expenses of ditto, estimated at,	10,000
Secretary of senate, at 1500 per annum, from 8th April to 22d September, - - - -	687 50
Additional allowance to ditto, at 2 dollars per day,	336
Principal clerk to ditto, at 3 dollars per day,	414
Engrossing ditto to ditto, at 2 dollars per day, -	276
Chaplain to senate, at 500 dollars, per annum, to 22d Sept.	221
Doorkeeper to do. from 3d March to do. at 3 dolls. per day,	612
Messenger to ditto, from 8th April to ditto, at 2 doll. per day,	336
Clerk to the house of representatives, from 1st April to ditto, at 1,500 dollars per annum,	716 66
Additional allowance to ditto, at 2 dollars per day,	350
Principal clerk to ditto, at 3 dollars per day,	525
Engrossing ditto to ditto, at 2 dollars per day,	233
Chaplain to representatives, at 500 dolls. to 22d Sept.	197 21
Doorkeeper, at 3 dollars per day, to ditto,	514
Assistant doorkeeper, at 2 dollars per day, to ditto,	314
Serjeant at arms, from 12th May to 22d Sept. at 4 dolls,	536
	<hr/> 145,445 47 <hr/>

## For the department of the treasury,

	<i>Dolls. 90ths.</i>
Secretary of the treasury, from 11th Sept. to 31st Dec. 2,500 dollars per annum,	1,069 63
Assistant to ditto, same time, at 1,500,	458 42
Three clerks to ditto, same period, at 450 each,	412 66
	<hr/> 1,940 81 <hr/>

Carried over, - - - - - 1,940 81

	Dolls. 90ths.
Brought over, - - - - -	1,940 01
Messenger and officekeeper to ditto, at 150,	45 81
Comptroller of the treasury, from 12th Sept. to 31st Dec. at 2000 dollars per annum, - - - - -	611 10
Principal clerk to ditto, same time at 800 dolls. per annum,	244 44
Treasurer, from 12th Sept. to 31st Dec. at 2000 dolls.	611 10
Principal clerk to ditto, same time, at 600 dolls.	183 34
Auditor of the treasury, same time, at 1,500,	458 42
Principal clerk to ditto, at 600 dolls.	183 34
Ten clerks, for settling quartermasters', commissaries', &c. accounts, which services devolve on the auditor, esti- mated to the end of the year, at 450 dolls. each,	1,375
Register of the treasury, from 12th Sept. at 1,250 dolls. per annum, - - - - -	381 64
Five clerks in the register's office, at 450 dolls.	687 50
	<hr/> 6,723 00

## Department of war.

	Dolls. 90ths.
Secretary, from 12th Sept. to the end of the year, at 3000,	916 50
Chief clerk to ditto, for the same time, at 600 dolls.	183 34
Two clerks to ditto, for the same time, at 450 dolls.	275
Doorkeeper and messenger, at 150 dolls.	45 50
	<hr/> 1,420 44

## Judicial department.

	Dolls. 90ths.
Chief justice, at 4000 dollars per annum,	4000
Five associate judges, at 3000 dollars per annum, each,	15,000
Judge of Maine district, - - - - -	800
New Hampshire, - - - - -	1,000
Massachusetts, - - - - -	1,200
Connecticut, - - - - -	1,000
New York, - - - - -	1,500
New Jersey, - - - - -	1,000
Pennsylvania, - - - - -	1,600
*Maryland, - - - - -	1,500
Virginia, - - - - -	1,800
South Carolina, - - - - -	1,800
Georgia, - - - - -	1,600
Kentucke, - - - - -	800
Attorney-general, - - - - -	2,000
	<hr/> 36,600

36,600 dolls. estimated at 2 months, to the end of the year 1789,—6,100 dolls.\*

## Incidental and contingent expenses.

	Dolls. 90ths.
Foreign contingent expenses, newspapers for congress, printing, stationery, wood, office rent, &c. &c. of the late congress, from 1st January to 3d March,	486 59
Treasury department for one year, estimated at,	450
Accountant's office to 11th September,	150
Register's ditto, - - - - -	150
Treasurer's ditto, - - - - -	100
	<hr/> 1,336 59

\* Delaware district is omitted in the printed copy, but it is presumed to be a typographical error.

	<i>Dolls. 90ths.</i>
Incidental and contingent expenses brought forward,	1,336 59
Commissioners for adjusting the commissaries' and quartermasters' departments, to 8th May,	126 59
Ditto for adjusting accounts of the marine, clothing and hospital departments, to 8th May,	126 59
Estimate of expense for comptroller, treasurer, auditor, and register's office, in stationary, for the new treasury department, to the end of the year,	150
Commissioners of the general board for one year,	450
Ditto of South Carolina and Georgia, to 26th July,	76 31
Ditto of army accounts for one year,	276 60
Foreign contingencies, estimated at,	3,000
Secretary of foreign affairs, now comprehended in department of state, for one year,	350
Secretary of war, for one year,	800
Stationary and contingencies for thirteen loan offices,	500
Doorkeeper of house of representatives, his estimate for wood, &c. &c. for the second session,	669 50
	7,862 48

*Taken from the report, dated 19th September, 1789, and signed by  
Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury.*

### SCHEDULE, No. II.

*General estimate of money requisite for the war department for the year 1789.*

	<i>Dolls. 90ths.</i>
Pay of the troops,	
Artillery,	19,668
Infantry,	39,456
Subsistence and rations,	46,848
Clothing and contingencies,	24,440
Quartermaster's department,	10,000
Hospital department,	1,000
Ordnance department,	18,666 60
Contingencies of war department,	3,000
Ditto of war-office,	800
Salaries of officers,	3,950
	167,828 60
Deduct the amount of the salaries of the officers,	3,950
Ditto contingencies of war-office,	800
	4,750
Dollars,	163,780 60

*Taken from the report, dated 19th September, 1789, and signed by  
H. Knox and Alexander Hamilton.*

### SCHEDULE, No. III.

*Statement of the anticipation of monies on the public credit, by the late commissioners of the board of treasury, on the 11th September, 1789.*

	<i>Dolls. 90ths.</i>
Warrants drawn beyond the treasurer's actual receipts,	189,906 38
Of this, warrants have been issued to the civil list, on account of their salaries,	34,657 67
And in payment of clothing and rations,	25,575 34
Likewise to contractors for provisions, Indian treaties, and other services,	129,673 27
	189,906 38

With respect to the last sum of	-	-	Dolls. 90
The register observes, that certain balances remained in the hands of the receivers of taxes, &c. &c. it is therefore presumed that the anticipation will be lessened, the amount of those balances, about,	-	-	129,673 27
			<u>30,260 10</u>
There will then remain to be provided for (besides the anticipations for the civil list and war department aforementioned) this sum,	-	-	99,413 17

*Taken from the statement signed by Joseph Nourse.*

*Estimate of amount of pensions for invalids, taken from returns dated in 1789.*

			Dolls. 90ths.
New Hampshire,	-	-	3,170
Massachusetts,	-	-	7,699 30
Connecticut,	-	-	7,302 45
New York,	-	-	15,246
New Jersey	-	-	4,733 6
Pennsylvania,	-	-	11,220 30
Virginia,	-	-	9,276 60
			<u>58,647 81</u>
Suppose Rhode Island and Delaware,	-	-	3,170
States from which there are no returns, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia,	-	-	34,200
			<u>96,017 81</u>

Dollars, - - - - - 96,017 81

*Taken from the estimate, dated 17th September, 1789, and signed by H. Knox:*

*State of the anticipation of the taxes by the late superintendant of finance.*

At the time of resigning his office a balance appears due for unsatisfied warrants, the chief part of which were granted for supplies furnished to the American prisoners during the war,

The total amount of warrants was,	153,896 15	Dolls. 90ths.
Deduct so much thereof paid,	60,432 76	93,463 29

Leaves unpaid as above, 93,463 29

The secretary of the treasury observes on this debt, that it has been constantly considered, on the part of the united states, as an actual specie claim; which the low state of the treasury has hitherto prevented claimants under it, from receiving. He also observes, the chief part of the above balance was intended to have been paid from the specie quota due from the state of New York, but that the said state had discharged the whole sum in specie, due on former requisitions; and the monies arising therefrom having been applied to the more pressing general exigencies of the union, the claimants have now no other prospect of relief but what may be derived from the national treasury.

*Taken from the report of the secretary, &c. and dated the 25th of September, 1789, and signed by Alexander Hamilton.*

	Recapitulation.	Dolls. 90ths.
Civil list, in relation to the late government,	-	27,804 38
Ditto, in relation both to the late and present government,	-	75,826 67
Ditto, in relation to the present government,	-	145,445 37
Department of the treasury	-	6,723
Judicial department.	-	6,100
Incidental and contingent expenses,	-	7,862 48
		<u>269,762 10</u>
Carried over,	-	-

General total.				Dolls.	9ths.
Brought over,	-	-	-	269,762	10
War department,	-	-	-	163,078	60
Secretary, &c. for ditto,	-	-	-	1,420	44
Anticipations onn the public credit,	-	-	-	99,413	17
Pensions for invalids,	-	-	-	96,017	81
Anticipation of the taxes of the late superintendant of, finance,	-	-	-	93,463	29

723,155 61

*No. and tonnage of vessels cleared out of the ports of Massachusetts in 1787.*

Destination.	No. vessels	Tons and where owned.			No. of men
		Massach	U. St	For.	
For the united states,	609	20840	8443	171	2875
Nova Scotia,	155	1946	126	4624	633
West Indies,	552	38842	105	2230	3570
Europe,	135	12219	120	3214	1190
Africa and the East Indies,	46	4170	100		426
	1497	78017	8894	10239	8694

*Leonard Jarvis, comptroller general.*

*Ingenious toasts given at York, in Pennsylvania, by the bearers of the flags, in the procession formed to celebrate the progress of the new constitution.*

*Toast given by the bearer of the united states flag.*

**M**AY our powers explore every inlet of the habitable globe—our flag ride triumphant on every ocean. May impartiality wield the sword of justice, and impetuosity the sword of war.

*Flag of the state of Pennsylvania.* The state of Pennsylvania—may she hold the federal balance, and become the arbitress of the continent.

*Magistrates' flag.* May justice by her sword protect her scales—may nothing but righteousness turn the beam, and may she write on sophistry, what convulsed Belteshazzar, "thou art weighed in the balance, and art found wanting."

*Farmers' flag.* Perpetual laurels to the men who have "beaten the sword of civil dissention into a plough share"—who have sown the seed of good government: may it spring up without tares, and may each revolving harvest witness its increase.

*Masons' and bricklayers' flag.* May the component parts of the federal edifice be squared by the plummet

of impartial justice, inseparably attached by the cement of citizenship.

*Clock and watch makers' flag.* May virtue be the main spring of our new government—patriotism keep its works in order. May the popular voice wind up its chain, and may its hand point to the public good.

*Bakers'.* May an oven "seven times heated" be the fate of him whose only objects are the "loaves and fishes."

*Steeking weavers'.* May he who first broached the formation of a new government, have a wreath of laurels twisted round his brow, and a garland of honorary flowers wove for his reward.

*Tailors'.* May Fate with her shears cut the thread of that man's life, Fame dishonour him with the name of Goose, and society baste him, who endeavours to cabbage from his country.

*Copper-smiths and founders'.* May we be brazed together by a love of country as by borax and spelter, and rivetted by an energetic government.

*Potters'.* As often as the wheel of time revolves this day, let gratitude tell of the heroes, who were proven as by fire; and may a tear of remembrance fall for such as were cracked.

*Rough carpenters'.* May his head be divorced from his body by the broad axe of justice, who does not

square his conduct by the rule of right.

*Houfe carpenters'*. The new political mansion—May its apartments be commodious—May three rafters be added to the ten which already support its roof; and may its lights be great and many.

*Blacksmiths'*. May the thirteen states be welded into one united empire, by the hammer of conciliation, on the anvil of peace; and may the man, who attempts to blow the coals of discord, be burned by the sparks.

*Nailors'*. May our government be well pointed and have a good head.

*Painters'*. The new constitution in its true colours, neither caricatured nor flattered; and may the brush of investigation correct the glare of light given by its friends, and the profusion of shade thrown on it by its enemies.

*Glaziers'*. May the Paine remain for ever uncracked, that threw light on the subject of our late war, and may the rays of truth be drawn to a focus by the glass of genius.

*Sadlers'*. A curb bit and a traverse rein to the importation of foreign luxuries; and may the man who denies his encouragement to home manufactures be stirruped round the world.

*Hatters'*. May he who twangs the bow of tumult, be stripped to the pelt, then dipped in a kettle of blacking; may his head be brought to the block, and their union constitute his character.

*Shoe and bootmakers'*. May we wax a great and happy nation, be bound by principles of mutual regard, actuated as by one soul, and may our prosperity as a people last until the end of time.

*Breeches makers and skinners'*. May he be thorn against the grain, smoked and welted, who has not brains to know that the bands of the old government were too loose.

(*Remainder in our next.*)



*The school for husbands and wives.*

THE experience of all times has shewn, that husbands have suddenly lost the affections of their wives, and women ceased to possess the hearts of their husbands, when they least apprehended it, without either one or

the other being able to trace the source of the misfortune.

Convinced, that instruction, conveyed by example, is, of all other, the most efficacious, I do not hesitate to lay the following story before the married gentry of our days; hoping, by this means, to bring back to the duties of the married state, such persons as neglect or violate them; to abolish, or at least to bury in oblivion, that disgraceful title, which is with reason bestowed on so many husbands; to insure to them the possession of a happiness, which religion and the laws seem to have reserved for them alone; to reinstate peace and union in families, from which they are too often banished by inconstancy; and to restore the gifts of fortune to those, to whom they properly belong, which we see frequently lavished on wanton strangers.

A senator, descended from one of the most noble families in Venice, married the daughter of a man of his own rank, equal to himself in birth and fortune. This marriage was at first like most others; it was cemented as strongly by mutual affection as by the authority of their parents; for three years they bore each other a tenderness worthy of the most delicate lovers, and two children were the happy fruits of their nuptials.

The fourth year was scarcely begun, when their felicity was disturbed by some disgusts. The wife, though remarkable for the most distinguished virtue and fidelity, insensibly lost that regard and assiduity she had formerly shewn to please her husband, and did not lavish on him her wonted marks of affection. Their frequent intercourse begat a certain familiarity between them, which the husband regarded as a mark of indifference; he therefore sought in another woman for that affection, which he imagined himself unable to obtain from his wife.

The time at length arrived which seemed to crown his wishes. Nina, a celebrated courtesan of those days, though six years older than his wife, who was then but twenty-four, was the person he chose to repair the loss he thought he had sustained. He accosted her one day, and entered into conversation; every action, every look of her's promised him success,

He resolved to make an open declaration of his love, and to offer a reward, deserving of those pleasures and that felicity, which his affection for her gave him room to expect.

The treaty, as may be imagined, was soon concluded; the senator used so little precaution to keep his new engagement a secret, that all Venice was soon acquainted with it, and his wife was not the last to hear of it. Her affection, which had always remained the same, and had only changed its form, obliged her to complain to her husband of coldness. The senator, imagining her behaviour proceeded rather from a principle of self-love humbled, than from true affection, did not seem in the least affected by it. His visits to Nina became more frequent, and his expenses more considerable.

Despair took possession of his wife's mind; whenever he came home, she loaded him with the keenest reproaches, and gave him such treatment, as the most jealous fury could alone dictate. Exasperated at this proceeding, he determined never to see her any more. Though he had slept apart from her ever since the beginning of his amour with Nina; he had never failed to indulge her with his presence at dinner, to which he always invited some friend, which screened him from the violent effects of his wife's resentment: but he now entirely deprived her of this happiness.

She then anxiously sought to devise the most infallible way to rekindle the flame of her husband's conjugal affection. Her mind suggested none that appeared feasible; she imagined she ought to consult some wiser and more experienced person than herself. No one appeared better able to give her advice, on this occasion, than the powerful rival, who had estranged her husband's heart from her. She went one morning to the house of Nina, disguised in such a manner as not to be known, and she addressed her, by saying, she was a person of the same profession. Let any one conceive, how much a woman, who was virtue itself, must suffer in the support of so unworthy a character. But no efforts of injured love can be condemned, if intended to procure that justice which is due to it. "Be-

hold," said the wife of the senator, "the occasion of my visit. Ever since I have known, unhappily for me, that I have a heart susceptible of the soft passion—I say unhappily, because it has not procured me those advantages, which it ought to have done—ever since that time, would you believe it, beautiful Nina, I have not yet been able to find out the secret of keeping one lover to myself? they all desert me, at the very instant I imagine they have the most reason to be attached to me. The possession of a heart has more charms for me than every other advantage: I believe no one so capable as you, to teach me an art, of which I am ignorant, and on the knowledge of which the happiness of my life essentially depends. Your beauty, your shape, your charms, your good sense, the splendid fortune you enjoy, all persuade me that you possess this art in the highest degree. How much shall I be obliged to you charming Nina, for this discovery! Be assured, my acknowledgment shall be as great as the service you do me."

The courtesan replied, that she had consulted her in a matter, in which it was utterly impossible to lay down infallible rules. She questioned her on the nature of her passion, and found it the most confirmed; from thence she proceeded to some interrogations, which conveyed a striking idea of the business she followed, and at which the wife of the senator could not refrain from blushing. At length, Nina, who had no cause to reproach herself, for she had done all in her power to prevent the greatest part of her pretended lovers, who had been allured by her charms, from deserting her, thus proceeded: "I know no better expedient than to make you witness of the methods I use to keep him to myself, who has the greatest empire over my heart. The hour draws near, when his passion will lead him hither; I will conceal you in a closet, where not one of my caresses or words shall escape your eyes or your ears: if you approve of my advice, make use of it."

The wife of the senator embraced the proposal with joy; she wanted time for the courtesan to see her lover, arrived; his wife heard him on the stairs, and flew to the place of con-



lieve and confefs, that the wife is fallible and infallible ;

Perfectly fallible and perfectly infallible ; of an erring foul and unerring mind fubfifting ; fallible, as touching her human nature ; and infallible, as touching her female fex.

Who, although ſhe be fallible and infallible, yet ſhe is not two, but one woman ; who ſubmitted to lawful marriage to acquire unlawful dominion ; and promiſed religiously to obey, that ſhe might rule with uncontrouled ſway.

This is the conjugal faith ; which, except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be married.



*A letter to a very good-natured lady who is married to a very ill-natured man.*

I Have now and then obſerved, my deareſt couſin (through all your care and endeavours to conceal it) that ſome few ruſlings happen between you and your huſband ; which, I fear, muſt make ſome moments paſs with more uneaſineſs to you, than a woman of ſo much goodneſs deſerves. The intimacy that has ſubſiſted ſo long between our families, and the extreme friendſhip I have for you, makes this give me more pain, than it may perhaps give even to yourſelf ; for I know the ſteadineſs of your mind, and the prudence you have in alleviating every thing that would diſturb a leſs ſettled temper ; and make ſome wives fly out into violences, that would render them ridiculous, as well as wretched. But as an indifferant ſtander-by may ſee more, than the beſt gameſter, when engaged deep in a difficult party, I ſhall venture to give you ſome of my ſentiments ; in hopes that they may ſtill more awaken your own, or at leaſt be improved by your reflexions upon them.

'Twere to be wiſhed, that all married people would lay this down for their firſt and great principle ; that they can never be happy in themſelves, unleſs they are well with their comforts. The contrary notion is like the odd whim of that man in the play, who talks “ of cutting himſelf in two, ” and going to fifty-cuffs with him-

“ ſelf.” Their connexions, views, and intereſts, are naturally ſo united, that the one cannot be happy, if the other is miſerable. In ſo ſtrict an union, if you are not well with one another, what can you do to avoid being miſerable ? You muſt either be perpetually hunting after reaſons to flee from your own houſe ; or elſe you muſt fit jarring together, like a couple of bad inſtruments that are always out of tune.

The moſt neceſſary thing then for a married woman, to make her ſelf happy, is to endeavour to pleaſe her comfort ; and one comfort is, that the very endeavouring to pleaſe, goes a great way towards obtaining its end.

Complacency naturally begets kindneſs, as a diſobliging way does averſion.

'Tis not enough to avoid doing or ſaying any thing, that you know would be diſagreeable to your huſband ; but one ſhould be apt to ſay and do every thing that is likely to be agreeable to him. A woman that thoroughly conſiders this, and puts it honeſtly in practice, can ſcarce ever fail to make both herſelf and her huſband happy.

One conſiderable help and advantage that you have towards this, is the being ſo thoroughly acquainted with one another's tempers and inclinations. There was a good opportunity for this (as your match was not huddled up with that haſte that ſome people are in, to ſettle the moſt important ſtep in their whole lives) during the time of courtſhip, and much more after. Theſe two lights are ſo very different, that between them you may ſee into the whole character of a man ; how far he is apt to ſubmit, and how far to domineer. With a proper obſervation, you may come, in time, to diſcover every little bent of his temper, and to open all the more hidden folds of his heart. Now, when one is well aware of every thing that may diſpleaſe, it is eaſy to avoid it ; and when one knows what is pleaſing, ſcarce any thing can be wanting but the will to pleaſe.

I would particularly deſire you to look on no one thing that may diſpleaſe, as a trifle. However unimportant the thing may be in itſelf, the

displeasing and disagreeing is a serious evil; and married people disagree ten times oftner about trifles, than about things of weight.

The best way for a married woman to carry her points often, is to yield sometimes. Yielding in a married woman, is as useful as fleeing is to an unmarried one; for both of these methods, most naturally obtain what they seem to avoid. And if a woman has any vanity, (as every human creature must have more or less of it in their composition) I think that passion might be gratified this way, as well as any other; for to get the better of oneself, is at least as glorious, as to get the better of any other person whatever; and you would, beside, have the inward satisfaction of considering, that in all such cases, you do not yield out of cowardice, but prudence, and that you enjoyed the superiority of knowing what you ought to do, much better than the obstinate man, who seems outwardly to have carried his point, where you have really carried your's.

I do not mean by this to set you on a life of artifice and dissimulation. I rather think that such methods as these, and such a scheme of pleasing, would, in time, grow pleasing to yourself, and that it would be the most apt of any either to introduce or increase a real mutual love and good-will between you and your husband. But how, my dear cousin, have I thus forgot myself for a page or two together! and while I am writing to you, have really written a letter for the world. For you, I dare say, have no occasion for my rules; and have thought over every thing that I have said, and that in a much better manner than I have said it, long before I set my pen to paper. You will, however, forgive one who wishes you as well as he does himself, and who would extremely rejoice, to see that serenity of mind, which all the world thinks to be in you, and all those virtues and excellencies which I know to be in you, unruined by any disturbances, and cleared from every little cloud that may hang over them. I need not tell you how much, and how truly, I am, your affectionate kinsman, and humble servant, Z.

*An affecting and true history.*

A Young lady, whose name it is usefess to mention, was on the point of giving her hand to a gentleman of the same age. Interest did not preside at this engagement, as is but too commonly the case. Their passion was equally ardent and reciprocal.

In the very moment that they are preparing to approach the altar, the young man recollects that some necessary papers are wanting. He desires that the ceremony may be postponed for a fortnight, that he may immediately set out, and have time sufficient to return with these papers. What a cruel incident! But he will not delay a moment to fly back on the wings of love to his adorable mistress. He is impatient to conclude the ceremony that is to confirm the happiness of his life; and that life itself is attached to ties that can never be too closely formed.

Women, when in love, are perhaps more passionately, more delicately sensible to the soft influence than men. Our young bride paid no attention to the reasons that were alleged. What reasons, indeed, can be urged to a heart replete with the tender passion? She gives way to complaints, and to all the alarms that fancy could suggest. She sees, she is alive only to the pain of being torn from the object that was far dearer to her than herself. And these are the feelings—this the conduct of genuine love.

But it is impossible to proceed with the ceremony. The impatient lover has already left his mistress, whose too susceptible heart consults not the little decorums of the sex, nor the representations of her family. In a mind, uncorrupted by refinement, love assumes the character, the noble pride of virtue; and it feels a degree of self-complacency, it glories in its transports. The young lady hesitates not to lament openly a delay, which was, however, to be of such short duration. But the hours of absence are years—are ages of torture to her who is truly in love.

In the mean time, however, the young lady receives a letter from her lover, which, one would imagine,

would relieve her from this cruel state of agitation and terror. After renewing a thousand protestations of everlasting love, he dwells with transport on his approaching felicity, and fixes the day of his arrival.

It may be supposed, that his misfortunes, in proportion to the pleasure she derived from this intelligence, anticipated the happy day, and that she was at the place where her lover was to alight, even some hours before he could arrive. Her eye was continually at the window. At the least noise, 'It is he! it is he!'—The moment the stage coach appears, she is the first to perceive it. She has wings—she flies—with impatient eyes she seeks her beloved—'Where is he? where is he? Is not Mr. \*\*\*\*\* among the passengers? Where—where is he?' An elderly gentleman now steps out of the coach, with a deep sorrow visible in his face: 'Madam, it is my duty to—' 'What! is he not come, sir? He told me—what, what prevents him?' 'I am his uncle, madam, and I am come express'—'What! has he changed his mind, sir? Does he cease to love me? Do his relations refuse—you sigh, sir: Must I never then be his? Speak, sir!—tell me.'—'Oh! madam, arm yourself with courage. No—my nephew was not capable of such dishonourable conduct—but a violent illness'—'An illness!—I run—I fly—my parents will permit me'—'Stay, madam—this goodness is now useless.' At these words, the old man bursts into tears. The young lady is speechless and immovable. 'Ah! madam, you understand me but too well!'—'He is dead! he is dead!' screams the unhappy lady. Her fears are but too well founded. She is informed that a sudden death had snatched her lover from her, the very evening before he was to have set out on his return; and that he had only time to request his uncle to go and see his intended bride, to assure her, that, in his last moments, he loved her, if possible, with more ardour than ever, and to do every thing in his power to console her. 'He is dead!—he is no more!' repeats the wretched lady, with a steady voice, that seems to issue from the bottom of her soul. Alas!

her mind is now wandering; her reason has abandoned her; no remedy can cure the dreadful affliction, nor mitigate such hopeless woe.

This unfortunate victim survived her lover, to be long—long devoured by the excess of calamity. Can it be believed, that for fifty years past, notwithstanding the severity of the seasons, she goes every day on foot, about two leagues, and repairs to the place, where she had hoped to see her lover alighting from the coach? She only utters; 'He is not come yet! I will return to-morrow!'

These are all the words she has spoken for fifty years past; for she is buried in a deep and unceasing grief. Some people, who know not what it is to feel (and such barbarians there are!) had advised to have her confined. The magistrates, more compassionate than these weak and hard-hearted men, have determined not to deprive her of her liberty. Her madness, they say, is not prejudicial to society, but, on the contrary, is worthy of all the respect and veneration that is due to the wretched. And is not this unhappy lady, who is still living, among the number of those, for whom Tully has created, if I may so express myself, these beautiful, these admirable, these affecting expressions:

"*Res est sacra miser?*"



*Regulations of the Spaniards for the gradual enfranchisement of slaves, and their better treatment.*

AS soon as a slave is landed, his name, price, &c. are registered in a public register, and the master is obliged by law to allow him one working day in the course of the week to himself, besides Sunday; so that if he chooses to work for his master on that day, he receives for the same, the wages of a free man, as, whatever he earns by such labour, is so secured to him by law, that the master cannot deprive him of it. This is certainly a step towards abolishing absolute slavery; for as soon as the slave is able to purchase another working day, the master is obliged to sell it him at one fifth part of its original cost, and so likewise, the remaining four days, at the same rate, whenever the slave is able to redeem them; after which, S f

he is entirely free. This is such an incentive to industry, that even the most supine are tempted to exert themselves.



*The Lord's prayer in Shawanese.*

COE-thin-a, spim-i-key yea-taw-yan-æ,

O-wef-sa-yey yea-fey-tho-yan-æ :

Day-pale-i-tum-any pay-itch-tha-key,  
Yea-illi-tay-hay-yon-æ illi-nock-i-key,

Yoe-ma assis-key-kie pi-sey spim-i-key.

Me-li-na-key æ noo-ki cos-si-kie,  
Ta-wa it thin æ-yea-wap-a-ki tuck-whan-a ;

Puck-i-tum-i-wa-loo kne-won-ot-i-they-way

Yea-fe-puck-i-tum-a ma-chil-i-tow-e-ta

Thick-i ma-chaw-ki tuf-sy-neigh-puck-fin-a

Wa-pun-fi-loo waugh po won-ot-i-they ya

Key-la tay pale-i-tum-any way wif-sa kie

Was-fi-cut-i-we-way thay-pay-we way. Amen.



*Reflexions on the miseries of human life : and the virtue of humanity inculcated by a striking example.*

**A**MIDST the miseries, to which human life is liable, nothing is so generally dreaded as poverty, since it exposes mankind to distresses, that are but little pitied, and to the contempt of those who have no natural endowments superior to our own. Every other difficulty or danger a man is enabled to encounter with courage and alacrity, because he knows that his success will meet with applause, for bravery will always find its admirers ; but in poverty, every virtue is obscured, and no conduct can entirely secure a man from reproach. Cheerfulness, as an admirable author observes, is here insensibility ; and dejection, sullenness ; its hardships are without honour, and its labours without reward. Notwithstanding this, there is perhaps no station more favourable to the growth of virtue, where the seeds of it are previously planted in the mind. The poor man is, from his situation, cut off from a

thousand temptations to vice ; and that levity and dissipation of thought, which are the common attendants of ease and affluence, are obliged to give way to the steady exercise of reason and cool reflexion, which are as closely connected with wisdom, as vice with folly. But when poverty is felt in its utmost extreme, it then becomes excessively dangerous, and some deviations from rectitude are with difficulty avoided,

The man, who can support with courage the proud man's contumely, may shrink at the prospect of a prison ; and he, who can cheerfully feed on the coarsest viands, will perhaps be unable to resist the importunate solicitations of hunger, to deviate from the strait road of equity, where it leads through a barren waste, and where there are fruits at a distance to tempt his approach. Where this is the case, we must pity the unhappy wretch, who is unable to withstand the power of such temptations—temptations that may be doubled, by the multiplied distress of seeing a family ready to perish.

The learned and pious Boerhaave observes, “ that he never saw a criminal carried to execution, without asking his own heart, who knows whether this man is not less guilty than I ? ” Were all mankind to ask themselves the same question, justice would frequently be executed with less rigour, and perhaps sometimes the malefactor would be restored to virtue by the hand of mercy, stretched out to his relief, instead of being deprived of life, for a crime which perhaps few would have been able in the same circumstances to withstand.

I cannot here forbear illustrating these remarks, by relating a passage in the life of monsieur de Sallo, a gentleman to whom the literary world is obliged for the invention of the journals or reviews of the works of the learned, in all parts where letters are cultivated. This passage I shall take from the lives of the eminent French writers. “ In the year 1662, when Paris was afflicted with a long and severe famine, monsieur de Sallo, returning from a summer evening's walk with only a little footboy, was accosted by a man, who presented a pistol, and in a manner far from the



Having served with honour and reputation for three years, he gave a last and glorious proof of his attachment to the liberties of mankind, and the cause of America, in the action near Cambden, in the state of South-Carolina, on the 16th of August, 1780; where, leading on the troops of the Maryland and Delaware lines against superior numbers, and animating them by his example to deeds of valour, he was pierced with many wounds, and on the 19th following expired, in the 48th year of his age. The CONGRESS of the united states of America, in gratitude to his zeal, services, and merit, have erected this monument.

•••••

*Inscription ordered by congress to be engraved on one of the cannon belonging to the Americans at the commencement of the late war.*

The HANCOCK.  
SACRED TO LIBERTY.

This is one of four cannon, which constituted the whole train of field artillery possessed by the British colonies of North-America, at the commencement of the war,

on the 19th of April, M, DCC, LXXV.

This CANNON

and its fellow, belonging to a number of citizens of Boston, were used in many engagements during the war.

The other two, the property of the government of Massachusetts, were taken by the enemy.

By order of the united states, in congress assembled,

May 19, 1788.

N. B. The other preserved cannon is styled, the Adams; and, except the name, has an inscription similar to that of the Hancock.

•••••

*Revolutional papers.*

No. I.

*Address, presented to his excellency general Washington, by the pro-*

*vincial congress of New York, June 26, 1775.*

*May it please your excellency,*

At a time, when the most loyal of his majesty's subjects, from a regard to the laws and constitution, by which he sits on the throne, feel themselves reduced to the unhappy necessity of taking up arms, to defend their dearest rights and privileges—while we deplore the calamities of this divided empire, we rejoice in the appointment of a gentleman, from whose abilities and virtue we are taught to expect both security and peace.

“Confiding in you, sir, and in the worthy generals immediately under your command, we have the most flattering hopes of success in the glorious struggle for American liberty, and the fullest assurances, that, whenever this important contest shall be decided, by that fondest wish of each American soul, an accommodation with our mother country, you will cheerfully resign the important deposit committed into your hands, and reassume the character of our worthiest citizen.

By order,

*P. V. B. Livingston, president.*  
*New York, June 26, 1775.*

•••••

NO. II.

ANSWER.

*Gentlemen,*

At the same time that with you I deplore the unhappy necessity of such an appointment, as that with which I am now honoured, I cannot but feel sentiments of the highest gratitude, for this affecting instance of distinction and regard.

May your warmest wishes be realized in the success of America, at this important and interesting period; and be assured, that every exertion of my worthy colleagues and myself, will be equally extended to the re-establishment of peace and harmony, between the mother country and these colonies: as to the fatal but necessary operations of war, when we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen; and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you, in that happy hour when the establishment of American liberty, on the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations, in the bo-

son of a free, peaceful, and happy country.

G. WASHINGTON.



NO. III.

*Letter from his excellency general Washington to general Gage.*

*Head quarters, Cambridge,*

SIR, *August 11, 1775.*

I Understand that the officers, engaged in the cause of liberty and their country, who, by the fortune of war, have fallen into your hands, have been thrown indiscriminately into a common jail, appropriated for felons—that no consideration has been had for those of the most respectable rank, when languishing with wounds and sickness—that some of them have been even amputated in this unworthy situation.

Let your opinion, sir, of the principle which actuates them, be what it may, they suppose they act from the noblest of all principles, a love of freedom and their country. But political opinions, I conceive, are foreign to this point. The obligations arising from the rights of humanity, and claims of rank, are universally binding and extensive, except in case of retaliation. These, I should have hoped, would have dictated a more tender treatment of those individuals, whom chance or war had put in your power. Nor can I forbear suggesting its fatal tendency to widen that unhappy breach, which you, and those ministers under whom you act, have repeatedly declared you wish to see forever closed.

My duty now makes it necessary to apprise you, that for the future, I shall regulate my conduct towards those gentlemen of your army, who are, or may be in our possession, exactly by the rule you shall observe towards those of ours who may be in your custody.

If severity and hardship mark the line of your conduct (painful as it may be to me) your prisoners will feel its effects; but if kindness and humanity are shewn to ours, I shall, with pleasure, consider those in our hands, only as unfortunate, and they shall receive from me that treatment to which the unfortunate are ever entitled.

I beg to be favoured with an an-

swer as soon as possible, and am, sir, your very humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

*His excellency general GAGE.*



NO. IV.

ANSWER.

SIR, *Boston, August 13, 1775.*

TO the glory of civilized nations, humanity and war have been compatible; and compassion to the subdued is become almost a general system.

Britons, ever pre-eminent in mercy, have outgone common examples, and overlooked the criminal in the captive. Upon these principles, your prisoners, whose lives, by the laws of the land, are destined to the cord, have hitherto been treated with care and kindness, and more comfortably lodged, than the king's troops, in the hospitals; indiscriminately, it is true, for I acknowledge no rank that is not derived from the king.

My intelligence from your army would justify severe recrimination. I understand there are some of the king's faithful subjects, taken sometime since by the rebels, labouring like negro slaves, to gain their daily subsistence, or reduced to the wretched alternative, to perish by famine, or take arms against their king and country. Those, who have made the treatment of the prisoners in my hands, or of your other friends in Boston, a pretence for such measures, found barbarity upon falsehood.

I would willingly hope, sir, that the sentiments of liberality, which I have always believed you to possess, will be exerted to correct these misdoings. Be temperate in political disquisitions; give free operation to truth, and punish those who deceive and misrepresent; and not only the effects, but the causes of this unhappy conflict will soon be removed.

Should those, under whose usurped authority you act, controul such a disposition, and dare to call severity retaliation, to God, who knows all hearts, be the appeal for the dreadful consequences. I trust, that British soldiers, asserting the rights of the state, the laws of the land, the being of the constitution, will meet all events with becoming fortitude. They will

court victory with the spirit their cause inspires, and from the same motive will find the patience of martyrs under misfortune.

Till I read your insinuations in regard to ministers, I conceived that I had acted under the king; whose wishes, it is true, as well as those of his ministers, and of every honest man, have been to see this unhappy breach forever closed; but unfortunately for both countries, those, who have long since projected the present crisis, and influence the councils of America, have views very distant from accommodation. I am, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS GAGE.

*George Washington, esq.*



REPLY.

NO. V.

*Head Quarters, Cambridge,*

SIR, *August 19, 1775.*

I Addressed you on the 11th inst. in terms which gave the fairest scope for the exercise of that humanity and politeness, which were supposed to form a part of your character. I remonstrated with you on the unworthy treatment shewn to the officers and citizens of America, whom the fortune of war, chance, or a mistaken confidence, had thrown into your hands.

Whether British or American mercy, fortitude, and patience, are most pre-eminent—whether our virtuous citizens, whom the hand of tyranny has forced into arms, to defend their wives, their children, and their property, or the mercenary instruments of lawless domination, avarice, and revenge, best deserve the appellation of rebels, and the punishment of that cord, which your affected clemency has forborn to inflict—whether the authority under which I act, is usurped, or founded upon the genuine principles of liberty—were altogether foreign to the subject. I purposefully avoided all political disquisition; nor shall I now avail myself of those advantages, which the sacred cause of my country, of liberty, and human nature, give me over you; much less shall I stoop to retort any invective. But the intelligence, you say you have received from our army, requires

a reply. I have taken time, sir, to make a strict enquiry, and find it has not the least foundation in truth. Not only your officers and soldiers have been treated with a tenderness due to fellow-citizens and brethren, but even those execrable parricides, whose councils and aid have deluged their country with blood, have been protected from the fury of a justly enraged people. Far from compelling or permitting their assistance, I am embarrassed with the numbers who crowd to our camp, animated with the purest principles of virtue and love of their country. You advise me to give free operation to truth; to punish misrepresentation and falshood. If experience stamps value upon counsel, yours must have a weight which few can claim. You best can tell, how far the convulsion, which has brought such ruin on both countries, and shaken the mighty empire of Britain to its foundation, may be traced to these malignant causes.

You affect, sir, to despise all rank, not derived from the same source with your own. I cannot conceive one more honourable, than that, which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power. Far from making it a plea for cruelty, a mind of true magnanimity and enlarged ideas, would comprehend and respect it.

What may have been the ministerial views which have precipitated the present crisis, Lexington, Concord, and Charlestown, can best declare. May that God, to whom you then appealed, judge between America and you. Under his providence, those who influence the councils of America, and all the other inhabitants of the united colonies, at the hazard of their lives, are determined to hand down to posterity, those just and invaluable privileges which they received from their ancestors.

I shall now, sir, close my correspondence with you, perhaps for ever. If your officers, our prisoners, receive a treatment from me, different from what I wished to shew them, they and you will remember the occasion of it. I am, sir, your very humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

*General Gage.*

## NO. VI.

*Letter from the general committee of Charlestown to governor Campbell.*

*May it please your excellency,*

IT is with great concern we find, that, for some days past, your excellency has been pleased to withdraw yourself from Charlestown, the seat of your government, and have retired on board the king's ship. The inconveniences which must unavoidably arise to the people, deprived, by this step, of that easy access to your excellency, which is absolutely necessary for transacting public affairs, are apparent; and we submit to your excellency's consideration, whether the retirement of our governor to a king's ship, in this general disquietude, when the minds of the people are filled with the greatest apprehensions for their safety, may not increase their alarm, and excite jealousies of some premeditated design against them. We therefore entreat, that your excellency will be pleased to return to Charlestown, the accustomed place of residence of the governor of South Carolina. And your excellency may be assured, that, whilst, agreeable to your repeated and solemn declarations, your excellency shall take no active part against the good people of this colony, in the present arduous struggle for the preservation of their civil liberties, we will, to the utmost of our power, secure to your excellency, that safety and respect for your person and character, which the inhabitants of Carolina have ever wished to shew to the representative of their sovereign.

By order of the general committee,

HENRY LAURENS, *chairman.*  
Statehouse, Sept. 29, 1775.



## NO. VII.

## ANSWER.

SIR, *Tamar, Sept. 30, 1775.*

I Have received a message signed by you from a set of people who stile themselves a general committee. The presumption of such an address, from a body assembled by no legal authority, and whom I must consider as in actual and open rebellion against their sovereign, can only be equalled by the outrages which obliged me to take refuge on board the king's ship in this

harbour. It deserves no answer, nor should I have given it any, but to mark the hardiness with which you have advanced, that I could so far forget my duty to my sovereign and to my country, as to promise that I would take no active part in bringing the subverters of our glorious constitution, and the real liberties of the people, to a sense of their duty. The unmanly arts that have already been used to prejudice me in the general opinion, may still be employed by that committee.

But I never will return to Charlestown till I can support the king's authority, and protect his faithful and loyal subjects. Whenever the people of this province will put it in my power to render them this essential service, I will with pleasure embrace the opportunity, and think it a very happy one.

I am, sir, your humble servant,  
WILLIAM CAMPBELL.  
To Henry Laurens, esq.



## NO. VIII.

*Resolves of the convention of Virginia, agreed to May 15, 1776, presented 112 members.*

FORASMUCH, as all the endeavours of the united colonies, by the most decent representations and petitions to the king and parliament of Great Britain, to restore peace and security to America under the British government, and a re-union with that people upon just and liberal terms, instead of a redress of grievances, have produced, from an impetuous and vindictive administration, increased insult, oppression, and a vigorous attempt to effect our total destruction. By a late act, all these colonies are declared to be in rebellion, and out of the protection of the British crown, our properties subjected to confiscation, our people, when captivated, compelled to join in the murder and plunder of their relations and countrymen, and all former rapine and oppression of Americans declared legal and just. Fleets and armies are raised, and the aid of foreign troops engaged to assist these destructive purposes. The king's representative in this colony hath not only withheld all the powers of government from ope-

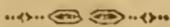
rating for our safety, but, having retired on board an armed ship, is carrying on a piratical and savage war against us, tempting our slaves, by every artifice, to resort to him, and training and employing them against their masters. In this state of extreme danger, we have no alternative left, but an abject submission to the will of those overbearing tyrants, or a total separation from the crown and government of Great Britain, uniting and exerting the strength of all America for defence, and forming alliances with foreign powers for commerce and aid in war: wherefore, appealing to the searcher of hearts for the sincerity of former declarations, expressing our desire to preserve the connexion with that nation, and that we are driven from that inclination by their wicked councils, and the eternal laws of self-preservation,

Resolved unanimously, that the delegates, appointed to represent this colony in general congress, be instructed to propose to that respectable body, to declare the united colonies free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence upon, the crown or parliament of Great Britain; and that they give the assent of this colony to such declaration, and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the congress, for forming foreign alliances, and a confederation of the colonies, at such time, and in such manner, as to them shall seem best: provided, that the power of forming government for, and the regulation of the internal concerns of each colony, be left to the respective colonial legislatures.

Resolved unanimously, that a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration of rights, and such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people.

*Edmund Pendleton, president.*

*John Tazewell, clerk of the conv.*



NO. 1X.

*Instructions to the representatives of the town of Boston, agreed to by the freeholders and inhabitants of this town, May 23, 1776.*

*Gentlemen,*

AT a time, when in all probability the whole united colonies of America are upon the verge of a glorious revolution; and when, consequently, the most important questions, that were ever agitated before the representative body of this colony, touching its internal police, will demand your attention; your constituents think it necessary to instruct you in several matters what part to act, that the path of your duty may be plain before you.

We have seen the humble petitions of these colonies to the king of Great Britain repeatedly rejected with disdain. For the prayer of peace, he has tendered the sword; for liberty, chains; and for safety, death. He has licensed the instruments of his hostile oppressions, to rob us of our property, to burn our houses, and to spill our blood. He has invited every barbarous nation, whom he could hope to influence, to assist him in prosecuting these inhuman purposes. The prince, therefore, in the support of whose crown and dignity, not many years since, we would most cheerfully have expended life and fortune, we are now constrained to consider as the worst of tyrants: loyalty to him is now treason to our country. We have seen his venal parliament so basely prostituted to his designs, that they have never hesitated to enforce his arbitrary requisitions with the most sanguinary laws. We have seen the people of Great Britain so lost to every sense of virtue and honour, as to pass over the most pathetic and earnest appeals to their justice, with an unfeeling indifference. The hopes we placed on their exertions, have long since failed. In short, we are convinced, that it is the fixed and settled determination of the king, ministry, and parliament of that island, to conquer and subjugate the colonies, and that the people there have no disposition to oppose them. A reconciliation with them appears to us to be as dangerous, as it is absurd. A spirit of resentment, once raised, is not easy to appease: the recollection of past injuries will perpetually keep alive the flame of jealousy, which will stimulate to new impositions on the one side, and consequent

resistance on the other; and the whole body politic will be constantly subject to civil commotions. We therefore think it absolutely impracticable for these colonies to be ever again subject to, or dependent upon Great Britain, without endangering the very existence of the state: placing, however, unbounded confidence in the supreme councils of the congress, we are determined to wait, most patiently to wait, 'till their wisdom shall dictate the necessity of making a declaration of independence. Nor should we have ventured to express our sentiments upon this subject, but from the presumption, that the congress would choose to feel themselves supported by the people of each colony, before they adopt a resolution, so interesting to the whole. The inhabitants of this town, therefore, unanimously instruct and direct you, that at the approaching session of the general assembly, you use your endeavours, that the delegates of this colony, at the congress, be advised, that in case the congress should think it necessary, for the safety of the united colonies, to declare them independent of Great Britain, the inhabitants of this colony, with their lives, and the remnant of their fortunes, will most cheerfully support them in the measure.

Touching the internal police of this colony, it is essentially necessary, in order to preserve harmony among ourselves, that the constituent body be satisfied that they are fairly and fully represented. The right to legislate is originally in every member of the community; which right is always exercised in the infancy of a state: but when the inhabitants are become numerous, 'tis not only inconvenient, but impracticable for all to meet in one assembly; and hence arose the necessity and practice of legislating by a few, freely chosen by the many. When this choice is free, and representation equal, 'tis the people's fault if they are not happy: we therefore instruct you to devise some means to obtain an equal representation of the people of this colony in the legislature: but care should be taken, that the assembly be not unwieldy; for this would be an approach to the evil meant to be cured

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by representation. The largest bodies of men do not always dispatch business with the greatest expedition, nor conduct it in the wisest manner.

'Tis essential to liberty, that the legislative, judicial, and executive powers of government, be, as nearly as possible, independent of and separate from each other; for, where they are united in the same person, or number of persons, there would be wanting that mutual check which is the principal security against the making of arbitrary laws, and a wanton exercise of power in the execution of them. It is also of the highest importance, that every person in a judiciary department employ the greater part of his time and attention in the duties of his office: we therefore further instruct you, to procure the enacting such law or laws, as shall make it incompatible for the same person to hold a seat in the legislative and executive departments of government, at one and the same time: that shall render the judges, in every judicatory through the colony, dependent, not on the uncertain tenure of caprice or pleasure, but on an unimpeachable deportment in the important duties of their station, for their continuance in office: and, to prevent the multiplicity of offices in the same person, that such salaries be settled upon them, as will place them above the necessity of stooping to any indirect or collateral means for subsistence. We wish to avoid a profusion of the public monies on the one hand, and the danger of sacrificing our liberties to a spirit of parsimony on the other. Not doubting of your zeal and abilities in the common cause of our country, we leave your discretion to prompt such exertions, in promoting any military operations, as the exigencies of our public affairs may require: and in the same confidence of your fervor and attachment to the public weal, we readily submit all other matters of public moment, that may require your consideration, to your own wisdom and discretion.



NO. X.

By his excellency the right honourable  
John earl of Dunmore, his majesty's lieutenant and governor gene-

T t

*ral of the colony and dominion of Virginia, and vice admiral of the same.*

A PROCLAMATION.

AS I have ever entertained hopes that an accommodation might have taken place between Great Britain and this colony, without being compelled, by my duty, to this most disagreeable, but now absolutely necessary step, rendered so by a body of armed men, unlawfully assembled, firing on his majesty's tenders, and the formation of an army, and that army now on their march to attack his majesty's troops, and destroy the well-disposed subjects of this colony. To defeat such treasonable purposes, and that all such traitors, and their abettors, may be brought to justice, and that the peace and good order of this colony may be again restored, which the ordinary course of the civil law is unable to effect, I have thought fit to issue this my proclamation, hereby declaring, that, until the aforesaid good purposes can be obtained, I do, in virtue of the power and authority to me given by his majesty, determine to execute martial law, and cause the same to be executed throughout this colony; and to the end that peace and good order may the sooner be restored, I do require every person capable of bearing arms, to resort to his majesty's standard, or be looked upon as traitors to his majesty's crown and government, and thereby become liable to the penalty the law inflicts upon such offences; such as, forfeiture of life, confiscation of lands, &c. &c. And I do hereby farther declare all indented servants, negroes, or others (appertaining to rebels) free, that are able and willing to bear arms, they joining his majesty's troops, as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this colony to a proper sense of their duty to his majesty's crown and dignity. I do farther order and require, all his majesty's liege subjects, to retain their quit-rents, or any other taxes, due, or that may become due, in their own custody, till such times as peace may be again restored to this at present most unhappy country, or demanded of them for their former salutary purposes, by officers properly authorised to receive the same.

Given under my hand, on board the ship William, at Norfolk, the seventh day of November, in the sixteenth year of his majesty's reign.

DUNMORE.

*God. save the king.*



*To the farmers of Pennsylvania and elsewhere.*

BY the latest accounts from Europe, there is reason to expect, that there will be, for some time to come, a demand for large quantities of wheat and flour, for exportation from the united states. At the same time, it is well known, that, from the severe drought, which has prevailed for several weeks past, the crops of wheat sown this year, too generally wear a very unpromising aspect.

These considerations have induced me to communicate the result of an experiment, which, among several others, I made last fall, with a view to ascertain the best method of guarding against the destructive operations of the Hessian fly, which, at that time, was supposed likely to come forward from the eastward, upon the grain crops, but through the favour of Divine Providence, our apprehensions on that account seem now to be entirely removed.

The fifth day of November last, which was about two months after the proper time of sowing most kinds of wheat, I sowed a piece of buckwheat stubble, with the yellow bearded wheat, at the rate of five pecks per acre\*. When the winter came on, the seed had scarcely vegetated, and until the beginning of May, the whole appeared exceedingly backward; but at the following harvest (the 16th of July) I had the unexpected satisfaction, of reaping as fine a crop as I, or any of my neighbours, had from an equal quantity of ground sown in the month of September. The soil, a loomy clay, was in tolerable heart, but had not been manured for many years;

NOTE.

\* When winter grain is sown later than usual, a greater quantity of seed should be allowed, as it is apt not to tiller or stool so well as when sown earlier.

was ploughed about eight inches deep; the seed sown over furrow, and harrowed in with the furrow, and a few furrows cut with the plough, to carry off any excess of water: the ground had two other ploughings of the above depth, the same year, viz. in the month of April for spring barley, and in July, for the buckwheat crop. A heavy roller was drawn over the buckwheat stubble, in order to break down the hard clods that lay on the surface of the ground, which could not be reduced by the plough and harrow. But as few farmers in this state are provided with this useful machine, it may be observed, that this operation, though of service, is not essentially necessary, nor will it be advisable for those who have been in the too common practice of ploughing their lands from three to four inches deep, to plough double that depth, and immediately sow wheat on a soil which perhaps has never before been exposed to the action of the sun and air. But yet, a small portion of fresh earth, turned up with the old worn out soil, may not be amiss.

The yellow bearded wheat may be had of several persons who procured seed last year from Long Island; but where it cannot be had, some other kinds may probably answer nearly as well; particularly the common red and yellow wheat, which are esteemed the hardiest.

As the earth is now very dry, and consequently in a good condition to receive late crops, (more especially if rain should follow soon after) I am about sowing all my buckwheat stubbles and potatoe fallows with yellow bearded wheat, (except a small part with the other sorts for trial) and some rye.

Several fields of wheat and rye have lately been ploughed up, and the ground sown over again, from being much injured by the insect called the louse, which frequently makes great havock in dry seasons; but it is doubtful, whether this will always answer, as it has been experienced, that these insects (many of which still remain alive, if the drought continues) have often devoured the shoots of even a second sowing.

Having given the foregoing circumstances, I shall not, at present,

spend any time in speculative reasoning. If any considerable quantity of wheat can be raised by the means I have stated, in addition to what may be produced from that already sown, my aim will be answered.

JOSEPH MIFFLIN.

*Fountain Green, Oct. 24, 1789.*



*To preserve pumpions, or pumpkins, thro' the winter and spring.*

WHEN taken from the vine, open them and throw away the soft contents which are found in their inside. Then cut them into small pieces, and dry them in the sun, or in an oven. Preserve them in a dry place. They may be either pounded or boiled before they are used.

Prepared in this manner, they make a cheap and excellent food for cattle—horses—and hogs. Many thousand pounds might be saved in grain to our farmers, and to our country, by the general use of this wholesome and nourishing food for domestic animals.—They afford more nourishment than the potatoe or scarcity-root;—they are cultivated with less trouble, and yield a much larger increase from the same labour.



*Miscellaneous reflexions.*

I Know of no great man in history but has had the misfortune of seeing his laurels blasted by the impure breath of envy and prejudice; but now these same laurels bloom again on their tombs, and our posterity will still admire the freshness of their verdure.

Little evil is said of a man who has few or no pretensions to be praised: the reason is, that revenge is scarce ever levelled but against superiority of merit.

How many are there who think only when they speak; and how many more still there are who speak always without thinking?

Low cunning disgraces politics, as hypocrisy degrades devotion.

Need we be astonished that there is so little concord in most families? They have too close a view not to know one another, and it is hard to love where people are so well acquainted.

## Picture of African distress.

By Theodore Dwight, student of law,  
Connecticut.

The distress which the inhabitants of Guinea experience at the loss of their children, who are stolen from them by the persons employed in the slave trade, is, perhaps, more thoroughly felt than described. But, as it is a subject to which every person has not attended, the following is an attempt to represent the anguish of a mother, whose son and daughter were taken from her by a ship's crew belonging to a country where the God of justice and mercy is owned and worshipped.

HELP! oh, help! thou God of christians!

Save a mother from despair—

Cruel white men steal my children;  
God of christians! hear my pray'r.

From my arms by force they're rended,  
Sailors drag them to the sea;

Yonder ship at anchor riding,  
Swift will carry them away.

There my son lies, pale and bleeding;  
Fast, with thongs his hands are bound;

See the tyrants, how they scourge him!  
See his sides a reeking wound.

See his little sister by him,  
Quaking, trembling, how she lies,  
Drops of blood her face besprinkle;  
Tears of anguish fill her eyes.

Now they tear her brother from her,  
Down below the deck he's thrown;  
Stiff with beating; through fear silent,  
Save a single death-like groan.

Hear the little daughter begging,  
"Take me white men for your own;  
"Spare, oh spare my darling brother!  
"He's my mother's only son.

"See upon the shore she's raving;  
"Down she falls upon the sands;  
"Now she tears her flesh with madness,  
"Now she prays with lifted hands.

"I am young, and strong, and hardy;  
"He's a sick and feeble boy;  
"Take me, whip me, chain me, starve me;  
"All my life I'll toil with joy.

"Christians, who's the God ye worship?  
"Is he cruel, fierce, or good?  
"Does he take delight in mercy,  
"Or in spilling human blood?

"Ah! my poor distracted mother!  
"Hear her scream upon the shore!"  
Down the savage captain struck her,  
Lifeless, on the vessel's floor.  
Up his sails he quickly hoisted,  
To the ocean bent his way;  
Headlong plung'd the raving mother  
From a high rock, in the sea.



## The African boy.

"AH! tell me, little mournful Moor,  
"Why still you linger on the shore?  
"Haste to your playmates, haste away,  
"Nor loiter here with fond delay;  
"When morn unveil'd her radiant eye,  
"You hail'd me as I wander'd by,  
"Returning at th' approach of eve,  
"Your meek salute I still receive."

Benign enquirer, thou shalt know,  
Why here my lonesome moments flow;  
'Tis said, thy countrymen (no more  
Like rav'ning sharks that haunt the shore)

Return to raise, to bless, to cheer,  
And pay compassion's long arrear;  
'Tis said the num'rous captive train,  
Late bound by the degrading chain,  
Triumphant come with swelling sails,  
'Mid smiling skies and western gales,  
They come, with festive heart and glee,  
Their hands unshackled--minds as free;  
They come, at mercy's great command,  
To repossess their native land.

The gales that o'er the ocean stray,  
And chase the waves in gentle play;  
Methinks they whisper as they fly,  
Juellen soon will meet thine eye;  
'Tis this that soothes her little son,  
Blends all his wishes into one.  
Ah! were I clasp'd in her embrace,  
I could forgive her past disgrace;  
Forgive the memorable hour,  
She fell a prey to tyrant pow'r;  
Forgive her lost distracted air,  
Her sorrowing voice, her kneeling pray'r.

The suppliant tear that gall'd her cheek,  
And last, her agonizing shriek,  
Lock'd in her hair, a ruthless hand,  
Trail'd her along the stinty strand;  
A ruffian train, with clamours rude,  
Th' impious spectacle pursu'd;  
Still as the mov'd, in accents wild,  
She cried aloud, 'my child! my child!'  
'The lofty bark she now ascends,  
With screams of woe, the air she rends;  
The vessel less'ning from the shore,



To ease them of their pain and woe,  
Must we resign our heav'n ?

No, marriage lets the vizard fall,  
Then cease they to adore us :  
The goddess sinks to housewife Moll,  
And they reign tyrants o'er us.

Then let no man impression make,  
Upon thy heart so tender,  
Nor play the fool for pity's sake,  
Thy quiet to surrender.

Lead apes in hell ! there's no such  
thing,  
Those tales are made to fool us ;  
Though there we had better hold a  
string,  
Than here let monkies rule us.



*Song, extempore. By Nat. Evans, A.M.  
missionary for Gloucester county in  
New Jersey.*

I.

**T**HE sprightly eye, the rosy cheek,  
The dumpled chin, and look so  
meek,

The nameless grace and air,  
The ruby lip in sweetness drest,  
The softly-swelling angel breast—  
All these adorn my fair !

II.

See, what unnumber'd beauties rove  
Around each feature of my love,  
And fire my rapt'rous soul !  
Ten thousand sweets her looks dis-  
close ;  
At ev'ry look, my bosom glows,  
And yields to love's control.

III.

Just heav'ns ! why gave ye charms like  
these,  
With ev'ry graceful art to please,  
To her, whom rigid fate,  
Permits me not my pain to tell,  
And makes me sacred truth conceal  
From one I with my mate ?

IV.

Curse on the sordid thirst of gold,  
When tend'rest passions all are sold  
To win the world's applause ;  
When, for desire, and love, and joy,  
Low int'rest shall our hours employ,  
And gain th' ignoble cause.



*An ode to solitude.*

**O**H ! Solitude ! celestial maid !  
Wrap me in thy sequester'd shade,  
And all my soul employ !

From folly, ignorance, and strife,  
From all the giddy whirls of life !

And loud unmeaning joy !

While in the statesman's glowing  
dream,

Fancy portrays the high-wrought  
scheme,

And plans a future fame ;

What is the phantom he pursues !

What the advantage that accrues !

Alas ! an empty name !

To him, the grove no pleasure yields,  
Nor mossy bank, nor verdant fields,

Nor daisy-painted lawns ;

In vain th' ambrosial gale invites,

In vain all nature sheds delights,

Her genuine charms he scorns !

Pleasure allures the giddy throng ;

The gay, the vain, the fair, the young,

All bend before her shrine !

She spreads around delusive snares,

The borrow'd garb of bliss she wears,

And tempts in form divine !

Fashion, with wild tyrannic sway,

Directs the business of the day,

And reigns without controul ;

The beaus and sparkling belles confess,

She animates the modes of dress,

And chains the willing soul !

Can these, the slaves of fashion's pow'r,

Enjoy the silent, tranquil hour,

And bloom with nature's glow !

Or to the votaries of sense

Can solitude her sweets dispense,

And happiness bestow ?

How wretched that unfurnish'd mind,

Which, to each vain pursuit inclin'd,

Is ever bent to roam !

Oh ! be that restless state abhor'd

Seek not for happiness abroad,

She's only found at home !

Ye sages, who with anxious care,

Rov'd thro' the fleeting tracks of air,

A vacuum to find ;

Wiser, had ye employ'd your skill,

With solid sense, and worth to fill,

The vacuum of the mind !

Let choice, not wrinkled spleen engage

The mind, to quit the world's gay stage,

Where folly's scenes are play'd :

Sour discontent, and pining care,

Attaint the fragrance of the air,

Dillurb the silent shade.

Not wounded by misfortune's dart,

I seek to ease the rankling smart

Of thorny-felt'ring woe ;



*Liberty tree.* Tune—*The gods of the Greeks.*

**I**N a chariot of light, from the regions of day,  
The goddesses of liberty came;  
Ten thousand celestials directed the way,  
And hither conducted the dame.  
A fair budding branch from the gardens above,  
Where millions with millions agree,  
She brought in her hand, as a pledge of her love,  
And the plant she nam'd Liberty Tree.

The celestial exotic stuck deep in the ground,  
Like a native it flourish'd and bore;  
The fame of its fruit drew the nations around,  
To seek out this peaceable shore.  
Unmindful of names or distinctions, they came,  
For freemen like brothers agree;  
With one spirit endu'd, they one friendship pursu'd,  
And their temple was Liberty Tree.

Beneath this fair tree, like the patriarchs of old,  
Their bread in contentment they ate,  
Unvex'd with the troubles of silver and gold,  
The cares of the grand and the great:  
With timber and tar they Old England supply'd,  
And supported her pow'r on the sea;  
Her battles they fought, without getting a groat,  
For the honour of Liberty Tree.

But hear, O ye swains, ('tis a tale most profane)  
How all the tyrannical powers,  
Kings, commons, and lords, are uniting amain,  
To cut down this guardian of ours.  
From the east to the west, blow the trumpet to arm  
Thro' the land let the sound of it flee,  
Let the far and the near—all unite with a cheer,  
In defence of our Liberty Tree.

*Philadelphia, September 16, 1775.*



*The choice of a husband.—In a letter to a friend.*

**Y**OU ask, if the thing to my choice were submitted,  
You ask, how I'd wish in a man to be fitted?  
I'll answer you freely, and beg you to mind him,  
Your friendship, perhaps, may assist me to find him.

His age and condition must first be consider'd—  
The rose on his cheek should be blown, but not wither'd;  
He should be—but hark you—a word in your ear—  
Don't you think five-and-twenty would fit to a hair?

His fortune—from debts and incumbrances clear,  
Unfaddled with jointures, a thousanda year;  
Though, to shew you at once my good sense and good nature,  
I'd not quarrel much, should it chance to be greater.

The qualities next of his heart and his head—  
Good-natur'd and friendly, sincere and well-bred;  
With wit when he please, on all subjects to shine,  
And sense not too small to set value on mine.

No coxcomb who boasts of his knowledge or arts,  
Nor stiff with his learning nor proud of his parts;  
No braggart who swears he did this or did that,  
While his courage all lies in—the cock of his hat.





Her heart is as mild as the dove's,  
 Her hand is as soft as its down.  
 Yon lilly, which graces the field,  
 And throws its perfume to the gale,  
 In fairness and fragrance must yield  
 To Emma, the pride of the vale.  
 She's pleasant, as yonder cool rill  
 To trav'lers who faint on the way;  
 She's sweet, as the rose on the hill,  
 When it opens its bosom to day.  
 I ask not for wealth, or for pow'r;  
 Kind heav'n! I these can resign;  
 But hasten, O hasten the hour,  
 When Emma shall deign to be mine.  
 O teach her to pity the pain  
 Of a heart, that, if slighted, must break;  
 O teach her to love the fond swain,  
 That would lay down his life for her sake.  
 Though poor, I will never repine,  
 Content that my Emma is true;  
 I'll press her dear bosom to mine,  
 And think myself rich as Peru.  
 With her I will stray thro' the grove,  
 And fondly I'll pour out my soul,  
 Indulge my effusions of love,  
 And find myself blest to the full.  
 And oft in the cool of the day,  
 We'll ramble to hear the sweet song,  
 That vibrates so soft from each spray,  
 Where Codorus rolls gently along.  
 With flowers I'll crown her dear hair,  
 Then gaze on her beauties; and cry  
 What nymph can with Emma compare!  
 What shepherd so happy as I!  
 Thus chearful the moments shall roll,  
 Of all my fond wishes possess'd,  
 And peace shall descend on my soul,  
 And make it her favourite rest:  
 Contentment my life shall prolong,  
 All trouble and sorrow forgot,  
 And time, as he hurries along,  
 Shall smile upon Corydon's cot.



*Bryan and Pereene. A West Indian ballad; founded on a real fact, that happened in the island of St. Christopher's.*

**T**HE north-east wind did briskly blow,  
 The ship was safely moor'd,  
 Young Bryan thought the boat's crew flow,  
 And so leap'd over-board.

Pereene, the pride of Indian dames,  
 His heart long held in thrall,  
 And whose his impatience blames,  
 I wot, ne'er lov'd at all.

A long, long year, one month and day,  
 He dwelt on English land,  
 Nor once in thought would ever stray,  
 Though ladies fought his hand.

For Bryan was both tall and strong,  
 Right blythfome roll'd his een;  
 Sweet was his voice when'er he fung,  
 He scant had twenty seen.

But who the countless charms can draw,  
 That grac'd his mistress true?  
 Such charms the old world never saw,  
 Nor oft, I ween, the new.

Her raven hair plays round her neck,  
 Like tendrils of the vine;  
 Her cheeks red dewy rose buds deck,  
 Her eyes like diamonds shine.

Soon as his well known ship she spied,  
 She cast her weeds away,  
 And to the palmy shore she hied,  
 All in her best array.

In sea-green silk so neatly clad,  
 She there impatient stood;  
 The crew with wonder saw the lad  
 Repel the foaming flood.

Her hands a handkerchief display'd,  
 Which he at parting gave;  
 Well pleas'd the token he survey'd,  
 And manlier beat the wave.

Her fair companions, one and all,  
 Rejoicing, croud the strand;  
 For now her lover swam in call,  
 And almost touch'd the land.

Then through the white surf did she haste,  
 To clasp her lovely swain;  
 When, ah! a shark bit through his waist:  
 His heart's blood dy'd the main!

He shriek'd; his half sprang from the wave,  
 Streaming with purple gore,  
 And soon it found a living grave,  
 And ah! was seen no more.

Now haste, now haste, ye maids, I pray,  
 Fetch water from the spring:  
 She falls, she falls, she dies away,  
 And soon her knell they ring.

Now each May morning round her tomb  
 Ye fair, fresh flow'rets strew,  
 So may your lovers scape his doom,  
 Her hapless fate scape you.



*The libertine repulsed.*

**H**ENCE, Belmour, perfidious! this instant retire,  
 No further entreaties employ,  
 Nor meanly pretend any more to admire,  
 What basely you wish to destroy.

Say, youth, must I madly rush forward on shame,  
 If a traitor but artfully sighs?  
 And eternally part with my honour and fame  
 For a compliment paid to my eyes?

If a flame all dishonest be vilely profess,  
 Thro' tendernefs must I incline,  
 And seek to indulge the repose of a breast,  
 That would plant endless tortures in mine ?  
 No, Belmour—a passion, I can't but despise,  
 Shall never find way to my ears ;  
 Nor the man meet a glance of regard from these eyes,  
 That would drench them forever in tears.  
 Can the lover who thinks, nay, who wishes me base  
 Expect that I e'er should be kind ?  
 Or atone, with a paltry address to my face,  
 For the injury done to my mind ?  
 Hence, Belmour, this instant, and cease every dream,  
 Which your hope saw so foolishly born ;  
 Nor vainly imagine to gain my esteem,  
 By deserving my hate and my scorn.



*The slave.*

THE sun, declining, pass'd the western hills,  
 And gentle breezes curl'd the winding rills  
 The moon in silent majesty arose,  
 And weary negroes sought for calm repose.  
 Scorch'd by the burning sun's meridian ray,  
 All wish'd refreshment from the blaze of day—  
 But one unhappy slave, oppress'd with care,  
 O'erwhelm'd with grief, and mad with fell despair,  
 Forsook the grove. On Afric's burning shore  
 He'd left his friends his absence to deplore ;  
 His wife, his children, in their native land,  
 (Subjected to a tyrant's curs'd command)  
 In poverty and wretchedness retire ;  
 Nor know the friend, the husband, or the fire.  
 Such sad reflexions never left his breast,  
 His eyes forgot the balmy sweets of rest ;  
 His tongue forgot to sing the songs of joy,  
 No more did mirth or love his hours employ ;  
 Far from his country, from his native race,  
 Far from his little children's much lov'd face,  
 And doom'd to bear forever slav'ry's chain,  
 To grieve, to sigh, alas ! to live in vain.

O christians ! fiends to our unhappy race,  
 Why do we wear those ensigns of disgrace ?  
 Did nature's God create us to be slaves,  
 Or is it pride, which God's decree outraves ?  
 Had he design'd that we should not be free,  
 Why do we know the sweets of liberty ?

He could no more ; but mounting on a rock,  
 Whose shaggy sides o'erhung the silver brook—  
 Thence tumbling headlong down the steepest side,  
 He plung'd, determin'd, in the foaming tide.  
 His mangled carcase floated on the flood,  
 And stain'd the silver winding stream with blood.



*The public good. An ode.*

DRIV'N out from heav'n's ethereal domes,  
 On earth, insatiate Discord roams,

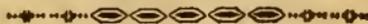


May freedom, whose rays we are taught to adore,  
 Beam bright as the sun, and bless ev'ry shore ;  
 No charter, that pleads for the rights of mankind,  
 To invest these with gold, those in fetters can bind.  
 And nature's, &c.



*On the rescue of a redbreast entangled in a vine, at the moment a hawk was ready to strike it with his pounces.*

**T**HE morning was fair and serene,  
 The fields clad in verdant array :  
 The birds added life to the scene,  
 As they sportively sang on the spray.  
 The dew-drops bespangled each tree,  
 Each herb, and each flow'ret, with gems,  
 The eye was delighted to see,  
 How they sparkled in Phebus's beams.  
 All nature was chearful and gay,  
 Not a creature appear'd to be sad :  
 Hilarity hail'd the new day,  
 For heaven bade all things be glad.  
 As I travell'd with Socius along,  
 And, with him, partook of the blifs,  
 In an instant my joy was unstrung,  
 By a warbler that scream'd in distress.  
 In a vine I a red-breast beheld,  
 His feet in the tendrils entwin'd ;—  
 By pity's soft dictates impell'd,  
 To relieve him my soul was inclin'd.  
 Oh ! Socius ! I cri'd—quick he flew,  
 Without giving time to say more :  
 For Socius by sympathy knew  
 What compassion but meant to implore.  
 That instant, a hawk from the sky,  
 Was pouncing to seize on his prey ;  
 But pity taught Socius to fly,  
 And he snatch'd the poor captive away.  
 Then pressing him close to his breast,  
 With meltings of joy in his eye,  
 Go, captive, he cry'd, and be blest !  
 Whilst the bird he restor'd to the sky.



*A song.*

**W**HEN clouds that angel face deform,  
 Anxious I view the growing storm ;  
 When angry lightnings arm thine eye,  
 And tell the gathering tempest nigh ;  
 I curse the sex, and bid adieu  
 To female friendship, love, and you.

But when soft passions rule your breast,  
 And each kind look some Love has dress ;  
 When cloudless smiles around you play,  
 And give the world a holiday ;  
 I blest the hour when first I knew  
 Dear female friendship, love, and you.

## FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

*Constantinople, May 25.*

THE character of Selim at length begins to develope itself; and seems, unfortunately for the Turkish empire, to resemble that of his two predecessors of the same name.

Within these few days, no less than four executions have taken place. The sultan seems determined to extirpate all the favourites of his late uncle; and to treat those of his subjects, who are not of the Mahometan faith, with the greatest cruelty.

After the manner of some of the former sultans, he now sallies out *incognito*, followed by an executioner; and lately ordered this minister of his vengeance to cut off the head of a poor Jew, for no other reason, than because some part of his dress resembled that of a musselman's robe.

*Hague, August 21.*

Accounts have been just received here from Liege, that, on the 18th instant, a tumultuous assembly of the inhabitants of that city, and its district, had surrounded the palace of the prince bishop, and extorted his assent to different demands; one of which was, that the states general of that principality should be forthwith assembled.

An express arrived here also this morning from Maestricht, with intelligence that a body of several thousand rioters had assembled in the neighbourhood of Verviers, and committed various outrages; but it does not appear what was the immediate motive or pretext for this insurrection.

From Liege we learn, that they have followed on their late revolution there, with embodying a band of patrician guards, to which a company of cavalry has been added.

*Paris, August 23.*

Three of the Swiss cantons have declared those of their troops traitors, who deserted their colours, under marshal Broglio. Some of them found their way back into Switzerland, but have been refused to be received into any of the cantons.

*August 26.* This day, being the anniversary of St. Louis, and kept as the king's birth day, the national assembly sent a deputation of sixty members, headed by their president,

to compliment his majesty in the following speech:

"Sire, the monarch, whose revered name is borne by your majesty, whose virtues are this day celebrated by religion, was, like you, the friend of his people.

"Like you, sire, he was friendly to French liberty: he protected it by laws which do honour to our annals; but it was not in his power to be its restorer.

"This glory, reserved for your majesty, gives you an immortal right to the gratitude and tender veneration of the French.

"Accordingly, the names of two kings shall be forever united, who, in the distance of ages, are approximated by the most signal acts of justice, in favour of their people.

"Sire, the national assembly has suspended its operations for a moment, to satisfy a duty which is dear to it, or rather, it does not deviate from the object of its mission. To speak to its king of the love and fidelity of the French, is a business of truly national interest, it is fulfilling the most ardent of their wishes."

His majesty made the following answer to the president:

"I receive with sensibility the testimonials of the attachment of the national assembly; it may always reckon on my confidence and my affection."

*London, July 1.*

The *Romulus* of America, gen. Washington, passed, on the 21st of April last, under a triumphal arch erected on Trenton bridge. He was attended by a procession, part of which, consisting of females, dressed in white, preceded him, strewing roses, and singing an ode.

Sir William Howe, when he left Philadelphia, caused a triumphal arch to be erected, under which he walked with his brother lord Howe, both crowned with laurel. We never heard why?

The national assembly of France, and the citizens at large, totally disclaim any countenance to the late riots; and have strictly prohibited any person, or set of persons, whatever, to decide on the fate of those who may be suspected of high treason, by taking the law into their own hands. Such persons are, in future, to be judg-

ed by a committee of the representatives of the nation, till such time as a proper tribunal is fixed.

All the principal towns in France are incorporating a militia of their own citizens, instead of the military, who used to protect them.

*August 3.* The people in Franche Comte have destroyed all the title-deeds and archives of the nobles.

At Strasburg, great violence has been committed. The chief magistrate was obliged to escape in a load of tanner's bark. The populace forced the town-house, and demolished all the furniture, took possession of 4000l. sterling of the public cash, and destroyed many of the archives. The citizens required leave from the comte de Rochambeau to arm, which he refused, as well as to call on the military. The prince de Hesse Darmstadt, colonel of a regiment in garrison, took this on himself, and with four thousand armed citizens, dispersed the mob, several of whom were hanged. In their violence, they got to the vast tons of Rhenish wine, which were preserved there, *en depot*, and waded up to their knees in it.

*Aug. 5.* The struggle for liberty in France is become almost general; at Dijon, the capital of Burgundy, as well as at Dauphiny and Brittany, the people are in arms: the flame has also reached Anjou; and the people of that province have seized the citadel of Angers, their capital. The duc de Brillac, who was governor of it, had hardly time to escape with his life.

The city of Roan, the capital of the province, from the 12th to the 15th of July, was most dreadfully convulsed. The scarcity of corn was the first cause of the rising.

The troops were ordered to fire, and were but too obedient; several lives were lost, and many people wounded.

The regiment de Navarre did great execution upon the people, and was too fatally seconded by the *marechaussée*, or police guards, who pistoled a great many, and cut down more with their sabres, whilst their horses trampled several to death.

It is true, that many persons of infamous character had mixed with the citizens, and were guilty of the greatest excesses—they went about to

the rooms of all the cotton weavers, and insisted that they should work no more, but, letting their looms stand still, join in plundering the houses of corn-factors and all others, where they suspected there was grain or flour.

The news of the revolution, that had taken place in Paris on the 13th, had a considerable effect upon those who were in power at Roan; and neither the troops or the *marechaussée* received any more orders to shed blood.

The people finding by this time that they were feared, resolved to give a loose to their vengeance. They swore they would have the life of the king's attorney general of the parliament at Roan. Those who intended to deal most mercifully with him, declared they would throw him into the Seine, and drown him.

He had the good luck, however, to escape to a guard house, which would not have been the case, if the people had kept their intentions to themselves.

The vengeance which could no longer affect his person, they resolved to let loose upon his property. They accordingly repaired to his house, which they completely destroyed.

In the midst of the confusion, a messenger arrived with advice, that six thousand peasants, from the neighbouring province of Picardy, were on the march to the assistance of their brethren of Roan.

There are at this moment 15,000 citizens in arms at Roan, who regularly mount guard every day. They have sent an offer to the committee at the town-house of Paris, to send off 4000 men completely armed, to the assistance of that capital, at a moment's warning.

*August 6.* To the marquis de la Fayette may the present emancipation of the citizens of the commonwealth of France be more justly attributed, than to any other of their patriotic characters. His long residence in England and America gave him just ideas of government—and he has been taught the relative rights of the ruler and the ruled, in the continual correspondence he has kept up with his adopted father, general Washington,—the hero and statesman,

“ Who with the enlighten'd patriots  
met,

On Schuylkill's banks, in close divan,  
And wing'd that arrow, sure as fate,  
Which "ascertain'd the sacred  
rights of man."

A letter from Boulogne, dated August 2. says, "We have had great commotions here. Four houses were totally destroyed, and the commandant of the town, with some general officers, &c. have been very roughly handled by the populace. The commandant is now confined to his bed, in consequence of the wounds he received from some stones which were thrown at him.

"I have been witness to many acts of ferocity in the populace; but this is ever the consequence of their retaliating on those who have long tyrannized over them.

"The intendant had a narrow escape; he was overtaken near Orchio on his flight to Douay, and obliged to make a precipitate retreat from his carriage, and shelter himself, with a servant who accompanied him, among the growing corn; when, night coming on, the search for him was discontinued. His deputy's house was destroyed, and his own chateau had afterwards the same fate. He is said to have returned thither, and perished in the ruins!

"The soldiers here espoused the popular cause, and contributed much to the destruction of buildings, &c. belonging to those who had rendered themselves obnoxious. Among these, the house of M. Martel, who was reckoned immensely rich, is razed to the ground; his books, papers, and even his money, were scattered about the streets, or thrown into the river.

"We have all enlisted, and it was happy we did it that very night, or all the town would have been in flames the very next day. The arsenal having supplied us with arms and ammunition, we are at liberty to do as we please. The soldiers are mixed among us, and are unanimous for the third estate. We treat them well in return. Every one here, even the monks and priests, have the national cockades, white, blue, and red, and the companies of militia have a distinctive riband at their button hole. About fifteen thousand men are raised; the

country is well supplied with arms from the arsenal, and probably we shall continue embodied till the national assembly has settled the great business they have in hand.

August 7. A letter from Mr. Fenwick, British consul at Elfsneur, dated August 1, 1789, says, "The Swedish and Russian fleets had a very severe engagement off Oland, the 26th ultimo; and by all accounts the Russians made a running fight of it. Eight of the Swedish ships, sailing badly, could not get into the line, which they say the Swedes broke for the Russians, and yet two of the Swedes are reported to have been dismasted by the enemy. It lasted from one o'clock P. M. until eight o'clock at night, but no accounts are received how it ended. The Russian squadron quitted Kioge Bay the 30th, and went in quest of their consorts in the battle, so that a fresh one is daily expected between the two fleets. The Danish fleet ran up the Baltic from Kioge bay yesterday."

August 10. The following official accounts of the tumults at Strasburg; has been sent to the president of the committee of electors at Paris, signed by the commanding officer at that place, dated August 4, 1789.

For some time past the burghers of the town had shewn a sullen discontent at several hardships which they supposed themselves to labour under, and to remove which, they had several times petitioned the magistrates without relief.

The news of the taking of the Bastille, and the riots in Paris, seemed to be the signal for the people to imitate their example. On the night of receiving the information, the town was partially illuminated: of those houses which did not imitate the example, the windows were shattered to pieces.

On the 20th ultimo, the magistrates were informed, that if they did not immediately lower the price of provisions, there would be a riot.

In the afternoon of the same day, while they were deliberating on this information, the townhouse was attacked by a large volley of stones, thrown at the windows, the pieces of which scattered among the magistrates, to their great personal risque, and obliged them to retire.

The riot appearing to increase, all

the chambers of the city were convened, and it was unanimously resolved to agree to all the demands of the populace without reserve.

This resolution was read aloud, and seemed to give very great satisfaction. A committee of the people was in the evening deputed with an address of thanks to the magistrates, praying them at the same time to join in a general petition to the king to confirm the compact entered into between them.

The next morning, the resolutions of the preceding day were again confirmed, and the magistrates signed them.

A large party of desperate vagabonds, however, with an eye to plunder, circulated at the same moment, a report, that the magistrates had rescinded their resolutions, and were again attempting to raise the price of provisions.

The mob instantly assembled before the townhouse. In vain did the council endeavour to undeceive them, by sticking up public notices of the falsity of the report. The fermentation became general, and nothing could resist it.

At six o'clock in the evening, a number of workmen, armed with hatchets, hammers, &c. appeared before the townhouse; another party forced the doors open; while a third set entered the windows by ladders. In a few minutes, every thing valuable was either pillaged or destroyed, the public chest was broke open, and the archives of the city torn and thrown into the street. Before the mob left the townhouse, the cellars were emptied of the valuable wine in them, some of which was drank, and the rest left running from the casks. In short, the townhouse was completely untiled, and nothing left but the bare walls.

On the night succeeding, the private houses of the magistrates were destroyed in the same manner, and the pillage would have become general, but for the arrival of a party of soldiers, who soon arrested about one hundred of the most outrageous, and secured them in prison. Near two hundred more have since been taken up by the armed citizens, who were perfectly satisfied with the resolutions

of the magistrates, and are sincerely for the plunder committed.

The town is now quiet, and the utmost harmony prevails, and the military give very powerful assistance to secure the public tranquility from the attempts of these desperate ruffians.

(Signed) *Baron de Dietrich.*

*August 11.* Accounts are much exaggerated respecting the banditti that infest the French roads—no information has been received respecting depredations committed between Paris and Calais, by any of the refugees that have come over by that route.

*Aug. 13.* It is with much concern we hear, that the valuable southern whale fishery has been greatly interrupted, and is likely to be wholly over-set, by the king of Spain having ordered the commander of his squadron in those seas to remove all ships fishing on those coasts, and not to permit them either to kill whales or seals.

These orders were given to the fishermen with the greatest civility, but at the same in the most positive and decided manner, and with orders to quit the coast in a short, but limited time; offering his assistance to expedite their departure, and with positive injunctions for them not to return again into those seas, claiming them as the sole right of the king his master.

*August 27.* By the returns made from the different provinces, of the number of troops now in France, consisting of military bourgeoisie and mercenaries, the whole is said to amount to one million and a half.

*Aug. 28.* The Swedes are preparing for the assault of Fredericksham both by sea and land. The attack will probably be decisive, one way or other. The king is to command in person.

Fredericksham is the capital of Russian Finland, and a garrison of the utmost importance.

In the late running fight between the Swedes and Russians, two frigates of the former power absolutely silenced two sixty-fours of the latter. The duke of Sudermania, with two other ships, were attacked closely by five of the largest Russian men of war; during which time, the duke made fifteen different signals to the vice admiral to attack such ships as were pointed

out before the engagement, but the admiral did not obey the signals, nor fire a single gun: if he had, the duke avers, that he should most assuredly have been master of at least five Russian men of war.

In the national assembly at Paris, on Monday se'ennight, two very material articles passed; the one proposed by M. Target, the other by the comte de Mirabeau.

The former was to the following effect:

“That no citizen can be stopped, detained, accused, or punished, but in the name of the law, and with the forms necessary to it.”

The latter established, “that every accused person should be presumed innocent, until he was proved guilty.”

Sept. 1. Let those who indulge themselves in ridicule of the French assembly, consider, first,

That they have abolished the game laws, that still disgrace Britain.

That they have abolished tythes that in every part of the southern kingdoms, as well as in Ireland, grind the industrious yeomanry, and oppress agriculture.

That they have abolished all pensions, except those conferred for actual services rendered to the country.

That they have made it an article, that no minister nor civil placeman shall be permitted to sit and vote in the national assembly.

That they have abolished all heriots, fines, recoveries, and other rights of superiority, which are still in this kingdom the subject of incessant hardship and litigation.

That they have declared every citizen, whatever may be his religious persuasion, eligible to every office of state, and to every honour in the gift of the crown.

Without referring to the grand revolution which they have accomplished, who will assert that these things are frivolous?

Sept. 2. The late victory obtained by the Austrians, under the prince de Cobourg, over the Turks, has given to the former the entire mastership over Moldavia and Wallachia.

It is determined that the siege of Belgrade shall be undertaken immediately. The preparations are immense which are now making for this

purpose. Amongst others, are no less than 20,000 pioneers, for the necessary labours of the siege.

In the report made by M. Bergasse, of the plan for the institution of the judicial power of France, it is proposed, that all torture shall be abolished; and that simple death, by hanging, shall be the severest punishment to be inflicted by law.

The punishment of death to be inflicted only in cases of murder and treason.

Confiscation of property, on conviction of felony, to be abolished. If any person shall complain of loss by the condemned felon, he shall, upon proof, have compensation made him, either from the goods of the convict, or from the province.

All the code of criminal laws to be revised, and punishments in every case to be accurately proportioned to the offence.

A letter from Paris, dated August 27, says, “Notwithstanding the great quantity of wheat, which is daily coming to market, bread is still so scarce, that for these three days past, there has not been sufficient to supply half the inhabitants of Paris. The cause is, that for want of wind and water none of the mills in the neighbourhood have been able to work.”



#### AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

Worcester, (Mass.) October 8.

The military spirit of this commonwealth was never known so prevalent since the war, as at the present period. A regiment of horse, all completely equipped, and in perfect uniform, belong to this county. They consist of about five hundred men.

New York, October 10.

A letter from Paris, dated August 8, says, “The national assembly have issued a declaration, enjoining the payments of all taxes, duties, and pecuniary charges in the ancient form, until the feudal system and all the fiscal and local abuses shall have been abolished by the assembly, and a new order of things established.

“Great ravages are committing in Normandy, Franche Comte, and many other provinces; the country seats of the nobles are every where attacked, all their records destroyed, &c.

“ The grand question respecting the necessity of a declaration of rights to precede the new constitution, has passed in the affirmative by a very great majority; the last amendment offered, was to accompany it with a declaration of the duties of the citizen, which was rejected by 570 against 453.

“ Expressions are wanting to point out to you the rapture of the happy people of this country, at so rapid, so glorious a succession of events as have taken place within these three days, and crowned all their noble efforts.

“ A new administration, taken from the national assembly, with the declaration of these ministers, that they are devoted to its orders :

“ A declaration of the rights of man to be prefixed to the new constitution : and,

“ The ever memorable decision of the national assembly, of Tuesday night, the 4th of August, which gives complete freedom to this country.

“ The following among other articles have been unanimously agreed upon in the national assembly. Noble sacrifices to freedom !—

“ 1. Equality of taxes. 2. Renunciation of all privileges for orders, cities, provinces and individuals. 7. The abolition of seigniorial jurisdictions. 8. The abolition of the venality of offices. 9. Justice to be rendered gratuitously to the people. 10. The abolition of privileged dovecotes and warrens (a dreadful and serious grievance to the French peasant.) 15. The suppression of the *droits d'annates*, or first fruits. The sum paid by France to the pope on this head, amounted annually to 357,133*l.* sterl. 16. The admission of all ranks of citizens to civil and military employments. 19. The suppression of the plurality of livings. 25. A medal to be struck to consecrate this memorable day, expressive of the abolition of all privileges, and of the complete union of all the provinces and all the citizens. 21. *Te Deum* to be sung in the king's chapel, and throughout all France. 22. Louis XVI. proclaimed the restorer of public liberty.”

*Philadelphia, October 24.*

The important object of making provision for the payment of

the public creditors, lay with great weight on the minds of congress; but the variety of other business that claimed an immediate attention—and the uncertainty that rested upon the operation of the revenue system, as to its competency and produce, rendered it highly ineligible to take up so complicated, and important a subject, when matters were so situated, that no adequate plans could be adopted; however, to give the most positive and unequivocal assurances of their future determination, on the 10th of September, the house of representatives passed a resolution, to the following purport, viz. That it highly concerns the honour and interest of the united states, to make some early and effectual provision in favour of the public creditors of the union—and that the house would, early in the next session, take this subject into consideration—and the secretary of the treasury was directed to prepare and digest, in the recess, the necessary plans for this purpose, to be laid before the house at the session in January.

*October 31.* The president of the united states arrived at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on Saturday last—where he was received by a third division of the Middlesex militia, consisting of 1000 men, in complete uniform, under the command of the honourable major general Brooks.

The lieutenant governor and council of the commonwealth (the governor being indisposed) escorted by colonel Tyler's light dragoons, with a number of gentlemen, met the president at Cambridge, from whence they attended him to the metropolis.

Between the hours of two and three P. M. he arrived at Boston—it is said his intention was to have entered the town by the way of Charlestown bridge; but at the request of a respectable committee from the inhabitants, and to coincide with the wishes of the people, and the arrangements made for his reception, he was pleased to alter his route, and accordingly made his entry at the south part of the town, amidst the plaudits of an immense multitude of grateful, free and loyal citizens. The bells immediately began a joyful peal. A grand procession was formed, consisting of the civil, clerical, and military professions,



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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

MR. David's account of an extraordinary *lusus naturæ*—Mr. Lucas's letter on the mode of destroying caterpillars—Treatise on the virtues of the red elm tree, by dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell, shall appear next month. A continuat on of the correspondence of these gentlemen is requested.

THE following pieces are also intended for the next number—Account of Nathaniel Evans—Essay on poetry—Character of the Egyptians—Remarks on the debt of the united states—Essay on the political advantages of America—Oration in praise of drunkenness—Protest against wearing long hair—Statement of American exports and imports for eleven years—Essay on pride of character—Essay on duelling—Advice to husbands—Estimate of furs exported from Canada, in 1786, 1787, and 1788—Essay on temperance—Essay on republican government—Letter on the use of plaister of Paris, as a manure.

ORIGINAL ode on the American alliance with France—Essay on the liberty of the press—Estimate of the value of the exports of New York for the year 1788—Lewis and Emilia, or the triumph of innocence—Essay on the diversity of interests in the united states—Letter on the advantages of raising sheep, shall be inserted as soon as possible.

IF Academicus will be so kind as to contract his essay, and divest it of its locality, in order to render it more generally useful, it shall have a ready insertion.

THE "character of the Marylanders," requires some slight alteration, which if the author allows, it shall appear in the ensuing number. The performance of his promise of future communications shall be regarded as a particular favour.

CRITO is inadmissible. The American Museum shall never be made a vehicle for the gratification of spleen or malevolence.

THE same reasons which induced the writer of a "letter from a traveller" to desire his name to be concealed, operate with the printer to decline the insertion of the first part of it. If the writer chooses to have it begin at "Every form of government has its conveniences," and allows a few other omissions, it shall appear in next number, or that for December.

R. W's. remarks on slave keeping, require retouching.

HAD the gentleman who sent the "extract of a letter from dr. Williamson, to dr. Johnson," delayed its insertion in a newspaper, until after its appearance in the Museum, the communication would have been esteemed a favour.

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For NOVEMBER, 1789.

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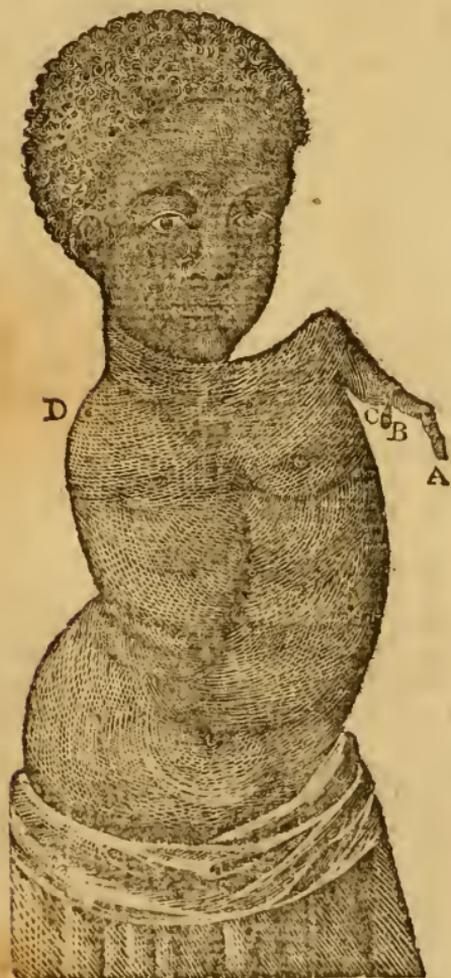
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ORIGINAL ESSAYS.

*Account of an extraordinary lusus naturae.*

SIR,

AN opportunity now offers, of transmitting to you (attested, according to your request) a description of Prince, a black boy, without arms, belonging to mrs. Alexander, of this place. The annexed drawing will give you a just idea of his figure; but to describe accurately his various defects and distortions, would require a degree of anatomical knowledge, to which I have no pretensions.



Out of the left shoulder projects a finger, fig. A. from which depends a piece of flesh, fig. B. obviously designed by nature for another finger, as, just above the junction, may be seen the palm of the hand, C. The finger is perfectly formed, but longer and larger than is proportionate to his size. When he raises and extends it, which he can do at pleasure, it would seem, from the complex motion of the shoulder, as if the embryo arm was enclosed under the skin, and moved with it. On the other shoulder, if a shoulder it may be called, when there is neither arm nor scapula, there is a small mark, fig. D. resembling a wen. His back, although originally as straight as that of any other child, is now much distorted, the spine rising in a curve towards the left shoulder. His distortions daily increase.

Prince is now four years old, and is as lively and active a boy as any of that age. The want of hands he supplies in a surprizing degree, by the dexterity with which he uses his feet. With them he conveys his food to his mouth—he sups with a spoon held between his toes—pennies, thrown on the ground, he will collect with his toes, and carry them with safety and ease wherever he pleases—with his toes, when offended, he will seize a stick or a stone, and attack his adversary. And, what is very remarkable, he can climb the highest fences. This he effects, by placing his chin on the rails, and by it supporting his weight, until he raises his feet, by one of which he keeps himself from falling backwards, until he again raises his chin. By repeating this process, he at length arrives at the top, from whence he descends in a similar manner.

His mother can give no account of any fright received during her pregnancy. She is old, and has borne fourteen children, of whom Prince is

the youngest. Whether this *lusus naturæ* can be accounted for, from the debility of the superannuated parent, let philosophy determine.

I am, sir,

your most obedient, humble servant,  
DAVIDSON DAVID.

Elkton, Cecil county, Maryland,

October 24th, 1789.

Mr. MATHEW CAREY.

WE, the subscribers, inhabitants of Elkton, do hereby certify the truth of the foregoing relation.

*George Wallace,*

*Samuel Smith,*

*Samuel Robinson,*

*Joseph Baxter,*

*John Murray,*

*Tobias Rudolph,*

*L. Hollingsworth, jun.*

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*Mode of destroying caterpillars.*

MR. CAREY,

IN reading your Museum for May 1788, page 411, I met with a mode, pointed out by a correspondent, of destroying caterpillars which infest fruit trees. I received this information just after I had been making experiments of this nature at Brookline, five miles from this. I first tried brimstone, without charcoal dust, as recommended, which had not the desired effect. I then provided a long reed, and a sponge at the end of it. This I dipt in spirits of turpentine, and conducted it to the nest, and with a small touch of the sponge, thus charged, the spirits penetrated the nest, and affected the vermin to such a degree, that, in sundry instances, on cutting off large nests, I found by my watch, that in fifteen minutes, they were wholly destroyed. With one gallon of spirits of turpentine, I went through three hundred trees. I will not pretend to say that this kind of vermin will never infest the trees again; but this I can say by observation, that the vermin were destroyed for that season, and that the trees received no injury by the spirits. Some small saplings were highly charged, on purpose to see the effects. The earlier those vermin are attended to, the better, after they form their web. Here they repair for safety, and it has been observed, that they are shielded completely from rain, whilst enclosed in their nests, and to this they

always return, before the setting sun.

Experiments of this kind may be of great utility to the American nation, and render essential services to individuals. There is room to hope that experimental philosophers will have encouragement enough to continue their studies, since we neither want people nor industry to bring their designs into practice. I doubt not but improvement may be made from those hints, which are communicated by

your humble servant,

JOHN LUCAS.

Boston, Sept. 23, 1789.

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*Address to the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture.*

Gentlemen,

A Scarcity of timber sensibly affects the husbandmen in many parts of the country; and is an evil which increases rapidly. They may ask themselves, how they are to inclose and divide their fields, when, in a few years more, timber shall be exhausted. Inclination to plant and raise trees from seeds, is not enough felt: and yet planting is the most important measure to be observed for restoring timber to our farms, for all purposes. This business is avoided by some people, from an assurance that they cannot live to see the plantation grown up into timber; or if it might be expected, yet, "there is enough to last their time. Let those plant who come after them." Others delay it from less blameable motives—the awkwardness and doubt how to begin it, in what method, where, &c. Let them, however, begin it any how, rather than hesitate, as they do, year after year.

Fifteen or twenty years ago, I was struck with the endeavours of some farmers in Kent county, Maryland, to have fences requiring little or no timber. They cut turf, laid it on edge, and filled with earth scooped up, so as to form a bank without a ditch: they told me, this work was quicker done, than they could make a common worm-fence, from the tree, going to the woods, falling, cutting off, mauling, carting, and putting up. There was then a spirit for this sort of banking improvement. But the pretty green sides of the banks were soon cut down by hoofs of horses,

&c. and droughts penetrated the mafs of earth; and killed the grafs on both fides;—theſe all crumbled away, and the paſſion for banking was no more. Theſe people had merit from the attempt. And I am thankful for the inſight given me and others at the expenſe of thoſe few farmers, who were ſo nobly poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of endeavour to point out a great good. The dull—the light—the envious—and narrow-minded, felt malicious ſatiſfaction on the failure—wiltings had a fine time of it—“*we* did not run into the fooliſh buſineſs—they ought to have known it would not answer—*we* could have told them ſo,” &c. Nevertheless thoſe farmers, who made banks, were valued and reſpected by thinking people, for their well-meant efforts.

The next deſign was to ſave conſumption of timber by erecting poſts with rails inſtead of the common worm fence. It may ſave ſome timber. They look well, and they are not yet out of faſhion; though, being chiefly of oak, the poſts ſtand but a few years, and the fence frequently wants repairs. Pleaſed with the appearance, I completed a few hundred yards of poſt and rail fence: when, reflecting how ſoon it would require to be renewed, and that timber then would ſcarcely be at command, the mind flew to the old countries of Europe, where want of timber muſt have long ſince driven huſbandmen to the experience of ſome other modes. On enquiry, I preferred their hedge and ditch fences.

In England there are fences formed by hedges, without, as well as with ditches: the laſt are greatly preferred. Their beſt farmers ſay, a hedge, without a ditch, is no fence. Now it was, that it became an object to procure thorns. Firm in the perſuaſion that poſt and rail muſt, ere long, give way to the more permanent ditch and hedge, and that it was beſt to take to theſe at once, I loſt no opportunity of gaining information concerning them; eſpecially, it was a queſtion how to obtain the thorns requiſite and abundant for making all my incloſures. In the mean while, I made ditches with intention to place poſts on the banks, with three rails, in lieu of five, as is uſual,

without a ditch, until young thorns, meant to be raiſed, ſhould be fit to plant on the banks. Having white thorns from England, which give fruit, a quantity of their haws were ſown, not one of which ever grew. In different years and methods, they were afterwards ſown, as were ſweet briar ſeeds, to no purpoſe. The late general Cadwallader likewiſe ſowed haws, of the country thorn, without effect; until a perſon informed him, that, as he was riding from Newcaſtle, he obſerved ſeveral young thorns grown through a cow-dung. The general improved the hint, penned up a number of cattle, in the fall, and gave them haws mixed with bran. The ground within the pen was ploughed up, and the haws covered with earth. With great pleaſure I viewed the place in the next ſummer, with the ſeedling thorns growing in good plenty.

I have now the like ſucceſs, from imitating, cloſe as I could, the preparation given to feed in the cow's ſtomach and maw, a method which, I apprehend, will be attended with many advantages. Early in March 1786, a quantity of the freſheſt cow-dung was put into a tub—warm water was poured on it for reducing it to the conſiſtence and warmth, as when in a beaſt's maw—the haws were then thrown in, and all was ſtirred up and placed near a conſtant fire for keeping warm as blood (in which no great exactneſs was obſerved,) ſometimes it was cooler than was wiſhed: as it ſtood three days, more warm water was added, at times, to replace the evaporated water, and to take off from the coolneſs. It was every day ſtirred. This preparation, although far different from that which would have been given to the haws by the action of a beaſt's ſtomach, yet answered well. A clean, well-dreſſed piece of ground was then opened with a hoe, as for peaſe, and the whole maſs of diluted dung and haws, was drilled in a row, and covered. Now, on the 26th of March, 1787, the young thorn plants are pushed through the ground plentifully and vigorouſly. If they had been ſo prepared and ſown in the fall of their ripening, 1785, it is probable they would have grown up in the next ſummer, 1786. With

the like preparation, it is hoped, popular, ash, sweet-briar, &c. may be raised from seeds. I have sowed ash-keys, without any preparation, without the least success. In the sandy soil of Annapolis, the haws of English white thorn grow well, without more than covering them with the soil. It is a comfort to be assured, that, when designing to have thorn fences, we can readily procure any number of plants from haws. The ground where they are sown, ought to be good, and previously well prepared by many ploughings or dressings, that it may be perfectly clean and mellow;—without it, the seeds may come up, but the farmer will fall far short of the benefit he looks for. Sowing in rows admits of weeding the plants perfectly.

I revere the memory of the husbandman, who has left to travellers the handsome legacy, on the post road below Newcastle, the first pattern of an excellent thorn hedge fence; and have wished to see some sort of monument on the spot, erected by the public for perpetuating the memory of him, who so early instituted the important lesson. It is good economy in states, to reward and encourage those who introduce the knowledge of advantageous practices in husbandry; which is the most general and most necessary employment of their citizens.

The ingenious *dr. Hart* observes, 'the true genius of animating agriculture, must reside in those who hold the reins of government, and in gentlemen of all denominations: nor should rewards be wanting, nor public premiums, nor marks of favour, for, as agriculture is the most useful, so was it the first employment of man.'

I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant. O.

March 26th, 1787.

P. S. My ditches are  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide at top, 1 foot at bottom, and 3 feet deep (to  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ). The common labourers on a farm, men with spades, women with dirt shovels and hoes, after a few days of awkward work, will rid off these ditches at a good rate: thus by digging only 3 feet deep, bevelling from a width of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet to one foot, we have a permanent bank near 6 feet high. Three rails on this, while the hedge is

growing, will make a good fence, and when the hedge has grown stout, we then have a perfect fence, without rails, which is neither liable to rot, or be pulled down.

Published by order of the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture.

SAMUEL P. GRIFFITHS, *sec.*  
November 10, 1789.



*An account of the late dr. John Morgan, delivered before the trustees and students of medicine in the college of Philadelphia, on the 2nd of November, 1789, by Benjamin Rush, M. D.*

GENTLEMEN,

IT would be unpardonable to enter upon the duties of the chair of the late professor of the theory and practice of medicine, without paying a tribute of respect to his memory.

*Dr. John Morgan*, whose place I have been called upon to fill, was born in the city of Philadelphia. He discovered in early life a strong propensity for learning, and an uncommon application to books. He acquired the rudiments of his classical learning at the rev. *dr. Finley's* academy, in Nottingham, and finished his studies in this college under the present provost, and the late rev. *dr. Allison*. In both of these seminaries, he acquired the esteem and affection of his preceptors, by his singular diligence and proficiency in his studies. In the year 1757, he was admitted to the first literary honours that were conferred by the college of Philadelphia.

During the last years of his attendance upon the college, he began the study of physic under the direction of *dr. John Redman*, of this city. His conduct, as an apprentice, was such as gained him the esteem and confidence of his master, and the affections of all his patients. After he had finished his studies under *dr. Redman*, he entered into the service of his country, as a surgeon and lieutenant in the provincial troops of Pennsylvania, in the last war which Britain and America carried on against the French nation. As a surgeon, in which capacity only, he acted in the army, he acquired both knowledge and reputation. He was respected by the officers, and beloved by the soldiers of

the army; and so great were his diligence and humanity in attending the sick and wounded, who were the subjects of his care, that I well remember to have heard it said, "that if it were possible for any man to merit heaven by his good works, dr. Morgan would deserve it for his faithful attendance upon his patients."

In the year 1760, he left the army, and sailed for Europe, with a view of prosecuting his studies in medicine.

He attended the lectures and dissections of the late celebrated dr. William Hunter, and afterwards spent two years in attending the lectures of the professors in Edinburgh. Here, both the Monroes, Cullen, Rutherford, Whyt, and Hope, were his masters, with each of whom he lived in the most familiar intercourse, and all of whom spoke of him with affection and respect. At the end of two years, he published an elaborate thesis upon the formation of pus, and after publicly defending it, was admitted to the honour of doctor of medicine in the university.

From Edinburgh, he went to Paris, where he spent a winter in attending the anatomical lectures and dissections of mr. Sue. In this city, he injected a kidney in so curious and elegant a manner, that it procured his admission into the academy of surgery in Paris. While on the continent of Europe, he visited Holland and Italy. In both these countries he was introduced to the first medical and literary characters. He spent several hours in company with Voltaire at Geneva, and he had the honour of a long conference with the celebrated Morgagni at Padua, when he was in the 80th year of his age. This venerable physician, who was the light and ornament of two or three successive generations of physicians, was so pleased with the doctor, that he claimed kindred with him, from the resemblance of their names, and on the blank leaf of a copy of his works, which he presented to him, he inscribed with his own hand the following words, "*Affini suo, medico praeclarissimo, Johanni Morgan, donat auctor.*" Upon the doctor's return to London, he was elected a fellow of the royal society. He was likewise admitted as a licentiate of the college

of physicians in London, and a member of the college of physicians in Edinburgh.

It was during his absence from home, that he concerted with dr. Shippen, the plan of establishing a medical school in this city. He returned to Philadelphia, in the year 1765, loaded with literary honours, and was received with open arms by his fellow citizens. They felt an interest in him, for having advanced in every part of Europe the honour of the American name. Immediately after his arrival, he was elected professor of the theory and practice of medicine, and delivered, soon afterwards, at a public commencement, his plan for connecting a medical school with the college of this city. This discourse was composed with taste and judgment, and contained many of the true principles of liberal medical science.

In the year 1769, he had the pleasure of seeing the first fruits of his labours for the advancement of medicine. Five young gentlemen received in that year from the hands of the present provost, the first honours in medicine that ever were conferred in America.

The historian, who shall hereafter relate the progress of medical science in America, will be deficient in candor and justice, if he does not connect the name of dr. Morgan with that auspicious era in which medicine was first taught and studied as a science in this country. But the zeal of dr. Morgan was not confined to the advancement of medical science alone. He had an active hand in the establishment of the American philosophical society, and he undertook, in the year 1773, a voyage to Jamaica on purpose to solicit benefactions for the advancement of general literature in the college.

He possessed an uncommon capacity for acquiring knowledge. His memory was extensive and accurate; he was intimately acquainted with the Latin and Greek classics. He had read much in medicine. In all his pursuits, he was persevering and indefatigable. He was capable of friendship, and in his intercourse with his patients, discovered the most amiable and exemplary tenderness. I never

knew a person who had been attended by him, that did not speak of his sympathy and attention with gratitude and respect. Such was the man who once filled the chair of the theory and practice of medicine in our college. He is now no more.\* His remains now sleep in the silent grave—but not so his virtuous actions. Every act of benevolence which he performed, every public-spirited enterprise which he planned, or executed, and every tear of sympathy which he shed, are faithfully recorded, and shall be preserved forever.



*Oration in praise of drunkenness.—  
Delivered by a student of Princeton  
college, at a late commencement.*

I Am neither insensible of your dignity nor my own weakness; yet, if you were better, and I worse, as I am doomed to speak, I expect you will spare me the trouble of making any apology for my presumption. I am sure that I may make large allowances for your goodness and generosity; yet I must confess that I rather wish than hope to please. What I am about to trouble you with, is, a few reflexions on deep drinking and drunkenness, the utility of which I mean to point out. A subject that the present depravity of our age renders peculiarly interesting.

Any man, who is in the least degree conversant in public life, must be sensible of this. It is no uncharitable calculation to suppose, that one-half of the human race have in a great measure deserted the cause of Bacchus; have shamefully turned their backs on the sparkling glass, and flowing bowl; and gone, in common with the beasts of the field, to quench their thirst at the purling stream or bubbling fountain, or if at any time they are prevailed upon to taste the nectareous juice, it is done in such a sparing and timid manner, as does dishonour to the profession of drinking. If we look back into the early ages of the world, we will find Noah more than middling well fuddled with the produce of his new vineyard; but as we never hear

NOTE.

\* He died October 15, 1789, in the 44th year of his age.

of his repeating it the second time, and seeing that all his other actions are far from bespeaking him a good subject of Bacchus, we cannot recommend him for an example. Any man may stumble upon a good action, but it is perseverance alone that merits applause. Encouraged by wine, ancient Lot laid the foundation of two great and populous nations—Moab and the children of Ammon. And I doubt not, but many honourable and useful families, of more recent times, owe their origin to the nocturnal excursions of some adventurous and intriguing bacchanal. Alexander the Great had natural ferocity enough, to deal death and destruction through the world, among those he called his enemies; but to wine alone he was indebted for that generous ardour which enabled him to stab and murder his most faithful and affectionate friends. To wine at last he surrendered his pretended immortality, which was nothing more than a particular kind of drunkenness. But we need not search the pages of antiquity for examples to recommend this water of life. The many advantages arising from a full stomach and rocking head, will be evident enough to any who will but make the experiment. Nay, less than experience, observation alone may serve our turn. We can easily discover that words are altogether insufficient to give us an idea of the gladness of the drunkard's heart. His ineffable raptures are either expressed by wry faces, winking eyes, or loud and inarticulate roars. What inward strength of mind, and greatness of soul must he suck from his bottle, when he can wallow in the mire, or perhaps in something fouler, without the least discomposure; can sweetly kiss his mother earth, embrace the filth of the dunghill, or bathe in the loathsome dregs of a common sewer, shall I say without repining—nay even with complacency and delight! How often do we see him from some internal heartfelt joy, extending his jaws, and bursting into thundering laughter, without any of those exterior causes which generally provoke the sober fool to mirth! But this is not all: drunkenness will also effectually purge away that foolish sympathy, which a person would otherwise feel for human na-

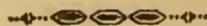
ture in distress; so that if a man find it necessary for the good order of his house, that his wife should be kicked out of doors—or, for the support of his funds, that his neighbour's throat should be cut, and his money transferred into his own chest, a plentiful draught of good West Indian will enable him to perform either the one or the other, with as much bravery and unrelenting fury, as if he had been bred amongst the infernals. And after all this, how little need he regard law, justice, or the worst consequences that can possibly ensue! A plentiful portion of the same liquor, which enabled him to commit this action, will also embolden him undauntedly to encounter the punishment, to which it may expose him. And if it should even cost him his life, death is an evil we have all to combat, and perhaps few of us will make our exit like him, with pomp and parade. For your encouragement, ye heroes of the bottle, attend to the issue of this fortunate man. He shall be endowed, as it were, with the spirit of prophecy, and be able to predict the very day and manner of his death. At his last hour he shall be punctually waited upon by the officers of the state, and a numerous train of a lower order. While others are walking on foot, he shall be borne in a vehicle, with a particular badge of honour about his neck; and lastly, he shall swing away his life in airy circles, without a groan, or a sigh, raised from the earth above the gaping and admiring, not to say envying world.

When the soft passion of love, with all its cares and anxieties, takes possession of the aching breast, it reduces the man, who is not wise enough to seek consolation from his bowl, to the condition of a fawning spaniel, ready to lick the dust of his mistress's feet, and willing to receive a single kiss, as an eternal obligation.

But the son of Bacchus approaches his fair with a bold front and resolute mien, as if determined to insist on an immediate surrender; disregarding foolish forms and ceremonies, he comes at once to the point, without hesitation or circumlocution. His loud, and consequently persuasive eloquence, added by the shower of nectar blown from his liquorish

mouth, at every emphatical word, together with the fragrance proceeding from his stomach, surcharged with wholesome brandy, cannot fail to soften the most obdurate nymph.

Horace, the great master of lyric poetry among the Latins, has discovered the high value he set upon drunkenness, in words to this effect. "What is beyond the power of drunkenness? It discovers the most important secrets, thrusts the coward into battle, and removes the burden of anxiety from the mind." But we are all as sensible as Horace was, what extraordinary effect it produces in most of those cases. How often do we see the drunkard so full of bravery, that he will nobly rush into the most imminent danger, without the least necessity? I have known a man, who, when drunk, would strip himself as naked as Adam in his innocence, and run headlong into thickets of briars and thorns, to the great admiration of every beholder. What more need I say, to recommend it? how amiable does this set of men always appear! view them in the streets, and you will find them attended by a numerous train of shouting applauders. View them in their houses, and you will find them busied, instructing their children in the useful science of singing lascivious songs; but if words should be wanting, the voice is still kept up, and their melodious notes may fitly be compared to the enchanting voice of the crow or jackdaw, those masters of harmony, among the feathered tribe.



*Thoughts on various subjects.*

**F**OOLS are oftentimes not so much contemned for their stupidity, as for being held incapable of judging of our own merits.

It is scarce in Fortune's power to make a coxcomb unhappy: his good opinion of himself will support him in most conditions. Is it not a reproach to philosophy, that vanity can answer so well the end proposed by it?

Ceremony is the affectation of good breeding, as cunning is the ape of wisdom.

The world's contempt for some sort of people serves only to reconcile them the better to themselves.

## NATURAL HISTORY.

*Description of the salamander\*.*

THE form of the salamander and that of the crocodile are nearly the same. It is chiefly among the rocks and mountains of India, that these retired animals live. The colour of their skin is of a deep green, slightly spotted with darker shades; their length is three or four feet at the most. There is also a species that inhabits the borders of lonely ponds, of a lighter green, rather uncommon, and in no request.

These creatures are timid, and almost without defence; their bite only occasions a gentle inflammation; neither is it very deep, for though the mouth is full of teeth, they are small, and planted in sockets that are not ossified. Little particles of herbs are found in their stomachs, though insects, frogs, and even small quadrupeds, are their usual food.

The flesh of these reptiles (I speak only of the first kind) is agreeable to the taste; they are sometimes stewed with spice; and, as they abound with a penetrating alkaline salt, if taken for several days, are said to be a good restorative for a wasted constitution. They are also mixed in the food of valuable horses, when they have been too much fatigued.

I know not if the scink ought to be regarded as a small species of the salamander. This is a kind of lizard, very common in several cantons of Arabia, about nine or ten inches long; and, when salted and dried, are sent to Persia and the Indies, where the rich Mahometans use them in their restoratives. We may add, that reptiles, whether creeping or quadruped, apparently contain more or less the aphrodisiac particles.

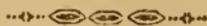
It was, perhaps, observations on these heating properties of the salamander, that first induced some travellers, from a kind of far-fetched analogy, to suppose, that in it they beheld a being endowed with a virtue, capable, at least for a certain time, of resisting the action of fire; but it is

## NOTE.

\* Philosophic essays on the manners of various foreign animals. By M. Foucher D'Obsonville.

VOL. VI. NO. IV.

certain, that fire will act as effectively, and as soon, upon this animal, as upon any other with a skin of an equal density.

*Description of the cameleon†.*

CAMELEONS, of about a foot long, are common in Asia and Africa; their changeable tints, of green, blue, and yellow, susceptible too of various combinations, often present very singular effects to the eye of the beholder; but in a state of liberty and health, the first of these colours is usually predominant. It is well known, that without moving from their place, they have a singular manner of catching the insects on which they feed; they can extend their tongue several inches out of the mouth, which, and especially the œsophagus, being always supplied with a viscid humour, retains their prey. Neither is it necessary to enlarge on their form, or their eyes, which latter, by their mobility, conic shape, and projection, are capable of receiving the impressions of light in every direction. Several travellers have already given details on these different subjects: but the mechanism by which the cameleon appears to change his colour, in consequence of certain sensations, seems to me to be capable of farther investigation and discovery.

The skin of the cameleon, considered as it were isolated, reflects only the colour of the bodies by which it is surrounded, as do all other bodies that are a little polished. These momentary variations, however, which are become the emblems of a contemptible adulation, are not mere illusions. Let us, in a few words, endeavour to describe how this is performed.

The colour of the animal is naturally green, but susceptible of many, and particularly of three very distinct shades; that is to say, the Saxon green, the deep green, bordering on blue, and the yellow green. When free, in health and at ease, it is a beautiful green, some parts excepted, where the skin, thicker and rougher, pre-

## NOTE.

† Idem.

Z z

duces gradations of a brown, red, or light grey. When the animal is provoked in open air, and well fed, it becomes blue-green; but when feeble, or deprived of free air, the prevailing tint is the yellow-green. Under some other circumstances, and especially at the approach of one of its own species, no matter of which sex, or when surrounded and teased by a number of insects, thrown upon him, he then almost in a moment, takes alternately, the three different tints of green. If he is dying, particularly of hunger, the yellow is at first predominant; but, in the first stage of putrefaction, it changes to the colour of dead leaves.

It seems, that the causes of these different varieties are several: and first, the blood of the cameleon is of a violet blue, which colour it will preserve for some minutes on linen or paper, especially that which has been steeped in allum water. In the second place, the different tunics of the vessels are yellow, as well in their trunks as in their ramifications. The epidermis, or exterior skin, when separated from the other, is transparent, without any colour; and the second skin is yellow, as well as all the little vessels that touch it. Hence, it is probable, that the change of colour depends upon the mixture of blue and yellow, and from which result different shades of green. Thus, when the animal, healthy and well fed, is provoked, its blood is carried in great abundance from the heart towards the extremities, and swelling the vessels that are spread over the skin, its blue colour subdues the yellow of the vessels, and produces a blue green, that is seen through the epidermis: when, on the contrary, the animal is impoverished and deprived of free air, the exterior vessels being emptier, their colour prevails, and the animal becomes a yellow-green till it recovers its liberty, is well nourished, and without pain; when it regains the colour which is the consequence of an equilibrium in the liquids, and of a due proportion of them in the vessels.

Account of a lithophagus\*.

THE beginning of May, 1760,

was brought to Avignon, a true

NOTE.

\* Di. Nonnain physique de Paulian.

lithopagus, or stone eater. He not only swallowed flints of an inch and a half long, a full inch broad, and half an inch thick; but such stones as he could reduce to powder, as marbles, pebbles, &c. he made up into paste, which was to him a most agreeable and wholesome food. I examined this man with all the attention I possibly could. I found his gullet very large, his teeth exceedingly strong, his saliva very corrosive, and his stomach lower than ordinary, which I imputed to the vast number of flints he had swallowed, being about five-and-twenty, one day with another.

Upon interrogating his keeper, he told me the following particulars: this stone-eater, says he, was found three years ago in a northern uninhabited island, by some of the crew of a Dutch ship, on Good Friday. Since I have had him, I make him eat raw flesh with his stones: I could never get him to swallow bread. He will drink water, wine, and brandy; which last liquor gives him infinite pleasure. He sleeps at least twelve hours in a day, sitting on the ground with one knee over the other, and his chin resting on his right knee. He smokes almost all the time he is not asleep, or eating. The flints he has swallowed, he voids somewhat corroded, and diminished in weight; the rest of his excrements resemble mortar.

The keeper also tells me, that some physicians at Paris got him bled: that the blood had little or no serum, and in two hours became as fragile as coral. If this fact be true, it is manifest that the most diluted part of the stony juice must be converted into chyle. This stone-eater hitherto is unable to pronounce more than a very few words, *Oai, non caisson, bon*. I shewed him a fly through a microscope; he was astonished at the size of the animal, and could not be induced to examine it. He has been taught to make the sign of the cross, and was baptized some months ago in the church of St. Come, at Paris.



Remarkable instance of a decrepitude transmitted from parents to children.

IN the Warsaw gazette, of the 13th May, 1763, is the following extraordinary relation:

“ One Margaret Krafion died lately in the village of Koninia aged one hundred and eight, being born February 12, 1655. At the age of ninety-four, she married, for her third husband, Gaspard Raykou, of the village of Ciwoufzin, then aged one hundred and five. During the fourteen years they lived together, they had two boys and one girl; and what is very remarkable, these three children bear evident marks of the old age of their father and mother. Their hair is already grey, and they have a vacuity in their gums, like that which appears after the loss of teeth, though they never had any teeth; they have not strength enough to chew solid food, but live on bread and vegetables. They are of a proper size for their age; but their backs are bent, their complexions are fallow, and they have all the other symptoms of decrepitude. Their father is still alive.” These particulars are certified by the parish registers.



## NATIONAL CHARACTERS, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, &c.

### *Character of the Creoles of St. Domingo\*.*

THE influence of climate and physical causes on morals, is so generally acknowledged, that it is unnecessary to enter farther into the subject at present, than merely to observe, that the burning heat of the sun in the torrid zone, must produce such effects on the organs of the inhabitants, as to make them considerably differ from those of the people of more moderate climes.

Accordingly, those who are born in the French Caribbee islands, notwithstanding their connexion and intercourse with the mother-country, preserve certain features which distinguish them from the natives of Europe. To these we mean to turn our attention, while we delineate the character of the islanders of St. Domingo.

The Americans who are born in this island, and who are called Creoles (a name common to all that have their birth in the colonies,) are ge-

#### NOTE.

\* By M. Moreau de St. Mery.

nerally well made and of an elegant shape. Their features are sufficiently regular, but the colour that embellishes the complexion in cold countries, is wanting. They have an expressive look, with a sort of haughtiness which at first sight gives an unfavourable idea of them. As they are never incommoded with swaddling clothes in infancy, their limbs rarely suffer any deformity, but receive from the temperature of the climate, an activity and suppleness, which fit them for the exercises they are naturally inclined to.

They have a lively imagination and a quick apprehension, occasioned by the rapid developement of their physical powers, by the perpetual sight of those productions with which an ever-active and fruitful cause enriches their country, and perhaps by the continual prospect of that element which separates, without excluding them from the rest of the world. These natural advantages would insure them success in whatever they might undertake, if they were not counteracted by a love of variety, fostered by these very advantages; and, if those gifts, which, in infancy, they enjoy so liberally, did not often become a source of misfortune to themselves, and a subject of astonishment to the observer.

Many causes concur to make the young Creoles lose the advantages which they at first enjoy over the children of other climates. In the first place, with blind and excessive affection, their parents humour them in all their follies. There is no caprice, which they do not flatter, no extravagance, they do not excuse, no wish, they do not satisfy; in short, there is no fault which they do not leave to the correction of time, as if time were not likely to make it still more incorrigible. But happy is that child, whom a firm constitution protects from experiencing the fatal sensibility of his parents: for, if his health is infirm, and his life is in danger, he is doomed to be an object of parental idolatry. Every complaint, occasioned by his disease, is interpreted, into a wish which he is unable to express; every look is explained into a desire which must be gratified; and if the constitution of

the child gets the better of his physical evil, there are generally sown the indelustrable seeds of a moral evil that threatens to attend him during the rest of his life.

To these inconveniences, we must add, the custom of being surrounded by slaves, who are obliged to observe every nod, and to obey it. No despot was ever more assiduously served, or more constantly flattered. Each slave is subjected to the capriciousness of his humour, which, but too often, disturbs the domestic tranquility; for his will, however unjust, must be obeyed.

Bally, even in his play, the Creole child is trained up to be a tyrant; he domineers over a troop of little slaves, from whom he will bear no contradiction, and who are obliged to forego the pleasures of their own age, that they may minister to the follies of his. Whatever he sees, he covets; whatever is shewn him, he demands; and if, unfortunately, any of the little train refuses to submit, the cries of the poor sufferer, whose colour has doomed him to subjection, before he has acquired the instinct of it, soon inform his companions, that punishment is the immediate consequence of disobedience.

It is, however, to these very acts of shameful despotism that some slaves owe their good fortune. The young Creole often shews a predilection for some one of his train whom accident has supplied with congenial dispositions; and if he is of the same age, and grows up with his master, he is destined to become the minister of his pleasures, a sort of black vizier to this white sultan.

But these circumstances, which seem able to eradicate every principle of virtue from the mind of the Creole, and to which must be added, the temptations which accompany the possession of riches, might, however, be counteracted by the restraints of a vigilant education. His early vices might be changed, by an intelligent preceptor, into virtues; and he might be made to retain nothing of his habits of tyranny, but a sort of energy and elevation of mind.

On this head, however, we must deplore the unhappy fate of the Creoles. When in France, they are of-

ten entrusted to the care of mercenary people, who are utter strangers to them; and there is not the least hope of their profiting by the imperfect education of our colleges. Nobody incites or encourages them to virtue; they are incapable of desiring improvement, for its own sake; the time of their exile from home passes tediously away, and they look forward with impatience to the moment of their return. Their parents are never mentioned, except to flatter that self-love which tells them they are the objects of parental affection, without exciting them to deserve it by those accomplishments which it is their duty to acquire.

It is thus that the greater number of them arrive at the period of their entrance into the world, when they are but too often constrained in the choice of their situation in life, which is dictated to them by the vanity of their parents, without the consent of their own inclinations. But, if their inclinations and dispositions were studied, many of them would satisfy the hopes entertained of them; for there have been instances of their surmounting innumerable obstacles.

It is for want of attending to these circumstances, that we accuse the Creoles of incapacity; but we ought, in the first place, to consider from whence this proceeds, and to remember, that for the sake of literature and science, they suffer a voluntary banishment from their native country. We will then perceive, that they are by this means placed in a situation, the disadvantages of which cannot be counterbalanced by the influence of climate, which is accused of favouring their constitutions, at the expense of their morality.

That Creole, who has never left St. Domingo, where he can receive no sort of education, and he who has returned thither from France, where his education has been neglected, give themselves up entirely to the guidance of that lively and active imagination, which we have said nature endows them with under a burning sky; to the dangerous consequences of parental indulgence; and to the passion of arbitrary dominion over slaves, which so easily takes possession of them. They now lose

sight of every thing that is not qualified to satisfy desire; they disdain every thing that does not wear the aspect of pleasure, and yield to the attacks and the tumults of passion. They seem to exist but for voluptuous enjoyment. Dancing, and music, and feasting, they are fond of to excess; and every thing that charms or cherishes the delirium that hurries them away.

How fatal must such dispositions become in a country where the manners are calculated to encourage them! How can the ardour of such impetuous transports be restrained, where a multitude of women are slaves, and who are persuaded, that by compliance they avenge their own wrongs, and those of their kindred?

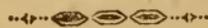
Thus, the passions reign uncontrollable over the heart of the Creole; and when, at length, the evils, of which they are the source, or the frigidity of age dismiss them from their throne, they leave it a prey to the cruel and continual instigations of impotent desire.

Every thing, then, conspires to form the imperious character of the Creole, and to give it that lively and fickle bias which alienates its disposition to the matrimonial yoke, the charm of which is maintained by mutual constancy. Self-love makes him jealous, and he is tormented with the fear of that infidelity, of which he sets the example. His unhappy wife, while she suffers the injury of suspicion, is forced to endure, even in her presence, the object for whom she herself is forsaken.

The vices of the Creoles, amongst which must be reckoned their passion for gaming, are yet counterbalanced by a number of good qualities. They are open, generous, and affable; they are hospitable to a fault; they are brave and unsuspecting; they are firm friends and tender fathers; and they are not addicted to the crimes that degrade humanity. The records of a colony so extensive as St. Domingo, cannot, perhaps, furnish a list of more than two criminals deserving capital punishment. How easy then would it be to render the inhabitants of this fine colony equally respectable with those whom they are desired to look up to, as objects of imitation?

The inhabitants of this island are less subject than Europeans to the diseases of their climate: but their early maturity, and the consequences of unrestrained indulgence, too often destroy the most robust constitutions.

(To be continued.)



*Chinese superstition\*.*

A Person, whose only daughter was ill, and given over by the physicians, bethought himself of imploring the assistance of the gods. Prayers, offerings, alms, sacrifices—every thing, in fine, was employed to obtain her cure. The bonzes, whom these gifts enrich, answered for her recovery, on the faith of an idol, of whose power they had boasted much. Nevertheless, this daughter died, and the father, enraged and inconsolable, resolved to avenge her death, and to prosecute the idol in due form of law. He lodged his complaint, therefore, before the judge of the place. After having strongly represented in his declaration, the treacherous conduct of this unjust divinity, he urged the judge to inflict an exemplary punishment upon him, for his breach of faith. ‘If the spirit,’ added he, ‘were able to cure my daughter, it was an absolute fraud, to take my money, and suffer her to die. If he had not this power, why did he interfere in it? What right had he to assume the quality of a god? Is it for nothing that we adore him, and that the whole province offer sacrifices to him?’ In a word, he contended, that, considering the impotence, or the malice of this idol, his temple should be demolished, his priests driven ignominiously from it, and he himself undergo some severe corporal punishment.

The affair appeared important to the judge, and he referred it to the governor, who, unwilling to have any contest with the gods, requested the viceroy to examine into the merits of the case. The latter, after having heard the bonzes, who appeared much alarmed, called the plaintiff, and advised him to desist from the prosecution. ‘You are not wise,’

NOTE.

\* Description generale de la Chine.

said he, 'to embroil yourself with these spirits; they are naturally malignant, and, I fear, may play you a scurvy trick. Be advised by me: accept the proposals of compromise which the bonzes will make you. They assure me, that the idol, on his part, shall listen to reason; provided, on the other hand, that you do not push matters to extremity.'

But this man, who was inconsolable for the death of his daughter, still persisted in declaring, that he would rather perish, than recede in the least instance from his rights: 'My lord,' answered he, 'my resolution is taken: the idol is persuaded, that he can commit all manner of injustice with impunity: he imagines that no one will be hardy enough to attack him: but he is mistaken; and we shall soon see, whether he or I be the most intractable of the two.'

The viceroy, perceiving that all farther expostulation would be in vain, permitted the cause to proceed, and sent information of it, in the mean time, to the sovereign council at Peking, who ordered it to be removed, by appeal, to their tribunal, before which, both parties soon appeared. The idol did not fail to find very able pleaders at the bar. The counsel, to whom the bonzes gave a fee to defend him, were clear that his right was incontestable, and they spoke with such eloquence on the subject, that the god in person could not have excelled them. But they had to contend with a much more able man, who had already had the precaution to have his arguments preceded by a round sum of money, in order to give his judges a clearer insight into the merits of the case; being persuaded, that the devil must be very cunning, if he could withstand this last argument. In reality, after many eloquent pleadings, he gained a complete victory. The idol was condemned, as useless, in the empire, to perpetual exile; his temple was demolished; and the bonzes, that represented his person, met with exemplary punishment.

The superstitious credulity of the Chinese is assiduously kept up by these bonzes; who are vagabonds, brought up from their infancy in idleness, idleness, and aversion to labour; and

the greatest part of whom devote themselves to this profession for mere subsistence. There is, consequently, no kind of artifice which they do not employ, to extort presents from the devout worshippers of Fo. Nothing is more common in China, than recitals of the artful tricks of these pious cheats. The following instance of this may divert our readers:

Two of these bonzes, roving about the country, perceived two or three large ducks in the farm-yard of a rich peasant. They instantly prostrated themselves before the gate, and began to groan and weep very bitterly. The farmer's wife, who saw them from her chamber, went out to know the subject of their grief. 'We know,' said they, 'that the souls of our fathers have passed into the bodies of those ducks; and our fears, lest you should kill them, will inevitably make us die, ourselves, with grief.' 'It is true,' answered the farmer's wife, 'it was our intention to sell them; but since they are your fathers, I will give you my word to keep them.' This was not what the bonzes wished for: 'Ah!' said they, 'your husband may not be so charitable; and we shall certainly die, if any accident betide them.' In fine, after a long conversation, the good woman was so affected by their apparent grief, that she committed the ducks to their filial care. They received them with great respect, after having twenty times prostrated themselves before them; but, that very evening, they put their pretended fathers on the spit, and very handsomely regaled their little community.



*Modes of life and private manners of the ancient Welsh\*.*

**T**HE Welsh (according to Giraldus Cambrensis, who was himself a native of that country, and wrote in a period when their native manners were pure and unadulterated by foreign intercourse) were a nation light and nimble, and more fierce than strong; from the lowest to the highest of the people they were devoted to arms, which the ploughman as well as the courtier was prepared to seize on the first summons.

NOTE.

\* Warrington.

As they were not engaged in the occupations of traffic, either by sea or land, their time was entirely employed in military affairs. They were so anxious for the preservation of their country and its liberties, that they esteemed it delightful not only to fight for them, but even to sacrifice their lives: and agreeable to this spirit, they entertained an idea, that it was a disgrace to die in their beds, but an honour to fall in the field.

In the time of peace, the young men accustomed themselves to penetrate the woods and thickets, and to run over the tops of mountains; and by continuing this exercise through the day and night, they prepared themselves for the fatigues and employments of war.

There was not a beggar to be seen among these people; for the tables of all were common to all: and with them bounty, and particularly hospitable entertainment, were in higher estimation than any of the other virtues. Hospitality, indeed, was so much the habit of this nation, by a mutual return of such civilities, that it was neither offered to, nor requested by travellers. As soon as they entered any house, they immediately delivered their arms into the custody of some person; then, if they suffered their feet to be washed by those who for that purpose directly offered them water, they were considered as lodgers for the night. The refusal of this offered civility, intimated their desire of a morning's refreshment only. The offer of water for the purpose of washing the feet, was considered as an invitation to accept of hospitable entertainment.

In the evening, when the visitors were all come, an entertainment was provided according to the number and dignity of the persons, and the wealth of the house; on which occasion the cook was not fatigued with dressing many dishes, nor such as were highly seasoned, as stimulatives to gluttony; nor was the house set off with tables, napkins, or towels; for in all these things they studied nature more than shew. The guests were placed by threes at supper, and the dishes at the same time were put on rushes, in large and ample platters made of clean grass, with thin and broad cakes of bread

baked every day. At the same time that the whole family, with a kind of emulation in their civilities, were in waiting, the master and mistress in particular were always standing, very attentively overlooking the whole. At length, when the hour of sleep approached, they all lay down in common on the public bed, ranged lengthwise along the sides of the room; a few rushes being strowed on the floor, and covered only with a coarse hard cloth. The same garb that the people were used to wear in the day, served them also in the night; and this consisted of a thin mantle, and a garment or shirt worn next to the skin. The fire was kept burning at their feet throughout the night as well as in the day.

The women of this nation, as well as the men, had their hair cut round at the ears and eyes. The women also, as a head-dress, wore a large white robe, folding round, and rising by degrees into a graceful tuft or crown. The men were accustomed to shave the whole beard, leaving only a whisker on the upper lip; they likewise cut short or shaved the hair of their heads, that it might be no impediment to their activity in passing through the thick woods and forests that covered their country.

There were among the Welsh, what were not to be found among other nations, certain persons whom they called *Awenydhion* (a word expressive of poetical raptures), who appear to have been solely under the influence of the imagination. These persons, when they were consulted about any thing doubtful, inflamed with a high degree of enthusiasm, were carried out of themselves, and seemed as if they were possessed by an invisible spirit. Yet they did not immediately declare a solution of the difficulty required, but by the power of wild and inconsistent circumlocution, in which they abounded, any person who diligently observed the answer, would at length, by some turn or digression in the speech, receive an explanation of what he sought. From this state of ecstacy they were at last roused, as from a deep sleep; and were compelled, as it were, by the violence of others, to return to themselves. Two things were peculiar to these persons; that after

the answer was given, they did not come to themselves unless recalled by force from this apparent species of madness; and, when they recovered their reason, they did not, it is said, recollect any of those things which in their ecstacy they had uttered. And if it happened that they were again consulted about the same or any other thing, they would speak, it is true, but would express themselves in other and far different words. This property was bestowed upon them, as they fancied, in their sleep; at which time it appeared to some of them as if new milk or honey was poured into their mouths; to others as if a written scroll had been put into their mouths; and on their awaking, they publicly professed that they had been endowed with these extraordinary gifts. This imaginary spirit of divination has been in much use in the Highlands of Scotland, and there known under the expressive term of second sight.

Pride of ancestry and nobility of family were points held in the highest estimation among the Welsh; and of course they were far more desirous of noble than of rich and splendid marriages. So deeply rooted was this spirit, that even the very lowest of the people carefully preserved the genealogy of their families, and were able from memory readily to recite the names, not only of their immediate ancestors, but even to the sixth and seventh generations, and even to trace them still farther back, in this manner, Rhys ap Gryffyd, ap Rhys, ap Tewdur, ap Enion, ap Owen, ap Howel, ap Cadwal, ap Roderic the great.

A Welshman was considered as honourable, if among his ancestors there had been neither slave, nor foreigner, nor infamous person. Yet if any foreigner had saved the life of a Welshman, or delivered him from captivity, he might be naturalised, and was entitled to the rights of Welshmen. And any foreign family, having resided in Wales for four generations, was also admitted to the same privileges.

The Welsh did not usually reside in cities, villages or camps; but led a solitary life in the woods.

From a spirit of superstitious piety, very peculiar privileges of sanctuary

have been given to the Welsh churches. Not only in cemeteries or burial places, but within the precincts of certain bounds appointed by the bishop, all animals had the liberty of feeding in perfect security. The larger churches, endowed with greater privileges, on account of their antiquity, extended their bounds of sanctuary still farther, as far as the cattle go in the morning and return at night. So sacred were the privileges of sanctuary, that if any person at mortal enmity with his prince, sought the refuge of the church, his own person, his family, and all his property, remained in the most perfect security. If any attempt was made to violate the sanctuary, the parties under its protection marched out with great boldness, and not only molested the prince himself, but grievously infested the country.

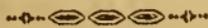
If the king granted a licence to build a church in any village whose inhabitants were villains, to which a cemetery was assigned, and priests were appointed to celebrate mass, the village from that time became free. The hermits and other ascetics in this country were in a peculiar degree austere in the habits of mortification, and in their piety more spiritualised than the religious in any other nation. As it was the disposition of this people to pursue every object with vehemence, none were elsewhere to be found so bad as the worst, nor any better than the good among the Welsh.

The stag was hunted with hounds and grey-hounds; and this was called a common diversion, because every person, who was at his death, had a right to a share. Even if a man on his journey happened to pass by at the time the stag was killed, he was entitled, by the game laws, to a share in common with those who had hunted him down. A swarm of bees was likewise a common property; for, whoever found them on his own, or other people's lands, unless the finder should have put a mark that he first found them, every one who passed by had a right to enjoy a share; but a fourth part went to the owner of the ground. Salmon were also considered in the same light; for when they were caught with a net, or struck with a spear, or taken in any other way,

whoever should come to the place before a division was made, was entitled to a part, provided the salmon was taken out of a common water.

It was necessary, that every person who carried a horn, should be acquainted with the nine game-laws. If he could not give an account of them, he forfeited his horn. Whoever went a hunting with couples, forfeited those, likewise, if he could not properly give an explanation of them. No one was allowed to shoot a beast that was appropriated for the chase, when at rest, on pain of forfeiting his bow and arrows to the lord of the manor: though he might shoot at, and kill any such, if he could, when the dogs were in full cry; but he was not allowed to shoot among the dogs.

The tenants of bond-lands and villages, being inferior to freeholders, were bound to servile employments, and in many things were at the disposal of their princes or lords. A lord had the privilege of parting with his vassal, either by sale or donation. There was, however, a distinction in point of privilege, between such tenants. The free natives were those who possessed some degree of freedom, who might go where they pleased, might buy and sell, and enjoyed many other immunities. The pure natives were considered as the entire property of their princes or lords—were sold along with the estate, and confined within its limits; out of which, if they happened to wander, they were liable to be driven back, like brutes, with great severity. The profession of any of the mechanical or liberal arts made a vassal free; but no vassal could acquire them without the permission of his lord.



*On the national character of the Spaniards\*.*

**T**HE modern Spaniard preserves still in his mien, the marks of his former consequence. Whether he speaks or writes, his expressions have a peculiar turn of exaggeration; he entertains a high idea of his nation, and

NOTE.

\* From *Nouveau voyage en Espagne.*

Vol. VI. No. V.

of himself, and expresses this sentiment openly and without reserve.

The gravity of the Spaniards, which is now become proverbial, is far from being what it is commonly thought; it indeed, generally banishes from among them what we call affability and prepossessing manners. They do not go to meet you; they wait for you. But this external severity conceals often a good and obliging disposition, which may be easily discovered by those who give themselves the least trouble to search for it. Strangers to the vain grimaces of French politeness, they are very sparing of demonstrations. Their smile of benevolence is not the mask of duplicity, and their hearts expand, for the most part, at the same time as their features. Often have I been discouraged by the exterior of a Spaniard, and remained a long time without venturing to accost him; but having at length overcome my repugnance, I have found him complaisant, not in words, but in actions, and obliging, not in promising, but in performing. The Spaniards, perhaps, are destitute of that urbanity which is the effect of a refined education, and which often serves as a cloke for falshood and contempt; but they make ample amends for this want, by that frankness which is not feigned, and by that benevolence which both announces and inspires confidence. Their great lords are destitute of dignity, if we call dignity that haughtiness which is always circumspect in its advances, for fear of producing familiarity, and which cares little for being loved, provided it be respected. Without forgetting what they are, they do not shew in an offensive manner the difference of rank, and they do not disdain to form connexions in those which are below their own.

To judge, whether the Spaniards are sprightly, I shall conduct the reader into their circles when they are there at their ease; to their repasts, before the vapours of their food and wine have disturbed their brains; I shall make him take a share in their conversation, full of lively sallies, pleasantry and quibbling, all children, either lawful or illegitimate, of mirth, and I shall ask him, if it appears less free or worse supported than in our clubs and *petit soupers*? I shall be doubtless told, that this gaiety is too wispy and disagreea-

ble; but, however it may be condemned, it is certain, that it exists, in spite of every prejudice to the contrary.

The case is almost the same respecting other faults which are continually attributed to the Spaniards. If I do not acquit them altogether of the charge of laziness, I, however, take the liberty of asserting, that it is owing to changeable circumstances, and with them it may disappear. Indeed, when one sees the activity which reigns along the coasts of Catalonia, in all the kingdoms of Valencia, in the mountains of Biscay, and, in a word, in every part where industry is encouraged, where provisions are cheap, and can be readily procured; and, on the other hand, when one considers the hard and laborious life of those mule-drivers and carters, who courageously climb the steepest roads—those husbandmen, who, in the plains of Andalusia and la Mancha, inure themselves to the labours of the field, which the nature of the soil, the distance of their habitations, and the scorching heat of the warmest climate in Europe, render more painful than they are elsewhere; when one considers that quantity of Gallicians and Asturians, who, like the inhabitants of Auvergne, and Limousin in France, go to a great distance to seek for the tedious and painful means of subsistence; and lastly, when one sees that laziness with which the Spaniards are so much reproached, confined within the bounds of the two Castiles, that part of Spain which has the fewest roads, canals, or navigable rivers—has not one a right to conclude, that this vice is not an indelible feature in the national character of the Spaniards; that it depends upon circumstances, and that the government, active and enlightened as it is at present, may make it soon disappear entirely?

There is another fault, which has much affinity to laziness, or which at least discovers itself by the same symptoms, and from which it would be difficult to exculpate the Spaniards. This fault is slowness. Enlightened knowledge, it must be confessed, makes a very slow progress among them. In politics, in war, and the other operations of government, and in those even which occur in the ordinary course of

life, when others are in action, they are still deliberating. Distrustful and circumspect, they ruin as many affairs by slowness as other nations by precipitation; and this is the more surprising, as their imagination, so lively, ought rather to be irritated by delay. But among nations, as among individuals, there is not a single quality which is not often modified by a contrary quality, and in this contest, the triumph inclines to that side to which the mind is carried with the greatest force by the circumstance of the moment. Thus the Spaniard, naturally cool and collected, when agitated by nothing extraordinary, is inflamed even to enthusiasm, when his pride, his resentment, or any of those passions which compose his character, are roused by insult or contradiction. Hence, therefore, this nation, the gravest, the coolest, and apparently the slowest in Europe, becomes sometimes the most violent, when particular circumstances take them from their state of habitual tranquility, and deliver them over to the empire of their imagination. The most formidable animals are not those which are subject to the most violent agitations. When we look at the lion, his visage appears as grave as his step, his motions have all some object, and his voice is not spent in vain noise. As long as one respects his inaction, he loves silence and peace; but if provoked, he shakes his mane, his eyes dart forth fire, he roars, and is immediately acknowledged as the king of animals.

It is this combination of slowness and violence, which constitutes, perhaps, the most formidable species of courage, and such is, in my opinion, that of the Spaniards. Those causes which kept it in continual activity, have disappeared. For a long time they have not had as neighbours, the Moors, who daily added fuel to it; nor have they been so much actuated by hatred, jealousy, and fanaticism, three united motives, which increased its intensity. The wars of the last century, and those of the succession, have not been sufficient to preserve it in the same degree of fermentation in which it was formerly. The courage of the Spaniards seems, therefore, to be dormant; but it may be easily roused, and it is indeed roused

on the least signal. The revolution, which has been brought about, in this respect, is not sensible, but in circumstances, where courage, useless, and sometimes fatal, is rather the vice of a ferocious people, than the virtue of a polished nation. The times, when the name only of the infidels excited fury, and the age of a Pizarro, and an Almagro, have disappeared, much for the happiness of Spain and of humanity. The inhabitants of the colonies in Spanish America, and those natives who are still preserved, no longer groan under the yoke of the mother country. If religious intolerance subsists still in Spain, it appears only in declamation, and the spirit of persecution is much abated. People have even begun to perceive, that religion may allow policy to consider as useful neighbours, those in whom they have hitherto beheld irreconcilable enemies. In Spain, as elsewhere, the progress of knowledge and philosophy, though slow, has sensibly softened the manners of the inhabitants, and the traces of ancient barbarity successively disappear. Formerly, assassinations were very common in Spain: every man of the least distinction kept assassins in his pay, and they were hired in the province of Valencia, as false witnesses are hired in some of our provinces in France. The weapon used in this horrid custom, was a triangular poignard, which, concealed under the cloke, was taken forth with impunity, on the first fit of resentment, the wounds of which were more dangerous than those of a sword, as the latter cannot be used privately, and as the management of it requires some dexterity. The use of this perfidious weapon is not abolished entirely, and leaves room for some of those inculpations, with which foreign nations are continually blackening the Spaniards. The manners of a people are not corrected by violent and sudden means: a minister, under the late reign, experienced this to his cost. Long clokes and slouched hats favoured every disorder, and in particular, those which endangered the safety of the citizen. Desirous of reforming such abuses, he had recourse to coercive laws, and even to force, in order to abolish these modes in

the capital; but the people mutinied, and the minister was sacrificed. Fashion, rudely attacked, survived him in part; but milder and slower means, the example of the court, and of those who depended on it, and the activity of a vigilant police, have greatly removed these inconveniences. That kind of mask, which under the name of hat, encouraged insolence, by insuring impunity, has entirely disappeared, and the cloke, a vestment very convenient for those who know how to use it, no longer favours any thing but laziness.

The use of the fatal poignard subsists yet in some parts of Spain, and above all, in the southern provinces; but only among the lowest of the people. There are still bravadoes, who make it the terror of the weak, and violent men, to whom it is, the instrument of speedy vengeance. The ecclesiastics have exerted themselves much to disarm their hearers, by their influence, and by charity. The archbishop of Grenada, in particular, has employed preaching with great success for this purpose. The poignard and assassination are still, however, very common in Andalusia, and one may there see how powerful the influence of climate is, when it is not counteracted by moral remedies. During summer, a certain wind in that province causes a species of phrenzy, which renders those excesses much more common than at any other time of the year. But let the physical face of Spain be changed; let canals and roads be formed, in places which have hitherto been inaccessible; let readier means of communication facilitate and render more active the watchful care of the agents of government; let a more extensive population keep under the eye of public vengeance, those villains whose solitude proves their security, as wild beasts reign only with impunity in the desert; let the progress of agriculture, industry and commerce, give employment to idleness, which is the source of all mischief; in a word, let the plan, formed by the present government, be put in execution; and we shall see in this respect, as in others, the influence of climate yield to these powerful causes. The revolution which has been operated in

the manners of the Spaniards, within these fifty years, attests the certainty of this prognostic. It is in the present century, that two barbarous customs have been almost gradually abolished, the rondalla and the pedreades, which reason and humanity ought to have proscribed long ago. One of them was a kind of challenge given by two bands of musicians, one to another, without any other motive than that of trying their valour. They presented themselves before one another, with fire-arms and swords, and after having discharged their fusées, they commenced the attack with their side weapons. Will any one believe that this custom still subsists in Navarre and Arragon? That of the pedreades has not disappeared long. This was also a kind of combat, between two bodies of people, armed with slings, who attacked each other with stones. Such manners undoubtedly equally impeach those who preserve them, and the government which tolerates them.

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### STORIES, TALES, &c.

*The school for husbands and wives.*

—P. 314.

**T**HE wife of the senator no sooner saw her husband gone, than she quitted her retreat, and ran to embrace Nina, thanking her in the most passionate terms, for the service she had done her; and remembering her promise of recompense, she presented her with a gold bracelet to wear, according to the custom of the Venetian ladies. It was one of the most costly that could be bought, and was worth near six thousand crowns, on account of its beauty, and the great number of jewels with which it was enriched. There needed not many words to persuade the courtesan to accept this precious gift; besides her natural avidity, the affluent circumstances the giver appeared in, notwithstanding the ill return her love had met with, did not allow her to make the slightest refusal. They quitted each other, and the lady went to the house of one of her friends, whom she acquainted with her griefs, and her whole history, and begged her to invite herself to dinner with her husband the next day, well assured that

he would not seek any excuse, or fail to receive her himself at his house. Her friend promised to comply with her desire, and went in the afternoon, as by accident, to the place where she knew the senator had dined, and drawing him a moment aside, acquainted him with the plan, privately agreed on between her and his wife.

Her discourse introduced a conversation on his spouse's humour; he said he feared to expose himself to it; that for almost three years, he had seen her but seldom, and that this retreat had procured him an uninterrupted tranquility. "You cannot with any colour of reason decline granting me the favour I ask," answered the lady; "how do you know but my presence may shelter you from her ill temper? consider that it is rather to please me, than to gratify her, you take this step; is it so difficult a thing to sacrifice to your wife an hour or two of your time, once in three years, you, who daily pass many, with persons who are insupportable to you?"

The senator, overcome by her intreaties, consented, and caused his wife to be told, that her friend would dine with her the next day. The excessive joy of the lady cannot be conceived. She took care to provide an entertainment, with which her two guests could not but be satisfied; how impatient she was till they came!—she at last saw them enter the house.

The senator, desirous of avoiding being one moment alone with his wife, had thought proper to go himself for the lady, and not to return without her. His wife, as soon as she saw him, began to act the same part she had seen so well performed by Nina, the preceding day; and she soon perceived that her behaviour was highly agreeable to her husband. Dinner-time being come, they sat down to table.

The senator remarked, with apparent satisfaction, a gaiety hitherto unknown to him, in the heart of his wife; he saw in her eyes, with some emotion, that love which had distinguished the first three years of his marriage. Her constant assiduity to please him, during the repast, at once astonished and delighted him; he of-

ten said to himself, "how great has been my mistake? Can I deny that I possess the handsomest woman in Venice? Has she not beauty, wit, vivacity—in a word, all the accomplishments which please me in Nina?" The passionate, delicate lover, the honest man, and the christian, were all roused in him.

When the lady who had been invited, complimented her friend on the entertainment, which was very elegant, the senator, with the greatest satisfaction, heard his wife reply, "that whatever pleasure she found in receiving her as she merited, she could not but own, her husband had the greatest share in her endeavours to make it agreeable, hoping, at the same time, both were satisfied." She besought her to pardon this avowal, which was rendered excusable by so long an absence as the senator had made her endure, and the sentiments she now entertained. She saw her husband's happy situation; she had too much interest in the discovery, to let it escape her.

She seized this opportunity to present his children to him, whose education had been committed to the care of an accomplished governess, and who had dined in a separate apartment. Their natural tenderness, and the instructions they had received, previous to this interview, made them run into the arms of their father, who gave them an equally cordial reception. His wife, who did not omit one assiduity or politeness, as if she had feared lest their fondness should be troublesome to her husband, ordered them to retire. The senator, who penetrated into the motive of her giving that order, said in a tender tone of voice, "why do you force them to leave me thus? you cannot surely suppose I have any repugnance at seeing them." This answer, which inspired the two ladies who were present at this moving scene, with hopes that the love for his children would arouse in him that which he had formerly had for his wife, forced them to let fall some tears which they could not refrain.

The senator was obliged to bear them company. As soon as they arose from table, a conversation, which lasted above an hour, ensued. The husband

appeared extremely well satisfied and tranquil: he gave answers to every one of his wife's questions, without any apparent irk-someness. His business requiring him to go out soon, he took his leave of the two ladies, and having embraced his wife's friend, he with the like complaisance killed his spouse, to the astonishment of both. This prompted her to ask him, when he would return. After having mused some time, he said, in the evening. The joy this answer gave his wife was so great, that she fell into the arms of her friend in a swoon. The two witnesses of this affecting scene now wept afresh, and the senator, as soon as his wife was recovered, took his leave a second time, giving her a tender squeeze by the hand. He kept his word, and returned home early. His wife now, not satisfied with imitating the courtesan, endeavoured to the utmost of her power to out-do her, and her husband gave her the same tokens of affection as he had the day before given to Nina; in short, he who but a few hours before would have yielded his whole life an entire sacrifice to his mistress, now thought of nothing but the fond caresses of an assiduous wife.

Nina, surprised that a day had elapsed without seeing him, was so uneasy, that she sent to him early the next morning, to desire his company as soon as possible. The pleasure he received, from the reconciliation with his wife, was so great, that this message was absolutely necessary to remind him that such a woman as Nina existed. Being, however, firmly determined to put a final period to this commerce, he ordered the emissary of the courtesan to tell her mistress, that he would go to her immediately. As soon as he was dressed, he repaired to her house.

When the usual caresses were over, he perceived she wore the bracelet which had for a long time adorned his wife's arm—surprised at seeing it in the possession of another, he asked who had made her that present? "a female magician," replied she, "who with all her cunning, has not found out the way of making herself beloved. I have the greatest reason to think that this ornament entails misfortune on all its wearers; I begin to

feel it; I did not see you all day yesterday, and you receive to-day the marks of my love with an unwonted coldness." The senator prayed her to be serious, and to own by what means she came by that bracelet. She contented herself with saying, that she received it from an unknown lady, as a recompence for some advice she gave her, not thinking proper to tell him how she had acquired it, fearing lest he should take umbrage at her complaisance to an incognita, in making her a witness of his behaviour while he was at her house. "Nothing," said she, "shall ever make me reject the idea I have conceived of the fatal power I attribute to it; I am even ready to part with it."

The senator, pretending to believe these were her real sentiments, pressed her to give him the preference over all those to whom she would choose to give it. "From this moment it is yours," said she, presenting it to him. He accepted it, and having but a small sum of money about him, he gave her his note for its value, thinking to trace the bottom of this adventure, by his wife's sincerity. A pretended indisposition served him as an excuse for retiring. He staid only an hour with Nina, and during his visit he did all he could to hinder her from being certain of her approaching misfortune. He at length quitted her, resolving to see her as seldom as possible.

He returned home immediately, and found all the charms of Nina, in his wife, who confessed to him by what accident the bracelet, which he had brought back, had belonged to the courtesan. He was well pleased with the step she had taken, which was a striking proof of her love, and the great regret the loss of him had given her. He sent the money that night for which he had given his note to Nina in the morning; and from that time, he desisted from his visits. When he saw her, by accident, her downcast look and apparent grief only reminded him of the sorrows his wife had experienced, before he was reclaimed.

Our happy pair continued to live in love and harmony to the end of their days, and heaven crowned their

union with five more children, who, like the former, promised fair to inherit their parents' virtues.



*A Persian tale.*

A Certain rich man of Arabia was sitting down to his repast, at a plentiful table, when a poor countryman, oppressed with hunger, unexpectedly arrived from the place of his abode. The rich Arabian instantly enquires, whence come you? Not far, he replies, from the neighbourhood of your family. What news do you bring? Ha! says the other, I can undertake to answer all your questions, be they ever so many. Well, began the rich Arab, did you see a boy of mine, that goes by the name of Khulid? Yes, your son was at school, reading the Koran: Khulid, I can tell you, has a clear pipe of his own. Did you see Khulid's mother? By my troth, a lady of such exquisite beauty, the world holds not her equal. Did you observe my great house? the roof of your house, I remember, touched the skies. Did you see my camel? a fat young beast it is, and eats plenty of grass. And did you see my honest dog? In troth, it is an honest dog, and the creature watches the house with such fidelity! The rich man, having heard the good news of his family, again fell to eating, and cast the bones to a dog that lay under the table; but he requited not the poor Arab with the smallest gratification. The hungry wretch, at this usage, reflected in his own mind, of all this good news I have been the bearer; yet he has not relieved my hunger with a morsel of bread. Alas! said he, giving a deep sigh, would to God your honest dog were living, who was so much better than this cur! The rich man, who had been wholly engaged in eating, stopt in an instant: what! cried he, my honest dog dead? why nothing would go down with him but the camel's carcase. Is the camel dead then? the beast died of pure grief for Khulid's mother. The mother of Khulid! is she dead? alas! too true; in the distraction of her mind for the loss of Khulid, she dashed her head against the stones, fractured her skull, and perished. What has happened to Khu-

lid ? at the time your great house fell, Khulid was present, and now lies buried under its ruins. What mischief befel the great house ? such a hurricane came on, that your great house shook like a reed, was levelled with the ground, and not one stone left upon another. The rich Arab, who, at the recital of these events, had given over eating, now wept and wailed, rent his garments, and beat his breast, and, at last, wound up to madness, rushed forth in the wildness of despair. The hungry Arab, seeing the place clear, seized the golden opportunity, fastened on the viands, and regaled to his heart's content.



*Zimeo.—A tale.*

SOME years ago, Paul Wilmot, a quaker, native of Philadelphia, having settled in Jamaica, retired to a plantation beautifully situated on the declivity of a mountain, near the centre of the island. His family consisted of a wife and three young children. He possessed a number of slaves, whose looks and whole appearance betokened that their servitude was not grievous. Indeed Wilmot was one of those benevolent characters, that consider the wide world as their country, and the whole human race as their brethren. His negroes were distributed into little families. Among them were no dissentions, no jealousies, no thefts, no suicides, no conspiracies: the labours of the day gave place in the evening to the song and the dance; and they retired to rest, with hearts full of gratitude, satisfaction, and content.

About this time, a negro of Benin, know by the name of John, had instigated the slaves of two rich plantations to revolt, to massacre their masters, and to fly to the mountain. This mountain is in the middle of the island; it is almost inaccessible, and is surrounded with fruitful valleys, which are inhabited by negroes, called the wild negroes. These, having formerly deserted their services, settled in those valleys, from whence they often made cruel sallies upon their former masters; but now they seldom rise, except to revenge their brethren, who fly to them for refuge, from insupportable persecution. John had

been chosen chief of those negroes, and had issued from the vallies with a considerable body of followers. The alarm was soon spread in the colony; troops were marched to the mountain, and soldiers distributed in those plantations that were defensible.

Wilmot assembled his slaves. "My friends," said he, "there are arms; if I have been a hard master to you, use them against me; but if I have behaved to you as an affectionate father, take them and assist me in defending my wife and my children." The negroes seized upon the arms, and swore they would die in his defence, and in the defence of those that were dear to him.

Amongst his slaves there was one, named Francisco, whom a friend of Wilmot's, called Filmer, had found abandoned on the shore of a Spanish colony; he had been barbarously maimed, and one of his legs was newly cut off; a young negro woman was employed in stopping the blood, and in weeping the inefficacy of her cares. She had beside her a child but a few days old. They belonged to a Spaniard, who had taken this revenge on the negro, for abetting Marianne, the woman, in her rejection of some dishonourable proposals which her master had made to her. Filmer purchased them of the Spaniard, who pretended that he had thus treated the negro, because he had surprized him performing the abominable ceremonies of the religion of Benin. Wilmot received them of his friend, who now also lived in his family. Marianne became the favourite of his wife; and Francisco, by his good sense and his knowledge of agriculture, acquired the confidence of Wilmot, and the esteem of every one.

This man came to his master at the beginning of the night. "The chief of the blacks," says he, "is a native of Benin; he adores the Great Orissa, the Lord of life, and the Father of mankind; he must, therefore, be guided by justice and benevolence: he comes to punish the enemies of the children of Orissa; but you who have consoled them in their misery, he will respect. Let him know by one of our brethren of Benin, how you have treated your slaves, and you will see those warriors fire their muskets in the

air, and throw their spears at your feet." His advice was followed, and a messenger dispatched to John.

When day appeared, it discovered a scene of desolation. Most of the houses within view, were on fire, and the plantations laid waste. In a few places, the cattle were seen feeding in security: but in most, the men and animals were discovered flying across the country, pursued by the exasperated negroes. John had given orders to spare neither man, woman, or child, in the places where his brethren had been harshly treated; in the others, he contented himself with giving liberty to the slaves, but he set fire to every house that was deserted. In his course he proceeded to the plantation of Wilmot, with a detachment of thirty men.

John, or rather Zimeo, (for the revolted negroes quit the names they have received on their arrival in the colonies,) was a young man, about two and twenty years of age; the statues of Apollo and Antinous do not shew more regular features, or more beautiful proportions. He had an air of grandeur, and seemed born for command. He was still warm from the fight; but, in accosting Wilmot and Filmer, his eyes expressed affection and good-will; the most opposite sentiments shewed themselves by turns in his countenance; he was almost, in the same moment, forrowful and gay, furious and tender, "I have avenged my race," said he, "and myself; think not hardly, ye men of peace, of the unfortunate Zimeo; shrink not at the blood with which he is covered; it is that of the inhuman; it is to terrify the wicked that I set no bounds to my vengeance." Then turning to the slaves, "choose," says he, "whether you will follow me to the mountain, or remain with your master." But the negroes falling at the feet of Wilmot, swore, with one voice, that they would rather die than leave him; that he had been a father to them, rather than a master; and that their servitude had been a blessing, rather than a bondage.

At this scene Zimeo was affected and agitated with various emotions; lifting up to heaven his eyes, that were ready to overflow, "O Great Oriffa!" cried he, "thou who hast formed

the heart, look down on these grateful men, these true men, and punish the barbarians that despise us, and treat us as we do not treat the beasts that thou hast made for our use!"

After this exclamation, he gave the hand of friendship to Wilmot and Filmer; "thanks to Oriffa," says he, "I have found some whites that I can love! my destiny is in your power, and all the riches I have made myself master of, shall be yours, in return for the favour I have to ask of you."

Wilmot assured him that he would, without recompence, do him any service that was in his power: he invited him to repose himself, and ordered refreshments to be brought for his attendants.

"My friend," said he, "the great Oriffa knows that Zimeo is not naturally cruel; but the whites have separated me from all I hold dear; from the wife Matomba, who was the friend and the guide of my youth; and from the young beauty, who was my heart's whole treasure. Think not hardly, ye men of peace, of the unfortunate Zimeo. You can procure him a ship, and you can conduct him to the place where those are detained, who are necessary to his existence."

At this moment, a young slave, a native of Benin, coming to speak with Wilmot, no sooner cast his eyes on Zimeo, than he gave a shriek, and retired with the greatest precipitation. Zimeo was silent for a moment, when, turning to Wilmot and his friend, "listen, ye men of peace," said he, "to the story of my misfortunes; and acknowledge that I deserve your pity rather than your detestation.

"The great Dame, sovereign of Benin, whose heir I am, sent me, according to the ancient custom of the kingdom, to be educated by the husbandmen of Onebo. I was given in charge to Matomba, the wisest among them, the wisest of men. At the court of my father, his counsel had often prevented evil, and been productive of good. While he was yet young, he retired to that village, in which, for ages, the heirs of the empire have been educated. There Matomba enjoyed all the pleasures that a

benign sky, a bountiful soil, and a good conscience can bestow. In the village of Onebo there were no animosities, no idleness, no deceit, no designing priests, no hardness of heart. The young princes had none but the most excellent examples before their eyes. The wise Matomba made me lose those sentiments of pride, and of indolence, that the court and my earlier instructors had inspired me with. I laboured the ground, like my master and his servants: I was instructed in the operations of agriculture, which makes all our riches: I was taught the necessity of being just, a duty incumbent on all men, that they may be able to educate their children, and cultivate their fields in peace; and I was shewn, that princes, like the labourers of Onebo, must be just towards one another, that they and their subjects may live happy and contented.

“My master had a daughter, the young Ellaroe; I loved her, and soon found that my passion was returned. We had both of us preserved our innocence inviolate; I saw no other in the creation but her; she saw no other but me, and we were happy. Her parents turned this passion to our mutual advantage. I was obedient to every command of Matomba, in the hope of making myself worthy of Ellaroe; and the hope of preserving her place in my heart, made every duty delightful to her. My attainments were all due to her, and hers to me. Five years had we thus spent, with increasing attachment, when I demanded permission of my father to espouse Ellaroe. O how I cherished the thought, that she would be my companion on the throne, and my friend in every period of life!

“I was expecting the answer of my father, when two merchants of Portugal arrived at Onebo. They brought, for sale, some implements of husbandry, several articles for domestic use, and some trifles of dress, for women and children. We gave them ivory in exchange, and gold dust. They would have purchased slaves, but none, except criminals, are sold in Benin; and there were none of those in the village of Onebo. I questioned them with regard to the arts and the manners of Europe. I found in

your arts many superfluities, and in your manners much contradiction. You know the passion which the blacks have for music and dancing. The Portuguese had many instruments unknown to us; and every evening they played on them the gayest and most enehanting airs. The young people of the village gathered together, and danced around them; and there I danced with Ellaroe. The strangers brought us from their ships the most exquisite wines, with liquors and fruits that were delicious to our taste. They sought our friendship, and we loved them truly. They informed us, one day, that they were now obliged to leave us, and to return to their country: the news affected the whole village, but no one more than Ellaroe. They told us, with tears, the day of their departure; they said they would leave us with less regret, if we would give them an opportunity to testify their regard, by entertaining us on board their ships: they pressed us to repair to them the next morning, with the young men and the prettiest girls of the village. Accordingly, conducted by Matomba, and by some old people for the sake of decency, we set off for the ships.

“Onebo is but five miles from the sea, and we were upon the shore an hour after sunrise. We saw two vessels at a little distance from each other: they were covered with branches of trees, the sails and the cordage were loaded with flowers. As soon as our friends perceived us, they sounded their instruments, and welcomed us with songs. The concert and the decorations promised a delightful entertainment. The Portuguese came to receive us; they divided our company, and an equal number went on board each ship. Two guns were fired; the concert ceased; we were loaded with irons: and the vessels set sail.

*(To be continued.)*

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MORAL AND SENTIMENTAL ESSAYS.

*The folly of self-tormenting.*

MR. Addison says, that when people complain of weariness or indisposition in good company,  
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they should immediately be presented with a night-cap, as a hint, that it would be best for them to retire. I own, I am one of those, that have no idea of carrying either my cares, or my infirmities out of my own habitation, except in such instances as I am sensible they can receive relief, or mitigation—why should I unnecessarily wound the good-nature of my friend, or make myself contemptible to my enemies? if the communication of my grievances really interrupts the satisfaction of those amongst whom I am call, I have hurt them without benefiting myself; and, on the contrary, if they only dissemble with me, it is a species of ridicule, which my mind is not calculated to sustain—but you will allow me to observe, that I confine myself on this occasion to the valetudinarian, and the magnifier of trifles into calamities—for to deny the severely attacked, whether mentally or corporally, the relief of complaining, would be to strike at the root of humanity, and forfeit the characteristics of our nature.

To come, however, more immediately to the point, I must tell you, that I have, perhaps, the most curious set of relations you ever heard of. My mother, poor woman, her afflictions are sanctioned by their poignancy and sincerity—the loss of the man she loved, and a consequential decay of constitution—but then I have an aunt that is evermore upon the rack of her own imagination; not a change of weather, or a change of situation, that does not produce some present or prospective agony. If the day is fine, her corns inform her, that we shall have rain to-morrow—if the sun is tolerably powerful, she expires with heat; or, if temperate, she anticipates the inconveniences of approaching winter—if she perceives a cloud, she is for running into an obscure corner, to preserve her eyes from lightning—and, when she beholds a clear horizon, trembles for the consequences of a drought. Not a melancholy intimation is dropt in her hearing, but she instantly recollects a thousand dreadful disasters, she has either experienced or escaped; and, when she is told of any extraordinary piece of good fortune reaching people unexpectedly, she pines at the ungraciousness of

her stars, that withholds every such blessing from falling to her share.

A brother of this lady, consequently an uncle of mine, who had met with a cruel disappointment in love, at a very early period of his life, was so morose as to insist upon it, that women were universally unworthy, and universally unfaithful—tell a story to their advantage, and he was petulant; mention them with severity, and you apparently tore open his old wounds—if he was treated respectfully by them, they were deceitful; and, if they behaved coolly, he complained of being despised—when the younger part of his relations were disposed to be merry, his head ached, and when they were serious, they treated him as if he was a bug-bear—when he was consulted what he would choose for dinner, he was teased, and when unconsulted, he was neglected. But to sum up all—after years of assiduity and attention, on the part of all his relations, excepting your humble servant, whose independent spirit frequently incited him to raillery, he died, and left me every shilling of his fortune, as a reward for my sincerity.

A young fellow, who stands in the relationship of cousin-german to me, is what may justly be entitled a constitutional self-tormentor—for he was so from his infancy. When a school-boy, whatever was in another's possession, was always considered by him as much better than his own—his top never spun so well, nor his marbles rolled so dexterously, as those of his companions—his task was always harder than any body else's, and his repetition of it, listened to with prejudiced ears by our master.

On entering into life, this strange humour increased upon him; he conceived every dinner he was not a partaker of, much more excellent than the one he participated of. Every tailor, if he changed a dozen times in a month, was smarter than those he employed; and every estate he heard of, happier situated, and better improved, than his own, though the income was absolutely inferior to what he was in the receipt of. He attached himself to a fine accomplished girl, but soon found out that her sister was much more charming. The sister had a young friend, who had as much the

advantage of her; and that friend a relation, that surpassed them all. His strange humour and inconsistency, soon marked him for an object of contempt; and, however, out of respect to his family, he is to this day received in some few houses; he is tolerated, not approved; pitied, not honoured; notwithstanding his birth, education, and estate.

I have a sister, who is the last oddity I shall introduce at this period, that is evermore labouring under some imaginary disease. She sits down to table without an appetite, it is true—but then she has been eating all the morning—her complexion is extremely fine—but the bloom of nature is called a hectic—her voice, that is naturally sweet, is changed into an affected whine—and her nerves are so delicate, that one of my honest laughs is sufficient to throw her into hysterics—I have taken great pains to convince her of her folly, but if I attempt to rally, she bursts into tears, and I am hurried out of the room, as the greatest of all barbarians. I make daily resolutions to renounce all connexion with so ridiculous a groupe of wretches; my resolutions, nevertheless, (barbarian as I am) are dissolved by their applications to return to them, though the infallible consequence of our re-union, is an abrupt separation.

Is it not astonishing, that people in no degree deficient in understanding, and blessed with affluence, should be such enemies to their repose, that instead of attending to the distresses of others, which they have the power so amply to relieve, they thus defeat all the gracious purposes of providence, where their own happiness is concerned, and neglect all the opportunities of doing good, that lie before them?

GEORGE GOOD-FELLOW.



*Thoughts on marriage, addressed to a lady, who discovered an attachment to a person very much her inferior.*

**M**ARRIAGE determines, in this world, the happiness or misery of those who engage in it. There is no medium in this connexion. Affection, sanctioned by reason, gives the

one: passion, blinding, perverting passion, will, most assuredly, cause the other.

The question, therefore, which should be applied to the heart of any woman whose thoughts address themselves to the nuptial state, are these: Is the object virtuous? Is he suitable?—If he is not virtuous, there is an end of all reasonable hopes of happiness; and the woman, who marries a man, knowing him to be vicious—is a wedded harlot, whose base motives, or incontinent desires, impel her to a future and certain wretchedness.

As to suitability, consult your understanding in the following manner. Is his temper and turn of mind, in any degree, similar to my own? Has his education been such as to qualify him to be a pleasing companion to me? Or, if not, can I so far forget my education as to descend to a level with him, that he may be so?

Is his fortune sufficient to support me as I could wish? Or, is his profession and industry equal to the maintenance of a family? or will it be necessary for a wife to assist him in it; and, if so, am I qualified and willing to do it?

If you can answer these questions, with an unprejudiced and deliberate affirmative, you may marry the person who is the object of your preference, with every reasonable expectation of being happy.

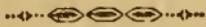
A perfect similitude of disposition is not to be found, nor is it necessary; but some degree of it, nay, a considerable degree of it, in leading principles, is essential to married happiness. A woman of polished education will find it very difficult, indeed, to be happy with a husband, who has received little or no education at all.

A great fortune is by no means necessary to happiness; but some means of support are absolutely requisite.

Suitableness in temper, education, and the means of living, are solid foundations of happiness; but the high-flown romantic fancies, the unrestrained liberty, the love of sway, &c. &c. which are so commonly made the chief objects of matrimonial engagements, will prove vain and empty illusions.

An illiterate man, however virtuous, cannot be suitable to you. A man without education and refined sentiment, may love you, I will confess; but not in a manner that is agreeable to you; for, as he will not be able to comprehend the extent of your excellence, he cannot love you, as you merit to be loved. Tenderness may be his; but not that tenderness which "sighs and looks unutterable things."

If you possess sentiments different from these, you must be under the influence of a passion which will be fatal to you. The heart is never so deceitful to itself, as when it is warmed with the tender passion, nor ever so inattentive to the cool admonitions of friendship. But remember, that marriage, like death, excludes all possibility of benefiting by experience. In this case, experience ceases to be a director. The scourge is in his hand, and it may become a severe executioner.



*Advice to husbands. By a lady.*

**C**OULD that kind of love be kept alive, through the marriage state, which makes the charm of a single one, the sovereign good would no longer be sought for; in the union of two faithful lovers it would be found: but reason shews us that this is impossible, and experience informs us, that it ever was so; we must preserve it as long, and supply it as happily, as we can.

When your present violence of passion, however, subsides, and a more cool and tranquil affection takes its place, be not hasty to censure yourself as indifferent, or to lament yourself as unhappy; you have lost that only which it was impossible to retain, and it were graceless, amid the pleasures of a prosperous summer, to regret the blossoms of a transient spring. Neither unwarily condemn your bride's insipidity, till you have recollected, that no object, however sublime, no found, however charming, can continue to transport us with delight, when they no longer strike us with novelty. The skill to renovate the powers of pleasing, is said, indeed, to be possessed by some women in an eminent degree, but the

artifices of maturity are seldom seen to adorn the innocence of youth; you have made your choice, and ought to approve it.

Satiety follows quick upon the heels of possession: and to be happy, we must always have something in view. The person of your lady is already all your own, and will not grow more pleasing in your eyes, I doubt, though the rest of your sex will think her handsomer for these dozen years. Turn, therefore, all your attention to her mind, which will daily grow brighter by polishing. Study some easy science together, and acquire a similarity of tastes, while you enjoy a community of pleasures. You will, by these means, have many images in common, and be freed from the necessity of separating, to find amusement; nothing is so dangerous to wedded love, as the possibility of either being happy out of the company of the other; endeavour, therefore, to cement the present intimacy on every side; let your wife never be kept ignorant of your income, your expenses, your friendships, or aversions; let her know your very faults, but make them amiable by your virtues; consider all concealment as a breach of fidelity; let her never have any thing to find out in your character, and remember, that from the moment one of the partners turns spy upon the other, they have commenced a state of hostility.

Seek not for happiness in singularity, and dread a refinement of wisdom as a deviation into folly. Listen not to those sages, who advise you always to scorn the counsel of a woman, and, if you comply with her requests, pronounce you to be wife-ridden. Think not any privation, except of positive evil, an excellence, and do not congratulate yourself that your wife is not a learned lady, that she never touches a card, or is wholly ignorant how to make a pudding. Cards, cookery, and learning, are all good in their places, and may all be used with advantage.

I said, that the person of your lady would not grow more pleasing to you; but pray let her never suspect that it grows less so; that a woman will pardon an affront to her understanding,

much sooner than one to her person, is well known; nor will any of us contradict the assertion. All our attainments, all our arts, are employed to gain and keep the heart of man; and what mortification can exceed the disappointment, if the end be not obtained? There is no reproof, however pointed, no punishment, however severe, that a woman of spirit will not prefer to neglect; and if she can endure it without complaint, it only proves that she means to make herself amends, by the attention of others, for the slights of her husband. For this, and for every reason, it behoves a married man not to let his politeness fail, though his ardour may abate, but to retain, at least, that general civility towards his own lady, which he is so willing to pay to every other, and not shew his wife, that every man in company can treat her with more complaisance, than he who so often vowed to her eternal fondness.

It is not my opinion that a young woman should be indulged in every wild wish of her gay heart, or giddy head; but contradiction may be softened by domestic kindness, and quiet pleasures substituted in the place of noisy ones. Public amusements are not, indeed, so expensive as is sometimes imagined, but they tend to alienate the minds of married people from each other. A well chosen society of friends and acquaintance, more eminent for virtue and good sense than for gaiety and splendor, where the conversation of the day may afford comment for the evening, seems the most rational pleasure we can enjoy; and to this, a game at cards now and then gives an additional relish.

A word or two on jealousy may not be amiss; for though not a failing of the present age's growth, yet the seeds of it are too certainly sown in every warm bosom, for us to neglect it as a fault of no consequence. If you are ever tempted to be jealous, watch your wife narrowly, but never tease her: tell her your jealousy, but conceal your suspicion; let her, in short, be satisfied that it is only your odd temper, and even troublesome attachment, that makes you follow her; but let her not dream that you ever doubted seriously of her virtue, even for a moment. If she is

disposed towards jealousy of you, let me beseech you to be always explicit with her, and never mysterious; be above delighting in her pain, nor do your business, nor pay your visits with an air of concealment, when all you are doing might as well be proclaimed, through the city.



*Sentimental reflexions on love.*

— *In solitude*

*What happiness? who can enjoy alone?  
Or, all enjoying, what contentment  
find?* MILTON.

THAT affection, or reciprocal passion, which unites two persons, is called love. Love is a passion so necessary among mankind, that without it, they would soon be reduced to nothing. The desire of the one sex for the other, serves to perfect them both; it makes happy unions and amiable societies; but this is only the case when reason presides over and directs it. Guided by a wicked passion, it every day causes adulteries, incests, perjuries, and many other evils of the same cast. If you have naturally a tender, affectionate heart, do not endeavour to make it insensible; but fix your affections upon proper objects—upon such as may not endanger the loss of your virtue; or rather love only those who are virtuous, and thereby your propensity for love will be no less satisfied. What am I saying? It could exist but imperfectly, without that precaution. There is no friendship without virtue. The union of two lovers, without virtue and good morals, is not love, but an odious association, which engages them in a commerce of vices, and establishes between them a reciprocal participation of infamy. Morals need fear nothing from love: it cannot but perfect and better them. Love renders the heart less fierce, the temper more easy, and the disposition more complaisant. Most people are accustomed to submit to the inclination or will of the person beloved; they contract by this, the glorious habit of curbing their desires, to conform their inclinations to places, occasions, and persons. But morals are not equally safe, when we are troubled with those sensual de-

fires, which are sometimes confounded with love. Love is a vice only in vicious hearts. Fire, a substance pure in itself, emits fetid vapours, while it is consuming infected matter; in the same manner, if love is nourished by vices, it only produces shameful desires; it only forms criminal designs; and is only followed by troubles, cares, and misfortunes; but let it be produced in an honest, upright, and virtuous heart, and kindled by an object adorned as well with virtues as charms; such love is not at all deserving of censure. God, far from being angry at it, approves of it: he has made objects amiable only that they should be beloved.

A certain person once asked Zeno, if wise men ought to love? A very curious question this; but Zeno, without hesitation, immediately replied, "if the wise did not love, the fine ladies would be very unhappy." The union of love and innocence seems to be a paradise on earth: it is the greatest felicity and the most happy state of life.

The advantages arising from love are, 1. The propagation of the species. 2. Happy unions. 3. Advantageous alliances. 4. Happiness, if rightly managed. 5. Amiable societies. And, 6. The taming or curbing the passions.

*Picture of sensual love.*

DAMON is upright intentions; he is deeply smitten and sincerely in love with Phyllis; this may be easily seen by the description he gives of her accomplishments. One thing is yet wanting; he mentions nothing concerning her virtue or morals, her temper or behaviour: but these are not the objects of his love; she is endued with a grace and attraction that enchant him; she is full of sprightliness and humour; that is enough for him; he knows no greater happiness than that of possessing her. Lighted and illuminated by her sparkling eyes, he is in raptures; absent from her, he languishes and is consumed with cares. Would you think that this eagerness and ardour are nothing less than love? Damon does not suspect it; he thinks really that he is deeply in love with her. But you may easily perceive whence his error proceeds; that which he takes for love, is only sensuality.

*Picture of true love.*

CLARA is young, handsome, and virtuous; Corydon is about the same age with her, genteelly made, brave, witty, and well behaved. They saw each other at a neighbour's; they immediately, by a powerful charm, as it were, fixed their eyes and minds upon one another. The hour of departing soon came; they saluted each other respectfully and spoke some obliging things. Three days passed before they met again; Corydon became bolder; and ventured to enter into discourse with her; he had before only a glimpse of her virtues; he now saw the beauties of her mind, the honesty of her heart, and the simplicity of her manners. He was sensible of the love he had for her, and did not despair of one day calling her his own. He declared his passion to her in these words: "amiable Clara! the sentiment which attaches me to you, is not mere esteem: it is love, the most lively, and the most ardent love. I find I cannot live without you; could you, without reluctance, resolve to make me happy?"

A coquette would have affected anger at such a declaration as this. Clara heard her lover without interrupting him; answered him with goodnature, and permitted him to hope. She did not even put his constancy to a long trial. The happiness for which he longed, was only deferred till they could make the necessary preparations. The articles of the contract were easily settled between the parties; interest had no share in it: the chief thing was the mutual gift of their hearts, and that condition was fulfilled before hand. What will be the fate of this new married pair? the happiest that mortals can find on earth. No pleasure is to be compared with those which affect the heart, and there is none which affects it so agreeably, as the bliss of loving and being beloved.

D. M.

*Reflexions on death.*

*Sure 'tis a serious thing to die.*

O H Death! how despotic is thy power! yet how impartial!

The rich, the poor, the peasant, and the prince—the beautiful, and

the deform'd—must all submit to thee :  
thou knowest no difference !

In camps, in cities, in cottages, and  
courts, thy bow strikes sure.

The hero, who this morning boasts  
his valour—ere noon becomes thy  
prey.

Thou throwest down all distinctions  
in the grave.

The mighty monarch, in his mar-  
ble shrine, sleeps not more sound, nor  
wears a form more pleasing, than the  
poor villager ; whose humble grave  
scarce rises up a foot above the soil,  
but plaited o'er with turf, wasts a  
*hic jacet* to his memory.

Torrismond, didst thou know Cam-  
illa ? Have you not seen her at the  
gay assembly, in all the bloom of  
beauty and of youth, surrounded by a  
throng of sighing, wistling lovers ?

See now her lifeless corpse, by  
death, deprived of all those charms  
that could inflame desire.

View well those eyes : where is  
that humid brightness, that once dif-  
fused such killing rays from those  
(then) lovely orbs ?

Behold her cheeks, where the lily's  
whiteness and the rose's blush did  
lately blend, to make her charms  
complete ; see them all bloated and  
cover'd with infectious boils !

Say, is she now an object of your  
admiration most, or of your horror ?

—Since then we find

That death's entail'd on all mankind,  
we should, as skilful physicians, have  
recourse to palliatives, when nothing  
can be levelled at the cause.

And what can be more satisfactory  
to a dying person, than

The glad conscience of a life well  
spent ?

for, however a vicious man may, for  
a while, impose upon the world, yet,  
when he comes upon a death bed, the  
mask falls off : conscience flies in his  
face : his sins appear all naked to  
his view ; and the poor wretch, unfit  
and unprepar'd, launches into eternity.

On the other hand, behold the vir-  
tuous man in his last moments,

Calm and serene he yields his latest  
breath,  
And may be said to triumph over  
death.

THE WORCESTER SPECULATOR.

*On temperance.*

THE practice of virtue is essen-  
tial to the peace and happiness  
both of individuals and of a commu-  
nity. Every attentive observer of  
causes and effects, sees that a moral  
course of behaviour is productive of  
harmony—harmony in society, and  
harmony in the mind ; while the  
wretched rewards of an immoral life  
are discord and distress. To incul-  
cate temperance in all things, may,  
therefore, be the duty of the civilian,  
as well as of the divine. Temperance is  
that coolness of reason, calmness of  
passion, evenness of temper, and re-  
gularity of life and conversation, which  
at all times preserve the dignity of  
man, and render him illustrious in  
the scale of rational beings. It is not  
the design, however, in throwing out a  
few hints upon this subject, to consi-  
der temperance in this extensive view ;  
but to confine the observations to  
the utility and importance of it in  
a more restricted sense, particularly  
that of temperance in the use of  
spiritous liquors. If temperance in  
all things be ornamental, and necessa-  
ry for the support of our dignity and  
the advancement of human felicity—  
how emphatically important must it be  
in the use of intoxicating spirits ? Here  
intemperance is fatal ! An immoderate  
draught at once drowns the reason  
of man, and sinks him in the deplora-  
ble gulph of ignominy and contempt.  
Those, who (notwithstanding they  
may be too lavish in the use of spiri-  
tous liquors) are not lost to every idea  
of decency and decorum, and sunk be-  
neath the pride of man, the Specu-  
lator conceives are open to conviction,  
and will cheerfully embrace those ha-  
bits which shall appear to be the most  
conducive to their own and the com-  
munity's prosperity. Times of public  
tumult and relaxation of government  
are most commonly times of dissipation.  
It proved so with America, in her late  
war with Great Britain. Before that  
commotion took place, the use of spi-  
ritous liquors was comparatively small  
to what it has been since. During  
the suspension of law, money being  
plenty, and debtors not being compell-  
able to pay their debts, it became a  
too predominant practice, to waste  
large sums in the purchase and expen-

diture of rum and other spirits. Idleness, and a too free use of the cup and can, those siller habits, infected the community at large. At the close of the war, when the circumstances of our country demanded industry and economy, it was difficult to return to our pristine simplicity of manners, and temperance of life, in the pursuit of our private and domestic affairs. The husbandman could not hire labourers to cultivate his lands, without supplying them with a quantity of inflammatory liquors, almost equal in value to the amount of their services. So general was the custom, and so fashionable the practice, that the labourer claimed it as his right; and if he could not receive so much rum and toddy as would almost disable him from service, he would quit the field of his employer, and leave his harvest to be wasted on the ground. This pernicious fashion was not confined to the labourers in the field; the mechanics, if possible, exceeded them in extravagance of these kinds of demands. Business was consequently ill performed and extravagantly paid for. Our taverns were daily thronged with swarms of our citizens, who there wasted their property, injured their constitutions, and corrupted their morals. In addition to all this, every man was obliged to keep a kind of grog shop in his own house, for his neighbours, acquaintance, and hangers on, or be esteemed a niggard. Even among the most indigent, those who could but scantily provide bread for their children, it was thought ill usage, if they did not hand out their bottles to their thirsty visitors. A barrel of rum at that time would in many families last but little longer than a gallon would have done before the war. These extravagant habits so far exceeded the ability of the people, that many fell a sacrifice to their folly, and involved themselves and families in ruin and wretchedness. Private debts could not be discharged, nor could public requisitions be complied with. The consequence was natural—an universal complaint of hard times—of cruel creditors—and of oppression in rulers.

The times were truly hard, and so will they ever be when intemperance prevails—when the people prefer the

dissipation of a tavern, to the cultivation of their fields. But happily for the community, these habits seem now to be fast growing into disrepute; and temperance, economy, and industry seem to be esteemed objects of importance: and experience will probably soon convince us, that we can labour as well, and enjoy our health better, without inflammatory spirits, than with them. Probably not a quarter part so much rum has been drank in this part of the country the last year, as was done in the space of a year, at the close of the war. Some of our principal retailers have not, if we can believe their assertions, sold so many pints of rum the last year as they did gallons the year before; and then the quantity was much diminished from that which was sold a few years earlier. Our taverns, too, are generally still and quiet, and rarely do we find people of the vicinity resorting to them, but on business, or some public occasion. Many of our principal farmers, in different parts of the country, have nobly broke through the pernicious custom of treating their labourers with rum; and will not employ those who will not serve them without spiritous liquors. And they have found their account in it the present year—for it has been very observable, in the course of the past summer, that those who have hired without supplying with spirits, have had the best workmen and plenty of them, and that their work has been done the most neatly and with the greatest dispatch.

The mechanics, also, in many places, and especially the most reputable of them, have almost forsaken their cups. And men of business, of all kinds, appear to be convinced that they can conduct their affairs better without spiritous liquors than with them. In this way, a great saving has been made the last year by the citizens in general: and let any one judge if any inconveniences have resulted from these savings.

Have not people been as healthy, strong, and robust, as when they drank ten times as much as they have done this year? Were our lands better cultivated then, than they are now? It was a common observation, a few years ago, that a man lost nothing by giving rum to his labourers, for they



dustrious citizens, and the obedient subjects of a lawful government. In these pious labours, we hope to imitate the most worthy of our brethren of other christian denominations, and to be imitated by them; assured, that if we can, by mutual and generous emulation, promote truth and virtue, we shall render essential service to the republic; we shall receive encouragement from every wise and good citizen; and, above all, meet the approbation of our divine master.

We pray Almighty God to have you always in his holy keeping; may he prolong your valuable life, an ornament and a blessing to your country; and at last bestow on you the glorious reward of a faithful servant.

By order of the general assembly,

JOHN RODGERS, *moderator.*

Philadelphia, May 26, 1789.

ANSWER.

*To the general assembly of the presbyterian church in the united states of America.*

Gentlemen,

I Receive with great sensibility, the testimonial given by the general assembly of the presbyterian church in the united states of America, of the lively and unfeigned pleasure experienced by them, on my appointment to the first office in the nation.

Although it will be my endeavour to avoid being elated by the too favourable opinion which your kindness for me, may have induced you to express, of the importance of my former conduct, and the effect of future services: yet, conscious of the disinterestedness of my motives, it is not necessary for me to conceal the satisfaction I have felt, upon finding that my compliance with the call of my country, and my dependence on the assistance of heaven, to support me in my arduous undertakings, have, so far as I can learn, met the universal approbation of my countrymen.

While I reiterate the professions of my dependence upon heaven, as the source of all public and private blessings; I will observe, that the general prevalence of piety, philanthropy, honesty, industry, and economy, seems, in the ordinary course of human affairs, particularly necessary for advan-

cing and confirming the happiness of our country. While all men within our territories are protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of their consciences; it is rationally to be expected from them in return, that they will all be emulous of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by the innocence of their lives, and the beneficence of their actions: for no man, who is profligate in his morals, or a bad member of the civil community, can possibly be a true christian, or a credit to his own religious society.

I desire you to accept my acknowledgments for your laudable endeavours to render men sober, honest and good citizens, and the obedient subjects of a lawful government; as well as for your prayers to Almighty God for his blessing on our country, and the humble instrument which he has been pleased to make use of, in the administration of its government.

G. WASHINGTON.



*An act of the state of Connecticut, to suspend all suits or actions in favour of any citizen of the state of Rhode Island, now brought, or which may hereafter be brought in that state.*

WHEREAS the state of Rhode Island, at their sessions in March, 1787, passed an act, excluding the citizens of this state, from the benefit of the laws of the state of Rhode Island, relative to the tender of paper money; by means whereof, the citizens of this state are much injured.

Therefore,

Be it enacted by the governor, council, and representatives, in general court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that no citizen or inhabitant of the state of Rhode Island, shall be admitted to sue or prosecute any citizen or inhabitant of this state, before any court of justice in this state, for the recovery of any debt or demand whatsoever, during the time that the said state of Rhode Island shall continue their law, excluding the citizens of this state from the benefit of their said laws.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all proceed-

ings in this state, in favour of any citizen of the state of Rhode Island, for the recovery of any debt, due to any inhabitant or citizen of said state of Rhode Island, shall be, and the same are hereby suspended, during the time that the said state of Rhode Island shall continue to exclude the citizens of this state from the benefit of the laws aforesaid.

Provided, nevertheless, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be construed to prevent the granting or levy of execution, on any judgment already rendered, in any court of law or equity in this state.



#### *Education of negro children.*

**T**HE trustees of the school instituted for the education of negro children, feel themselves induced, from a sense of duty, and to promote the cause of humanity, to inform the public, that the benevolent design of enlightening a part of the community, heretofore sunk in slavish ignorance, is likely to succeed, and it is hoped will answer the most sanguine expectations of its patrons. The pupils have evidently made considerable proficiency in the different branches of learning, and, in some instances, a brightness of natural genius and understanding is apparent, which, like some latent quality in the human mind, hath lain, as it were, in a state of obscurity and inaction; hence the utility of early affording encouragement, whereby the natal powers in children may be expanded, and the faculties left at liberty to emerge from their narrow inclosures—great advantages are expected from a due attention to the education of youth, and from the apparent good which hath already resulted from this institution.

The trustees are encouraged to continue their care and zeal for its promotion; and notwithstanding the contributions of many have been liberal, yet the annual expense is such, that the income of the permanent fund being inadequate, they are obliged to have recourse to the society's general stock, to make up the deficiency; a circumstance they are anxious to avoid, and are therefore induced to solicit some further addition

to said fund; that they may be enabled, not only to support the institution on its own basis, but extend its greater usefulness, by enlarging the original plan, which cannot be done, without an augmentation of resources to carry it into effect; and as this seminary may probably conduce to the advantages of the community, not only in respect to the benefits, which those, who are the more immediate objects of its care, will receive—but as it may qualify a race of beings, now sunk in stupid ignorance, to become safe and useful members of society—let us persevere in our well-meant endeavours, to promote the cause of humanity, and, by a due attention, contribute all we well can, to the increase and support of this laudable undertaking.

The trustees are authorised to inform the public, that the children of slaves who are still held in bondage, will be (as well as those who are already liberated) admitted into the school, free of expense, provided they have attained the age of nine years, and are capable of spelling words of one syllable.

Signed on behalf, and by direction of the trustees;

J. MURRAY, jun. clerk.

New York, 10th month, 24th, 1789.



*An address to the public, from the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes, unlawfully held in bondage.*

**I**T is with peculiar satisfaction, we assure the friends of humanity, that, in prosecuting the design of our association, our endeavours have proved successful, far beyond our most sanguine expectations.

Encouraged by this success, and by the daily progress of that luminous and benign spirit of liberty, which is diffusing itself throughout the world—and humbly hoping for the continuance of the divine blessing on our labours—we have ventured to make an important addition to our original plan, and do, therefore, earnestly solicit the support and assistance of all who can feel the tender emotions of sympathy and compassion,

or relish the exalted pleasure of beneficence.

Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature, that its very extirpation, if not performed with sollicitous care, may sometimes open a source of serious evils.

The unhappy man, who has long been treated as a brute animal, too frequently sinks beneath the common standard of the human species. The galling chains, that bind his body do also fetter his intellectual faculties, and impair the social affections of his heart. Accustomed to move like a mere machine, by the will of a master, reflexion is suspended; he has not the power of choice; and reason and conscience have but little influence over his conduct: because he is chiefly governed by the passion of fear. He is poor and friendless—perhaps worn out by extreme labour, age and disease.

Under such circumstances, freedom may often prove a misfortune to himself, and prejudicial to society.

Attention to emancipated black people, it is therefore to be hoped, will become a branch of our national police; but as far as we contribute to promote this emancipation, so far that attention is evidently a serious duty, incumbent on us, and which we mean to discharge to the best of our judgment and abilities.

To instruct—to advise—to qualify—those who have been restored to freedom, for the exercise and enjoyment of civil liberty—to promote in them habits of industry—to furnish them with employments suited to their age, sex, talents, and other circumstances—and to procure their children an education calculated for their future situation in life—these are the great outlines of the annexed plan, which we have adopted, and which we conceive will essentially promote the public good, and the happiness of these our hitherto too much neglected fellow creatures.

A plan so extensive cannot be carried into execution, without considerable pecuniary resources, beyond the present ordinary funds of the society. We hope much from the generosity of enlightened and benevolent freemen, and will gratefully receive any donations or subscriptions for this pur-

pose, which may be made to our treasurer, James Starr, or to James Pemberton, chairman of our committee of correspondence.

Signed by order of the society,  
B. FRANKLIN, president.  
Philadelphia, 9th of Nov. 1789.

*Plan for improving the condition the free blacks, abovementioned:*

**T**HE business, relative to free blacks, shall be transacted by a committee of twenty-four persons, annually elected by ballot, at the meeting of this society, in the month called April; and in order to perform the different services, with expedition, regularity, and energy, this committee shall resolve itself into the following sub-committees, viz.

**I.**  
A committee of inspection, who shall superintend the morals, general conduct, and ordinary situation of the free negroes, and afford them advice and instruction; protection from wrongs; and other friendly offices.

**II.**  
A committee of guardians, who shall place out children and young people with suitable persons, that they may (during a moderate time of apprenticeship, or servitude) learn some trade or other business of subsistence. The committee may effect this partly by a persuasive influence on parents and the persons concerned; and partly by co-operating with the laws, which are, or may be enacted for this, and similar purposes; in forming contracts on these occasions, the committee shall secure to the society, as far as may be practicable, the right of guardianship, over the persons so bound.

**III.**  
A committee of education, who shall superintend the school-instruction of the children and youth of the free-blacks; they may either influence them to attend regularly the schools, already established in this city, or form others with this view; they shall, in either case, provide, that the pupils may receive such learning, as is necessary for their future situation in life; and especially a deep impression of the most important, and generally acknowledged moral and religious principles. They shall also procure and



of the great body of the people. The blessings of a republican government will continue and be enjoyed, in a just proportion to the understanding of the community: and the peace and duration of an absolute monarchy, will ever be in an inverse ratio with the knowledge of the subjects. An abject, servile fear is the grand basis and cement of an absolute monarchy. As the husbandman, with his uplifted scourge, controuls his bealls of burden—so the monarch, with his iron sceptre, rules his cringing subjects. As long as the rude sons of nature, are prevented from rising above the brutal herd in point of education—so long the former will yield to the discipline that governs the latter: but when the enlivening beams of education penetrate the bosoms of men, they kindle up their souls, and teach them that they were created for more exalted purposes, than the bealls of the field. That noble spark of ambition, which is to be found in the breast of every child of Adam, immediately takes fire; breaks the fetters of tyranny; and throws off the chains of despotism. Where the minds of a people are enlarged, and their feelings ennobled by the brightening rays of knowledge, they will never consent to be subservient to the nod of a despot. It is utterly impossible for tyranny long to continue, where the people at large have made any considerable advances in the knowledge of men and things. When they become acquainted with the capacities of their minds, and the superiority over other creatures of this world, with which they were endowed by the God of nature, their feelings will break through every barrier, and burst the bonds of slavery. They will not remain peaceable, and behold a tyrant violate all the laws of humanity.

A well-instructed people will trust their rulers to establish the nice speculative points in the great scheme of government, and peaceably submit to their determinations: but as soon as they presume to dictate and execute laws, which evidently thwart the cardinal rights of human nature, which, in an enlightened country, are engraved on the very feelings of every man, a kind of sympathetic sense of the violation catches, like electric fire,

from breast to breast, and inspires the body of the people with a determination to crush the tyranny, or perish in the attempt.

While education is a bulwark against tyranny, it is the grand palladium of true liberty in a republican government. It may perhaps appear irreconcilable, at first blush, that under an absolute monarch, the more ignorant the people, the more peaceable and lasting the government; and exactly the reverse in a republic. I believe, however, upon examination, the position will be found strictly true. Notwithstanding the soil of ignorance is favourable to the growth and production of jealousy, yet no obstruction to the career of despotism, or even tyranny, is to be apprehended from it. Under an absolute monarch, the multitude being accustomed to implicit obedience, and ever kept under the immediate influence of fear, nothing, but the highest sense of a violation of their dearest rights, can embolden them to seek relief; and while their minds are unenlightened, and their feelings unrefined, they are unsusceptible, in a great measure, of the indignity of bondage or the pains of tyranny: whereas, were their souls exalted by education, they would rather fall in a noble struggle for liberty, than remain meanly bound in the galling chains of slavery. But in a republic, the people are unawed by fear, being habituated to command, rather than obey; if they are enveloped by the dark clouds of ignorance, the jealousy naturally arising from that condition, has its full scope. While ignorance predominates, they are ever jealous of men in the higher grades of life, more especially of those immediately concerned in government; and, being incapable of examining and judging for themselves, they catch at the faintest suggestion of oppression, and, on the wings of their uncultivated passions, immediately fly to arms.

The people at large seldom mean to do wrong: when they err as a body, it is generally through ignorance. They do not rise in rebellion, unless they think they are oppressed to such a degree, that they cannot obtain relief, otherwise than by the sword.

In a well-concerted republican go-

vernment, no real grievance can exist, which may not be redressed in a regular, legal manner. Where a people, under such a government, are so well instructed that they understand it, they will not use violence.

Upon examining the history of mankind, do we not find, that all insurrections in free governments, are carried on by the most ignorant part of the people, who are instigated by designing wretches, in desperate circumstances? Do we not find that the malcontents in general are from among the most illiterate of the people, those whose minds have not been cultivated to the practice of the social virtues? Reader, dost thou recollect ever to have seen, when perusing the history of foreign countries, an account of the enlightened part of a people rising in arms against a well-founded republican government? Indeed, does it not seem morally impossible for a man of understanding and information, in a calm moment to have recourse to violence, against a government, which points out a regular, peaceable, legal and speedy method of redressing every grievance that can exist? It is diametrically contrary to every semblance of reason, for a person to fly to arms, and create a civil war, to remedy an evil, which he knows can be more expeditiously removed under the olive of peace. No man in his senses, will plunge into the confusion, the hazard, and the horror of domestic strife, unless he thinks it absolutely necessary to secure his rational liberty, or to shield himself from infamy. Where is the person, who will rush into the storm of war, and crimson his hands with the blood of his brother, to perform a work which he is convinced may be accomplished in the calm of peace?

To induce a man to exert himself to maintain and preserve a regular established republican form of government, other things being equal, nothing more is necessary, than so far to inform his mind, as to enable him to read it intelligently. Those, who, under such a government, live in populous places, where regular schools are established, having by that means an opportunity to enlarge their minds, are ever firm supporters of it. The pure stream of civil liberty would

sweetly flow on, until the end of time, ere it would be obstructed by those whose minds are enlightened by education.

Ye fathers—ye generous protectors of American liberty, you may form constitutions and laws, that shall closely approximate even perfection itself; but unless you enable your people to see the beauty—the worth of them—all will be in vain! You may as well “cast pearls to swine”—Would you preserve to yourselves and your posterity the blessings and happiness of your dear-bought republican government, or indeed your government itself—you must encourage a general education among all ranks in society! You must prescribe, adopt, and bring into operation, a system of education, by which the minds of your people in general, from generation to generation, may be so far enlightened, as to discover and realize the true principles and excellence of civil liberty! And I see not why this may not be done. The Americans, as a nation, are already the best instructed people under the sun. There are, perhaps, individuals in other countries, who have made greater advances in art and science; but I presume there is not a nation on earth, where the people at large are so well informed. Why may they not be raised one degree higher in point of education? Were the people absolutely obliged to maintain regular schools, and in such number that all the children might be taught, would not the necessary knowledge soon be diffused throughout the continent? O! why may we not flatter ourselves, that it was reserved for America to convince the world, that a republican government may exist in its utmost purity, to the final close of human nature?



*Observations on the public debt of America.* By R. Price, D. D. L. L. D.

IT seems evident, that what first requires the attention of the united states is the redemption of their debts, and making compensation to that army which has carried them through the war. They have an infant credit to cherish and rear, which, if this is not done, must perish, and with it their character and honour for ever. Nor is it conceivable they should

meet with any great difficulties in doing this. They have a vast resource, peculiar to themselves, in a continent of unlocated lands, possessing every advantage of soil and climate. The settlement of these lands will be rapid, the consequence of which must be a rapid increase of their value. By disposing of them to the army and emigrants, the greatest part of the debts of the united states, may probably be sunk immediately. But had they no such resource, they are very capable of bearing taxes sufficient for the purpose of a gradual redemption. Supposing their debts to amount to nine millions sterling, carrying interest at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent—taxes, producing a revenue of a million per ann. would pay the interest; and, at the same time, leave a surplus of half a million per ann. for a sinking fund, which would discharge the principal in thirteen years. A surplus of a quarter of a million would do the same in  $20\frac{1}{2}$  years. After discharging the principal, the appropriated revenue, being no longer wanted, might be abolished, and the states eased of the burden of it. But it would be imprudent to abolish it entirely. 100,000*l.* per ann. reserved and faithfully laid out in clearing unlocated lands, and other improvements, would, in a short time, increase to a treasure (or continental patrimony) which would defray the whole expenditure of the union, and keep the states free from debts and taxes for ever\*. Such a reserve would (supposing it improved so as to produce a profit of 5 per cent.) increase to a capital of three millions in 19 years, 30 millions in 57 years, 100 millions in 81 years, and 261 millions in 100 years. But supposing it capable of

## NOTE.

\* The lands, forests, imposts, &c. which once formed the patrimony of the crown in England, bore most of the expenses of government. It is well for the kingdom that the extravagance of the crown has been the means of alienating this patrimony, for the consequence has been making the crown dependent on the people. But in America, such a patrimony would be continental property, capable of being applied only to public purposes, in the way which the public (or its delegates) should approve.

being improved so as to produce a profit of 10 per cent. it would increase to five millions in 19 years, 100 millions in 49 years, and 10,000 millions in 97 years.

It is wonderful that no state has yet thought of taking this method to make itself great and rich. The smallest appropriation in a sinking fund, never diverted, operates in cancelling debts, just as money increases at compound interest; and is, therefore, omnipotent †. But, if diverted, it loses all its power. Britain affords a striking proof of this. Its sinking fund (once the hope of the kingdom) has, by the practice of alienating it, been rendered impotent and useless. Had it been inviolably applied to the purpose for which it was intended, there would, in the year 1775, have been a surplus in the revenue of more than five millions per ann. But instead of this, the nation was then encumbered with a debt of 137 millions, carrying an interest of near  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions, and leaving no surplus of any consequence. This debt has been since increased to 280 millions, carrying an interest (including expenses of management) of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  millions—a monstrous bubble: and as no effectual measures are likely to be taken (or perhaps can now be taken) for reducing it within the limits of safety, it must, some time or other, produce a dreadful convulsion. Let the united states take warning—Their debts are at present more moderate. A sinking fund, guarded ‡ against misapplications, may soon extinguish them, and prove a resource, in all events, of the greatest importance. Let such a fund be established.

## NOTES.

† One penny put out, at our Saviour's birth, at 5 per cent. compound interest, would, before this time, have increased to a greater sum than could be contained in two hundred millions of earths, all solid gold. But, if put out to simple interest, it would have amounted to no more than seven shillings and six pence. All governments, which alienate funds destined for reimbursements, choose to improve money in the last, rather than the first of these ways.

‡ When not thus guarded, public funds become the worst evils, by giving to the rulers of states a command of revenue for the purposes of corruption.



England states are peculiarly happy in this respect. Lands descend equally to all the heirs of the deceased possessor, and perpetuities are entirely barred. In Connecticut, the eldest male heir inherits two shares; this is a law, copied from the Jewish code; which the wisdom of succeeding legislatures will undoubtedly abolish. An act passed the legislature of New York, a few years past, destroying and barring entailments, and ordering that all intestate estates should descend to all the heirs, in equal portions. No act was ever better timed, or calculated to produce more salutary effects. The states of Pennsylvania and North Carolina have made it an article in their constitutions, that no estates shall be perpetual. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the constitutions of the other states, to inform whether perpetuities are barred or not; but they may be avoided by a common recovery, a fiction often practised in the English courts of law†.

But although the southern states possess too much of the aristocratic genius of European governments, yet it is probable that their future tendency will be towards republicanism. For if the African slave-trade is prohibited, it must gradually diminish the large estates which are entirely cultivated by slaves; as these will probably decrease without recruits from Africa. And it is not probable that their place can be supplied by white people, so long as vast tracts of valuable land are uncultivated, and poor people can purchase the fee of the soil.

But should the present possessors of lands continue to hold and cultivate them, still there is a new set of men springing up in the back parts of those

#### NOTES.

court. This is the same selfish principle, aiming at the same object; but, operating in a different manner, it is denominated honour. But the existence of any form of government, does not depend on any principle of action, however modified, or by whatever name distinguished.

† I was lately informed that entailments were barred in Virginia before the revolution.

states; more hardy and independent than the peasants of the low country; and more averse to aristocracy. The unhealthiness of the climate in the flat lands, is a circumstance, that will contribute to the rapid population of the mountains, where the air is more salubrious.

The idea, therefore, that the genius of the southern states is verging towards republicanism, appears to be supported by substantial reasons. It is much to be wished that such an idea might be well grounded, for nature knows no distinctions, and government ought to know none, but such as are merited by personal virtues.

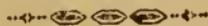
The confiscation of many large estates in every part of the union, is another circumstance favourable to an equal distribution of property. The local situation of all the states, and the genius of the inhabitants in most of them, tend to destroy all the aristocratic ideas which were introduced from our parent country.

Necessarily connected with an equal distribution of landed property, is the annihilation of all hereditary distinctions of rank. Such distinctions are inconsistent with the nature of popular governments. Whatever pretensions some states have made to the name of republics; yet those, that have permitted perpetual distinctions of property, and hereditary titles of honour, with a right of legislation annexed, certainly never deserved the name of popular governments; and they have never been able to preserve their freedom. Wherever two or more orders of men have been established, with hereditary privileges of rank, they have always quarrelled, till the power or intrigues of the superior orders, have divested the people of all their civil liberties. In some countries, they retain a show of freedom, sufficient to amuse them into obedience; but in most states, they have lost even the appearance of civil rights.

Congress, aware of the tendency of an unequal division of property, and the evils of an aristocracy, inserted a clause, in the articles of confederation, forever barring all titles of nobility in the American states; a precaution evincive, equally of the foresight, the integrity, and the re-

publican principles of that august body\*.

(To be continued.)



*Essay on national pride of character. Ascribed to Mr. John Fenno, printer of the United States' Gazette.*

"Of all men that distinguish themselves by memorable achievements, the first place of honour seems due to legislators and founders of states, who transmit a system of laws and institutions to secure the peace, happiness and liberty of future generations."

FEW nations have arrived at any great degree of eminence, without indicating a pride of character. The elevations of a proud, independent spirit, are both the cause and effect of conspicuous attainments. This passion, like all others, is an essential spring of the human machine; and cannot, strictly speaking, be denominated a virtue or a vice. Its application may produce actions, that participate of either. If it is directed to improper objects, or carried to an extreme, in a right direction, it may become detrimental, or vicious. I shall not attempt to particularize those ob-

NOTE.

\* The jealousy even of the southern states, in regard to the establishment of rank and hereditary titles, was remarkable in the opposition which appeared against the Cincinnati. The original design of that society, was not only harmless, but extremely laudable. It was a monument, raised to the memory of an army, which defended the noblest cause, ever undertaken by man. But perhaps the plan involved in it consequences, which were not apprehended by the gentlemen who formed it. There is, however, some difficulty in conceiving how a mere title, without property and legislative rights, could endanger our liberties. Evil consequences might result from such a society; but they must be extremely remote. It must require the continued efforts of several generations, to accumulate a dangerous degree of power in a society, consisting of few members, who would be scattered throughout the continent.

jects, or define those limits. It is sufficient for my present purpose, to point out some of the most obvious advantages, such a passion is capable of producing; as well as some of the inconveniences, that result from a want of it.

National pride promotes the end, and assumes the name of patriotism. It is not uncommon to see an Englishman, who has been imprisoned, scourged, prosecuted, and suffered almost every thing but crucifixion at home, after being transported a thousand leagues off, discover such proud sensations, at hearing the name of his country mentioned, that a bystander, who should presume to utter a word to the dishonour of it, would have great luck to escape without broken bones. The English must attribute a great share of their splendor and opulence to the energetic operations of this spirit. Several causes contribute to sharpen the edge of pride, in that nation, more than in some others. Perhaps the strongest and most obvious reason is the circumstance of their being situated on an island. This, by naturally disconnecting them from other nations, produces local attachments, which are more forcible and undivided, than if there was an approximation of frontiers. However, it is not material what occasions their ardour, and enterprise of temper. Its effects blaze out, and give them a rank in the world, extremely elevated.

The United States, on the other hand, have yet given very partial displays of national pride. Their military character, and the success of their arms, have not been derived from that source. Or, upon the supposition, that our independence, as a sovereign power, has been acquired by exertions owing to that impulse—we still, in a very imperfect sense, can be said to possess a pride of character. Are we independent in our laws, opinions, manners, and fashions? The fact is, that, in none of those respects, have we yet formed a distinct national character. I am not attempting to prove, that in any of those objects, we can substitute any thing intrinsically better. My view only is, to illustrate the position, that, without a peculiar national character, we cannot efficiently feel national pride; and without such a pride, we must

not expect to realize all the benefits, that solicit our acceptance.

Men, who are educated to the profession of law, are confident, that no material improvements can be made in our present systems of jurisprudence. This opinion is sanctioned by such weight of character, that it may look like presumption, in any individual, to undertake to combat it. I therefore refrain from any attempts to specify what alterations are expedient; and only suggest, that if the forms of legal process, adopted by the national government, could be in several respects different from the English practice, it would be a new proof that we deserve our independence, and furnish a new incitement to national pride and prejudice.

Our attachment likewise to foreign fashions is rather a check to the cultivation of a productive spirit. No nation should implicitly set up another, as a standard in this respect. It not only discovers a servile, dependent temper; but, abstracted from this consideration, the customs, thus introduced, are, for the most part, inapplicable to the situation of the people, who adopt them. Many of the customs, which originate in any country, are founded upon some local circumstances; which give them, at that time and place, a peculiar propriety. If they are applied in any other country, where those reasons do not exist, their application will not have a good effect. It often requires a greater degree of sagacity to apply precedents successfully, than to strike upon expedients altogether new. The reason and common sense of a people in all countries is competent to the management of their own affairs. The knowledge of the abstract sciences may safely enough be communicated from one country to another. Mathematical demonstrations will continue to be such, at all times, and in all places. But it cannot be equally safe to adopt systems or institutions, that relate to government and manners. Whether these are proper or not, must depend on the particular circumstances of any given people. They do not stand on the foundation of demonstrative truth.

The situation of a country, and the character of its inhabitants, will furnish an observing mind, with the best ma-

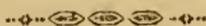
terials for framing laws and institutions. The genius of any people will lead to suitable measures, when left to itself; but when struggling under foreign prejudice or folly, its native force cannot operate. Why do we often behold men managing public affairs, who seem to be involved in mists and darkness? Is it not, sometimes, because they are overloaded with systems, which they do not understand; and are looking for precedents to countries, which bear no resemblance to their own?

The establishment of the new constitution will, with proper management, form a national character, and remove the evils we have so long suffered for the want of one. It will draw the clashing views and prejudices of the different parts of the union to a common centre. The court of the united states will be a respectable standard of national fashions. The frivolous disputes in the several states, respecting superiority in legislative knowledge, in propriety of etiquette, in elegance of taste, and refinement of manners, will gradually wear away. The national court will give a tone, that must pervade the whole; and absorb those inferior pretensions, which have hitherto prevented strength and harmony in our government. Under this impression, we indulge the patriotic hope, that the national legislature and the national court will exhibit patterns, that will deserve applause, as well as excite imitation.

No individual or community will acquire much respectability of character, till they learn to think and act for themselves. While they propose any other as an exact model of conduct, they will only make a contemptible figure, and be distracted with absurdities. Our misfortunes, in this country, have not so much originated from any extreme violence of party spirit, as from a discordant unproductive public opinion. There has been no common standard, to which the jarring prejudices could be referred, and by which they could be controlled. We have gained less advantage from our experience, than we should have done, had we not been hampered by a desire of imitating foreign laws and customs. We have studied perplexed volumes of foreign legislation, more



payable during the time of a general and national calamity, when no profit or advantage could be made of the land purchased, being of much importance to many individuals in the state, it was ably and with candour debated by the counsel on both sides, when the jury retired, and brought in a verdict, that the defendant should pay no interest from the 19th of April, 1775, to the 3d of March, 1783.



*Law case. In the court of errors and appeals of the state of Delaware.*

*Benjamin Robinson and William Robinson, appellants, against the lessee of John Adams, respondent. P. 218.*

It is agreed by the counsel for the appellants and for the respondent, that the intent of testators ought to govern in the construction of wills, except where a disposition is made contrary to law. As there is no such disposition now in question, the sole enquiry is, what was the intent of the testator?

This intent is to be collected from the entire will, and not from any disjointed parts. Technical terms are not necessary for conveying it; and if such are used, their legal acceptation may be controuled by other words, plainly declaring the meaning of the testator\*. No words are to be rejected, that can possibly have any sense assigned to them, not incompatible with clearer expressions, or manifest general intent.†

In the present instance, the testator at first certainly gives a fee simple to his son William: yet, if the devise over to Francis, "if William should die without heirs," is a substantive clause, independent of the next foregoing clause that begins with the words, "if any one of my aforesaid children should die before they come to lawful age," &c. the fee simple is turned into a fee tail. On the other hand, if these two clauses are but parts of one continued sentence, thro' the

whole of which, the testator's disposing design holds on uncompleted until the conclusion, then the fee simple remained in William, with an executory devise to Francis, dependent on the event of William's "dying without heirs" of his body, and "before he came to lawful age."

It has been strongly objected by the respondent's counsel, "that the construction, urged for the appellants, breaks through the words of the will, to let in an estate by implication, under the notion of a power being vested in judges to determine the intention of the testator, by adding to or taking from his words—A construction so severe, that it may well be compared to the bed of Procrustes—if the expression is too short, rack it out—if too long, lop off part."

The power of judges would, indeed, be as exceptionable as it is represented, if as extensive as it is supposed to be, in the objection: But, the alteration of words by judges in considering wills, is not made, strictly speaking, to discover the intention of testators, but only to express it properly, when discovered. They do not introduce a supposed intention, but wait upon the true intention.

It was observed in answer to this objection, by the learned gentleman who replied for the appellants, "that the respondent's council themselves make use of implications in sustaining their own construction; for, in order to form the estate tail, asserted by them to be limited to William Bagwell, they are obliged to add to this clause, "and likewise if William Bagwell should die without heirs" these words—"of his body;" and again, to render their construction consistent with reason, they are compelled to allow that the limitation over to Francis gives him a fee tail, according to the intention of the testator, though only an estate for life, according to the words of the will."

There is great weight in this observation. It proves the will to be so defective in expression, that, tho' the two parties are led into opposite deductions, yet each of them is under a necessity of being guided by implications. Nor, is the use of implications, while bounded by legal li-

#### NOTES.

\* 2 Blackstone, 379. 2 Burr. 770. 1 Vez. 142. Douglals 309, 327. Cowper 239, 659. Vin. tit. Devise, 181.

† Cases temp. Talbot, 29. 6 Mod. 112.

mits, to be condemned; because, they are to be admitted only for effectuating the general intent of testators. †

We must therefore still recur to the original question—what was the intention of the testator?

The attempt of the respondent's counsel to shew, that William was of age, at the making of the will, is ingenious. However, the fact is not found, and we cannot suppose it. Indeed it appears to be contradicted by these words—"All the rest of my personal estate, I give unto my wife and my six aforesaid children, to be equally divided among them, to them and their heirs forever, (viz.) Thomas, William, Francis, John, Ann, and Valiance Bagwell. I set my boys at age at eighteen, and girls at sixteen, and their estate to be divided presently after my decease, by my friends, &c. whom I leave as overseers over my children," &c. Here the word "their" plainly refers to his "boys" under eighteen, and the words, "estate to be divided presently," &c. refer to the foregoing words, "to be equally divided among them," &c. and as William is named as one of the "six aforesaid children," among whom the residue of the personal estate was thus "to be equally divided," &c. he and the other five children seem to be classed together, as being all under age.

It is true, that these words, "if any one of my aforesaid children should die before they come to lawful age, their lands to go to the survivors," do not prove, by their relation to what went before, that William was then under age, though he was one of the "aforesaid children;" for, as was observed by the respondent's counsel, the words may well be satisfied, if only some of them were under age. But these words, taken in connexion with those that precede, and with those that follow them, acquire a very different and a decisive force.

The directions at first are only general, relating, without name, to "any one of the aforesaid children," and without distinction "to the survivors." These general terms are immediately succeeded by this expla-

NOTE.

† 1 Burr. 50, 51.

natory specification—"that is, if Thomas should die before he comes to lawful age, I give his share of land, where William now lives, to my daughter, Elizabeth Tilney, to her and her lawfully begotten heirs of her body forever; provided Thomas have heirs before he comes to lawful age, then to him and his heirs forever; and likewise, if William Bagwell should die without heirs, to go to Francis; and if Ann should die without heirs, to go to Valiance, and if John should die, before he come to lawful age, without heirs, then his share of land here where I now live, I give to my daughter Comfort Leatherberry, to her and her lawfully begotten heirs of her body forever."

Construing these words, "that is," according to the common manner of speaking, and so they ought to be construed, it is plain, that the testator designed in his subsequent words to be more particular or exact than he had yet been; and as in these, he mentions William again, and makes a substitution in case of his dying, it is evident, that William was meant by the testator, as "one" of his "aforesaid children," whose lands, if they "should die before they came to lawful age" should "go to the survivors."

It is remarkable, how much pains the testator employed in this part of his will, to prevent his meaning from being mistaken. In the limitation over, if Thomas should die, he applies his former directions, thus—"that is, if Thomas should die before he comes to lawful age, I give his share of land to my daughter Elizabeth Tilney," &c. And then, to guard against a misconstruction of these words, whereby Thomas's issue might be disinherited, in case Thomas should die before he came to lawful age, leaving issue, subjoins—"provided Thomas have heirs before he comes to lawful age, then to him and his heirs forever."

No point of law can be clearer, than that this devise gives a fee simple to Thomas, with an executory devise to Elizabeth Tilney, if Thomas should die without heirs of his body, and before he should come to lawful age. Why should not the like provision be extended to the case of William,

when the testator, after this full exposition of his mind, with regard to substitution, instantly adds—"and likewise, if William Bagwell should die without heirs, to go to Francis." The most obvious and natural construction of these words, is, that William's estate should be no otherwise affected by the limitation over to Francis, than Thomas's was by the limitation over to Elizabeth; though perhaps the testator meant, that Francis should take such an estate, as Elizabeth would take on a similar contingency.

This construction is further recommended by this consideration, that the limitation over to Francis is nonsense, it not being said what is "to go" to him, unless it refer to the preceding words. The very imperfection in this part of the will carries strong evidence in it, that the testator, at the instant of using this expression, united it in his idea to the antecedent part, especially as he employs the same peculiarity of phrase for transferring the estate in both places.

The beginning of this explanation states Thomas to be under age. The conclusion of it states John to be under age. Between these are comprehended the provisions respecting William and Ann. From first to last the words are all connected by the word "and" without the intervention of any stop. If then the two extremes relate to persons under age, and are confessedly explanatory of the general directions first mentioned, the intermediate parts must also refer to persons under age, and be explanatory of the same directions, as to them; for there is no period, at which the explanation rests, before the end of the devise to Comfort Leatherberry.

*To be continued.*



## RURAL CONCERNS.

*Easy and effectual mode of destroying worms.*

**B**URY the belly or paunch of a wether, newly killed, with all its contents, in the centre of the place infested by them. Within two days they will all gather there, and may be killed with ease.

*Directions for the breeding and management of silk worms. Extracted from the treatises of abbe Boissier de Sauvages and Pulein: and published, anno 1770, by order of the Philadelphia society for promoting the culture of silk.—Page 301.*

### SECTION IV.

*Directions how to manage during the first, second, and third ages.*

1. **A**S each remove you make, of the new-hatched worms, according to the directions, given in the second section, you deposit them apart to be taken care of. For this end, you must have in readiness a sufficient number of tablets, like that already described, with ledges of two inches height, and the bottom covered with brown paper. They may be about three feet long, and eighteen inches wide. Upon these tablets the young insects are to be deposited, beginning at one end, and spreading them thin upon the bottom from side to side, and giving them immediately a mess of young and tender leaves, shred small, and strewed over them. Thus you proceed, till one tablet is full, and covered with leaves, strewed over the worms, from end to end; and then, if need be, go on in like manner to a second, and a third tablet, until all your eggs are hatched, and the worms properly disposed of.

2. The reason of directing them to be fed at this time, is, not only to satisfy their present appetite, but chiefly to prevent their crawling over the ledges of their tablet, and so losing themselves. The small fibres of the leaves remain, and make a litter, which the worms will never desert, unless attracted by fresh leaves, and in one or two other circumstances, which will be noted hereafter.

3. It is of great importance to have the worms conducted so that they may grow equally, and go through each moulting, nearly at the same time. With a small quantity, this may easily be done; but if your brood be very numerous, it will not be so easy to keep them equal. In this case, therefore, it is best to divide your stock into classes, making the first class to consist of those worms which come out on the first day of hatching;

the second class to be leaved the second day; and so on. The classes, thus made, will never be more than three; because, if you have managed with care and discretion, your worms will be all out on the second, or, at farthest, on the third day; and indeed, if it should happen that any remain to be hatched after that time, it will never be worth while to raise them; they would only prove a useless embarrassment, and therefore it were best to throw them away.

4. Then, in order to make those of a class to thrive equally, you bring forward the less thrifty, by giving them one or two degrees of warmth, more than you give the rest. This will increase their appetite, which must be supplied accordingly; and thus, in two or three days, with skill and attention, the worms of a class may be brought to such an equality, as will make all the future management regular and easy. They will go through their several ages without confusion, will moult all on the same days, and be ready to spin all together; and the several classes will keep a regular distance, one from another.

5. To render this management easily practicable, each class should be subdivided upon different tablets, which may be exposed to greater or less degrees of heat, as occasion shall require.

6. A great deal depends upon the choice of a proper room for the nursery of silk-worms. The chief requisites in such a room are these—1<sup>st</sup>, It should be dry, and sheltered from easterly winds; 2<sup>d</sup>, it should be so situated as to admit, occasionally, a draught of cool fresh air, which is best when it comes through a long entry that is kept clean and dry; 3<sup>d</sup>, it should have at least one fire place; 4<sup>th</sup>, the ceiling should be high, and either not so tight as to confine the air, or else there should be an opening in it like a trap door, to let the air circulate freely, and prevent a stifling kind of warmth; it is best when this trap door opens into a garret or another chamber overhead; 5<sup>th</sup>, the sides of the room should be tight; and lastly, it should be kept dark, except when you have occasion to visit and examine the nursery.

7. In such a room, the warmer your brood is kept, the better it will

thrive. The life of a silk-worm may be abridged or prolonged, within a certain compass, almost at pleasure. The faster they eat, the faster they live; and their appetite is always in proportion to the degree of warmth in which they live, provided it be not a stifling warmth; and they should always be fed in proportion to their appetite. Thus, by duly regulating the heat, you may either bring these insects to the end of their fifth age in less than five and twenty days, or you may make them live fourscore. A middle way is the least liable to accidents; it is therefore advisable, during the first three days, to give them a warmth of about 30 or 32 degrees; and for the rest of their life, about 24 or 26 degrees\*. And, in this way, they will take about thirty or thirty-five days to go through their five ages.

8. During the three first ages, they should be fed six or eight times a day, shredding the leaves small at first, and cutting them into larger pieces, in proportion as the worms grow bigger. Each mess of food is to be strewed equally over them, and a new mess should not be given, till the last is devoured.

9. Care should be taken not to let the litter grow too thick, and once in two or three days to remove it, and keep the worms, by this means, upon clean tablets; with this additional caution, that if they are crowded, they should be allowed more room, by making two tablets contain those which at first were spread upon one, &c.—To enter into a minute detail of the methods commonly used in these cases, would be tedious; I shall therefore leave them to the fancy and sagacity of the reader to choose for himself.

10. When the worms are near moulting, their appetite always increases, and therefore, the quantity of food in each mess should be proportionably augmented. This ravenous appetite returns in every age, some time before the moulting in the four first ages, and before the spinning in the last age. On the decline of this voracity, the worms begin to acquire a degree of

## NOTE.

\* These are the degrees of the regulator described in page 153.

transparency; they are turgid, and ready to cast their skin. And then you stop feeding them, and take care immediately to give them a clean tablet. If you delay to do this, you must not move them at all; for no sooner do they cease eating, than they begin to prepare for moulting. This they do by fastening themselves to the bottom of their tablet by fine threads of silk, that so, their old skin being tied down, they may with the more ease crawl out of it. And, therefore, to move them after this is begun, would hazard their suffocation.

11. The moulting of a whole class should be finished in thirty hours, or less: and if any remain, that have not moulted in that time, it is best, either to throw them away, or else to make a small class of them apart from the rest. By thirty hours, I mean from the time of their beginning to moult, which, with the degree of warmth, mentioned in the seventh article of this section, will be about the ninth day from the worms coming out of the eggs. On this occasion, if there be room at the sides of the tablet, they are apt to quit the litter, and betake themselves to the first clear spot, that offers for fastening themselves down, against the crisis comes on, in which they are to languish a while, and then to renew their vigour by crawling out of their old skin.

12. One caution more, with regard to feeding the worms, should be remembered; and that is, for a day or two after each moulting, to give them young and tender leaves; and, at all times, to be careful, that the leaves, on which they feed, be dry; that is, free from the moisture, that arises either from the dew, or from showers of rain.

#### SECTION V.

*Directions how to manage during the fourth and fifth ages.*

1. THE hints, given in the last section, may serve to direct the attentive reader in the most material things necessary to be observed during the three first ages; and several rules, already laid down, must be attended to in every age. In this section, therefore, I shall only mention a few things, which are requisite in the two last ages, but were unnecessary in the preceding ones.

2. Hitherto, the worms have been kept upon tablets, which were handy, and easily moved into a cooler or a warmer birth, as occasion might require. But now the worms are so much grown, that you must place them upon larger tables, which need not be moveable. In the construction of these tables, it may be worth while to have an eye to those accommodations which will be useful, when the worms are to be set a spinning. The apparatus, which I am going to describe, may perhaps be more complex than is always necessary; but it will be found very convenient, where you can afford it, and especially when your brood is numerous; besides, in the execution of it, the construction will be found easier than it may appear in the description.

3. With pieces of joice, three inches square, make a standing frame, which may be put together, like a bedstead, with cross and side pieces, of the same thickness, running level, from post to post, all round, at about three feet from the floor. If your frame is twelve feet long, you must have one middle post in each side, and more, in proportion, if it be longer. Each pair of these middle posts must be connected, like the corner ones, by a cross-piece, or inter-tie, running from one to the other. Thus the inter-ties will divide your frame lengthways into equal spaces of six feet each, the thickness of the inter-ties included. The inter-ties, at each end of the frame, and from one middle post to another, must be let into the posts, one inch higher than the side-pieces. Between every two of these inter-ties, let in three more, to rest, at equal distances, upon the side-pieces, by a shoulder, of one inch thick. Thus there will be laid, the whole length of your frame, an even floor of joice, running from side to side, and leaving an interval of fifteen inches between every two. Let this floor be now completed by slipping in (between each pair of joice) a board, one inch thick, fifteen inches wide, and, in length, equal to the width of the frame from out to out, so as to fill up every interval; this floor will be about three feet from the ground. Eighteen or twenty inches higher, frame in a second, in all respects like the former;

at a like distance above the second, put a third; and so on to the top of your frame.

These floors, or stages, one above another, are to serve as tablets, upon which, after the third moulting, you are to spread your worms, taking care to leave a clear margin, fifteen inches wide, all along each side; for, as the worms grow bigger, they will want more room. If you had nothing farther in view, than the present use of such a frame of tables, it might have been much more simply constructed, and, in particular, without such a number of inter-ties; but the farther utility of the construction, here described, will appear in the next section. It now only remains to fix the dimensions of this frame. This must be done by considering the quantity of worms that you breed, and the size of the room which you select for a nursery. Let the frame, then, be always about six feet wide; as long as the room will admit, leaving a free passage round, at each end, as well as at the sides; and high enough (if your brood be numerous) to reach from the floor to within one foot or two of the ceiling.

Observe, that the joice are to be laid in every stage alike; but, in the uppermost, the intervals are to be left open; no worms are to be spread upon this stage, but the inter-ties are to serve a purpose which will be explained hereafter.

(To be continued.)



*Letter on the use of plaster of Paris, as a manure. From George Logan, esq. to the Philadelphia county society for the promotion of agriculture and domestic manufactures.*

Gentlemen,

**H**AVING, for four years past, made use of a large quantity of plaster of Paris, or gypsum, as a manure upon a variety of soils, and under different circumstances—I beg leave to lay before you the result of my experiments, together with some observations, respecting the nature of this fossil. I am the more anxious to comply with my duty to the society in this respect, because many of our fellow-citizens are losing the great advantage to be derived from the use

of this manure; entertaining an opinion, that it does not, in itself, contain any nutriment to plants, but that it acts merely as a stimulus to the soil, by which, although vegetation is for a short time rapidly promoted, yet the ground becomes exhausted, and is left a dead inert mass.

1. In the year 1785, I sowed three acres of a light singlass soil, containing a little clay, with barley and clover. In the month of April, the following year, I divided the field into three parts, and strewed six bushels of French gypsum, on No. 1; the same quantity of the American gypsum, brought from the Bay of Fundy, on No. 2; and left the intermediate space, No. 3, without any. On cutting the first crop, that year, little difference could be observed; the second crop produced double the quantity of grass, where the gypsum had been put; and the succeeding year, the difference was still greater in favour of this manure. Early in October, 1787, the clover lay was ploughed once, about four inches deep, was sowed with rye, and in that rough state was harrowed. The rye was of a superior quality, and double the quantity on No. 1 and 2, of that on No. 3. After harvest, the rye-stubble was ploughed, and sowed with buck-wheat, when a striking difference was still observable in favour of the gypsum, and which continues in the present crop of Indian corn.

2. In April, 1787, I sowed three acres of potatoe ground (a light loam) with barley and clover. Just as the barley was above ground, some gypsum was strewed diagonally across the field, about eight feet wide. Little or no difference could be observed in the barley; but in the month of September following, there was a striking difference in the clover, in favour of the manure, which would have afforded a good crop of hay, whilst the remainder of the field was but indifferent. I have frequently put gypsum upon grain, without observing any immediate difference, in the appearance of the crops.

3. In April, 1786, six acres of a poor singlass soil, situated on Germantown hill, were sowed with oats, the ground not having been manured for twenty years; it produced a

crop not paying expenses. In April, 1787, one half of the field was covered with gypsum, six bushels to the acre. The latter end of the same summer, that part, on which the manure had been put, produced good pasture of blue grass and white clover, whilst the remainder afforded little but a few scattered weeds. In October, the field was ploughed once, and sowed with rye; at harvest, the former produced ten bushels to the acre, the latter not above five.

4. A field of 15 acres, a light loam, was, in April, 1784, sowed with barley and clover, the produce only twenty bushels to the acre, the ground not having been sufficiently manured. In 1785, it produced a good first, and a tolerable second crop of clover. In 1786, the first crop but tolerable; the second very indifferent, and therefore pastured. In the spring 1787, I wished to try if gypsum would not renew the clover. In the month of April, the whole field was covered with gypsum, six bushels to the acre, except the width of twenty feet, through the middle of the field. St. John's wort, mullain, and other weeds, had taken such possession of the ground, that, although the manure produced a great luxuriance of grass, yet, being full of weeds, it did not answer for hay; and therefore was pastured until October, 1788: the whole was then ploughed eight inches deep, with a strong three horse Dutch plough: last April, it was well harrowed, and cross ploughed, four inches deep, with a light two-horse plough, leaving the sod at the bottom. The field was sowed with spring barley; at harvest, the difference of the crop was astonishingly great in favour of the part where the gypsum had been put, two years before. This ground is now under wheat and winter barley, which have a promising appearance: the rotted sod, being turned up and mixed with the soil, affords a strong nourishment to the present crop.

5. I put a quantity of gypsum, three years ago, on several small patches of a tough sod; it produced a difference in the strength of vegetation, which is still observable.

From the above related experiments it appears—

1. That there is no difference be-

tween the European and American gypsum.

2d. That gypsum acts as an immediate manure to grass, and afterwards in an equal degree to grain.

3d. That one dressing will continue in force several succeeding crops.

Gypsum not producing any remarkably beneficial effects, when used as a top dressing to grain, may arise from two causes; first, from the small quantity made use of, which is lost in the rough ground; and secondly, from the short time of its application. It has been found of advantage to Indian corn, but in this case, it is absolutely necessary to apply it immediately to the corn, as it appears above ground, and that in a considerable quantity—I have put it on grass ground every month in the year, except during the severity of winter, and have found, that early in April is preferable to any other season; at which time, the grass just shooting, the small particles of the gypsum are detained about the roots, and prevented from washing away. On stiff clay soils, it will produce an increase of vegetation, but not sufficient to pay the expense of the manure.

It may be difficult to point out the origin of gypsum, or to ascertain clearly the principle, on which its nutritive quality to vegetables depends: we shall however with diffidence submit our conjectures on this subject to the consideration of the society.

Gypsum, which has acquired the name of *plaster of Paris*, from its abounding in the neighbourhood of that city, is of a stony nature, yet soft, and easy to be scraped with a knife. It is found in many parts of the earth, in very great quantities, forming hills of a considerable extent, as in the vicinity of Paris, in the Bay of Fundy, in Russia, and in many other parts of the world. It is found under different appearances—

1st. Crystallized into transparent plates, which can be easily separated with a knife, and which in some parts of Russia, are said to be so large, as to answer the purpose of glass.

2d. Of a fibrous texture, and composed of oblong concretions, lying across the mass.

3d. Composed of small crystalline grains; this species is called *alabaster*,



VALUE OF IMPORTS INTO ENGLAND FROM AMERICA FOR ELEVEN YEARS,

*As submitted to the inspection of the British parliament.*

Colonies.	1763	1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	1773
New-England,	£. 71,253	£. 92,593	£. 150,690	£. 146,318	£. 132,694	£. 150,898	£. 133,788	£. 154,398	£. 158,218	£. 132,082	£. 128,003
New-York,	53,988	53,697	54,959	67,020	61,422	87,115	73,466	69,882	95,875	82,707	76,246
Pennsylvania,	38,228	36,258	25,148	26,851	37,641	59,406	26,111	28,109	31,615	29,133	36,652
Virginia & Maryl.	642,294	459,408	505,671	460,754	437,926	406,048	361,892	435,094	577,848	528,404	589,803
Carolina,	382,366	341,727	385,918	291,519	395,027	508,108	387,114	278,907	420,311	425,923	456,513
	1,098,129	1,083,683	1,122,386	992,462	1,064,710	1,211,575	982,371	966,390	1,283,867	1,198,249	1,287,217

VALUE OF EXPORTS FROM ENGLAND TO AMERICA FOR ELEVEN YEARS.

Colonies.	1763	1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	1773
New-England,	£. 258,854	£. 462,573	£. 455,526	£. 424,727	£. 421,067	£. 426,349	£. 214,675	£. 400,511	£. 1,420,119	£. 826,394	£. 529,187
New-York,	238,560	515,416	382,349	330,829	417,957	482,930	74,918	475,991	653,621	343,970	289,214
Pennsylvania,	284,152	435,191	363,368	327,314	371,830	432,107	199,909	134,881	728,744	507,909	426,448
Virginia & Maryl.	555,391	515,192	382,224	372,548	437,628	475,954	488,362	717,782	920,326	793,910	328,904
Carolina,	250,132	305,808	334,709	296,732	244,093	289,868	306,600	146,273	409,169	449,610	344,159
	1,587,089	2,234,180	1,919,176	1,732,150	1,892,575	2,107,408	1,284,464	1,875,428	4,131,979	2,921,798	1,917,912



with several noblemen, knights, and esquires. Afterwards, by the interest of his patron, Robert, earl of Salisbury, he was made one of the clerks of the privy council; and, in 1617, September the 29th, received the honour of knighthood, from his majesty, at Hampton-court. On the 15th of February, 1618-19, he was appointed one of the principal secretaries of state. He was sworn the seventeenth of the same month, into this important office; which he discharged with great trust and industry. As a reward for it, the king granted him, May 2, 1620, a yearly pension of a thousand pounds, out of the customs. But, after having enjoyed that place about five years, he willingly resigned it in 1624; freely owning to his majesty, that he was become a Roman Catholic; so that he must either be wanting to his trust, or violate his conscience, in discharging his office. This ingenuous confession so affected king James, that he continued him privy counsellor all his reign; and, on the sixteenth of February, 1624-5, created him (by the name of sir George Calvert, of Danby-wiske, in Yorkshire, knight) baron of Baltimore, in the county of Longford, in Ireland. He was at that time one of the representatives in parliament for the university of Oxford. While he was secretary, he obtained a patent, for him and his heirs, to be absolute lord and proprietor (with the royalties of a count palatine) of the province of Avalon, in Newfoundland: which was so named by him, from Avalon, in Somersetshire, where, in Glassonbury stands, the first-fruits of christianity in Britain, as the other was, in that part of America. Here he built a fine house in Ferryland, and spent 25,000*l.* in advancing this new plantation. After the death of king James, he went twice in person to Newfoundland; and when monsieur d'Alarade, with three men of war, sent from the king of France, had reduced the English fishermen to great extremity, this lord, with two ships manned at his own expense, chased away the French, relieved the English, and took sixty of the French prisoners. However, finding his plantation very much exposed to the insults of the French, he was, at last,

forced to abandon it. Upon this, he went over to Virginia, and, after having viewed those parts, came to England, and obtained from king Charles I. (who had as great a regard and affection for him, as king James) a patent, to him and his heirs, for Maryland, on the north of Virginia; with the same title and royalties as had been conferred upon him, with respect to Avalon aforementioned. He died in London, April 15, 1632, in the 51st year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St. Dunstan's in the west, in Fleet-street. As to sir George Calvert's character; one historian\*, who hardly speaks well of any body, calls him "an Hispaniolized Papist." But others † tell us in his praise, "that though he was a Roman Catholic, yet he kept himself sincere and disengaged from all interests; and was the only statesman, that, being engaged to a decried party, managed his business with that great respect for all sides, that all, who knew him, applauded him; and none, that had any thing to do with him, complained of him." He was a man of great sense, but not obstinate in his sentiments, taking as great pleasure in hearing others' opinions, as in delivering his own. Whilst he was secretary of state, he carried every night to the king a digested and exact account of affairs, and took the pains to examine himself the letters that were of any consequence. Judge Popham and he agreed in the public design of foreign plantations, but differed in the manner of managing them. The first was for extirpating the original inhabitants, the second for converting them: the former sent the lawdest people to those places; the latter was for the soberest: the one was for present profit, the other for a reasonable expectation; liking to have but few governors, and those not interested merchants, but unconcerned gentlemen; granting liberties with great

## NOTES.

\* Arthur Wilson, in the life and reign of king James I. in the Complete History of England, edit. 1706, vol. ii. p. 705.

† Particularly dr. Lloyd, in p. 752.



He returned from England, and landed at Philadelphia, December 26<sup>th</sup>, 1765. Upon his arrival, he entered immediately upon the business of his mission; and alas! but just lived long enough to shew, by the goodness of his temper, the purity of his morals, the cheerfulness and affability of his conversation, the sublimity and soundness of his doctrines, and the warmth of his pulpit compositions, how well he was qualified for the sacred office, to which he had now wholly devoted himself. He died October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1767, lamented by all that knew him; and by none more earnestly and affectionately, than by his own congregations, whom he had not yet served two years!



## THE HISTORICAL COLLECTOR. No. I.

To the printer.

SIR,  
IF the following collection merits a place in your museum, please insert it. I shall furnish you with a similar one monthly, whilever it may prove agreeable to your readers.

HISTORICUS.

Nov. 20, 1789.

1.

### *Horrid barbarity.*

A Captain of a slave ship, whose water was nearly exhausted, and who expected a mortality among his slaves, threw one hundred of them overboard. The loss was hereby to fall on the underwriters, who, had they died on board, would not have been obliged to pay for them!

2.

### *A monster of cruelty.*

THE mate of a ship, engaged in the slave trade, who was in the long-boat, purchased a young woman, with a fine child, of about a year old, in her arms. In the night, the child cried much, and disturbed his sleep. He rose up in great anger, and swore, that if the child did not cease making such a noise, he would presently silence it. The child continued to cry. At length he rose up a second time, tore the child from the mother, and threw it into the sea. The child was soon silenced indeed; but it was not so easy to pacify the woman.

She was too valuable to be thrown overboard; and he was obliged to bear the sound of her lamentations, until he could put her on board his ship.

3.

### *Revenge.*

SOME years since, in one of the French West India islands, a slave was tortured for a slight offence, of which he was not even guilty. Stung with resentment—and agitated by the feelings of a Zanga, he seized upon the children of his cruel and unfeeling oppressor; and carried them on the roof of the house. When the tyrant master was approaching to enter his dwelling, he beheld his youngest son dashed to pieces at his feet; he lifted up his eyes, and saw the second falling likewise. Seized with despair, he fell on his knees to implore, in great agitation, the life of the third: but the fall also of the last of his offspring, together with that of the revengeful negro, plunged him into the lowest abyss of misery and despair.

4.

### *Noble instance of magnanimity.*

THE Elizabeth, an English man of war, would infallibly have been lost in the shoals, on the coast of Florida, in 1746, had not captain Edwards ventured into the Havanna. It was in time of war, and the port belonged to the enemy. 'I come,' said the captain, to the governor, 'to deliver up my ship, my sailors, my soldiers, and myself, into your hands. I only ask the lives of my men.' 'No'—said the Spanish commander: 'I will not be guilty of so dishonourable an action. Had we taken you in fight, in open sea, or upon our coasts, your ship would have been ours, and you would be our prisoners. But, as you are driven in by stress of weather, and are come hither for fear of being cast away, I do, and ought, to forget that my nation is at war with yours. You are men, and so are we: you are in distress, and have a right to our pity. You are at liberty to unload and refit your vessel; and, if you want it, you may trade in this port, to pay your charges: you may then go away, and you will have a pass to carry you safe beyond the Bermudas. If, after this, you are taken,

you will be a lawful prize; but, at this moment, I see in Englishmen, only strangers, for whom humanity claims our assistance.'

5.

*Extraordinary discovery of murder.*

ON the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1767, I, Johannes Demarest, coroner of the county of Bergen, and province of New Jersey, was present at a view of the body of one Nicholas Tuers, (then lying dead,) together with the jury, which I summoned to enquire of the death of the said Nicholas Tuers. At that time, a negro man, named Harry, belonging to Hendrick Christians Zabriskie, was suspected of having murdered said Tuers, but there was no proof of it, and the negro denied it. I asked, if he was not afraid to touch Tuers? He said no, he had not hurt him: and immediately came up to the corpse, lying in the coffin; and then Staats Storm, one of the jurors, said, 'I am not afraid of him,' and stroked the dead man's face with his hand, which made no alteration in the dead person, and (as I did not put any faith in any of those trials) my back was turned towards the dead body, when the jury ordered the negro to touch the dead man's face with his hand, and then I heard a cry in the room, of the people, saying, 'he is the man,' and I was desired to come to the dead body; and was told that the said negro Harry had put his hand on Tuers's face, and that the blood immediately ran out of the nose of the dead man, Tuers. I saw the blood on his face, and ordered the negro to rub his hand again on Tuers's face; he did so, and immediately the blood again ran out of the said Tuers's nose, at both nostrils, near a common table spoonful at each nostril, as well as I could judge. Whereupon the people all charged him with being the murderer, but he denied it for a few minutes, and THEN CONFESSED THAT HE HAD MURDERED THE SAID NICHOLAS TUERS, by first striking him on the head with an axe, and then driving a wooden pin in his ear; though afterwards he said he struck a second time with his axe, and then held him fast till he had done struggling; when

that was done, he awaked some of the family, and said Tuers was dying, he believed.

JOHANNES DEMAREST, COR.

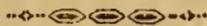
6.

*Account of an extraordinary adventure. Extracted from an authentic work, published in France, under the title, "Les causes celebres."*

TWO Parisian merchants, strongly united in friendship, had each one child of different sexes, who early contracted a strong inclination for each other, which was cherished by the parents, and they were flattered with the expectations of being joined together for life. Unfortunately, at the time they thought themselves on the point of completing this long-wished for union, a man, far advanced in years, and possessed of an immense fortune, cast his eyes on the young lady, and made honourable proposals; her parents could not resist the temptation of a son-in-law, in such affluent circumstances, and forced her to comply. As soon as the knot was tied, she strictly enjoined her former lover never to see her, and patiently submitted to her fate: but the anxiety of her mind preyed on her body, which threw her into a lingering disorder, that apparently carried her off, and she was consigned to her grave. As soon as this melancholy event reached the lover, his affliction was doubled, being deprived of all hopes of her widowhood: but recollecting, that in her youth, she had been for some time in a lethargy, his hopes revived, and hurried him to the place of her burial, where a good bribe procured him the sexton's permission to dig her up, which he performed, and removed her to a place of safety, where, by proper methods, he revived the almost extinguished spark of life. Great was her surprise at finding the state she had been in: and probably as great was her pleasure, at the means by which she had been recalled from the grave. As soon as she was sufficiently recovered, the lover laid his claim, and his reasons, supported by a powerful inclination on her side, were too strong for her to resist; but as France was no longer a place of safety for them, they agreed to remove to England, where they continued ten years, when a strong inclination of revisiting their

native country seized them, which they thought they might safely gratify, and accordingly performed their voyage.

The lady was so unfortunate as to be known by her old husband, whom she met in a public walk, and all her endeavours to disguise herself were ineffectual: he laid his claim to her, before a court of justice, and the lover defended his right, alleging, the husband, by burying her, had forfeited his title, and that he had acquired a just one, by freeing her from the grave, and delivering her from the jaws of death. These reasons, whatever weight they might have in a court where love presided, seemed to have little effect on the grave sages of the law: and the lady, with her lover, not thinking it safe to wait the determination of the court, prudently retired a second time out of the kingdom.



## THE GLEANER OF SCRAPS.

No 1.

1.

### *A slave's muzzle.*

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the recommendations of the word of God, "not to muzzle even the ox, when he treadeth out the corn," nor "to rebuke the needy passenger, who plucks an ear of wheat for his necessity," yet in Jamaica, and in other islands, the poor African, whose lot is cast in the most severe of all cases, hard labour, without pity or reward, is not suffered, either through hunger or desire, to taste the growing work, that ripens under his hand. The threat—the terror of the lash, and even its severer smart, are not enough to satisfy the planter's avarice; the slave's mouth must be muzzled. The instrument is of iron; an oval rim, about half an inch broad, surrounds the face; the lower part of which, as high as the bottom of the nose, is filled up with a thin plate of iron, perforated with small holes, on the inside of which is fixed a square piece of iron, which runs into the mouth, and presses down the tongue to its roots. This mask is fastened on thus; from the forehead runs an iron as broad as the above rim, over the head, and down behind to the collar bone, where it meets two similar rims, that come

from the bottom, near the cheeks, round the neck, and join behind, through an eye in the back rim, whereupon is fixed a padlock; the weight of which is discretionary.

This muzzle has another use, viz. to prevent our injured fellow creatures from being heard when they are writhing under the severity of the merciless lash—*Kingston, April 11, 1789.*

e.

### *The fate of genius.*

**M**ANY a wise head, and many a worthy heart, are doomed to ache with the pressure of human sufferings, living in misery, and dying in obscurity and want, while the dullest worms of mortality fatten on the marrow of prosperity, living to themselves alone, with minds incapable of expanding, and forbidden by sordid principles to do good and benefit mankind.—The following short, but melancholy list, proves the justice of a remark which wounds sensibility:

Plautus turned a mill; Terence was a slave; Boethius died in a jail; Paolo Borghere had 14 different trades, yet starved with them all; Tasso was often distressed for five shillings; Benvogliolo was refused admission into an hospital he had himself erected; Cervantes died of hunger; Camoens ended his days in an alms-house; and Vaugelas left his body to the surgeons, to pay his debts, as far as it would go!

3.

*"Unthought-of frailties cheat us in the wife."*

**I**T is even so—for who could suppose that the following pictures came, not from the pencil of malignity, but of truth?—Who could imagine that Locke was fond of romances?—that Newton gave implicit credit to the dreams of judicial astrology?—that dr. Clarke valued himself much more on his agility, than on his science—and that Pope was such an epicure, that when on a visit to lord Bolingbroke, it was his custom to lie whole days in bed, unless when his servant informed him, there was stewed lamprey for dinner?—yet all these things were so.

This picture of human frailty may be extended, as the portraits are numerous. Queen Elizabeth was a coquette—and Bacon received a bribe!

—on the eve of an important battle, the duke of Marlborough was heard to chide his servant for lighting four candles in his tent, at a time when he had an important conference with prince Eugene. Luther was so immoderately passionate, that he sometimes boxed Melancton's ears—and Melancton himself was a believer in dream. Cardinals Richlieu and Mazarine were so superstitious as to employ and pension Morin, a pretender to astrology, who calculated their nivities. Tacitus, who appears in general superior to superstition, was grossly infected by it in particular instances. Dryden was also a believer in astrology, and Hobbes firmly believed the existence of goblins and spirits.



## FRAGMENTS.

1.

### *The unfeeling father.*

\*\*\*\*\* “DOES nature refuse to plead for me,” (said Miranda, kneeling before him) “or does she plead in vain?” “You broke the sacred bonds of nature,” said the old man, when you left a father's fond protection, and a mother's tender care, to pursue the fortune of the only man on earth, whom they detested.” “An heavenly father,” exclaimed Miranda, “forgives the sins of his children: and shall an earthly parent deny the charitable boon a repentant child demands of him?” “To that heavenly father, then,” replied he, “I recommend you; my doors are no longer open to receive you; I have made a vow, which shall never be broken. Let the friends of your husband protect his darling—you are mine no more.” “But these children, sir—Alas! what have they done? Leave *me* to the cruel fate that awaits me; but suffer not *them* to perish.”

“They are none of mine,” said the stern parent; “I will never press them in my arms—they shall never sit upon my knees. I will foster no more ingratitude. Let him, who begot them, take the spade and mattock, and get them bread. No office is beneath the affection of a parent, when children have not been ungrateful—I am yours no more.”

This was the fatal dialogue between Miranda and her father, in the porch of his house; for she was admitted no further. He shut the door against her; and retired to his chamber. The wind blew, and the rain beat hard, and she dared not encounter the tempest; she remained in the porch—pressed her shivering babes to her bosom, and hoped that the morning's dawn would bring mercy along with it. But, when the morning dawned, she was no more! The servants found her a clay-cold corpse, and the two children, weeping beside it.

When Malvolio was called to see the spectacle, he sunk down on the floor: life, indeed, returned, but peace abandoned him forever. He loves the children; but says, heaven, in all its stores of mercies, has not one for him.

2.

### *The stroke of death.*

\*\*\*\*\* I Am now worth one hundred thousand pounds, said old Gregory, as he ascended a hill, part of an estate he had just purchased.

I am now worth one hundred thousand pounds, and am *but* 65 years of age, hale and robust in my constitution; so I'll eat, and I'll drink, and live merrily *all* the days of my life.

I am now worth one hundred thousand pounds, said old Gregory, as he attained the summit of a hill, which commanded a full prospect of his estate; and here, said he, I'll plant an orchard; and on that spot, I'll have a pinery.

Your farm houses shall come down, said old Gregory; they interrupt my view.

Then, what will become of the farmers? asked the steward, who attended him.

That's their business, answered old Gregory.

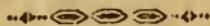
And that mill must not stand upon the stream, said old Gregory.

Then, how will the villagers grind their corn? asked the steward.

That's not my business, answered old Gregory.

So old Gregory returned home—ate a hearty supper—drank a bottle of port—smoked two pipes of tobacco,—and fell into a profound slumber, from which he never more awoke. The farmers reside on their lands—

the mill stands upon the stream—and the villagers all rejoice in his death.



*Ingenious toasts given at York, in Pennsylvania, by the bearers of the flags, in the procession, formed to celebrate the progress of the new constitution.—Page 312.*

*Toast given by the bearer of the tobaccoists' flag.*

**M**AY the leaves of antifederalism be twisted together, and fastened by thorns, or be rolled into tubes, and end in a puff.

*Waggon makers'.* Three more spokes to our new wheel—a federal band for its tire—a willing people for its axis—political wisdom to set it in motion: and may its progress never be retarded by the lock chain of opposition.

*Saddle-tree makers'.* As we are chips of the same block, branches from the same tree, may we be glued together by a general efficient government.

*Blue dyers' and stampers'.* May Fame stamp immortality on their names, who have died for our country.

*Tanners and curriers'.* May every limb of that man be backed—may he be leathered through society—and have his hide completely tanned—who is mean enough to curry favour.

*Weavers'.* For ever honoured be the names of those, who, rejecting even the thrumbs of the old web, have cut it out of the loom, and have wove another, to clothe the political nakedness of their country.

*Tin plate workers'.* May the shears of liberality and extended policy cut away local prejudices, and may the late heat of political disquisition only serve to melt the cement that is to solder us together.

*Scythe and sickle makers'.* May the sickle of industry be filled with heavy harvests, until time with his scythe, shall mow down empires and ages.

*Butchers'.* As the marrow is connected with the bone, or one joint with another, so let us be united, and may no cleaver ever disjoint us.

*Gunsmiths'.* When the implements of war are requisite to defend our country's rights, or resent her wrongs

—may coolness take the sight, and courage draw the trigger.

*Printers'.* May no government be so potent as to restrain the liberty of the press, or so impotent as not to be able to check its licentiousness.

*Brewers'.* May he be choaked with the grains, or drowned in hot ale, whose business it is to brew mischief.

*Barbers'.* Hot curling irons, and a dull razor, to the enemies of our new system, and, notwithstanding the wig they once took upon them, may they remain, as they now are, in the suds.

*Turners'.* May the antifederalists be "turned from the evil of their ways," and be held no longer in the vice of groundless opposition.

*Coopers'.* May the new government prove a binding hoop to the states, and never suffer them to go to staves.

*Brick-makers'.* The materials which compose our new constitution—may they sustain the heat of party rage, without a crack, and come out more perfect from the kiln of faction.

*Rope-makers'.* May the production of our trade be the neckcloth of him, who attempts to untwist the political rope of our union.

*Mathematical instrument-makers'.* The political compass—as it has been graduated by the finger of accuracy, may it prove our guide in the winds of legislation, and preserve its equipoise, however shaken by the storms of foreign invasion or domestic broil.

*Joiners'.* The unanimity, which augurs that the hatchet shall soon be buried.

*Surveyors'.* May the needle of the new government be magnetized by an honest love of fame, and make the applause of the people its pole—may the sights be taken by the pervading eye of genius—the courses be shaped by integrity—and may there be no variation from national honour.

*Merchants'.* The new constitution—may it prove 100 per cent. better than the old one: may justice, mercy, and wisdom be found in the invoice of its excellencies: and may its net proceeds be good order at home, and respect in the councils of Europe.

*Lawyers'.* A mild judge, a believing jury, a blundering opponent, a good cause, a handsome fee, and a



IMPROMPTU, on the approach of the president of the united states.

FAME stretch'd her wings, and with her trumpet blew,  
 "Great Washington is near:" what praise is due?  
 What title shall HE have? She paus'd, and said:  
 "Not one; his name, alone, strikes ev'ry title dead."

Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, Nov. 1789.



ODE to the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES.

BY A LADY.

THE season sheds its mildest ray,  
 O'er the blue waves the sun beams play,  
 The bending harvest gilds the plain,  
 The tow'ring vessels press the main;  
 The ruddy ploughman quits his toil,  
 The pallid miser leaves his spoil;  
 And grateful Pæans hail the smiling year,  
 Which bids Columbia's guardian chief appear.

Hence! Disappointment's anxious eye,  
 And pale affliction's lingering sigh!  
 Let beaming hope the brow adorn,  
 And every heart forget to mourn:  
 Let smiles of peace their charms display,  
 To grace this joy-devoted day:  
 And where *that* arm preserv'd the peopled plain,  
 Shall mild contentment hold her placid reign.

Let "white-rob'd choirs," in beauty gay,  
 With lucid flowrets strew the way;  
 Let roses deck the scented scene,  
 And lilach's purple form be seen;  
 Let domes in circling honour spread,  
 And wreaths adorn that glorious head;  
 To thee, great Washington, each lyre be strung!  
 Thy matchless deeds by every bard be sung!

When freedom rais'd her drooping head,  
 Thy arm her willing heroes led;  
 And when her hopes, to thee resign'd,  
 Were resting on thy godlike mind,  
 How did that breast, to fear unknown,  
 And feeling for her fate alone,  
 O'er danger's threat'ning form the faulchion wield,  
 And tread with dauntless step the crimson'd field.

Not Decius—for his country slain,  
 Nor Cincinnatus—deathless name!  
 Camillus—who could wrongs despise,  
 And, scorning wealth, to glory rise,  
 Could such exalted worth display,  
 Or shine with such unclouded ray:  
 Of age the hope, of youth the leading star,  
 The soul of peace, the conquering arm of war.

Boston, Oct. 1789.

*A description of Maryland, from Carmen Seculare, a poem, addressed, anno 1732, to lord Baltimore, proprietor of that province. By mr. Lewis.*

IF in wish'd progress, thro' these wide domains,  
Our lord shall pass, to cheer his tenant swains,  
With pleasure will he see th' extensive land  
Adorn'd by nature with a lib'ral hand ;  
Of Chesapeak, fair bay ! she justly boasts,  
That swells to wash her east and western coasts,  
Whose num'rous, gentle, navigable streams  
In fame would equal Po, or nobler Thames ;  
Smooth-gliding thro' some poet's deathless song,  
Had they in Europe roll'd their waves along.

Vast flocks of fowl each river's surface hide,  
Amidst them sails the swan with graceful pride ;  
From these, the fowler's gun gains plenteous prize : }  
Those, that escape the mimic thunder, rise, }  
And clam'rous, in confusion, soar the skies.  
Each flood, with wat'ry wealth exhaustless stor'd,  
With choicest cates, supplies the fisher's board.

Ceres, all bounteous for the tiller's toil,  
Clothes with her richest stores th' unfallow'd soil.

Pomona yields delicious fruitage here,  
Unforc'd by art, nor asks the gard'ner's care :  
Our loaded orchards bend beneath their weight,  
And call for props to bear the dangling freight.

Here, Flora, gaily wild, profusely pours,  
O'er woods and meadows, hills and dales, the flow'rs.

Innum'rous herds about our forests graze ;  
Fearless, the deer upon their hunters gaze.  
Wolves, panthers, bears, and ev'ry beast of prey,  
Fly the inhabitants, and shun the day.

No dreadful hurricanes disturb our skies ;  
No earthquakes shock the soul with sad surprize :  
No sulphurous volcanoes vomit fire,  
To blast the plains with devastation dire.  
No treach'rous crocodiles infest our floods ;  
And pois'nous snakes recede to pathless woods.  
The landscap'd earth shews many a pleasing scene,  
And fogs but rarely hide the blue serene.  
Nor are these blessings of indulgent heav'n  
To an ungrateful race of mortals giv'n :  
Here, ev'ry planter opens wide his door,  
To entertain the stranger, and the poor :  
For them, he chearful makes the downy bed,  
For them, with food unbought, his board is spread ;  
No arts of luxury disguise his meals,  
Nor poignant sauce severe disease conceals ;  
Such hearty welcome does the treat commend,  
As shews the donor to mankind a friend,  
That good Old-English hospitality,  
(When ev'ry house to ev'ry guest was free,  
Whose flight, from Britain's isle, her harders bemoan,)  
Seems here with pleasure to have fix'd her throne.

Such, gracious sir, your province now appears,  
How chang'd by industry and rolling years,  
From what it was !—

When, for the faith your ancestors had shewn,  
To serve two monarchs on the English throne,

Cecilius from the royal martyr's hand,  
 Receiv'd the § charter of this spacious land :  
 Incult, and wild, its mazy forests lay,  
 Where deadly serpents rang'd, and beasts of prey :  
 The natives, jealous, cruel, crafty, rude,  
 In daily wars declar'd their thirst for blood.

Oh, if the muses would my breast inflame,  
 With spirit equal to the glorious theme !  
 My verse should shew to the succeeding age,  
 (Would time permit my verse to 'scape its rage) ;  
 What toils your great progenitors sustain'd,  
 To plant and cultivate the dreary land.

What virtue in Cecilius' bosom glow'd !  
 Who with † unsparing hand his wealth bestow'd,  
 Exhausting treasures from his large estate,  
 His infant colony to cultivate ;  
 To humanize a barb'rous, savage race,  
 And for industrious men provide a dwelling place.

Maturest wisdom did his act inspire,  
 Which ages must with gratitude admire ;  
 By which, the planters of his land were freed  
 From feuds, that made their parent-country bleed ;  
 Religious feuds, which, in an evil hour,  
 Were sent from hell, poor mortals to devour.

Oh ! be that rage eternally abhorr'd !  
 Which prompts the worshippers of one mild Lord,  
 For whose salvation one Redeemer dy'd,  
 By war their orthodoxy to decide :  
 Falsely religious, human blood to spill,  
 And for God's sake, their fellow-creatures kill !  
 Horrid pretence—

Long had this impious zeal with boundless sway,  
 Most dreadful, urg'd o'er half the world its way, }  
 Tyrannic, on the souls of men to prey :  
 'Till great Cecilius, glorious hero ! broke  
 Her bonds, and cast away her cursed yoke.

What praise, oh patriot, shall be paid to thee ? }  
 Within thy province || conscience first was free !  
 And gain'd in Maryland its native liberty.

To live beneath the blessings of her smile,  
 Numbers of Albion's sons forsook their isle ;  
 In ships prepar'd by Baltimore's command,  
 They came to cultivate his subject land :  
 And all, who could not for themselves provide,  
 Were by his kind paternal care supply'd.

That men of different faiths in peace might dwell,  
 And all unite t' improve the public weal ;  
 \* Opprobrious names, (by which blind guides engage  
 Their blinded proselytes, in deadliest rage)—

## NOTES.

† Lord Cecilius was at the charge of sending ships, with people, and provisions, to settle and cultivate Maryland ; which charge amounted to 40,000*l.* the interest of which money he never received, by any profits he had from thence. See lord Baltimore's case, delivered to the parliament of England, in 1715.

|| By an act in 1640, allowing liberty of conscience to all, who profess their belief in Jesus Christ.

\* By the said act, a fine was imposed on such as should call their fellow-planters any of those party-names, by which the factions of religion, then in England, were unhappily distinguished.

Sunk in oblivion, by the wise decree  
Of Calvert, left his land from faction free.

But whither flies the muse?—incurring blame  
While thus she wanders, devious from her theme,  
Above her flight ascends Cecilius' fame!

Him Charles succeeded; the courageous son  
Advanc'd the work his parent had begun;  
To cheer the planters by his gracious smile,  
And by his presence animate their toil;  
Fir'd with the bold adventure, scorning ease,  
He left the pompous court, and pass'd the seas:  
His frequent visits eas'd his tenants' care,  
When they were wounded deep with grief severe.  
To drive away the planters from their lands,  
Th' outrageous natives came in hostile bands;  
Revengeful, cruel, restless, they pursu'd  
Their enemies, and, ruthless, shed their blood:  
Return'ng from his daily toil, at night,  
The husband often saw, with wild affright,  
His darling wife and infants robb'd of breath,  
Deform'd, and mangled by most direful death.

The wise proprietor his cares address'd,  
To stop those ills; and heav'n his labours blest;  
Disarming of their rage the savage race;  
Extending o'er the land the shield of peace.

The planters, of their foes no more afraid,  
In plenty liv'd, pursuing gainful trade;  
And to their parent-land large tribute paid.

But to their lord, for those incessant cares,  
In which the sire and son employ'd their years;  
For so much treasure spent—what gains accrue?  
Small their amount!—perhaps in distant view,  
He saw, th' advancing province would afford  
An ample income, to some future lord:  
But ere his progeny receiv'd that gain,  
A round of years had roll'd their course in vain.

At length, to you, great sir, has fortune paid  
The int'rest of the debt, so long delay'd;  
And ev'ry future year that runs his race,  
Shall to your revenue add large increase—  
If you, my lord, afford your gen'rous aid,  
If you inspirit our decaying trade.

Too long, alas! tobacco has engross'd  
Our cares, and now we mourn our markets lost;  
The plenteous crops that over-spread our plains,  
Reward with poverty the toiling swains:  
Their sinking staple chills the planters' hearts,  
Nor dare they venture on unpractis'd arts;  
Despondent, they impending ruin view,  
Yet, starving, must their old employ pursue.

If you, benevolent, afford your aid,  
Your faithful tenants shall enlarge their trade:  
By you encourag'd, artizls shall appear,  
And, quitting crowded towns, inhabit here.  
Well pleas'd, would they employ their gainful hands,  
To purchase and improve your vacant lands.  
While some with sounding axes thin'd the woods,  
And built the ships to traverse briny floods;  
Others, industrious, would with hasty care  
The various cargoes studiously prepare.



*Belinda's Canary-bird.*

**D**ELIGHTFUL, airy, skipping  
thing,

To charm by nature taught,  
How canst thou, thus imprison'd, sing,  
And swell thy downy throat?

Divine would be the poet's lays,  
Breath'd with that melting air,  
With which thy warbling voice repays  
Thy beauteous feeder's care.

Perhaps the favours of her hand  
These happy strains infuse:  
And I might notes as sweet command,  
Warm'd by so fair a muse.

The influence of her radiant eye,  
And her reviving smiles,  
The absence of that sun supply,  
Which cheers thy native isles.

Blest isles! where with such kindly rays  
On birds and trees he shines,  
We thence enjoy seraphic lays,  
And thence celestial wines!

See the enliven'd liquor rise,  
As dancing to her song!  
Its virtue with the music vies,  
As sweet, as clear, as strong.

Had but those forests, Orpheus drew,  
Clos'd in their shades a bird  
Of equal harmony with you,  
No tree of taste had stirr'd.

The groves had listen'd to the tongue  
Of their own feather'd choir,  
Nor on the vocal strings had hung,  
But on their boughs the lyre.

*On sickness.*

**F**ROM this vain world, where ills  
abound,  
And joys but few, unmix'd, are  
found,

Where restless foes those few infest,  
And friends are impotent, at best,  
My wearied soul, good Lord, remove,  
To bow'rs of bliss, and friends above.

I said: when, lo! this pray'r pre-  
ferr'd,  
Stern sickness, (frightful guest!) ap-  
pear'd.

I started, frown'd, and cry'd "begone  
"From one already half undone.  
"Can pain a cure for sorrow be?  
"Enough I'am wretched without  
thee."

Weak man, who errs a thousand  
ways,

And censures what deserves his praise!  
The hideous form so seiz'd my thought,

I then th' intrinsic worth forgot:  
But, welcome, guest; for now I find,  
Tho' seeming cruel, thou art kind:  
Kind as I wish'd; and lead'st the road,  
From this vain world, to heav'n and  
God.

To heav'n and God, I'll press the way,  
Though grim the pilot, rough the sea.  
Who can his course reluctant bend,  
When that's the port, and he the  
friend?



*To a lady, on reading Sherlock up-  
on death.*

**M**ISTAKEN fair, lay Sherlock  
by;

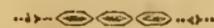
His doctrine is deceiving;  
For, whilst he teaches us to die,  
He cheats us of our living.

To die's a lesson we shall know  
Too soon, without a master;  
Then let us only study now,  
How we may live the faller.

To live's to love—to bless, be blest  
With mutual inclination:  
Share, then, my ardour in your  
breast,

And kindly meet my passion.  
But if thus blest I may not live,  
And pity you deny,

To me at least your Sherlock give,  
'Tis I must learn to die.



*Woman's hard fate. By a lady.*

**H**OW wretched is poor woman's  
fate!

No happy change her fortune knows;  
Subject to man in ev'ry state,  
How can she then be free from woes?  
In youth, a father's stern command.

And jealous eyes, control her will;  
A lordly brother watchful stands,  
To keep her closer captive still.

The tyrant husband next appears,  
With awful and contracted brow;  
No more a lover's form he wears:  
Her slave's become her sov'reign  
now.

If from this fatal bondage free,  
And not by marriage chains confin'd,  
If, blest with single life, she see  
A parent fond, a brother kind—

Yet love usurps her tender breast,  
And paints a phoenix to her eyes;  
Some darling youth disturbs her rest;  
And painful sighs in secret rise.

Oh cruel pow'rs, since you've de-  
 sign'd,  
 That man, vain man, should bear  
 the sway,  
 To slavish chains add slavish mind,  
 That I may thus your will obey.



*The answer. By a gentleman.*

**H**OW happy is a woman's fate!  
 Free from care, and free from  
 woe,

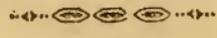
Secure of man in ev'ry state,  
 Her guardian-god below.  
 In youth, a father's tender love,  
 And well experienc'd eye,  
 Restrain her mind, too apt to rove,  
 Enamour'd with a toy.

Suppose her with a brother blest—  
 A brother, sure, is kind:  
 But in the husband stands confest,  
 The father, brother, friend.  
 'Tis man's, to labour, toil, and sweat,  
 And all his care employ,  
 Honour, pow'r, or wealth, to get;  
 'Tis woman's to enjoy.

But look we on those halcyon days,  
 When woman reigns supreme,  
 While supple man his homage pays,  
 Full proud of her esteem—

How duteous is poor Strephon's love!  
 How anxious is his care,  
 Less e'en the zephyr breathe too rough,  
 And discompose the fair!

Then say not, any pow'rs ordain,  
 That man should bear the sway:  
 When reason bids, let woman reign,  
 When reason bids, obey.



*To a young gentleman, on his return  
 from India.*

**R**ESTOR'D to our desiring eyes,  
 Amid the pleasures you infuse,  
 Let my glad thoughts in numbers rise,  
 And bring a welcome from the muse.

As yet a mother's fondest love,  
 Prints on thy cheek its tender seal,  
 Her eager eyes unwear'd rove,  
 Till tears her inward transports tell.

Ere the dread ocean safe resign'd  
 The dear restorer of her ease,  
 She trembled at the gentle wind,  
 And chid the whisper of the breeze.

Thy fire, with close enfolding arms,  
 Receives thee in his warm embrace,  
 Pleas'd to behold her softer charms  
 Resembled in thy manly face.

Lo! where his younger hope appears,  
 (Bless, heav'n, the dear, deserving  
 youth!)

Companion of thy growing years,  
 And partner of thy early youth.

A useful life, a virtuous name,  
 Shall kindly bless the ripen'd pair,  
 Prolong their date, advance their fame,  
 And crown the happy parents' care.



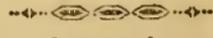
*The rival beauties. A new song.*

**A**URELIA's bold and lofty mien  
 Our wond'ring bosoms fires:  
 Whilst Chloe's beauty, more serene,  
 A temp'rate warmth inspires.

Chloe can gentle love bestow,  
 Like spring's reviving rays:  
 Fir'd with Aurelia's charms we glow  
 With strong, but transient blaze:

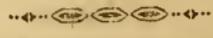
Aurelia like a tyrant reigns;  
 With unrelenting eyes  
 She views the torments of her swains,  
 And glories in their sighs.

But soon for freedom they contend,  
 And cast her bonds away;  
 To Chloe's nobler empire bend,  
 And bless her gentler sway,



*On parties.*

**B**OTH make the public good their  
 plea,  
 The end of all their wishes;  
 With half an eye a man may see,  
 Both want the loaves and fishes,



*On a bee stilled in honey.*

**F**ROM flow'r to flow'r, with ea-  
 ger pains,  
 See the blest, busy lab'rer fly;  
 When all that from her toil she gains,  
 Is, in the sweets she hoards, to die.  
 'Tis thus, would man the truth be-  
 lieve,

With life's soft sweets, each fav'rite  
 joy:  
 If we taste wisely, they relieve,  
 But if we plunge too deep, destroy.



*A picture too true.*

**T**ENDER-handed, stroke a nettle,  
 And it stings you for your pains:  
 Grasp it like a man of mettle,  
 And it soft as silk remains.  
 'Tis the same with grow'ling natures;  
 Use them kindly, they rebel:

But, be rough as nutmeg-graters,  
And the rogues obey you well.



*The frank lover.*

'TIS not, because I'm more sincere,

Or less inclin'd to rove,  
That I a heart so constant bear,  
So faithful in its love :

No, Chloe!—I, like all the rest,  
From fair to fair would range,  
But that it's more my interell  
Still to love on, than change.

All charms, which others recommend,  
In thee alone I find ;  
Beauty and temper kindly blend  
The handsome and the kind.

Then why should I inconstant prove?  
Why other nymphs pursue?  
When you possess all I could love,  
'Tis prudence to be true.



*A description.*

TO the lily's milk-white glow  
Add the rose-bud, ere it blow ;  
To Raphael's touch, and Titian's dye,  
Add Correggio's symmetry :

Iv'ry bring from Afric's shore,  
Corals thence, where billows roar ;  
Ebony, and shining jet,  
All be in the casket met :

In Arabia's land exhale,  
Odours from the spicy gale ;  
Rich perfumes from India bring,  
Catch the meadow's sweets in spring ;

More the picture to adorn,  
Draw the blushes of the morn ;  
In Aurora's flowing velt,  
Lightly be the damsel dress't :

Shape and air of Venus show,  
Let the Graces smiles bestow ;  
Lastly, to complete the whole,  
Give the nymph Minerva's soul :

These, the poets all declare,  
Constitute the charming fair ;  
These, if you search the world around,  
In Celia only will be found.



*Song.*

LET others boast of noble birth,  
Or think, in wealth consists all  
worth—

Alas, my ev'ry wish on earth,  
Is center'd in my Anna.

Such beauty in her form I find,  
Such virtue decks her lovely mind,  
The pride, the glory of her kind,  
Is sure my lovely Anna.

Bright shines the glorious orb of day,  
And bright is Luna's silver ray ;  
A lustre bright the stars display :

But far more bright is Anna.  
Sweet is the gale that gently blows,  
And sweet the blushing damask rose ;  
But sweet, Oh ! sweeter far than those,  
Art thou, my lovely Anna.

Could I a diadem obtain,  
The glitt'ring toy I would disdain,  
Nor pomp, nor wealth, my heart  
should gain,

From thee, my lovely Anna.  
For thee I'd scorn a monarch's state,  
And think it far a happier fate,  
To dwell in some obscure retreat,  
With innocence and Anna.

While lambkins o'er the plain shall  
rove,  
And feather'd songsters haunt the  
grove,

So long, my heart, with guiltless love,  
Shall burn for lovely Anna.  
And when I'm call'd to endless rest,  
May I, expiring on her breast,  
To heav'n prefer this last request,  
Oh ! bless my lovely Anna !



*To a young lady on making me a present of a pair of worked ruffles.*

WHO envies not my happy hands,  
Encircled by these flow'ry  
bands,

Which Stella's slender fingers  
wrought,

Which Stella to perfection brought?  
Stella, who knows to touch the soul,  
Whose voice might savages controul ;  
Whose temper's sweet beyond compare,

Easy her shape, genteel her air.  
Thus can the dearest maid employ,  
With nicest art the slightest toy !  
Thus by her needle's magic pow'r,  
Is shap'd the leaf, is rais'd the flow'r :

May this, my fair, an omen prove,  
That thou wilt bless me with thy love ;  
That thou wilt give me all thy charms,  
Thus circle me in thy fond arms ;  
Then shall I blest and happy be,  
Ever happy when with thee !

CELADON.

*Ode to fashion.*

**B**EWITCHING fashion! with  
what pow'r

Despotic dost thou rule!

To thee, submissive, bend, each hour,  
The saint, the sage, the fool.

Obedient to thy potent sway,  
The greatest, best, are found;

By thee are govern'd, ev'ry day,  
The circling year around.

As thou dost, fancy-guided, veer,  
They, void of mental force,

Attentive to thy compass, steer  
Thro' life their changeful course.

But oh! how oft by thee misled,  
On quick-sands do they run;  
And rocks behold, exciting dread,  
Behold! but cannot shun!

*A song.*

**W**HEN Chloe try'd her virgin  
fires,

And first her shafts let fly;

She fill'd my breast with vague desires:  
—I thought it was her eye.

When melting strains fell from her  
mouth,

Which gods might wish to sip;

When all was harmony and truth,  
—I thought it was her lip.

But when she danc'd! such air, such  
grace,

What mortal could escape?

I look'd no longer on her face—  
I swore it was her shape.

When seen by chance, her breast  
bespoke

The purity within;

Her snowy arm—her iv'ry neck—

—'Twas then her lovely skin.

Nor eye, nor shape, nor neck, nor face,  
My bosom did enthral:

'Twas sent, I found, the happy grace,  
That gave a charm to all.



*To a gentleman who had long urged the writer to listen to his addresses, and quit a retirement, to which disappointments and trials of various kinds had induced her to fly.*

**F**ORBEAR, Leander, tempt me  
not

To quit my peaceful, happy cot,  
In gayer scenes to dwell;

The sprightly dance, the splendid  
board,

Cannot such joys to me afford,  
As does my humble cell.

No troubles here molest my peace;  
In calm, uninterrupted ease,

My days serenely glide;  
Wean'd from the world, to heav'nly  
truth

I consecrate my blooming youth:  
Ah! draw me not aside!

Sorrow instructs us to be wise—  
It early set before my eyes

The vanity of show.  
I found that splendor, dress, and  
wealth,

Without contentment, ease, and  
health,

No happiness bestow.

My heart oppress'd with poignant  
grief,

In crowds I vainly sought relief—

My care still weightier grew:

At length I left the noisy town,  
To dear Amanda hasten'd down,  
And bade the world adieu.

Her gentle converse sooth'd my woes,  
And soon restor'd to sweet repose

My late distracted mind:

Our views extend beyond the skies,  
While friendship's soft, endearing ties  
Our souls in concord bind.

Shall I then quit this dear retreat,  
Content's unenvy'd, tranquil seat,

In busy life to join?

No: here my guiltless hours I'll spend,  
Contemplate on my latter end,

Nor bow at folly's shrine.

*The timorous lover.*

**I**F in that breast, so good, so pure,  
Compassion ever lov'd to dwell,

Pity the sorrows I endure:

The cause, I cannot—dare not tell.

The grief, that on my quiet preys,  
That rends my heart, that checks  
my tongue,

I fear, will last me all my days:—

But feel, it will not last me long.

*On silence.*

**S**ILENCE in love betrays more  
woe,

Than words, tho' ere so witty;

The beggar who is dumb, we know,  
Deserves a double pity.

## FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

*Lausanne, August 19.*

FRANCE has given the signal, and all Europe are breaking their chains—at least the fermentation is considerable in these parts. Most of the Swifs are actuated by the same spirit as the French.

At Berne, Fribourg, and Soleure, there are insurrections which appear of a very serious nature. The lowest of the citizens, who have hitherto been precluded from any advancement, exclaim strongly against this injustice, and also against the exclusive privileges of the nobles and aristocrats; and they seem disposed to support their claims by force of arms, and to throw off the yoke which has been heavy on them so long.

*Lisle, September 3.*

The first battalion of Conde is gone from hence to Boulogne, to join the second, which has formed, in Bretagne, a numerous and formidable force. It is composed of a regiment of chasseurs, a regiment of artillery, and great numbers of other regiments. They have unofficered themselves, and taken an oath of fidelity to one Picard, a serjeant of the regiment of artillery; and it is under the command of this extraordinary chief, and attended by a train of field pieces, they proceed to some new enterprise of commotion.

*Vienna, September 27.*

Intelligence has been received here, of the trenches having been opened before Belgrade, both on the heights, where marshal Laudohn's army is posted, and on the banks of the Save, in front of Semlin, where prince de Ligne commands.

*Paris, October 7.*

It being customary for the gardes du corps at Versailles to give an entertainment to any new regiment that arrives there, the regiment de Flandres was, on Thursday last, sumptuously entertained with a dinner by that corps in the palace. After dinner, their most chrillian majesties judged proper to honour the company with their presence, and condescended to shew their satisfaction at the general joy which appeared among the guests. On their appearance, the music in-

stantly played the favourite song, *O Richard! O mon Roi!* and the company, joining in chorus, seemed to unite all ideas in one unanimous sentiment of loyalty and love for the king: and nothing was heard, for sometime, but repeated shouts of *vive le roi!* within and without the palace. In the height of their zeal, they proceeded to tear the national cockades from their hats, and trampled them under their feet. The gardes du corps supplied themselves with black cockades, in lieu of those they had treated with such disdain. The news of these proceedings soon reached Paris, where a general ill-humour visibly gained ground.

On Saturday, there were great disturbances in the palais royal, and it appeared unsafe for any one to appear with a black cockade, as several foreigners experienced, from whose hats they were torn with much violence, and abusive language.

On Sunday, the confusion increased, and a vast concourse of people tumultuously assembled at the town house, under the pretence of demanding bread, and enquiring into the real causes of the extreme scarcity of it, at this season of the year.

On Monday morning, a number of women, to the amount of upwards of five thousand, armed with different weapons, marched in regular order to Versailles, followed by the numerous inhabitants of the Fauxbourgs, St. Antoine and St. Marceau, with several detachments of the city militia; and, in the evening, the marquis de la Fayette, at the head of 20,000 of that corps, likewise marched to Versailles.

On Tuesday morning, an account was received, of some blood having been spilt. The gardes du corps fired on the Parisians, and five or six persons, chiefly women, were killed. The regiment de Flandres was also drawn out to oppose this torrent; but the word, to fire, was no sooner given, than they all, to a man, clubbed their arms, and, with a shout of '*vive la nation!*' went over to the Parisians. Some troops of dragoons, that are quartered at Versailles, also laid down their arms; and the Swifs detachments remained motionless, having received no orders from their officers

to fire. The gardes du corps, being thus abandoned, and overpowered by numbers, fled precipitately into the gardens and woods, where they were pursued, and many of them killed and taken prisoners. Some of the heads of those who were killed, were carried to Paris, and paraded through the streets, on pikes.

The same morning, a report came, that the king, queen, and royal family were on their way to Paris. Upon this, the people began to assemble from all parts of the town, and above fifty thousand of the militia proceeded to line the streets, and the road to Versailles. Their majesties and royal family accordingly arrived between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, after having been six hours on the road. The carriages all proceeded to the townhouse. The concourse of people that attended, is not to be described; and the shouts of '*vive la nation!*' filled the air. From the townhouse, they were conducted to the palace of the Thuilleries, though totally unprepared for their reception, where they passed the night.

*The following is the letter which caused the first alarm in the national assembly.*

"Gentlemen,

**L**AWS newly constituted, can only be properly judged of, when taken in their general mass—In such great and important objects, the whole is joined by one common link.

"Nevertheless, I feel it extremely natural, that in a moment when we invite the nation to come to the succour of the state, by a signal act of confidence and patriotism, we should assure it of its necessity and propriety. Therefore, in the hope that the first articles of the constitution, which you have presented to me, united with the continuation of your labours, will fulfil the expectation of my people, and secure the happiness and prosperity of my kingdom, I acquiesce in these articles, according to your desire, but on this positive condition, from which I never will depart—that the general result of your deliberations shall leave the entire effect of the executive power in the hands of the monarch.

"A general view of my observations shall be laid before you; by

which you will be made acquainted, that, in the present order of things, I can neither with efficacy protect the recovery of legal impositions, the free circulation of money and provisions, nor the individual safety of my citizens. I will nevertheless fulfil the essential duties of royalty;—the welfare of my subjects, the public tranquillity, and the preservation of good order among society, are dependent on it. It is my wish, therefore, that we make it a common cause, to remove those obstacles which may obstruct so desirable and salutary an end.

"It remains with me to acquaint you, with frankness, that, if I give my acquiescence to the various articles of the constitution which you have laid before me, it is not that they are, according to my ideas, a model of perfection; but that I consider it as praiseworthy in me not to delay paying attention to the present wishes of the deputies of the nation, and the alarming circumstances which so strongly invite us to restore the public tranquillity, and confidence among the people.

"I do not now explain myself, on your declaration of the rights of man and citizen. It contains very excellent maxims, proper to guide your deliberations; but principles, which are liable to different applications, and even constructions, cannot be justly appreciated—nor is it necessary they should be—until the moment when their true sense is fixed by those laws to which they are to serve as a basis.

"(Signed) LOUIS."

*Oct. 12.* On the marquis de la Fayette's arrival at Versailles, on Monday evening, he demanded an audience of the king; but courtly firmness being then in its meridian glory, he was peremptorily refused admittance. He then signified his resolution of not quitting Versailles until he had a personal communication with his majesty.

In the interim, the rage of the women broke forth into violence; the gardes du corps fired on them; the regiment de Flandres, and other troops, refused to act; and the ill advised monarch was once more obliged to recede from his lofty pretensions, being allowed only five minutes consideration by the marquis, who declared, that he was charged, by the city of

Paris, to require his presence in the capital; and in case of a refusal, could not be responsible for his life.

The king burst into tears, and attempted to hesitate; but convinced, at length, that his danger was imminent, he reluctantly agreed to set off on Tuesday; on which day he proceeded in his carriage to Paris with the queen, monsieur, his sister, aunts, &c. in twelve carriages, preceded and followed by the Parisian guards, the soldiers of other regiments, an immense concourse of people, and with the heads of the duke de Chatelet, the duke de Guiche, and the comte de Lulignan, carried on pikes in the front of the procession.

*London, September 5.*

The spirit of liberty has spread among the Corsicans, who have abolished their old constitution and established a new one, on the basis of freedom.

*Sept. 16.* The noblesse at Liege have advanced one hundred thousand florins to support the necessary expense in case of any attempts against their re-established liberties.

*Sept. 19.* The spirit of liberty has crossed the Rhine.

The people of the bailiwick of Wildstadt and Liechtenau, belonging to the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, have driven away all the persons employed by the prince, as collectors of his revenue, and demolished the toll-houses.

*September 20.* The national assembly of France have come to the following resolutions:

1st. The national assembly ordain, that in future no money shall be sent to the court of Rome, to the vice-legateship of Avignon, nor to the nunciat of Lucerne, for any religious purpose whatever; but the parishioners shall apply to their bishops for benefices and dispensations, which shall be granted to them, gratis, notwithstanding any privilege or exception to the contrary. All the churches in France shall enjoy the same liberty.

2ndly. No person shall in future hold a benefice, or benefices, exceeding the annual income of 3000 livres. No person shall enjoy pensions, or benefices, to a greater amount than the above sum of 3000 livres.

3dly. On the delivery of the account, which shall be laid before the

assembly, of the state of pensions and rewards, the assembly, in concert with the king, shall proceed to suppress those that have not been merited, and to reduce such as shall appear excessive, reserving to themselves the power of determining a certain sum, which the king shall dispose of in future, to such purpose.

The sum which the assembly intend to allow the rectors of country parishes, in lieu of tithes, is no more than 1500 livres, or about 70 guineas a year.

*September 22.* Such authentic intelligence has of late been received of the descendants of the emigrators, who are reported to inhabit the banks of the Mississippi, that a Welsh gentleman, now in London, is actually engaged in an expedition to the new world, in order fully to ascertain the truth of that ancient tradition.

This undertaking, if prosecuted, will be much to the benefit of science, and the gratification of antiquarian curiosity.

*Sept. 24.* The spirit of patriotism, which France has communicated to the country of Liege, has already spread further into the German empire. to be successively communicated, no doubt, among the other nations of Europe, wherever gross abuses of exclusive privileges subsist. We have just received a letter from Hildesheim, a free and imperial city in Lower Saxony, the inhabitants of which are a mixture of Lutherans and Catholics, which informs us, that on the first of this month, the citizens, dissatisfied with the ruinous state of the public affairs, and with the aristocratic usurpations in their magistracy, at first testified their sense in murmurs, at their council having granted the right of pasturage of a common, belonging to the city, to a neighbouring convent, and of the damage done to the common, in breaking it up for clay, for the use of a brick-kiln, belonging to the council. More than four hundred citizens assembled round the hotel de ville, and forced the magistracy to go along with them to the common field, to inspect personally the damage sustained. This step wanted little of occasioning a general insurrection, which was prevented by the prudent measures of some of the lead-

ing citizens, who at length found the means of uniting the whole city in an orderly and regular coalition, to force the magistrates to remedy the multiplied abuses. On the remonstrances made, the magistracy immediately declared themselves ready to satisfy the public demands. In consequence, a general assembly of the citizens was held, in which were elected thirty-six representatives, who are authorised to search into abuses, and to seek their remedy, according to the laws of their ancient constitution. Since this election, every thing has remained quiet.

*Oct. 1.* The French queen has presented her jewels to the national assembly. How much would it rebound to the praise of our crowned heads, to emulate her conduct, were such a surrender even made to restore to their freedom thousands of wretched and pining confined debtors.

The advantage gained by the Russians over the Swedes, appears, by very late intelligence, to be much greater than was at first stated. From the preparations at Stockholm, it is, however, expected, that the king of Sweden will soon be able to face them on equal terms.

By our letters from Petersburg, we learn, that the Russians have lately received an important check, both by sea and land. The Turkish admiral has certainly defeated their fleet on the Black Sea, captured some of their ships, and routed the rest of their squadron. Much about the same time, a whole regiment of Russian cavalry were cut off in attempting to retreat from Fockzani.

Silas Deane, who died a few days since, at Deal, in Kent, was one of the most remarkable instances of the versatility of fortune, which has occurred, perhaps, during the present century.

Being a native and merchant of Boston, at a very early period of the American war, he was selected by congress as one of the representatives of America at the court of France.

During his residence in that kingdom, he lived in great affluence, and was presented by Louis XVI. with his picture set round with brilliants, as a mark of respect, on account of his integrity and abilities.

Having, however, soon after, been

accused of embezzling large sums of money entrusted to his care, for the purchase of arms and ammunition. Mr. Deane sought for an asylum in this country; where his habits of life, at first economical, and afterwards penurious in the extreme, amply refused the malevolence of his enemies.

So reduced, indeed, has this gentleman, who was supposed to have embezzled upwards of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, lately been, that he experienced all the horrors of the most abject poverty, in the capital of England; and has, for these last few months, been almost in danger of starving.

*October 10.* The arrival of the king has occasioned universal joy at Paris; and it was to be the subject of the liberation of the districts, *Oct. 8.* to request the members of the national assembly to adjourn their meeting to the capital, where the obnoxious part of the aristocratic party will probably not choose to attend their duty.

*October 12.* By accounts received in town late last night, we have good authority for asserting, that, at Brussels, on Monday last, all the principal people were taking up arms, and preparing to join the army of Flemish militia, at Bois le Duc.

The emperor's troops at Brussels, are only 6000 strong, and some hundreds of those have threatened to lay down their arms.

*Oct. 20.* An express arrived at the imperial ambassador's last night, with the important news of the surrender of Belgrade.

It is also reported, that 6000 Prussian troops have entered Brabant, in support of the insurgents, and that the Dutch are marching, with all possible expedition, to possess themselves of the barrier towns.



## AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

*Lexington, August 5.*

On the 9th inst. at about five o'clock in the evening, a party of about four Indians, and one white man, killed two small negro children, near colonel Johnson's, and tomawked two negroes; the alarm spread instantly, and about 500 volunteers collected on the spot early next morning, but could not discover what route they had taken.

*Augusta, (Georgia) Oct. 20.*

The governor has received a dispatch from col. Howell, of Effingham county, announcing that depredations have been already committed by the Indians, since their departure from the Rock Landing, by taking four negroes and a horse from captain Bird, and three horses from Mr. Lottinger, and that a party had gone in pursuit.

*Charleston, (S. C.) Oct. 24.*

It is reported, that the emperor of Morocco lately sent a vessel to Madeira, with information to Mr. Clarke, our charge des affaires at that place, of his intention, in the course of this winter, to dispatch four vessels to America for the purpose of trading. This step is taken to prevent any alarm by the appearance of vessels on our coast, which, being built in the Turkish fashion, might be supposed to belong to our enemies, the Algerines, instead of our ally the emperor of Morocco.

*Newbury port, November 4.*

Friday last the beloved president of the united states made his entry into this town: and never did a person appear here, who more largely shared the affection and esteem of our citizens. He was escorted here by two companies of cavalry, with most of the gentlemen of distinction, of this and the neighbouring towns. On his drawing near the town, he was saluted with thirteen discharges from the artillery; after which a number of young gentlemen placed themselves before him, and sang—"The hero comes!" &c. attended with the roaring of artillery, and instrumental music.

*Portsmouth, (N. H.) Nov. 5.*

On Saturday last arrived in this metropolis, the president of the united states of America.

This illustrious visitant was met at the line by the president and council of this state—several members of the hon. house of representatives—the hon. senators of the state, &c.

At his entrance into this town he was saluted by thirteen cannon from three companies of artillery, in complete uniform, under the command of col. Hacker. The street through which he passed (Congress-street) was lined by the citizens of

the town, all the crafts being ranged alphabetically; the bells rang a joyful peal; and repeated shouts, from grateful thousands, hailed their deliverer welcome to the metropolis of New Hampshire.

*Albany, Nov. 9.*

On Tuesday the 3d instant, we had a severe snow storm. It began in the morning, and continued without intermission until late in the night, when it measured, at an average, between five and six inches, and probably, had it not been for the dampness of the ground, (having had a considerable fall of rain the night preceding) it would have been much deeper. In the afternoon, as well as on the succeeding day, it was tolerable sleighing, and afforded several an opportunity of partaking in that pleasing amusement.

*New York, November 3.*

By accounts from Rhode Island we learn, that most of the towns in that state, have instructed their deputies to vote against calling a convention.

*Nov. 19.* Last Friday arrived in this city, from a tour through the eastern and northern states, the president of the united states. He was announced by a federal salute from the battery.

The president left Portsmouth on Wednesday the 14th inst. his route was through Exeter, Haverhill, Lexington, Watertown, &c. to Hartford.

We rejoice in having the pleasure to announce to our fellow citizens, that the president has returned in good health, and that the journey has benefited his constitution.

*Petersburg, Oct. 29.*

Tuesday the honourable the commissioners for treating with the nations of Indians, south of the river Ohio, arrived in this town, on their way to New York.

We learn that Mr. M'Gillivray, who, with between one and two thousand Indians, met the commissioners at the Rock Landing, declined coming to the terms proposed by the commissioners; but that all the other chiefs seemed extremely desirous of being at peace with the united states.

Although no treaty has been concluded with the Creeks, yet the strongest assurances were given by M'Gillivray, and all the head men

present, that no hostilities should be committed on the part of their nation.

The supreme executive of Georgia are also taking effectual measures to prevent aggressions or provocations on the part of the inhabitants of the frontiers of that state.

*Philadelphia, November 1.*

A letter from Mr. John Matthews, one of the Ohio company's surveyors, to general Putnam, dated, Marietta, August 22, 1789, says, "yesterday, I returned from our tour down the Ohio, and am unhappy to inform you, that the surveys in that quarter are not completed, on account of our being routed by the Indians. The 7th instant, about sunrise, my party was fired upon in our camp, and six soldiers (which were all except the corporal) and one of my hands were killed; six of us escaped and got to col Meigs, on that and the ensuing day, about two miles below Guindot-river. When we were attacked, we were on the north boundary, of the second township, of the sixteenth range. The Indians had got, undiscovered, within four or five rods of us; nor had we the least information of our danger, until we were alarmed by the report of two guns, which wounded a man, within two feet of me, through the body. An interval, of a few seconds, succeeded, just giving us time to rise, when they began to fire again, which, I believe, was aimed at the troops, who were about two rods from us, for none of our party were hurt after the two first guns. We ran as fast as possible, with the Indians close at our heels, for about twenty rods, when they quitted the pursuit. Patchen, a sprightly young man, from Ballstown, New York, who was wounded the first shot, ran some distance with us, and beginning to fail, asked for help; but the first law of nature operated too strongly for us to lend him assistance, as the Indians were close upon us. We went to the camp about a week afterwards, and found the six soldiers, all within five rods of it, but could not find Patchen; there is a possibility of his having been taken alive, but I think it hardly probable. Who, or what number of Indians there were, is uncertain; but from the number of people killed, I suppose there must have been ten or twelve."

A letter from a gentleman in Salisbury, North Carolina, dated the 19th ult. says, "Our new convention meets the 1st day of November, and if one may judge from the character of the members, we shall certainly be one of the confederate states soon. The coasting law lately made by congress, has distressed our tea-saring people much, and should the adoption of the new constitution be postponed by our present convention, a revolt in the lower counties, will, beyond all doubt, be the consequence.

"Our paper medium is depreciating daily, and credit very low."

*Nov. 4.* His excellency William Livingston, esq. is re-elected governor of New Jersey.

*Nov. 8.* The legislature of Connecticut at their last session, which expired on the 29th ult. took up the subject of amendments to the constitution; and a resolve of approbation and ratification of all, except the second article of amendments, passed the house of representatives, by large majorities. The council voted to postpone their determination upon them till the next session, which was agreed to.

*Nov. 12.* His excellency Thomas Mifflin, esq. has been re-elected president, and George Ross, esq. vice-president of this state.

*Nov. 17.* Thursday, the 29th of last month, the interesting question was taken, in the general assembly of Rhode Island,—“whether the house would recommend a convention, for deliberating on the constitution of the united states,”—when it was determined in the negative. The votes were, for a convention, 27; against it, 39.

*Nov. 19.* His excellency John Eager Howard is re-elected governor of Maryland.

*Nov. 28.* Yesterday, the house of assembly of this state resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to consider the amendments, proposed by congress, to the federal constitution. The committee agreed to all the amendments, except the two first; reported progress; and begged leave to sit again, on Monday next, when the two first articles are to be reconsidered.

In compliance with the recommendation of the president of the

united states, Thursday was observed as a day of general thanksgiving in this city. There was a complete cessation from all secular concerns, and the citizens seemed to vie with each other, in the discharge of the moral and patriotic duties of the day, if they may be so expressed. In the various places of public worship, divine service was performed, and discourses, adapted to the importance of the occasion, were delivered.

Nov. 30. Thursday morning, about half past two, a fire broke out, at a house in Third-street, next door to the bunch of grapes tavern, which had arrived at such a height, before it was discovered, either by those within, or by the watchmen, that the whole was involved in a vivid flame—an ancient man burst from the lower floor, and escaped—Elizabeth Preston, and her two children, presented themselves at the chamber window, with screams of the most piercing sound. The few inhabitants, who had been roused by the cry of fire, attempted to raise a heavy ladder for their relief; but every effort failed. The poor distressed mother, most probably drawn by the heart-felt cries of her children, retreated from the window. Another frantic object, with a child, then presented themselves: the united shrieks of these poor distressed creatures were heard at the distance of near half a square. The ladder was at length raised; when an adventurous citizen ascended, and, at the hazard of his life, rescued the last woman and the child. A thousand fears were quickly excited in the gathering crowd, as the man was thought to have disappeared: but happily this humane adventurer was saved—the poor woman, with her two sons, perished in the flames, and were found, at day-light, devoid of human form, the whole mass being changed into a black cinder. Jacob Brown, and his wife, an industrious young couple, happily escaped at the chamber window, but remain objects of real distress, having lost their money, clothes and furniture, and are turned naked into the world.

## MARRIED.

MASSACHUSETTS. *In Boston.* Noah Webster, jun. esq. to miss Greenleaf.—Mr. Thomas Bedlington to miss Polly Moody.—Capt. Joseph Roby to mrs. Elizabeth Henry.—Mr. Henry Fowle to miss Betsey Bentley.—Capt. Mitchel Lincoln to miss Hannah Stone.

*At Gloucester.* Hon. Cotton Tufts to miss Susannah Warner.

NEW YORK. *In the capital.* Mr. Martin Hoffman to miss Murray.

*At East Chester.* James Hunt, esq. to miss Anna Ward.

NEW JERSEY. *Near Princeton.* Dr. Minot to miss Maria Skelton.

PENNSYLVANIA. *In Philadelphia.* Mr. George Fox to miss Mary Pemberton.—The rev. Isaac S. Keith, of Charleston, to miss Hannah Sproat.—Mr. George Scriba to miss Sally Dundas.

MARYLAND. *In Charles county.* Mr. Nicholas Lingan to miss Anna Hanson.—Hon. Uriah Forrest to miss Plater.

VIRGINIA. John Hopkins, esq. to miss Lyons.—Col. Marks Vandewall to miss Susannah Lewis.—Mr. George Pickett to miss Margaret Flint.

## DIED.

MASSACHUSETTS. *At Bridgewater.* Mr. Joseph Keith.—Mr. Josiah Williams.

*In Boston.* Capt. David Bell.—Mrs Mary Vintonon, aged 67.—Mr. James Barnard, aged 73.—Mrs Sarah Crawford, aged 63.—Mrs Ruth Otis.—Mr. Jacob Cooper.—Mr. Henry Swift.—Mrs Mary Edwards, aged 84.

NEW YORK. *In the capital.* Mrs M'Comb.—Mrs Mary Cook.—Mrs Mary Kempen, aged 75.—Mrs Johannah Van Burgh Dykinck, aged 92 years.—Mr. Thomas Gerry.

*At Brooklyn.* Rev. Thomas Abbot.

DELAWARE. *In New Castle county.* Mr. Joseph Lewden.

*In Wilmington.* Mr. Thomas Shipley.

PENNSYLVANIA. *At the falls of Schuylkill.* Mrs Elizabeth Shute, aged 84.

*In Cumberland county.* John Reynolds, esq.

*In Berks county.* Joseph Mountz, aged 100 years.

*In Philadelphia.* Mr. John Schutz, aged 81.

MARYLAND. *In Charles county.* Col. Josias Hawkins, aged 54.

*In Baltimore.* Matthew Ridley, esq.

VIRGINIA. *In Fredericksburg.* Mr. Lactlin Cambell.—Mrs Margaret Garts.

NORTH CAROLINA. *On Island creek.* Mrs Mary Kinzey.

SOUTH CAROLINA. *In Charleston.* Robert Stewart, esq.—Mr. Thomas Connell.

*New Brunswick.* *At St. John's.* James Putnam, esq.

*At Deal, in England.* Silas Deane, esq.

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE following pieces are intended for next number—Petition of the legislature of Rhode Island to congress—Extraordinary instance of magnanimity—A winter piece—The American spectator—Account of Johannes Bruno—Essay on patriotifin—Essay on religious toleration—Essay on submission to civil government—Address of the ministers of the state of Connecticut, to the people under their pastoral care—Providential deliverance—The desperate negro—Exports from Charleston, of the crops of 1782, and 1783—Law report—Account of the best mode of raising young hogs—Remarks on the manufacture of pot and pearl ash—Remarks on men of leisure and men of business—Letter of the king of Sweden—Address of the patriotic ladies of Paris—Remarks on the necessity of punctuality in payments—Remarks on the secret of living happily—Strictures on cock-combs—Essay on the diversity of interest of the several states, &c. &c.

ORATION on the unlawfulness and impolicy of capital punishments, and the proper means of reforming criminals—Letter on the climate and soil of New York—Letter on the advantages of raising sheep—Directions for the manufacture of glue—Essay on commerce—Letter on government and on smuggling—Charge, delivered May 17, 1757, at the anniversary commencement of the college and academy of Philadelphia, by the reverend William Smith—Extract of a letter from dr. Williamson to dr. Johnson, on the disadvantages of generally studying the Latin and Greek languages—Letter from dr. Franklin, on early marriages, &c. &c. shall appear in the Museum for January.

THE letter of “Another American” respecting dr. Kippis’s aspersions, came too late for this number: but shall appear in our next. This correspondent’s future favours are earnestly requested.

THE bee—The oak—The retreat—Eden grove—&c. are under consideration.

THE oration of dr. Rogers shall be inserted in the February Museum.

THE constitution of the Maryland society for promoting the abolition of slavery, is received.

THE writers of “Letters on the imprisonment of debtors” published about two or three years since, in New York, in mr. Loudon’s paper—of “Moral and political entertainment,” published in the Hampshire Herald, in the spring of 1787—of “the Freeholder,” published in the same paper, a few months ago—and of “the Druid,” published lately in the Connecticut Courant—would particularly oblige the printer of the Museum, by forwarding him (free of postage) correct copies of these several essays.

The valuable pieces communicated by A. B. are received, and shall be inserted in due course.

IF mr. David examines the last and present numbers of the Museum, he will find that his judicious hints have been attended to.

“The discovery” is too indelicate. The author could hardly have imagined that the stanza, containing the line—

“And Delia chanc’d to”——

was fit for the public eye. As the writer has a very pretty poetical genius, his correspondence (within the bounds of decorum) shall be always acceptable.

WE thank the gentleman who has favoured us with a translation of the “Preliminary of the Constitution of France:” but while we acknowledge the elegance and manly spirit of that composition, we beg leave to decline the insertion of it; as it is yet in embryo, and remains to be decided upon by the nation. Were it agreed upon, it might perhaps have a place under the head of public papers.

# T H E A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For D E C E M B E R, 1789.

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## O R I G I N A L E S S A Y S.

*To the Editor of the American Museum.*

Sir,

I N your useful collection for August last, page 108, there is a sensible and decent refutation of a calumny exhibited against the Americans, seemingly by dr. Kippis, in his life of capt. Cooke, as reviewed in the gentleman's magazine for July 1788, viz. "while the French court generously issued or-

ders to their cruizers, not to molest that navigator if they should meet with him in his return, the narrow-souled people of America did all in their power to obstruct the success of his expedition." The refuter acknowledges he has not seen dr. Kippis's book; and therefore will not on the credit of that magazine, venture to charge the dr. with the injustice of the aspersion.— This is fair and candid. But permit me to add, that though I do not well

know dr. Kippis, I have some acquaintance with mr. David Henry, the compiler of the gentleman's magazine, and am persuaded he would never have inserted in it, such an accusation, as from dr. Kippis's book, if it was really not to be found there. Upon this ground I would venture to call on the doctor for his proofs, of which I am persuaded he cannot produce a single one. On the contrary, as the refuter asserts, it is certain the Americans did what lay in their power to prevent any injury or interruption being given to the success of a voyage in which the good of mankind was concerned.—The following copy of a circular letter from their minister at the court of France, to all their cruisers, is one authentic proof of this; and more of the same kind might undoubtedly be given, if it were necessary.

*To all captains and commanders of armed ships, acting by commission from the congress of the united states of America, now in war with Great-Britain.*

*Gentlemen,*

A Ship having been fitted out from England, before the commencement of this war, to make discoveries of new countries in unknown seas, under the conduct of that most celebrated navigator and discoverer, capt. Cooke—an undertaking truly laudable in itself, as the increase of geographical knowledge facilitates the communication between distant nations, in the exchange of useful products and manufactures, and the extension of arts, whereby the common enjoyments of human life are multiplied and augmented, and science of other kinds increased, to the benefit of mankind in general.—This is therefore most earnestly to recommend to every one of you, that in case the said ship, which is now expected to be soon in the European seas on her return, should happen to fall into your hands, you would not consider her as an enemy, nor suffer any plunder to be made of the effects contained in her, nor obstruct her immediate return to England, by detaining her or sending her into any other part of Europe or to America; but that you would treat the said captain Cooke and his people with all civility and kindness, afford-

ing them, as common friends to mankind, all the assistance in your power, which they may happen to stand in need of. In so doing, you will not only gratify the generosity of your own dispositions, but there is no doubt of your obtaining the approbation of the congress and your other American owners.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,  
Your most obedient, &c.

B. FRANKLIN,

Minister plenipotentiary from the congress of the united states to the court of France.

*At Passy, near Paris,*

*this 10th day of March, 1779.*

This generous proceeding was so well known in England, and the sentiments it manifested, so much approved by the government there, that when Cooke's voyage was printed, the admiralty sent to dr. Franklin a copy of the same in three quarto volumes, accompanied with the elegant collections of prints appertaining to it, and a very polite letter from lord Howe, signifying that the present was made with his majesty's express approbation; and the royal society having, in honour of that illustrious navigator, one of their members, struck some gold medals to be distributed among his friends and the friends of his voyage, one of those medals was also sent to doctor Franklin, by order of the society, together with a letter from their worthy president, sir Joseph Banks, expressing likewise that it was sent with the approbation of his majesty. These being acts of public bodies in England, I wonder much that they should never have come to the knowledge of doctor Kippis.

I am, &c.

*Another American.*



*Essay on the formation of a religious society.*

IT is with pleasure, I observe a spirit of enquiry into human knowledge so generally diffused throughout these new states. I doubt not but many new discoveries, useful to mankind, will be made: Every enlightened age and people improve on the former, and as we have the experience of the past, so we may hope to derive advantages unknown to those who

have gone before us.—At a time when societies are forming for promoting useful knowledge—the encouraging of our manufactures—and alleviating the miseries of human nature—I could wish to see an association of the religious part of society formed for the spreading abroad of the word of God—That, which is the most important to mankind, certainly requires the most assiduous attention.—In forming a society of this nature, I am well aware, objections will be made from the various denominations of christians, each professing their particular tenets and modes of worship, but the more liberal will enter upon the enquiry without any distinction of either. Those whom the spirit of truth hath enlightened, (and to them only I apply myself,) view mankind, as the word of God declares them to be, in a lost estate, and that they ever would have so remained, had not God, in his infinite mercy, found One, in whom all mankind should be saved; that, opposed to this great salvation are many enemies;—and that a true knowledge of the word is life eternal; that if only a few should be prevailed upon by grace, to relinquish the world, for heaven, the charitable association will feel themselves thankful for being instruments in pointing such to Christ.—I would therefore suppose a society of religious formed, who should meet every week in a suitable place, and a president being chosen, they should, by prayer to God, beg his divine assistance. The revealed word of God, contained in the new and old testament, I would recommend for their meditation. If there is on earth one church of the people of God, who are preserved by the divine power, members thereof may meet, and, disclaiming all human distinctions, seriously join together, in devising the best plan of diffusing a knowledge of that word by which they are upheld, and endeavour to draw others into the way of truth, by pointing them to Christ. The great apostle of the gentiles tells one of the churches he had planted, that it is by the foolishness of preaching, they were saved. Are there no persons, to whom a serious consideration of religious truths will be acceptable? It may be said, the ministers of the gospel are

sufficient to instil the great points of religion, and that no means are wanting, where the spirit of grace leads to an enquiry. The daily prayer of all the ministers sent by God to preach salvation, is, that the labourers be increased, for “the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few”—They would rejoice to see a society of laymen formed, whose essays, breathing the great doctrines they daily preach, should be diffused abroad in the world. If the weight and sacredness of a discussion of such points be objected to, all I can say is, that the gospel is in itself simple—it requires no uncommon learning—nor does truth depend upon a long train of reasoning.—The holy spirit is the teacher, and were an institution of this kind set on foot, it might meet with divine assistance. The great author of our salvation acquaints us, that “he that is not for him, is against him, and he that gathereth not, scattereth.”

The qualifications for admittance into such a society, I would recommend to be simply these:—When six persons who have, for three years last past, made the knowledge of the scriptures their daily search, accompanied with daily prayer for the truth, as it is contained in the word, shall have met together, and found an accordance in the means of grace, I would suppose the society formed for the purpose of addressing the serious part of readers to the examination how far their essays on the great and leading principles of religion agree with the bible. The word of God must be the sole guide to the understanding the scriptures. No comments of mankind, can explain them. They must rest upon themselves. It is not therefore with a view to any new theory of religion, but to increase the enquiry into the scriptures, that this society is recommended. The world goes all rray, but it is because it will not seek the way, in which God has alone been pleased to reveal his will to mankind.

What reason can be assigned sufficient to prevent the formation of such a society? Their manifest intention would be to pray the grace of God in leading them to the true knowledge of his word, in order that, by pointing out an accordance of texts, the serious reader might, by the means of



and the soldier was hospitably entertained, and withdrew to rest. Some hours after, a loud thumping was heard at the street door, which roused the soldier, who stole softly down stairs, and listened at the hall. The blows were repeated, and the door almost broken through by a sledge, or some heavy instrument. By this time the affrighted widow, and her daughters were running about, and screaming, murder ! murder ! but the son having joined the soldier, with a case of loaded pistols, and the latter screwing on his bayonet, and fresh priming his piece, which was well filled with slugs, desired the women to retire, as bloody work might be expected in a few minutes. Soon after, the door was burst in, and two fellows entered, and were instantly shot by the son, who discharged both his pistols at once. Two more returned the favour, from without, but without effect ; and the intrepid veteran, taking immediate advantage of the discharge of their arms, rushing on them like a lion, ran one through the body with his bayonet, and whilst the other was running away, lodged the contents of his piece between his shoulders, and he dropped dead on the spot. They then closed the door as well as they could ; reloaded their arms ; made a good fire ; and watched till day-light, when a number of weavers and spinners came to resume their employment ; we may guess their horror and surprise on seeing four men dead on a dunghill, where the soldier had dragged them before the door was shut. The burgomaster and his syndic attended, and took the depositions of the family relative to this affair. The bodies were buried in a cross-road, and a stone erected over the grave, with this inscription. " Here lie the wretched carcases of four unknown ruffians, who deservedly lost their lives, in an attempt to rob or murder a worthy woman and her family. A stranger, who slept in the house, to which divine providence undoubtedly directed him, was the principal instrument in preventing the perpetration of such horrid designs, which justly entitles him to a lasting memorial, and the thanks of the public. John Adrian De Vries, a discharged soldier, from the regiment of

Diezbach—a native of Middleburgh, in Zealand—and upwards of seventy years old—was the David who slew two of those Goliaths ; the rest being killed by the son of the family. *In honorem, et gratitudinis ergo, Dei optimi maximi, pietatis et innocentiae summi protectoris—magistratus et concilium civitatis Dortrechensis hoc signum poni curavere, xx. die Nov. annoque salutaris humani, 1785.*" The widow presented the soldier with one hundred guineas, and the city settled an handsome pension on him for the rest of his life.

2.

*The desperate negro.*

QUASHI was brought up in the family with his master, as his play-fellow, from his childhood. Being a lad of parts, he rose to be driver, or black overseer, under his master, when the plantation fell to him by succession. He retained for his master the tenderness which he had felt in childhood for his playmate ; and the respect with which the relation of master inspired him, was softened by the affection which the remembrance of their boyish intimacy kept alive in his breast. He had no separate interest of his own, and, in his master's absence, redoubled his diligence, that his affairs might receive no injury from it. In short, here was the most delicate, yet most strong, and seemingly indissoluble tie, that could bind master and slave together.

Though the master had judgment to know when he was well served, and policy to reward good behaviour, he was inexorable, when a fault was committed ; and when there was but an apparent cause of suspicion, he was too apt to let prejudice usurp the place of proof. Quashi could not exculpate himself to his satisfaction, for something done, contrary to the discipline of the plantation, and was threatened with the ignominious punishment of the cart-whip ; and he knew his master too well, to doubt of the performance of his promise.

A negro, who has grown up to manhood, without undergoing a solemn cart-whipping, (as some by good chance will) especially if distinguished by any accomplishment among his fellows, takes pride in what he calls

the smoothness of his skin, and its being unrased by the whip; and he would be at more pains, and use more diligence to escape such a cart whipping, than many of our lower sort would use to shun the gallows. It is not uncommon for a sober, good negro to stab himself mortally, because some boy overseer has flogged him, for what he reckoned a trifle, or for his caprice; or threatened him with a flogging, when he thought he did not deserve it. Quashee dreaded this mortal wound to his honour, and slipped away, unnoticed, with a view to avoid it.

It is usual for slaves, who expect to be punished for their own faults, or their master's caprice, to go to some friend of their master's, and beg him to carry them home, and mediate for them. This is found to be so useful, that humane masters are glad of the pretence of such mediation, and will secretly procure it, to avoid the necessity of punishing for trifles; it, otherwise, not being prudent to pass over, without correction, a fault once taken notice of; while, by this method, an appearance of authority and discipline is kept up, without the severity of it. Quashee, therefore, withdrew, resolving to shelter himself, and save the glossy honours of his skin, under favour of this custom, till he had an opportunity of applying to an advocate. He lurked among his master's negro huts; and his fellow slaves had too much honour, and too great a regard for him, to betray to their master the place of his retreat. Indeed, it is hardly possible, in any case, to get one slave to inform against another;

much more honour have they than Europeans of low condition.

The following day, a feast was kept, on account of his master's nephew then coming of age; amidst the good humour of which, Quashee hoped to succeed in his application: but before he could execute his design—perhaps just as he was setting out to solicit this mediation—his master, while walking about the fields, fell in with him. Quashee, on discovering him, ran off, and the master, who is a robust man, pursued him. A stone, or a clod, tripped Quashee up, just as the other reached out his hand to seize him. They fell together, and wrestled for

the mastery; for Quashee was a stout man, and the elevation of his mind added vigour to his arm. At last, after a severe struggle, in which each had been several times uppermost, Quashee got firmly seated on his master's breast, now panting and out of breath, and with his weight, his thighs and one hand secured him motionless. He then drew out a sharp knife, and, while the other lay in dreadful expectations, helpless, and shrinking into himself, he thus addressed him: 'master, I was bred up with you from a child: I was your playmate when a boy; I have loved you as myself; your interest has been my study; I am innocent of the cause of your suspicion; had I been guilty, my attachment to you might have pleaded for me—yet you have condemned me to a punishment, of which I must ever have borne the disgraceful marks—thus only can I avoid them.' With these words, he drew the knife with all his strength across his own throat, and fell down dead, without a groan, on his master, bathing him in his blood.

3.  
AT a late public sale of negro slaves, at Santa Cruz, among the great numbers that christian avarice had been either the immediate or secondary means of placing on a level with the cattle, daily brought to market, were two, each of them apparently about the age of 30, whose deportment seemed superior to the rest. What their rank had really been, they, with a sullen dignity, seemed resolved to conceal from every one. Yet, mingled with a haughty manner to all besides, there appeared in every look and action, the tenderest affection and heart-felt attachment to each other. When the captain of the vessel, which had brought them thither, entered on the necessary business of distributing the slaves into proper lots for sale, both of them, in the most submissive manner, and with an eagerness that spoke more than common feelings, clung round his knees, and hung about his garment, intreating him only to favour them, so far as to permit them both to be appointed to the same lot, by which means they might serve one master, and at least enjoy the trifling satisfaction of being companions, even in

slavery. But even this poor request itself, either through the brutality of the salesman, or from apprehensions of their combining in some mutinous design, was denied them.

Yet, earnest as they seemed in their desire, the refusal was received with manly resignation by them both; and when upon the point of being delivered to their respective masters, they only begged the leave of a few words with one another, permitted out of hearing, though not out of sight of those they were to serve. This was allowed them, and after a few minutes conversation, and a close embrace, they were sent to their respective stations. Seven days after the transaction, they were both missing at the same hour; nor were they, though the strictest search was made after them, to be found; 'till at a week's distance, a planter riding through a thicket, which lay in the midway between the two plantations they had been destined to, saw, to his great surprize, two bodies hanging on one tree, locked fast in each other's arms, embracing and embraced; which, on enquiry made, proved to be the faithful, yet desperate friends.

4.  
**D**URING the second bombardment of Algiers by the marquis du Quesne, the inhabitants, reduced to a state of desperation, carried their cruelty to the pitch of tying up some French slaves alive to the mouths of their cannon, and firing them off at their countrymen instead of bullets. A French officer, by the name of Choiseul, and friend to an Algerine captain, whose life he had at a former day preserved, was already bound fast to the mouth of a cannon, when the captain knew him. Instantly, in the most pressing terms, he solicits his friend's pardon: but not able to obtain it, darts upon the executioners, and three times rescued Choiseul out of their hands. At length, finding all his efforts useless, he falls himself to the mouth of the same cannon, entangles himself in Choiseul's chains, tenderly and closely embraces him, and addresses the cannoner in these words: 'fire, for as I cannot save my friend and benefactor, I will die with him.' The dey, who happened to be a witness of this shocking sight,

was greatly moved by it. He passed many eulogiums upon the generosity of his subject, and exempted Choiseul from that horrid kind of death.

5.  
**A** Spanish cavalier, without any reasonable provocation, assassinated a Moorish gentleman, and instantly fled from justice. He was vigorously pursued: but availing himself of a sudden turn in the road, he leaped, unperceived, over a garden wall. The proprietor who was a Moor, happened to be, at that time, walking in the garden; and the Spaniard fell upon his knees before him; acquainted him with his case, and in the most pathetic manner, implored concealment. The Moor listened to him with compassion, and generously promised his assistance. He then locked him in a summer house, and left him, with an assurance, that when night approached, he would provide for his escape. A few hours after, the dead body of his son was brought to him; and the description of the murderer exactly agreed with the appearance of the Spaniard, whom he had then in custody. He concealed the horror and suspicion which he felt; and retiring to his chamber, remained there till midnight. Then going privately into the garden, he opened the door of the summer house, and thus accosted the cavalier: 'Christian,' said he, 'the youth, whom you have murdered, was my only son. Your crime merits the severest punishment. But I have solemnly pledged my word for your security; and I disdain to violate even a rash engagement with a cruel enemy.' He conducted the Spaniard to the stables, and furnishing him with one of his swiftest mules, 'fly,' said he, 'whilst the darkness of the night conceals you. Your hands are polluted with blood: but God is just; and I humbly thank him, that my faith is unspotted, and that I have resigned judgment unto him.'

6.  
**M**ONS. D'Estache, formerly a cornet of dragoons, being fifty-two years old, under promise of marriage seduced and got with child, a young lady of seventeen years of age, whose name was St. Cheron, and then refused to marry her, under a frivolous pretence. The injured la-

dy had two brothers, officers in the regiment of Brisac, who would have fought D'Esilache, but he wounded the eldest in the face, and shot the other from a window. This unhappy family had a sister, who for some time abandoned herself to grief and rage; but the last of these passions prevailing, prompted her to revenge above the daring of her sex; for being informed that her sister's seducer, and brother's murderer, was at Montpellier, she went thither, and found means the very evening of her arrival, to be introduced to the guilty author of her family's disgrace, whom she instantly shot dead with a pistol. She then wrote to M. le Blanc, secretary at war, owning the deed, but denying it to be an offence, to which mercy was not due. The ladies of Montpellier, one and all, approved of her conduct; they made themselves prisoners, to accompany her to the throne, and she soon obtained a full pardon.

**M**<sup>7.</sup>ONTECUCULI, an imperial general, had commanded, under pain of death, that no person should pass through the corn fields. A soldier, returning from a village, and ignorant of the prohibition, took a path that led across the fields. Montecuculi, who perceived his violation of military discipline, sentenced him to be hanged, and dispatched the necessary orders to the provost of the army. The soldier, however, continuing to approach his general, alleged his entire ignorance of the prohibition. "Let the provost do his duty," said Montecuculi. The soldier, whom they had not yet thought of disarming, was enraged and desperate at this injustice and inflexibility. "I have not been guilty," he exclaimed; "but now I am!" and instantly fired his piece at Montecuculi. He happily missed his aim; but this great man, allowing for the feelings of a brave soldier, pardoned him on the spot.

**D**<sup>8.</sup>URING the war between the Portuguese and the inhabitants of the island of Ceylon, Thomas de Sufa, who commanded the European forces, took prisoner a beautiful Indian, who had promised herself in

marriage to an amiable youth. The lover was no sooner informed of this misfortune, than he hastened to throw himself at the feet of his adorable nymph, who, with transport, caught him in her arms. Their sighs and their tears were mingled, and it was some time before their words could find utterance, to express their grief. At last, when they had a little recovered, they agreed, that they would, since their misfortunes had left them no hope of living together in freedom, partake with each other all the horrors of slavery.

Sufa, who had a soul truly susceptible of tender emotions, was moved at the sight. "It is enough," said he to them, "that you wear the chains of love. You shall not wear those of slavery. Go, and be happy in the lawful embraces of wedlock."

**T**<sup>9.</sup>HE princess of Prussia, having ordered some rich silks from Lyons, which pay a high duty at Stetin; the place of her residence, the custom-house officer rudely arrested them, until the duties should be paid. The princess, incensed, let him know that she would satisfy his demands, and desired that he would come himself with the silks. On his entrance into the apartments of the princess, she flew at him, seized the merchandize, gave the officer two or three cuffs in the face, and turned him out of doors. The proud and mortified excise-man, in a violent fit of resentment, drew up a memorial, in which he complained bitterly of the dishonourable treatment he had met with, in the exercise of his office. The king having read the memorial, answered it as follows:

"The loss of the duties belongs to my account. The silks are to remain in the possession of the princess.—The cuffs with him that received them. As to the supposed dishonour, I cancel it at the request of the complainant:—but it is of itself null;—for the white hand of a fair lady cannot possibly dishonour the face of a custom-house officer."

(Signed) FREDERIC.

Berlin, Nov. 30, 1778.

THE  
AMERICAN SPECTATOR.

To the printer of the museum.

SIR,

AS the refinement of manners, and purity of morals, are primary objects in society, I am induced to hope, you will allot a portion of your work to writings calculated to promote these valuable purposes. If you approve my plan, I shall occasionally send you a few selected essays, of foreign, as well as native origin. I am promised the assistance of some literary friends, whose productions will tend to enliven and give variety to the collection. I am, sir, yours, &c.

D. W. H.

NUMBER I.

*Reflexions on second marriages of men. Causes of the distress, which often follows. Stepmothers. Cautions to widowers, disposed to marry.*

*By the rev. Timothy Dwight, of Greenfield, Connecticut.*

FEW articles in private life have occasioned more speculation, or more censure, than second marriages. The cruelty and odiousness of stepmothers, and the unhappiness of the families where they exist, are proverbial. For so general a censure, there is undoubtedly some foundation, as it cannot be imagined that so many more bad women happen to be introduced into that station, than into any other. This foundation is as undoubtedly to be sought in the character itself, and its attendant circumstances.

There are certain causes, naturally productive of such conduct in stepmothers, as will create unhappiness in their families, which are obvious and universal. Yet these are not so efficacious, as always to produce this conduct; for many women, in this character, are as much beloved, as free from censure, and as happy, as were the real parents of their families. This is incontestible evidence, that the characters may be successfully sustained, so that these general causes are not so powerful, as uniformly to produce their disagreeable effects.

If the above remarks are just, there is reason to believe that the unhappi-

ness complained of, is often casual, and owing to causes which prudence might enable us to avoid. But to avoid them, it is necessary that they should be known.

In the course of my own experience in human life, the unhappiness of families, under the government of stepmothers, has appeared to me to be commonly chargeable to their husbands. Few men, when entering upon a second marriage, use the same prudence, which is conspicuous in the other parts of their conduct. Influenced by vanity, on one side, and by amorous inclination, on the other, instead of looking for a good mother to their children, and a good mistress to their domestic concerns, they search for some young, inexperienced, giddy girl, whose beauty may gratify their amorous views, and whose youth, and choice of them, may gratify their vanity. Hence the unfortunate wife is introduced, almost in a state of childhood, into the arduous station of mother to a numerous family, and into the difficult employments of providing for their wants, instructing them in governing their tempers, and regulating their conduct. It is impossible that such a mother should not do a thousand foolish, improper things. So important a station, to be happily filled, requires not only a good share of natural endowments, and of the accomplishments of education, but much of that wisdom, which is taught alone by experience. How totally at a loss must the unhappy woman then be, who, through her own thoughtlessness, and her suitor's solicitations, finds herself plunged into a multitude of cares, and duties, without any acquaintance with the mode of discharging them.

By this inexperience, all her burdens are doubled. Her daily circle of business becomes doubly painful, because she knows not the most easy, convenient methods of performing it; and the government of her children is rendered peculiarly troublesome, because she is wholly untried, and unskilled in the arts of governing. For these reasons, she is naturally induced to believe, that her children have more, and greater faults than others; not only because she was never before at all concerned with the faults of children, or ever led to attend to

them; but because she sees other women, of no greater talents, or experience, slide easily over the management of their families. It is not natural for her to attribute this to the real cause, their marrying men of their own age, and entering upon those cares with the gradual progress allowed by a beginning family; this would be a condemnation of her own choice and conduct in marrying. Hence she imputes it to the peculiar forwardness of her children, and treats them with a dislike and rigour, conformed to such imputations. In these circumstances, the children, irritated by a treatment wholly contrasted to that of their own mother, take little pains to obey, or to please her, observe all her mistakes, magnify her faults, and, (if any of them, as is frequently the case, are grown to adult years) tell them with bitterness to her face.

Nor is this all; unhappy at home, they seek a respite from their troubles in the neighbourhood. Their misfortunes naturally become the topic of conversation, and their mother's imperfections are rehearsed and enlarged. Some of their neighbours, from compassion for them, and many more from the love of slander and meddling, imprudently join in their resentments, and mischievously make the breach larger, which, with prudence and good will, they might often make less. Such persons magnify to them their distresses, the excellencies of their deceased mother, and the blemishes of her successor; and cherish their opposition and resentment by testimonies of their approbation. Especially is this the practice of their relations; who, through an ill-judged but natural tenderness, frequently ruin the character, and the happiness of both mother and children.

In the mean time, the mortifications of the wife are allayed by none of those endearments, and indescribable little offices of affection, which, in the first marriages of the young, sweeten the bitter cup of life, and cover every bramble with roses. On a lover, fifty years old, these offices, could he perform them, would hang very ungracefully. But they are beyond his power. Neither his imagination nor his affections have sufficient sprightliness, nor his limbs sufficient

agility, to avoid awkwardness and dulness in innumerable pleasing acts of attention, which clothe a youthful suitor with peculiar loveliness. Nothing, indeed, can be more ridiculous, than to see a grey-haired old gentleman, whom a series of discreet and useful conduct has elevated to dignity, stepping down a whole flight of stairs at once, and aping youth, sprightliness, and love, at the bottom. As I am an old man myself, at least in my own feelings, I hope my compeers in age will not think these remarks dictated by prejudice.

The calamities, I have mentioned, are by no means the whole amount of wretchedness attendant on such unequal marriages. As numerous offspring usually swarm upon a house that was before filled, these, growing up in the dotage of the father, receive from him none of the most necessary administrations of government, and, of course, are rude, headstrong, forward, and vicious. As they advance in years, they quarrel with their elder brothers and sisters, and as the mother is previously a party against the latter, she is doubly induced to favour her children. Thus enmity, jealousy, and jangle, divide and harass a house, where a little self-government, prudently exercised by the father, in his second marriage, would have perpetuated peace and prosperity. Under this complication of distress, the father usually sinks into despondence and insignificance. Beloved less and less by his wife and his children, he languishes out a weary life, and commonly meets death with a peculiar resignation.

I am far from thinking that all the miseries of second marriages are produced in this manner; but I am entirely convinced, that, in most instances, they are derived from other sources than badness of character in the step-mother. This indeed happens at times, and as often as in first marriages, but in no measure often enough to account for the numerous instances of wretchedness produced in this way. The error is usually and fatally committed in forming the connexion, and commonly rests on the head of the father.

It often happens, that such marriages are made unhappy by an undue

attention to property; for which the avarice of fifty frequently sacrifices every other consideration. In many instances, mere caprice, or whim, is the source of an ill-judged connexion. And in many instances, where few objections can be offered against the connexion itself, the imprudent intervention of neighbours and relations, blasts every hope, and produces poison, when there was a fair prospect of fragrance and honey.

It will be asked by him, who has lost his first wife, and is warmly engaged in the pursuit of another, "what course shall I take? must I live a single life, in solitude and melancholy, the remaining part of my days? must I give up every hope of renewing the conjugal happiness, now doubly endeared by enjoyment?" No, my friend, you need not renounce such hopes. But wait till a fit time after your wife is buried, before you make your second wedding; and that to benefit yourself, as well as to respect her memory. When you can do it with decency, look round the circle of women within your knowledge; examine as impartially as you can; and see, not who will gratify your vanity, your lust, or your avarice, but who will make a kind and prudent mother to your children, a skilful directress of your domestic concerns, and a sensible, pleasing companion to you. Learn, as far as possible, from observation, and from enquiry, who will add to your reputation, and your happiness; who will appear to have been chosen with discretion and dignity, and who will so conduct, as that your family will look up to her with respect, and not down upon her with necessary contempt. Remember, that you ought to marry for your children, as well as for yourself: and that, in the character and conduct of your wife, their happiness is at least as intimately concerned, as your own. Expect not to find a woman whom you will love, as perhaps you did your first wife, with the instinctive passion of youth. In such an expectation you will certainly be disappointed; and if you imagine yourself the subject of that passion, you will deceive yourself. On the contrary, search for one whom you cannot but rationally esteem, for her good sense, sincerity,

benevolence, and skill in domestic management. These valuable qualities will furnish a solid foundation, for a sober, dignified affection, which will endure, and increase, through life. Think not of a wife, whose years are greatly inferior to your own. She will never love you as her husband; you will never esteem her as your wife. Your children will not respect her; the world will laugh at you. But if, mad with avarice, with lust, or with vanity, nothing but youth and beauty will satisfy your wishes, remember that misery is at the door, and will enter in, in the train of your bride, and prove one of your domestics as long as you live.

NUMBER II.

*Remarks on coxcombs. A portrait.*

*A coxcomb not so contemptible a character as generally esteemed.*

*In no danger from female charms.*

**T**HERE is no person, among all my acquaintance, whose movements I have more narrowly watched, than those of a young coxcomb, who sometimes visits me. If the reader wishes to know why I have so critically inspected the actions of this finical youth, I will explain my motives as concisely as I can. I have often heard that every description of men have some useful and commendable qualifications; and in order to ascertain the truth of this observation, I pitched upon a coxcomb, as the most suitable subject, to bring the question to a test. If any valuable qualities can be discovered in such a character, I think we may pronounce, with some certainty, that no mortal is exempt from a share of good properties. We should distinguish between qualities that are useful to one's self, and those that are so to other people. My present enquiry shall be principally confined to the former.

In the first place, then, a coxcomb cannot be a lazy man. I am sensible many censorious people are often ranking him with the idle and dissolute. The charge has no foundation in truth. Whoever attempts to follow all the fluctuations of the fashions, and suffers no other person to keep a-head of him in this respect, will find full employment for his activity and discernment. It is impossible any one can do this, and be in-

dolent. The young fribble, of whom I am now speaking, is engaged in no professed line of business, and yet I know of no person, whose time is more incessantly occupied. He mentioned to me, the other morning, by way of apology for not performing an engagement he was under, that he had not had a leisure moment, for more than a fortnight past. This circumstance induced me to keep a vigilant eye over his actions, and satisfy myself in what manner, he consumed his days. I called at his lodgings two or three mornings successively, so early that I found him at home. He employed nearly three hours in dressing; and I am convinced he could not do it in a shorter time. More than an hour was devoted to the barber, and the reader may be certain it was not a moment too long. The fop had almost as much to do as the barber, for he rose from the chair, ten times in the course of the operation, to see if all the hairs were well adjusted. But the hardest task was with the boot-maker. My friend had a dozen pair of boots to try, and it took him more than fifteen minutes to draw one boot over his leg. In the course of the experiment, I am confident he went through more fatigue, than a labouring man would have endured, by breaking flax smartly for six hours.

It would be endless for me to particularize all the objects, which unavoidably fall in the way, and prevent a coxcomb from wearing away his moments in sloth and inactivity. It must be remembered that he has the process of dressing to pass through, twice in twenty-four hours. The remainder of his time is spent in visiting and in some fashionable amusements, which can by no means be performed by a lazy man. These remarks will, I hope, exculpate my dressy acquaintance from the charge of indolence.

But a more beneficial effect, than that just mentioned, is derived from being a complete coxcomb, in the security it affords a man against the pains and inconveniences of being captivated with female charms. It is well known that one of these butterfly men loves no created being so well as himself. His whole powers of admiration find employment about his own person. Any disgust or inattention, shewn him by a female, is cal-

led caprice; and is supposed to result from a want of elegance or purity of taste. This shelter against these frequent impressions, which men of less personal vanity feel, is no inconsiderable advantage. It may fairly be denominated a useful quality to the person who possesses it. Though he extravagantly admires no lady, still he may be the friend and patron of many. Superficial women court his attention, because they are pleased with his finery: and sensible women have pleasantry enough to indulge his vanity and self-approbation. His forms of politeness and good humour are conspicuous, and he will grant the ladies every thing they ask of him, except his admiration and love.

A still greater utility, in being a devotee to dress and gaiety, proceeds from its being a pretty effectual guard against gross intemperance, and many other vices destructive of health and morals. The life of an abandoned profligate is not compatible with that of a finished coxcomb. Very different passions give rise to these characters, and they have very different objects in view. Scenes of extravagant dissipation are generally attended with rough language, than which nothing can be more disagreeable to a man of real foppery. He avoids every situation where he cannot be looked at and flattered. His inclination leads him among genteel people, who admit him as an associate, for the civility of his deportment, and who are themselves too well bred to call in question his claims to admiration.

Upon the whole, I am induced to believe that most people entertain too mean an opinion of coxcombs. It is a much more unexceptionable character than is usually imagined; and a well-shaped stripling, who has rich friends, and slender talents, may be said to have taken his best destiny, when dress is the object of his care, and personal vanity the motive of his conduct. By this means, he will at least escape being a loungeur, as he must of course be active and busy, to keep up the part he assumes.—Nor will he probably become a drunkard, a knave, or a blackguard; for he can be neither of these, without essentially interfering with the main wish of his heart, to be complimented as a *sweet pretty fellow*.

New York, September 30, 1789.

## NUMBER III.

*Remarks on various inferior sources of anxiety, and on the secret of living happily.*

**T**EARS and complaints are among the sources of relief that lie open to the afflicted and unfortunate. Those people, who can vent their grief in either of these ways, feel less oppression of spirits, than those who conceal their misfortunes, through a temper of pride, or cherish their sadness, under such a close contexture of heart, as cannot readily let loose its sorrows. But one meets with innumerable ills and vexations in the world, about which, it would be weakness to sigh, and delicacy to complain.

An epicure, in dining with his friend, sometimes finds no dish that suits his palate. The cookery may in every respect be different from what he relishes. To be sure, he is placed in a situation, which, to him, is a very unpleasant one. Nothing could vex him more, and yet he must not complain. He must disguise his feelings, or he will offend those of his friend.

An old man, connected with a young wife, whom he dares not quarrel with, is perpetually exposed to vexations, which he cannot even mention, without being ridiculed. His natural disposition may be sullen and reserved; and those characteristics may be heightened by age and infirmity. Her temper may be peculiarly gay and volatile, and her desire of company and amusement, may be increased, by living with a husband, whose character and wishes are so different from her own. Both of them feel a state of uneasiness, which they can neither hope to escape, nor cease to lament. And yet their inquietudes are of such a nature, that any complaint would excite contempt rather than pity. The evil admits of no remedy: it meets with no compassion. It can be no mark of discernment for persons voluntarily to plunge into a situation so tedious and hopeless.

The secret of living happily depends very much on knowing how to avoid the description of evils to which I allude. In the choice of intimate friends and companions, one

will fall into disagreeable mistakes, unless he acts with great discernment and caution. A similarity in circumstances, a coincidence in political sentiments, and many other causes, may induce men to form circles of acquaintance, into which perhaps not a single ray of real friendship ever penetrates. One should not number among his particular friends, those persons, with whom he becomes acquainted, only through accident or convenience. If he does, he will commit an error, that will involve him in all the difficulties, I am exhorting him to shun. Before any man is recognized as a familiar associate, he ought to give unequivocal proof, that he possesses purity of principles, and generosity of heart. There should be a resemblance in taste and habits, between those who often come together for the relaxation of their mutual cares. When there is a disagreement in this respect, their scenes of mirth and festivity will soon degenerate into fullness and discontent. It is not material, that there be a similarity of age, understanding, or natural temper. It is only requisite that their habits and inclinations should be formed with a view to similar modes of gratification. Nothing is more common than for an old man to be less sprightly and enterprising than his young friend, and yet both may take delight in the same course of business and amusement. A man, prone to silence and gravity, may be happy in companions of an open unreserved temper. If they are both alike well-bred, and familiarised to like customs, their difference of temper may probably never prove a source of much vexation to each other. But persons living together will soon disagree, if they have been accustomed to a different stile and manner of enjoyment, and have modelled their taste and fashions by a different level of circumstances.

When I visit my friend, it is of no importance to my happiness, that he should know as much, or talk and laugh as much, as I do. But if he gives me bad wine, and a dinner not so well dressed, as I could have got elsewhere, I undergo a vexation, against which I have no remedy. This shews how much of our pleasure in

life depends on avoiding habitual familiarities with persons, who will incessantly counteract our prevailing taste and inclination. I may view a man with respect and veneration for his talents and virtues, and yet no degree of acquaintance may be able to interest any of the tender sentiments of my heart. We may both applaud each other for our respective good qualities, but we must commit force upon ourselves, if we attempt to pass a social hour together.

It cannot be too much contemplated how many of the irksome moments of life are occasioned by incidents, that appear too trifling to be ranked in the catalogue of misfortunes. No man could ever move one sensation of pity in the breast of another, because his fellow-lodgers chose a different hour of dining, or a different sort of provisions, from himself; and yet many a man has suffered more actual vexation from such a cause, than he probably has realized in all the losses and disappointments that have perplexed his plans of business.

When a man is assailed by those heavy misfortunes, which engage the attention of mankind, he may flatter his pride, by the manly fortitude he discovers, and alluage his grief, by the tender sympathy he excites. This source of consolation, however, is not open to a man, who is vexed and mortified by a thousand untoward accidents, which embitter every moment of his life, and which he cannot think of, without sentiments of shame, nor declare without exposing himself to derision. Men may be so incessantly teased with incidents of this stamp, as to fall into habits of peevishness and caprice, and become a torment to themselves, and those with whom they associate. I have seen two men, who, from motives of convenience in business, became fellow-lodgers; their taste in living was so opposite, that they were never both pleased with precisely the same thing. It is incredible, how a petulance of temper grew upon them, and how soon they disliked each other as companions. It was no relief, under such vexations, that they were both sensible, well-informed men, and both sustained an excellent character. Had one of them been a fool

and the other a wise man, they had probably lived more harmoniously together, if their taste and habits had coincided better. These reflexions will, I hope, lead my readers into an examination of the causes, that contribute to happiness and tranquility. I am confident, that, with a little precaution, men may make life pass away more agreeably, and escape innumerable sources of disquietude, in which a great portion of the human race are involved.

New York, Nov. 21, 1789.

NUMBER IV.

*Religion and superstition contrasted.*  
By the rev. Joseph Lathrop, of  
Springfield, Connecticut.

RELIGION supposes a knowledge of the Deity, his perfections and government—of ourselves as rational, moral, fallen creatures—of the way in which offenders may be restored to the divine favour—and of mankind, in their various relations to us. It consists in an unreserved regard to the duties resulting from our nature and condition, and the relation in which we stand to other beings. It is ‘a reasonable service.’ As it is founded in knowledge, so it enlarges the mind, exalts and refines its powers, and gives them their just direction and employment. Religion, conscious of human weakness, rests on divine revelation; but, in examining the evidence, design, and meaning of revelation, admits the aid of reason. It is calm in its enquiries; deliberate in its resolves, and steady in its conduct. It cherishes modest and humble thoughts—is open to light and conviction—and labours for improvement. It is mild and peaceable in its disposition—sober and temperate in its manners—candid and condescending to others. It studies to promote love and union among men, in civil and in religious society; reprobates none for trivial differences; attends, chiefly, to things of solid importance; and regards, as the friends of God, all who do so, whatever name they bear. It condemns vice, and the errors that lead to it—approves virtue and the truths which promote it—whether in friend or enemy. It aims to please the Deity, by a constant observance of his injunctions; and under a sense of re-

velation, penitently relies on mercy, through the grand atonement provided. It is firm in danger, uniform in duty, content with the silent approbation of the heart, and a consciousness of divine approbation, humbly trusting in the wisdom and equity of the supreme government. In a word, religion improves the intellect, rectifies the will, sweetens the temper, calms the passions, gives peace to the conscience, and renders men courteous, friendly, and beneficent to each other, and useful in every relation.

Superstition is a kind of inconsistent, trifling scrupulosity. It discovers itself in a fervent zeal for and against matters of indifference or small importance, while things of real weight are overlooked. It lays stress on practices that have no connexion with virtue, and opinions that make no man wiser or better, and have neither evidence to support them, nor usefulness to recommend them; and rejects those that have both. In the expressive language of sacred writ, 'it strains at a gnat, and swallows a camel.' It springs from ignorance of men and things, from false notions of the Deity and his government, and absurd conceptions of the nature of piety and virtue. It is guided by the traditions and opinions of men, more than by sober reason and plain revelation. It is credulous in some favourite matters—in others blind to argument. It is hasty in its judgment, and rash in its conduct—vain in its opinion of itself—fond of show and parade—attached to a party—censorious of others—and apt to make divisions and separations in society, under pretence of superior wisdom or sanctity. It justifies in its favourites, what it condemns in every body else. It is fierce and malignant in its temper—stiff and obstinate in its sentiments and practices—much given to complaint of persecution from others—yet unmercifully cruel towards others—and scrupulous of no measures to make proselytes or extirpate opponents. It is dark and suspicious—gloomy and sullen—timorous and irresolute. It fears imaginary evils—and trusts in imaginary means of security. It attempts to commute for the neglect of essential duties, by great severity and punctilious exactness in

little things; and labours to placate an offended Deity, and conciliate his favour, by arbitrary, unrequired, useless, unavailing observances. In a word, superstition fetters the understanding, depresses the spirits, embitters the temper, disturbs the passions, and spoils the manners. It produces complaints without grievance, animosity without an injury, contention without an object, terror without danger, confidence without foundation.

A good man, tinged with superstition, deforms his religion—defeats the influence of his example—causes his good to be evil spoken of—and exposes his piety to contempt. A bad man, governed by superstition, is a vexation to mankind, and a torment to himself.



## THE POLITICIAN.

NUMBER I.

*On submission to civil government. By the rev. Joseph Lathrop, of Springfield, Connecticut.*

**M**ANKIND cannot subsist without society, nor society without government. If there were no way to controul the selfishness, check the passions, and restrain the vices of men, they would soon become so intolerable to one another, that they must disperse, and, being dispersed, must perish, or be miserable. Government is a combination of the whole community, against the vices of each particular member. The design of it is not merely to provide for the general defence against foreign power, but to exercise a controul over each member, to restrain him from wrong, and compel him to right, so far as common safety requires. Mankind, by entering into society, and coming under government, put the protection of their rights, and the redress of their wrongs, out of their own hands: and, instead of defending or recovering their rights, by private force, they agree to submit to the more impartial decision of the society, or of those whom the society has constituted judges.

That a people may be free and happy under government, they must be wise and virtuous. A well-framed constitution may be some security; the

wisdom and virtue of the people is a greater. A virtuous people may subsist under a mild government; a corrupt and vicious people must be ruled with rigour. Those who are governed by rational principles of their own, need but little other government; those, who are wholly destitute of such principles, must be governed by external force and terror. 'The law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless.'

We have by force repelled a foreign encroachment on our liberties, and established a government of our own. Whether we shall be safe and happy now, depends much more on our own conduct, than on the form of government, which we have adopted, or any other that can be devised.

We should always be careful to commit the powers of government into the hands of wise and virtuous men; for it is manifestly absurd, to trust the common safety with those, whose ability and integrity would not entitle them to our confidence in private life.

We should contribute our aid to carry into execution the wholesome laws of the community, especially those which immediately relate to the virtue and morals of the people.

We should educate our children in rational notions of civil liberty, but, at the same time, in just sentiments of subordination and submission to authority; and instil into their minds such principles of honour, benevolence, integrity, piety, and universal virtue, that they may have little occasion for the restraints of public laws.

A wise people will inspect the conduct of their rulers, and guard their rights from every invasion. But they will not indulge an excessive jealousy, nor complain of measures, which they understand not, or which could not be avoided.

When a people are greatly burdened, they may justly demand the severest economy in the application of public treasures; but they should be careful, that they impute not to prodigality, those expenses, which arise from necessity.

If rulers are profuse, we may prefer men of more frugality; but let us, in private life, exercise the same frugality, which we expect of them, in

their public stations. The man that wastes his own substance, would not be very sparing of public money, if it was committed to his disposal: and such a man complains of extravagance with a very ill grace.

If the general character of a people is frugal, such, of course, will be the prevailing disposition of rulers; because men of this character will be chosen to places of public trust; and their conduct will be much influenced by the prevailing taste and manners of the people.

We commonly say, rulers ought to be our examples. And so they ought. And why ought not we also to be theirs? In absolute governments, where the people are dependent on the will of their rulers, the public examples very much govern private manners. In popular and elective governments, like ours, the case is, in some measure, the reverse. Rulers are here chosen by, and dependent on, the people: and it may naturally be expected, that they will be good or bad, frugal or profuse, very much according to the prevailing character of their constituents.

If we would have the government reformed, we must reform ourselves. The more virtue there is among private persons, the more there will be among rulers, and the more easy it will be for government to carry into execution, laws for the suppression of vice, and the encouragement of virtue. The best laws are impotent things, when the general disposition is to violate them. They are but cobwebs, which may happen, now and then, to entangle some feeble insect, while the strong will break through, and escape. But good laws carry force and terror, when the main body of the people approve them, and are resolved to obey and support them.

NUMBER II.

*Essay on patriotism.*

THE love of our country is an inflexible determination of mind to promote, by all justifiable means, the happiness of that society of which we are members; to attend to it with a warm and active zeal; to neglect no opportunity by which we may, without violating the great law of universal benevolence, advance her honour and interest; and generously to sacrifice to

this governing principle, all inferior regards, and less extensive claims, of what nature soever.

This is that elevated passion, of all others the most necessary, as well as most becoming to mankind; and yet, if we believe the common complaints, of all others, the least visible in the world. It lives, we are told, rather in description than reality, and is now represented as an antiquated and forgotten virtue. Wretched picture of the human race! If this be a just representation, we are degenerate indeed—insensible to all social duties—counteracting the common bond of alliance with our species—and checking the source of our most refined satisfactions.

There is in the souls of men a certain attractive power which leads them, insensibly, to associate, and to concert the plan of mutual happiness. If any thing be natural to us, it must be that passion which conduces to the preservation of the species. But nothing so manifestly contributes to that end, as this combining principle of fellowship, which must, therefore, be as certainly derived from nature, as the love we bear to our offspring, or that which they have for each other. The public is, as it were, one great family; we are all children of one common mother, our country; she gave us all our birth, nursed our tender years, and supports our manhood. In this light, our regards for her seem as natural as the unexplained affection between parents and children. It is then from the very frame of man that the sense of a national brotherhood arises, and a public is recognized by the suffrages of unerring nature.

Whenever, therefore, this uniting instinct is obstructed in its operations, by the unequal indulgence of private affection, the balance of the passions is destroyed, and the kind intention of the Creator no less imprudently than impiously perverted.

I might here enlarge on the mutual delights given and received, in the social entertainments and conversation of a people, connected together by the same language, customs, and institutions, and from thence shew the reasonableness of an affectionate attachment to the community; but I

choose to point out the obligations to this associating virtue, as they arise from higher and more interesting principles.

The miseries of the state of nature are so evident, that there is no occasion to display them. Every man is sensible, that violence, rapine, and slaughter, must be continually practised, where no restraints are provided, to curb the inordinance of self-affection. To society we owe our security from those miseries, and to a well-poised government—such as ours—we stand indebted for our protection against those, who would encroach upon the equal share of liberty which belongs to all, or would molest individuals in the possession of what is fairly appropriated. And what an unspeakable satisfaction is it to be free—and to be able to call what we justly hold, our own! Freedom and security diffuse cheerfulness over the most uncomfortable regions, and give a value to the most contemptible possessions; even a morsel of bread, in the most frozen climates, would be more worth contending for, if liberty crowned the meal, than the noblest possessions and greatest affluence, under the mildest skies, if held at the merciless will of a civil or religious tyrant. As such a happiness is only to be established by the love of society—and as all the blessings which we enjoy, spring from this source—gratitude calls upon us to cultivate a principle to which we owe such transcendent obligations.

But the obligation increases upon us, when we consider that from society is also derived a set of amiable duties, unknown to man in a detached, unconnected state. It is from this fountain, that hospitality, gratitude, and generosity flow, with all the pleasing charities which adorn human nature. For where have those virtues their theatre—where is their scene of action—how can they exert themselves—but in society? It is there alone we have opportunities of displaying the moral charms, and of exhibiting the glorious manifestation of goodwill to mankind. On this account, therefore, society has an high demand for our affectionate regard.

To be unmindful of the public, is not only an argument of an ungrate-

ul, it is also a proof of a dishonest temper of mind. He, who injures particulars, is, indeed, an offender; but he who withholds from the public the service and affection to which it is entitled, is a criminal of a far higher degree; as he, by such a behaviour, robs a whole body of people, and deprives the community of her just demand. If one man has a good understanding, and does not exert it for the general advantage, by advice and council—if another has riches, and will not assist with his liberality—if a poor man has strength, and will not aid with his labour—if, in short, any man be wanting, in pursuing the benevolent principle, by exerting his talents to their proper ends, he deserves to be treated as a common spoiler; as he takes what does not, properly, belong to him, the title of each man's share of the benefits of society, arising only from that proportion to which he has himself contributed.

Public good is, as it were, a common bank, in which every individual has his respective share; and consequently, whatever damage that sustains, the individuals unavoidably partake of the calamity. If liberty be destroyed, no particular member can escape the chains. If the credit of the associated body sink, his fortune sinks with it. If the sons of violence prevail, and plunder the public stock, his part cannot be rescued from the spoil. If then we have a true affection for ourselves—if we would reap the fruits of our industry—and enjoy our property in security—we must stand firm to the cause of public virtue. Otherwise we had better return to the raw herbage for our food, and to the inclemencies of the open sky for our covering; go back to uncultivated nature, where our wants would be fewer, and our appetites less. Such a situation, notwithstanding all its inconveniencies, is far preferable to a barbarous government, and far more desirable than the lot of slaves.

We see, then, how closely the supreme being has connected our interest with our duty, and made it each man's happiness to contribute to the welfare of his fellow-citizens.

But still the more noble motive to

a generous soul is that which springs from the exalted appetite of diffusing the joys of life to all around him. There is nothing he thinks so desirable, as to be the instrument of doing good; and the farther it is extended, the greater is his delight, and the more glorious his character. Benevolence to friends and relations is but a narrow-spirited quality, compared with this, and perhaps as frequently the effect of caprice or pride, as of a benevolent temper. But when our flow of good-will spreads itself to all the society, and in them to distant posterity—when charity rises into public spirit, and partial affection is extended into general benevolence—then it is that man shines in the highest lustre, and is the truest image of his divine Creator.

#### NUMBER III.

*Remarks on liberty of conscience and civil establishments of religion. By dr. Price.*

IN liberty of conscience I include much more than toleration. Jesus Christ has established a perfect equality among his followers. His command is, that they shall assume no jurisdiction over one another, and acknowledge no master besides himself. It is, therefore, presumption in any of them to claim a right to any superiority or pre-eminence over their brethren. Such a claim is implied, whenever any of them pretend to *tolerate* the rest. Not only all christians, but all men, of all religions, ought to be considered, by a state, as equally entitled to its protection, so far as they demean themselves honestly and peaceably. Toleration can take place only where there is a civil establishment of a particular mode of religion; that is, where a predominant sect enjoys exclusive advantages, and makes the encouragement of its own mode of faith and worship, a part of the constitution of the state, but at the same time thinks fit to *suffer* the exercise of other modes of faith and worship. Thanks be to God, the new American states are at present strangers to such establishments. In this respect, as well as in many others, they have shewn, in framing their constitutions, a degree of wisdom and liberality, which is above all praise.

Civil establishments of formularies of faith and worship, are inconsistent with the rights of private judgment—they engender strife—they turn religion into a trade—they shoar up error—they produce hypocrisy and prevarication—they lay an undue bias on the human mind, in its enquiries, and obstruct the progress of truth. Genuine religion is a concern, that lies entirely between God and our own souls. \*It is incapable of receiving any aid from human laws. It is contaminated, as soon as worldly motives and sanctions mix their influence with it. Statesmen should countenance it only by exhibiting in their own example, a conscious regard to it in those forms which are most agreeable to their own judgments, and by encouraging their fellow-citizens in doing the same. They cannot, as public men, give it any other assistance. All, besides, that has been called a public leading in religion, has done it an essential injury, and produced some of the worst consequences.

The church establishment in England is one of the mildest sort. But what a snare has even that been to integrity? And what a check to free enquiry? What dispositions, favourable to despotism, has it fostered? What a turn to pride, and narrowness, and domination, has it given the clerical character? What struggles has it produced in its members, to accommodate their opinions to the subscriptions and tests which it imposes? What a perversion of learning has it occasioned, to defend obsolete creeds and absurdities? What a burden is it on the consciences of some of its best clergy, who, in consequence of being bound down to a system they do not approve, and having no support, except that which they derive from conforming to it, find themselves under the hard necessity of either prevaricating or starving?—No one doubts but that the English clergy in general could, with more truth, declare that they *do not*, than that they *do* give their unfeigned assent to *all and every thing* contained in the thirty-nine articles and the book of common prayer: and yet, with a solemn declaration to this purpose, are they obliged to enter upon an office, which, above all offices, requires those who

exercise it, to be examples of simplicity and sincerity. Who can help execrating the cause of such an evil?  
\* \* \* \* \*

It is indeed only a rational and liberal religion—a religion, founded on just notions of the Deity, as a being who regards equally every sincere worshipper, and by whom all are alike favoured, as far as they act up to the light they enjoy—a religion, which consists in the imitation of the moral perfections of an almighty but benevolent governor of nature, who directs for the best, all events—in confidence in the care of his providence—in resignation to his will—and in the faithful discharge of every duty of piety and morality, from a regard to his authority and fear of a future righteous retribution—it is only this religion (the inspiring principle of every thing fair, and worthy, and joyful, and which, in truth, is nothing but the love of God, and man, and virtue, warming the heart, and directing the conduct)—it is only this kind of religion that can bless the world, or be an advantage to society. This is the religion that every enlightened friend to mankind will be zealous to promote. . But it is a religion, that the powers of the world know little of, and which will always be best promoted by being left free and open.

I cannot help adding here, that this is in particular the christian religion. Christianity teaches us that there is none good but one, that is, God: that he willeth all men to be saved, and will punish nothing but wickedness: that he desires mercy and not sacrifice (benevolence rather than rituals); that loving him with all our hearts, and loving our neighbour as ourselves, is the whole of our duty; and that in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him. It rests its authority on the power of God, not of man; refers itself entirely to the understandings of men; makes us the subjects of a kingdom that is not of this world; and requires us to elevate our minds above temporal emoluments, and to look forward to a state beyond the grave, where a government of perfect virtue will be erected, under that Messiah who has tasted

death for every man. What have the powers of the world to do with such a religion?—It disclaims all connexion with them; it made its way at first in opposition to them; and, as far as it is now upheld by them, it is dishonoured and vilified.

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From the preceding observations, it may be concluded, that it is impossible I should not admire the following article, in the declaration of rights, which forms the foundation of the Massachusetts' constitution. "In this state, every denomination of christians demeaning themselves peaceably and as good subjects of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law\*."

This is liberal beyond all example. I should, however, have admired it more, had it been more liberal, and the words, "all men of all religions" been substituted for the words, "every denomination of christians."

It appears farther from the preceding observations, that I cannot but dislike religious tests, which make a part of several of the American constitutions. In the Massachusetts' constitution, it is ordered, that all, who take seats in the house of representatives or senate, shall declare "their firm persuasion of the truth of the christian religion." The same is required by the Maryland constitution, as a condition of being admitted into any places of profit or trust. In Pennsylvania, every member of the house of representatives is required to declare, that he acknowledges the "scriptures of the old and new testament to be given by divine inspiration;" in the state of Delaware, that, "he believes in God, the Father, and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, and in the Holy Ghost, one God, blessed for evermore." All this is more than is required even in England; where, though every person,

NOTE.

\* The North Carolina constitution also orders that there shall be no establishment of any one religious church or denomination, in that place, in preference to any other.

however debauched, or atheistical, is required to receive the sacrament as a qualification for inferior places, no other religious test is imposed on members of parliament, than a declaration against popery. It is an observation no less just than common, that such tests exclude only honest men. The dishonest never scruple them.

Montesquieu probably was not a christian. Newton and Locke were not trinitarians—and, therefore, not christians, according to the commonly-received ideas of christianity—Would the united states, for this reason, deny such men, were they living, all places of power and trust among them?

NUMBER IV.

*Remarks on compensation for public services.*

IN my excursions through several parts of New-England, I have noticed a class of citizens, who complain of the compensations, allowed by congress, to the principal officers of government.

The liberal character of the Americans is an evidence, that those complaints arise more from their strong jealousy for liberty, than from parsimony. A jealous concern for public liberty is a noble passion, which will guard the freedom of your posterity; but at the same time, it needs the rigid correction of reason. A weak and ignorant administration is one common means of subverting popular rights. Those very principles in the human mind, which make men jealous of their liberty, will, without restraint, lead them into licentiousness.

The end of good government is, to divide out liberty in proper portions to every citizen, that all may be free, and none oppressed. In a state of anarchy, every neighbour becomes a tyrant, in his own little sphere of afflicting; in absolute governments, there are few tyrants, awful in their course—and to approach them is approaching death. If you must be wretched, it matters little whether the minister of a prince, or an ill-natured neighbour, be the instrument. Civil government is the only possible guard against these evils. If you were a nation of slaves, the sword, bayonet,

and prison would give efficacy to the measures of weak and unprincipled rulers: but you are free, and if governed at all, men of high talents and approved integrity—your most literary and industrious citizens—must be called into employment. Such men never have need to beg business, for the resources of their own minds and their application are a fund of wealth. If the public design to have their services, the reward must be adequate to their abilities, and bear some proportion to the gains they can make in private life.

No man will leave a private employment, which promises him a thousand dollars per annum, for an office of half the sum, in which he is responsible to the public opinion, and perhaps endangers the loss of his reputation for wisdom; a sacrifice, for which no pecuniary satisfaction can be made. Honour, or the public notice, may with a few be an inducement; but these few are persons of great vanity, and have not abilities for a difficult or confidential trust. Men of discernment—and such you want—know how to estimate their own consequence in the state: they know, that if, for the present, you employ mean abilities, for the sake of being served at a cheap rate, the public system will soon be deranged, and that you must then purchase their aid, at such price as they please. It is a better way to commence your government on such principles, as will be permanent. Let public officers be few, and make them responsible both for their capacity and honesty. It is too much the custom of this country to pity a man, who says, "I did as well as I knew." Ignorance ought to be no excuse before the sacred tribunal of the public. He who accepts an office, doth it at his own risque, and there are as many reasons why he should bear the consequences of incapacity, as of knavery. Make this the known rule for decision on public characters, and the ignorant seekers of office will become less troublesome in their solicitations. Give an honourable reward, which will command the service of your most distinguished citizens, to whatever department they are called. Such men have a character to lose; and ambition will unite

with every other consideration, to call forth their greatest exertions.

If this proposal doth not please, it is easy to change the system: for in every country, there are rogues and dunces in plenty, who will serve you at any price: but remember that the first will cheat you out of thousands, and the latter dissipate millions by their ignorance.

The compensations, determined by congress, are as small, as can possibly command the services of your best characters. A less sum, by throwing the execution of your government into unskilful hands, would have endangered the whole. The pay of the senate and commons, great as it may sound in the ears of some, is not, all circumstances being considered, extravagant. It is a prevalent idea, through the union, that these gentlemen shall hold no other office, under the empire or particular states. Most of them, to serve you, have relinquished lucrative employments—after the first year, congress will not probably be together more than fifty days in a year. Though your representatives be increased, the expense of a legislature will be much less, than the sums given by the several states, to support the members of the old congress\*. Your whole civil list, in-

#### NOTE.

\* I think the public mind must be easy on this subject, when it is understood, that the pay congress has allotted its members, is not greater than was allowed by the state assemblies to the members of the old congress—take the state of Connecticut for an example—the assembly of this state, until May 1787, allowed their delegates three dollars per diem, and their expenses. The expenses of the delegates were different, and from two to four dollars per diem—probably the average of expenses was three dollars, which, added to the compensation for services, makes the sum now given to the representatives. Since May 1787, the assembly of Connecticut have allowed five dollars per diem for service and expenses. The allowance, given by Connecticut, was much smaller than in most of the other states—I am informed that the average allowance, made, by the as-

cluding every department, would not half defray the household expenses of an European prince. The highest officers, in your judiciary, and revenue, have not a better provision, than grooms of the stable—noble keepers of hawks and hounds—and dependents, still more insignificant than those—receive in other nations from the hands of royalty. Useless officers are the vermin of a state: but some officers are necessary to its very existence. Let them be few as possible—but men of approved ability. Pay them well—make them responsible—and if, after this, any are unfaithful, demand what atonement you please—it will not be too severe.



*Essay on the political advantages of America—By Noah Webster, Esq.*  
—Page 391.

ANOTHER circumstance, favourable to liberty, and peculiar to America, is a most liberal plan of ecclesiastical policy. Dr. Price has anticipated most of my observations on this head. If sound sense is to be found on earth, it is in his reasoning on this subject. The American constitutions are the most liberal in this particular, of any on earth; and yet some of them have retained some badges of bigotry. A profession of the christian religion is necessary in the states, to entitle a man to office. In some states, it is requisite to subscribe certain articles of faith. These

NOTE.

semblies of the thirteen states, to their delegates, used to be eight dollars per diem—nearly one fourth more than the gentlemen have allowed themselves. The members might, then, if they pleased, take a seat, and continue under pay the whole year; now, it will be but a small part of the year—then they might leave congress, when private business called them; now they are constrained by authority to be present, let their own concerns be ever so urgent—then they might, and actually did, hold offices of profit under their own states; now it is the popular sense they should not, and many, in consequence, have made a great sacrifice. These facts must justify the present compensation.

requisitions are the effect of the same abominable prejudices, that have enslaved the human mind in all countries; which alone have supported error and all absurdities in religion. If there are any human means of promoting a millennial state of society, the only means are a general diffusion of knowledge, and a free unlimited indulgence given to religious persuasions, without distinction and without preference. When this event takes place, and I believe it certainly will, the *best* religion will have the most advocates. Nothing checks the progress of truth, like human establishments. Christianity spread with rapidity, before the temporal powers interfered; but when the civil magistrate undertook to guard the truth from error, its progress was obstructed, the simplicity of the gospel was corrupted with human inventions, and the efforts of Christendom have not yet been able to bring it back to its primitive purity.

The American states have gone far in assisting the progress of truth; but they have stopped short of perfection. They ought to have given every honest citizen an equal right to enjoy his religion, and an equal title to all civil emoluments, without obliging him to tell his religion. Every interference of the civil power in regulating opinion, is an impious attempt to take the business of the Deity out of his own hands; and every preference given to any religious denomination, is so far slavery and bigotry. This is a blemish in our constitutions, reproachful in proportion to the light and knowledge of our legislators.

The general education of youth is an article in which the American states are superior to all nations. In Great Britain the arts and sciences are cultivated to perfection; but the instruction of the lowest classes of people is by no means equal to that of the American yeomanry. The institution of schools, particularly in the New-England states, where the poorest children are instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic, at the public expense, is a noble regulation, calculated to dignify the human species.

This institution is the necessary consequence of the genius of our governments; at the same time, it forms the firmest security of our liberties.

It is scarcely possible to reduce an enlightened people to civil or ecclesiastical tyranny. Deprive them of knowledge, and they sink almost insensibly in vassalage. Ignorance cramps the powers of the mind, at the same time that it blinds men to all their natural rights. Knowledge enlarges the understanding, and at the same time, it gives a spring to all the intellectual faculties, which direct the deliberations of the cabinet and the enterprizes of the field. A general diffusion of science is our best guard against the approaches of corruption, the prevalence of religious error, the intrigues of ambition, and against the open assaults of external foes.

In the southern states education is not so general. Gentlemen of fortune give their children a most liberal education; and no part of America produces greater lawyers, statesmen, and divines; but the body of the people are indifferently educated. In New-England, it is rare to find a person who cannot read and write; but, if I am rightly informed, the case is different in the southern states. The education, however, of the common people, in every part of America, is equal to that of any nation; and the southern states, where schools have been much neglected, are giving more encouragement to literature.

It is not my design to enumerate all the political and commercial advantages of this country; but only to mention some of the characteristic circumstances which distinguish America from all the kingdoms and states, of which we have any knowledge.

One further remark, however, which I cannot omit, is, that the people in America, are necessitated, by their local situation, to be more sensible and discerning, than nations which are limited in territory and confined to the arts of manufacture. In a populous country, where arts are carried to great perfection, the mechanics are obliged to labour constantly upon a single article. Every art has its several branches, one of which employs a man all his life. A man who makes heads of pins or springs of watches, spends his days in that manufacture, and never looks beyond it. This manner of fabricating things for the use and convenience of life, is

the means of perfecting the arts; but it cramps the human mind, by confining all its faculties to a point. In countries thinly inhabited, or where people live principally by agriculture, as in America, every man is in some measure an artist—he makes a variety of utensils, rough indeed, but such as will answer his purpose—he is a husbandman in summer, and a mechanic in winter—he travels about the country—he converses with a variety of professions—he reads public papers—he has access to a parish library—and thus becomes acquainted with history and politics; and every man in New-England is a theologian. This will always be the case in America, so long as there is a vast tract of fertile land to be cultivated, which will occasion emigrations from the states already settled. Knowledge is diffused and genius roused by the very situation of America. *Hartford, 1785.*



*Essay on free trade and finance.*  
—Page 193.—

THE use I mean to make of these observations, is, to prove from plain acknowledged facts, that the increased price of the articles, which I wish to tax, up to the utmost point to which I propose to raise them, will be but a light inconvenience, if any at all, to the people, and the diminished consumption of those articles, and the increase of circulating cash (both which will naturally and unavoidably result from the tax) will be benefits, which will at least compensate for the burden of the tax, and I think 'tis very plain, will leave a balance of advantage in favour of the tax. But if you should think I conclude too strongly, and you should not be able to go quite as far as me in this argument, so much, I think, does at least appear incontestible plain, that if there is a real disadvantage arising from my mode of taxing, 'tis so small, that it holds no comparison with the burden of tax hitherto in use on polls and estates, which discourages industry, oppresses the labourer, lessens the value of our lands, ruins our husbandry and manufactures, and, with all these dreary evils, cannot possibly be collected to half the amount which the public service requires;

but to save further argument on this head, I will with great assurance appeal to the sense and feelings of our farmers, who make the great bulk of our inhabitants, if they would not prefer living in a country, where they must pay the aforementioned increased prices on the goods I propose to tax, rather than where they must part with the same number of cows, oxen, sheep, bushels of wheat, or pounds of pork or beef, &c. which are now in the present mode of taxing, annually demanded of them to satisfy the tax. I dare make the same appeal to all our tradesmen, and even to our merchants, who, in my opinion, would have clear and decided advantages from my mode of taxing, as well as the farmers. I don't see how the merchant can be hurt by the tax; but will clearly be benefited by it, if the following particulars are observed.

I. That the tax be laid with such judgment and prudence, and different weight on different articles, that the consumption of no article shall be diminished by it, beyond what the good and true interest of the nation requires: for it is certainly better for the merchant to deal with his customers in such articles as are useful to them, and in such way as they shall derive real benefit from their trade with him, than to supply them with articles, that are useless and hurtful to them, and which of course impoverish them. In the first case, he will make his customers rich, and able to continue trading with him, and to make him good and punctual payments; in the other case, he makes his customers poor, and, of course, subjects himself to the danger of dilatory payments, or perhaps to a final loss of his debts.

II. That the tax be universal, and alike on every part of the country, for if one state is taxed, and its neighbour is not, the state that is taxed, will lose its trade. And

III. That the tax be universally collected. Smuggling hurts the fair trader: favour and connivance of collectors, to particular importers, through bribery, friendship, or indolence, have the same effect. The person, who avoids the tax, can undersell him who pays it: therefore 'tis the great interest of the merchant, when the duty is laid, to make it a

decided point, that every importer shall pay the duty, and I am of opinion, that when the body of merchants make it a decided matter to carry any point of this nature, they are very well able to accomplish it.

I now proceed to the consideration of the practicability of the mode of taxation, which I proposed, and which I do conceive is a matter of capital weight in this discussion, for which I do rely on these two grand propositions. 1st. That whatever is the real, great interest of the people, they may, by proper measures, be made to believe and adopt: and, 2dly. That whatever is admitted to be a matter of common and important interest, in the general opinion of the people, may be easily put in practice, by wisdom, prudence, and due management of the affair.

The reasons of governmental measures ought always to attend their publication, so far as to afford good means of conviction to the public at large, that their object and tendency is the public good. This greatly facilitates their execution and success.

To make taxes tolerable to the public, it is always necessary to spread a universal conviction,

1st. That the money required in taxes is necessary for the public good: and,

2dly. That it will certainly be actually expended only on the objects for which it is asked and given: and if these two things are really true, there will rarely be much difficulty in making them to be believed by the most sensible part of the commonwealth; but if these two things either are not really true, or not really and generally believed, I don't know that a standing army would be sufficient to collect the taxes. I am of opinion, their force, authority, and influence, like the conquests of the British army, would last no longer in any place than they staid to support it.

But if this mode of taxing, or any other that may be adopted, should not be sufficient for the public service, I could wish the deficiency might be made up at home, without recurring to the ruinous mode of supplies by public loans abroad. I think that every light in which this subject can be viewed, will afford an argument

against it. I have known this cogent argument used in favour of foreign loans, viz. We give but five per cent. interest abroad, and our people can make ten per cent. advantage of the money at home, therefore they gain five per cent. by the loan. This stupid argument, if it proves any thing, just proves that 'tis every man's interest to borrow money, for 'tis certainly profitable to buy any thing for five pounds which will bring ten; but the natural fact is the very reverse of this, for if you bring money into a kingdom or family, which is not the proceeds of industry, it will naturally lessen the industry, and increase the expenses of it. It has been often observed, that when a person gains any sudden acquisition of wealth by treasure trove, captures at sea, drawing a high prize in a lottery, or any other way not connected with industry, he is rarely known to keep it long, but soon dissipates it. The sensible value of money is lost, when the idea of it becomes disconnected with the labour and pain of earning it; and expenses will naturally increase where there is plenty of wealth to support them. The effect is the same on a nation. Is Spain richer by means of the mines of South America? The industry of Holland has proved a much more sure source of durable wealth. We already find a dangerous excess of luxury growing out of our borrowed money, and our industry, (especially in procuring supplies of our own,) wants great animation. Besides, the aforesaid argument is not grounded on fact; 'tis true, I suppose, that we pay but five per cent. interest on our foreign loans, but they cost us from fifteen to twenty per cent. more to get them home, for that is at least the discount which has been made on the sale of our bills for several years past, and if we bring them over in cash, there are freight and insurance to be paid, which increase the loss. From this it appears, that for every eighty pounds of supply which we obtain in this way, we must pay at least an hundred pounds, (even if we were to pay the principal at the end of the year,) and the consuming worm of five per cent. interest every year after, if the payment is delayed: to this loss, is to be added, all the expense of negoci-

ating the loans abroad, brokerage on sale of the bills, &c. &c.

To escape the ruinous effects of this mode of supply, I think every exertion should be made to obtain our supplies at home; 'tis certainly very plain our country is not exhausted; 'tis full of every kind of supply which we need, and nothing further can be necessary, than to find those avenues from the sources of wealth in the hands of individuals, which lead into the public treasury, those ways and proportions that are most just, most equal, and most easy to the people. This is the first great art of finance; that of economy in expenditures, is the next. Any body may receive money, and pay it out; borrow money, and draw bills; but to raise and manage the internal revenue, so as to make the wealth of the country balance the public expenditures, is not so easy a task; but yet I think not so hard as to be impracticable; unless this can be done, the greatest conceivable abilities must labour in vain, for 'tis naturally impossible that any estate, which cannot pay its expenditures, should continue long without embarrassment and diminution; the load of debt must continually increase, and the interest will make a continual addition to that debt, and render the estate more and more unable every year to clear itself; but if the estate can pay its expenditures, 'tis the height of madness not to do it. If revenues can be spared sufficient to discharge the interest of the debt, so as to stop its increase, the estate may be saved, and a future increase of revenue may in time wipe off the principal; but no hope is left, if interest upon interest must continue to accumulate. And as the interest of every individual is inseparably connected with the public credit, or state of the finances, it follows that this affair becomes a matter of the utmost concern, and of very important moment to every person in the community, and therefore ought to be attended to as a matter of the highest national concern; and no burden ought to be accounted too heavy, which is sufficient to remedy so great a mischief.

The mode of supply by foreign loans need not be further reprobated; 'tis plain to every body, that if they

can be continued, (which is doubtful, they will soon involve us in a foreign debt, vastly beyond all possibility of payment: our bankruptcy must ensue; and by our bankruptcy we shall lose all our national character of wisdom, integrity, energy of government, and every kind of respectability. We shall become objects of obloquy—buts of insult—and bye words of disgrace abroad; an American in Europe will be ashamed to tell where he came from. Every stranger takes some share in the character, the honours or disgrace, not only of the family, but of the nation to which he belongs.

Philadelphia, March 24, 1783.



*Statement of facts submitted to the dispassionate consideration of the independent freeholders of Virginia, by a friend to truth and liberty.—Page 116.*

*Draft of a letter to the several states.*

“WE beg leave to submit to your consideration, a copy of our answer to the circular letter from the convention of our sister state of New-York, and also the copy of an address, which we think it our duty to make to the congress, at their first meeting. We flatter ourselves that you will not hesitate in making a similar application, the object being to establish our rights and liberties on the most immutable basis. May God have you in his holy keeping.”

It passed in the negative. Ayes 50.—Noes 72.

And then the main question being put, that the house do agree with the committee of the whole house, in the application and draft of letters, by them reported;

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Ordered, that mr. Bullitt do carry the said application and draft of letters, to the senate, and desire their concurrence.

FROM the foregoing extracts, from the journal of the house of delegates, it will appear, that the majority and minority have differed only in the mode of pursuing amendments—it becomes the public to determine whose conduct has been the most temperate, consistent, and dignified, and best adapted to the attainment of the great end—the amendments which we

all think necessary. To take a full view of the subject, it will be proper to recur to the resolutions, introduced into the house of delegates, by mr. Henry, and which were sanctioned by their approbation\*. To a dispassionate enquirer, it must appear strange, that a man of such great endowments should suffer himself to be led so far from the bounds of moderation, into the violent expressions therein contained; and, under the pretext of using the bold language of republicanism, so far forget the proper demeanor of a good citizen, as to criminate, in the strongest terms, the conduct of the people themselves, in full and free convention assembled, by accusing them of having assented to a government, which, “if it does not cancel, renders insecure all the great, essential, and unalienable rights of freemen.” How hastily and ungrounded such aspersions are, a candid attention to the conduct of that august body must bring to the view of every friend to truth, to decorum, and to the peace and happiness of his country. But however strange his conduct may appear, it may be accounted for from human frailty; accustomed to govern the counsels of his country, unused to any controul, and habituated to see his political opinions triumph over all opposition—the check which he experienced in the convention, composed of our best and most illustrious citizens, may have wounded his ambition and soured his temper. But that a majority of the legislature, chosen about the same time, at which the convention was elected, and for very different purposes, should concur in such measures, is wholly inexplicable on any rational or justifiable principle; and furnishes a melancholy proof of the unbounded influence of an individual, who, to use the mildest terms, may be as liable to error as other men. To accuse the legislature of an intention wantonly to insult the people, is what I am unwilling to do; but I must say, that they have been fatally misled from the line of their duty, and the dignified manner

NOTE.

\* These resolutions passed the 30th of October, and are contained in the preceding part of this statement.

which ought to have characterised their proceedings, into measures which seem with the virulence of party spirit, instead of being animated with the noble and generous zeal of an enlightened people, knowing their rights, and conscious of their freedom.

It is true, that the legislature had a right to exercise the power vested in them by the constitution, to apply to congress to call another general convention. But they ought to have exercised this right with decency and respect; and not to have endeavoured to stain the character of a convention, chosen by the people, with unusual solemnity and circumspection, and composed of the best and wisest patriots of our country. They ought to have reflected, that this convention was elected in the month of March for a special and solemn purpose, and they, in the April following, for the ordinary objects of legislation. The convention having determined on the subject, which was specially and exclusively committed to their decision—the legislature ought, with modest propriety, to have confined their attention to the legitimate objects of their appointment. But how do they act? They no sooner assemble, than they undertake to arraign the conduct of this august assembly—an assembly which embraced the collected wisdom, experience, and patriotism of our country. These men—of the most unblemished characters,—of long-tried virtue,—and acknowledged abilities, are accused of treason against their country—of having sacrificed “all the great, essential, and unalienable rights of freemen;” and an ordinary legislature, “clothed with a little brief authority,” dares say this. My countrymen, what an insult to your understandings!

I have said, that the legislature possesses a power to apply to congress, whenever they may think it necessary, to call a convention. But they ought to exercise this right, with propriety and dignity; and not to convert it into a dagger, to stab the peace of their country; or use it, as the vehicle of private resentment or party virulence. This power seems to have been wisely vested by the constitution in the legislatures, to provide for the occasional admission of such amend-

ments, as experience—the great guide in human affairs—should point out to be necessary. It never, therefore, could have been the expectation of its framers, or of our convention which ratified it, that any attempt would be made to exercise this power, before we had actually experienced the defects of the government from its operation. If our state convention had thought another general convention necessary, to introduce the amendments, which they had suggested, it would have been as easy for them, to have recommended to our legislature, and to the legislatures of the other states, to apply to congress, as soon as it should assemble, for another convention, as to have expressed themselves in the terms they have used. But they recollected, that there was another way of amending the constitution, viz. “The \* congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, which shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states.” They therefore were of opinion, that they did enough, in solemnly enjoining it on our representatives in congress, “to pursue all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a ratification of the alterations and provisions, which they deemed proper.” They saw the impropriety of perpetual conventions. They saw the danger, in the present ferment of men’s minds, of collecting the violent and discordant opinions of America to a point; whence the most fatal dissensions might spread over our country, and not only cut off our present hopes, but obliterate all future prospects of happiness and safety. Under these impressions, they very prudently determined, that a resort to an extraordinary assembly, would be as unwise as it was unnecessary. They reflected, that congress was vested with powers fully adequate to the object of their wishes, and being chosen by the people themselves, would feel the strongest obligations, of duty and interest, to pursue every

## NOTE.

\* 5th article of federal constitution.



soners in their work. The whole of these buildings form a quadrangle, enclosing an area, or yard, of about eighty feet by seventy feet; in which some of the prisoners are allowed, occasionally, to take the air. In the two wings only (to both of which there is a passage from the governor's house) are the offenders confined; and in each of them there are on the ground floor seven separate rooms, or cells, for the men-prisoners, of fourteen feet eight inches by seven feet four inches, with a work-room of twenty feet six inches, by ten feet.

On the floor above, which is chiefly used for the women and less dangerous prisoners, are, in each wing, four separate rooms, or cells, of the same dimensions with those below; with a work-room to each wing, the same as on the ground-floor; together with an infirmary, of ten feet six inches by fourteen feet eight inches, and a scullery, closet, and necessary to each. The cells, both above and below, are all arched, to prevent the possibility of fire, or any probable communication of infectious disorders. They are all ten feet high; and the windows of these rooms, looking into the quadrangle, and being grated, inside and outside, with iron, and seven feet high from the floor of the rooms, afford the prisoners no possibility of looking out, or having the least intercourse with any other person. The cells are airy, having only wooden shutters to the windows; and, by a slip or wicket in the doors, a thorough air is admitted, whereby they are always free from any ill scent.—This is, however, with an exception to one cell on the upper floor, in each wing, and to the infirmaries: for the windows of these are glazed, and have casements to open occasionally; being molly kept for the use of women, having infant children with them, and for the weak and convalescent prisoners. But as the construction of this building, would little answer the purpose of its erection, without a correspondent management and conduct, in the interior government of it, good care has been taken, to enforce the rules, orders, and regulations established; and returns are regularly made by the governor, to the justices, at every quarter sessions.

The manufactory established here at present, is that of cutting logwood for the dyers at Norwich, and beating, heckling, and spinning hemp. In the labour of heckling, a tolerable workman will earn from eight to ten shillings per week. The women and girls spin it by a wheel so contrived as to draw a thread with each hand; by which means, two of them can earn at least equal wages with three women, spinning with one hand only. If the building should be enlarged, and the number of prisoners increase, some of them will then be instructed in the art of weaving the yarn made in the house. At present, both the tow and the yarn is sold to the different houses of industry, established in this county, and at Norwich. In the last return of the governor, to the quarter sessions, we had the satisfaction to find, **THAT THE MONEY ARISING FROM THE EARNINGS OF THE PRISONERS, WAS ONE POUND EIGHT SHILLINGS AND TEN PENCE MORE THAN DOUBLE THE SUM EXPENDED FOR THEIR MAINTENANCE.**

This, though it cannot be deemed more than a secondary consideration, is surely no trifling one—to derive a profit from the labour of such persons, as were heretofore lost to, or become a burden upon the public; and it strongly marks the impolicy of sending these unhappy objects out of the kingdom. This sum indeed was further increased about five guineas, by adding to it the profit from the trade account; but as to have this become the general result, must depend greatly, perhaps chiefly, upon the choice of the governor, and somewhat on the activity of the magistrates; too much care cannot be taken in the first, especially as it will be the probable means of exciting the latter. We have been so fortunate, as to meet with a governor, who relieves us from a great part of our attention to, and direction of him.

The silence and peaceable demeanour, the cleanliness and industry, of those unhappy persons who are the inhabitants of this house, are really admirable; and such as greatly encourages the pleasing expectation, that **THEIR PUNISHMENT WILL HAVE**

THAT EFFECT UPON THEIR FUTURE LIVES AND CONDUCT, WHICH EVERY HUMANE AND BENEVOLENT MIND MUST SINCERELY WISH FOR. And they leave me without a doubt, that bridewells, with proper attention paid to them, may in future be made *seminaries of industry and reformation, instead of receptacles of idleness and corruption.* To effect these purposes, it will be necessary to provide the prisoners with suitable and constant work. This, in most counties, will necessarily vary : but may be easily obtained, especially if, by an allowance to the governor, out of their earnings, it be made his interest, as well as his duty, to look carefully to the performance of it. The allowance, given at this house, is, three pence in every shilling of the net earnings ; and this is considered as a part of his salary.

I must not omit to inform you, that in this solitary confinement, and thus employed, *it has not yet been found necessary to punish any of the prisoners with irons ;* and that, since the new erection and regulation of this prison, the magistrates in the vicinity, as well as the keeper of it, have observed, *that in no equal period of time, has there been so few commitments to it.*

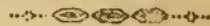
This preventive justice, so preferable to punitive justice, most fully evinces the propriety and humanity of the undertaking, and must naturally excite a hope, that similar plans will be adopted in every county. This, indeed, I am strongly induced to believe, will soon be the case, as I have already received letters from different gentlemen in Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Wilts, Hertfordshire Hampshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Suffolk, Wales, and Scotland, requesting the plan, rules, orders, table of diet, and returns ; informing me, that in their respective counties, they had determined upon building, and putting their houses of correction under similar regulations. The gentlemen of the city of Norwich have also sent a deputation of their magistrates to view the prison ; upon whose report, they mean instantly to enter upon a reformation of their own prisons.

THOMAS BEEVOR.

[N. B. In another letter, dated

February 18th, sir Thomas Beevor has added the following remarks :

“ In proof of the cleanliness and healthiness of this prison, no person who entered it in health, has hitherto fallen sick in it. I have never had any complaint against any one for immorality or prophaneness. The effect of the solitariness and mechanical regularity of the place is such, as to render them so contrite and subdued, that it not only promises *fair for a lasting reformation in these poor unfortunate wretches, but, what is a still better and more pleasing consideration, that it may prove a preventive of crimes in others.* For, from an examination of the commitments to this house, before and since the present regulation took place, it appears, that one-third fewer have been confined in it, since the latter period ; and it is somewhat remarkable, that, except in one instance, no prisoner has been second a time committed to it.” ]



#### PUBLIC PAPERS.

*The general assembly of the state of Rhode Island and Providence plantations,*

*To the president, the senate, and the house of representatives of the eleven united states of America, in congress assembled.*

THE critical situation, in which the people of this state are placed, engages us to make these assurances on their behalf, of their attachment and friendship to their sister states—and of their disposition to cultivate mutual harmony and friendly intercourse. They know themselves to be but a handful, comparatively viewed ; and although they now stand, as it were, alone, they have not separated themselves, or departed from the principles of the confederation, which was formed by the sister states in their struggle for freedom, and in the hour of danger.

They seek, by this memorial, to call to your remembrance the hazards which we have run—the hardships we have endured—the treasure we have spent—and the blood we have lost together, in one common cause—and especially the object we had in view—the preservation of our liberty—where-

in, ability considered, they may truly say, they were equal in exertions with the foremost—the effects whereof, in great embarrassments and other distresses consequent thereon, we have since experienced with severity—which common sufferings and common danger, we hope and trust, yet form a bond of union and friendship, not easily to be broken.

Our not having acceded to, or adopted, the new system of government, formed and adopted by most of our sister states, we doubt not, has given uneasiness to them—that we have not seen our way clear to do it, consistent with our idea of the principles upon which we all embarked together, has also given pain to us—we have not doubted but we might thereby avoid present difficulties, but we have apprehended future mischiefs.

The people of this state, from its first settlement, have been accustomed and strongly attached to a democratical form of government. They have viewed, in the new constitution, an approach, though perhaps but small, towards that form of government from which we have lately dissolved our connexion, at so much hazard and expense of life and treasure. They have seen with pleasure the administration thereof, from the most important trust downwards, committed to men who have highly merited, and in whom the people of the united states place unbounded confidence:—yet even in this circumstance, in itself so fortunate, they have apprehended danger, by way of precedent. Can it be thought strange, then, that with these impressions, they should wait to see the proposed system organized and in operation—to see what further checks and securities would be agreed to and established by way of amendments, before they could adopt it as a constitution of government for themselves and their posterity? These amendments, we believe, have already afforded some relief and satisfaction to the minds of the people of this state. And we earnestly look for the time, when they may, with clearness and safety, again, be united with their sister states, under a constitution and form of government, so well poised as neither to need alteration, or be liable thereto by a majority only of nine states out of thirteen—a circum-

stance which may possibly take place, against the sense of a majority of the people of the united states.

We are sensible of the extremes to which democratical government is sometimes liable—something of which we have lately experienced: but we esteem them temporary and partial evils, compared with the loss of liberty and the rights of a free people—neither do we apprehend they will be marked with severity by our sister states, when it is considered, that, during the late troubles, the whole united states, notwithstanding their joint wisdom and efforts, fell into the like misfortune:—that from our extraordinary exertions, this state was left in a situation nearly as embarrassing as that during the war;—that in the measures which were adopted, government unfortunately had not that aid and support from the monied interest, which our sister states of New York and the Carolinas experienced under similar circumstances; and especially when it is considered, that upon some abatement of that fermentation in the minds of the people, which is so common in the collision of sentiment and of parties, a disposition appears to provide a remedy for the difficulties we have laboured under on that account.

We are induced to hope, that we shall not be altogether considered as foreigners, having no particular affinity or connexion with the united states. But that trade and commerce, upon which the prosperity of this state much depends, will be preserved as free and open between this and the united states, as our different situations at present can possibly admit; earnestly desiring and proposing to adopt such commercial regulations, on our part, as shall not tend to defeat the collection of the revenue of the united states—but rather to act in conformity to, or to co-operate therewith; and desiring also to give the strongest assurances, that we shall, during our present situation, use our utmost endeavours to be in preparation, from time to time, to answer our proportion of such part of the interest or principal of the foreign and domestic debt, as the united states shall judge expedient to pay and discharge.

We feel ourselves attached by the strongest ties of friendship, kindred,

and interest with our sister states; and we cannot, without the greatest reluctance, look to any other quarter for those advantages of commercial intercourse, which we conceive to be natural and reciprocal between them, and us.

September, 1789.



*An address of the ministers of the state of Connecticut, convened in general association, to the people of the churches and societies, under their pastoral care :*

*Friends and brethren,*

**A**MONG the various instances of a declension and immorality, which at the present time, threaten the very existence of religion in this country, an increasing negligence of the public worship of God, is one of the most painful and alarming.

Deeply affected with the guilt of this conduct, and clearly convinced of the fatal consequences necessarily involved in it, this association esteem it their indispensable duty to bear their united testimony against so pernicious an evil.

The sabbath is solemnly declared by our Creator to be peculiarly the day, and the sanctuary to be eminently the place, of salvation. To the truth of this declaration, reason and experience, whose dictates uniformly coincide with the doctrines of revelation, furnish continual and unanswerable evidence. Where the public worship of God is neglected, God himself is soon forgotten, and the work of salvation obstructed. For specimens of this calamity, we need not look into remote regions or ages : they are at our doors. In how great and melancholy a degree is it visible among the present inhabitants of this state ? We request—we exhort you to consider the consequences of this conduct. Is the salvation of the soul less interesting to you, than to those who have gone before you ? And can you coolly and quietly consent to renounce eternal life ? Or have you forgotten, that your Maker has commanded, that, if you intend to hear his voice at all, you should not harden your hearts on his holy day ?

In what manner will these evils affect your children ? Their religious education is the prime end for which they were given to you, and for which

you were given to them. But does not common sense convincingly teach you, that this end cannot be possibly accomplished, where the influence of sinful example destroys the force of every virtuous precept and motive ? How can the parents, who turn their own backs upon their Creator, urge, or invite their children to the arms of his mercy ? Self-reproved, and self-condemned, must not their countenances blush, and their hearts fail, before the meaning eyes of their innocent children, from whom they know their inconsistency and guilt cannot be hidden ?

In what manner does this evil affect the political interests—the essential well-being of the community ? All the branches of morality are indissolubly connected. From one breach of moral obligation to a second, to a third, and to all, the transition is easy, necessary and rapid. From negligence of the duties we owe to God, the passage is short to contempt for those we owe to men. The sabbath, in the judgment of reason and of revelation, is the great hinge on which all these duties are turned. When the ordinances of this holy day are forsaken and forgotten, the whole system of moral duty, the weight and influence of moral obligation, must of course be also forgotten ; the great, the substantial, and the permanent good, of which religion is the only source, is effectually destroyed. The political peace and welfare of a community, the salvation of the human soul, the infinitely benevolent designs of redeeming love, the institution of the means of grace, and the obedience and sufferings of the Son of God, are frustrated and set at naught. Thus by one effectual blow of sin, and the friends of sin are all the great and valuable interests of mankind overthrown.

Shall these evils exist, and triumph in our own country ?

Let us seriously exhort—let us earnestly conjure you, our beloved friends and brethren, to think, to consider, and to determine, how, at the bar of your own consciences, and before the tribunal of your Maker, you will answer for the guilt of being personally concerned, in the promotion of those evils !

That the author of our holy religion



ascertained, with what substance it is united, which prevents it from having the power of quick lime, when burnt. Regarding calcareous earth as forming the basis of this substance, it may be necessary to take notice of the different forms under which calcareous earths appear.

That which is in the greatest quantity, and properly called calcareous, is distinguished from the rest by the effect which fire has upon it, in converting it into a quick lime; all others should rather be termed alkaline absorbents. Calcareous earth appears in a variety of forms; there are very considerable strata of it in the bowels of the earth, as marble, limestone, and chalk, which differ only in the degree of purity or mode of concretion.

It is often found in veins, filling up the rents or cavities of mountains, and is called calcareous spar: some of which contain a quantity of this earth, but not in a pure state: some are perfectly transparent; and from being found in Iceland, are called Iceland crystals.

The matter with which animal and vegetable substances are incruited, or penetrated by the waters of particular springs, so as to retain their external form, but lose their nature, and become stone, is generally of this kind; and shews that this earth is capable of being dissolved by water, and being introduced into the texture of animal and vegetable substances. This earth also produces the large pendulous columns and cones that are found hanging from the roofs of large caves, as in Derbyshire.

The stony shells of all crustaceous animals, from the coarsest, to the coral and pearl, are all composed of this earth, and a small quantity of animal glue. A viscid fluid proceeds from the surface of the animal, which becomes a tough membrane, and gradually hardens into this form. The shells of all kinds of animals, together with all coralline concretions, consist of the calcareous earth, united with a small proportion of animal glue.

Marl is an alkaline earth, but cannot be converted to quick lime: it is composed of calcareous earth and clay: and its value, as a manure, is estimat-

ed in proportion to the quantity of calcareous earth which it contains. Marls assume a variety of colours, but are properly divided into shell and stone marl.

Shell marl is composed of the shells of shell fish, or other aquatic animals, which are sometimes entire, and often decayed or mixed with other earthy substances.

Examining this matter, as occurring in different places, it may be distinguished into fresh water marl and the marl of sea-shells. The first is composed of a small fresh water wick or snail: this animal, when alive, is not easily discoverable, the shell being much of the same colour as the stones covered with the water: but great numbers of them are to be found in many small brooks, particularly in their passage through the low wet grounds: as the animal dies, the shell is deposited.

The second, composed of sea-shells, constitutes much greater collections, and is found in innumerable places now far removed from the sea. That, most particularly described by naturalists, is a collection of this kind in Touraine, a province in France. The part of the country, where it is found, is computed to contain eighty square miles of surface; and wherever they dig to a certain depth, they find this collection of shells, composing a strata of twenty feet thick. The country at present is one hundred and eight miles from the sea.

The stone or clay marls bear more or less resemblance to clay; they are very various in their colour, and other appearances, but agree in containing a quantity of clay united with calcareous earth, so as to effervesce with acids—the stone marls are harder than the clays, but upon being exposed to the action of the sun and frost, they crumble into powder, which is easily mixed with the soil, though some of them require a very long time before they are divided fine enough to be mixed completely with it.

These are the principal forms in which calcareous earth is found. They all derive their origin from the calcareous matter of shells; for we find relics of shells in by far the greatest number of limestones, chalks, gypsums, and marbles.

From the natural history of these fossils, and their effects in promoting vegetation, we may conclude that they contain in themselves a certain nourishment to plants, arising from a concentration of the animal glue existing in their original state of shell-fish;

Too much pains cannot be taken to engage our farmers generally in the use of these valuable manures.

I am, gentlemen,

With great respect,

Your friend,

GEORGE LOGAN.

Stenton, October 3, 1789.

Read before the society, October 4th, 1789.



*Directions for the breeding and management of silk worms. Extracted from the treatises of abbe Boissier de Sauvages and Pulein: and published, anno 1770, by order of the Philadelphia society for promoting the culture of silk.—Page 304.*

4. **H**ITHERTO you have been directed, in feeding the worms, to cut or shred the leaves into pieces, in proportion to the size of the worms; but now, they are so grown, and they eat so much, that this caution is no longer necessary, and would be fatiguing. Give them the leaves, whole as they are, plucked from the trees, only remembering, as directed in the 12th article of the former section, to serve them, at first after moulting, with the youngest and tenderest leaves you have, and take care that their food be not wet. The quantity given them, should always be gradually increased from day to day, after each moulting, as has been already observed, till their appetite is come to its height: during this voracious period, in the fifth age, they devour twice as much food as in all the other ages put together. At this time, their food should consist of leaves that have got their full growth, but are not yet begun to turn hard and husky.

5. Silk worms are liable to be sickly, and it may be thought of importance to give a description of their diseases; but they are much more easily prevented than cured; and to describe a distemper, without pointing out a method of cure, would be to little purpose. If the worms are kept clean, are not

crowded too much together, are properly fed, and secured against the pernicious effects of a close damp air, and a stifled heat; there is no great danger of their being visited with any kind of sickness: during the fourth and fifth ages, especially, it is of importance to guard against this last inconvenience, a stifled heat, which has been already so frequently mentioned. These last ages usually fall in with the beginning heats of summer, when sudden changes are to be expected in the state of the air, and in the weather, which therefore should now be narrowly watched. If the air be damp, it is easily discovered; but that state which I have so often called a stifled heat, can only be perceived by your own feeling. In either of these cases, the unfriendly disposition of the air is easily corrected, and, in both cases, by the same means. A few dry faggots, or a wisp of straw, kindled into a blaze in every corner of the room, will, in a few minutes, restore to your brood a dry and a freely circulating fresh air. And this is all that is necessary; for as to the actual degrees of heat, which are indicated by the thermometer, they may at all times, and without danger, be disregarded: except when the weather is too cool; in which case, you must keep up a due warmth of the air in your nursery, by means of a steady fire. And, in general, it is advisable to keep a constant fire in rainy weather. But here it is necessary to remind the reader, that I take it for granted, his nursery has every requisite mentioned in the sixth article of the fourth section; particularly, a high ceiling with a trap door, or some other equivalent opening, over head, to keep up a free circulation of air: without this precaution, a fire would do more harm than good.

6. If it should happen, notwithstanding all your care, that your brood continues to languish in a state of relaxation, which tarnishes their colour, makes their skin unelastic, and destroys their appetite; there is one remedy left, which has sometimes been found to do wonders. This remedy is the cold bath. Take your worms by handfuls and throw them into keelers or other vessels of cold water; let them lie a minute or two, and then, after sweeping their tables clean, re-

place them in their births as before.\* This process is not attended with the danger which is always to be feared from a moist air. That creates a relaxation, at the same time that it checks the perspiration; but the cold bath gives a new tone to the fibres, and then it will be easy, by means of a small brisk fire, to excite in your worms a fresh appetite, and thus restore them to life and vigour.

7. If you have not a sufficient provision of food for the whole brood which you propose to raise, your labour will be thrown away. The necessary proportion should therefore be known before-hand. It has been already observed, that, with good management, the worms that are bred from one ounce of eggs will yield one hundred weight of cocoons; and it is found, in general, that, to raise one pound of cocoons, will require twenty pounds of leaves. It is not easy to give any very exact rules for estimating the quantity of leaves upon a tree as it stands; and yet this is the only way in which you can, before-hand, ascertain the question, whether or no you have, in prospect, a sufficient provision. The skill of making this estimate can only be acquired by habit and experience.

8. You must be careful, at all times, to guard your brood against the ravages of rats and mice. Cats and traps will hardly be a sufficient security. A wisp of cotton or two, bound round every post, a little below the under tier of tables, and paid over now and then with pitch and tar, may prove a barrier which those vermin will not be able to pass.

## SECTION VI.

*Directions how to manage, when the worms are ready for spinning.*

1. THE voracity of the silk worm, in the fifth age, continues three or four days; in which time the worm arrives at his utmost growth, being in length above three inches. His skin

### NOTE.

\* In Georgia, when the worms appear to be sickly, they close the room, and burn some brown sugar, on clear live hickory coals, in several parts of the room. This is said to be a good remedy.

can be distended no farther, his appetite declines, he acquires, towards the head, a degree of transparency; he once more quits his food and the litter, and runs about, with his head erect, seeking a proper place to begin his task of spinning.

2. As soon as you discover this behaviour in any considerable number, stop feeding, and prepare to furnish your brood with convenient lodgements, for the work which they are about to undertake. Begin at one end of the lower tier of tables; clear away the litter, from side to side, as far as to the middle of the second board, first moving the worms, that were spread upon this space, either to the right or left, upon those that lie on the next adjoining space of the table. Then plant a little hedge-row of small bushes, from side to side, across the table; fixing the foot of each bush upon the lower inter-tie, and the top against the under side of the next inter-tie above. These bushes, or branches, you must have in readiness before-hand. The foot should be stripped or pared smooth to the height of four or five inches; and the main stalk should be left a little longer than the twigs that shoot out from it, in order that, in fixing the bush, the top may be a little bent, and so, pressing against the upper inter-tie, may stand firm and steady. When you have completed one row of these bushes, quite across the table, bring back the worms, and place them along in a range, on each side of your little hedge-row, in order that they may climb up and spin. Then clear away another space; plant another hedge, &c. proceeding thus, till you have gone over all the tables. All this must be done with as much dispatch as possible; for if your brood is not accommodated with a proper retreat, as soon as they are ready to go to work, the fibres of the skin, which is now extremely distended, lose their tone, the worms languish, without spinning at all, or at least, what they do spin, is wasted here and there, and you lose your labour. In planting these little hedge-rows, the bushes should be fixed as close together as they conveniently can be, that the worms may not lose their time in seeking where to climb; and on the upper

tables, the rows should not come quite to the edge on either side, but a space of a hand's breadth at least should be left: for if any of the worms should happen to fall from the branches, they would come from such a height down upon the floor, as would kill them.\*

3. If your brood be numerous, you will now find the advantage of having it divided into classes, which come to maturity one after another, at the distance of two or three days; because this will lessen the hurry and fatigue of making these necessary accommodations, at the time when they are ready to go to work. But you cannot expect that even one class should be all ready at once; there will be a small part, at least, more tardy, and which therefore will want to be fed a little longer. It would be embarrassing to feed these among those that are better employed; and therefore, as soon as the majority have begun to spin, it is better to move the lingers apart, and feed them by themselves till they are disposed to labour, and then either to replace them on the tables already prepared, or, if their number is small, accommodate them with clean crisp shavings, strewed or suspended round them, into which they may creep and go to work.

4. It is a very great advantage to let the spinners have a freely-circulating air; and therefore, as soon as all the worms are mounted, and have fairly begun their cocoons, draw out all the boards from every table, and

#### NOTE.

\* In Georgia, they provide broad hanging shelves, to lay the worms on to spin; these shelves should be rubbed all over with fennel, some little time before the worms are ready to spin; and a quantity of small white oak boughs, with their leaves on, should be cut about one week before they will be wanted; the reason of which is, that the leaves may be dried and shrivelled a little, against that time; these boughs or branches must be laid steadily on those shelves for the worms to spin amongst; the perfume of the fennel being very grateful to the worms, it will allure them to begin their work, and the leaves being shrivelled, will accommodate them with a suitable nest to spin their silk-balls in.

leave the frame standing, with all the intervals, between the cross-pieces, open, as so many passages for the air. This explains the use of the construction described in the third article of the fifth section, and the reason why the upper tier is directed to be furnished with inter-ties, like the rest, though that tier is not to be made use of as a table. The inter-ties there serve only now to keep the hedge-rows of the next inferior table firm and steady. This frame of tables, when the boards are all removed, and the cocoons finished, will form a very pretty spectacle; it will be like so many rows of small trees, planted one on the top of another, and their little branches loaded with golden and silver fruit.

### SECTION VII.

*Of the cocoons to be set apart for seed.*

1. Before you begin to wind off the silk, it will be necessary to select a sufficient number of cocoons, which may furnish you with a provision of eggs for a future brood. With regard to the quantity to be set apart for this purpose, observe the following proportion; it is found by experience, that, one time with another, a pound of cocoons will yield one ounce of eggs. It has been recommended to choose out, for this use, the largest and finest of your stock.

2. As soon as the moth flies begin to come out, you should have a clean table in readiness, on which you are to place and couple the flies. Let them continue coupled for about twelve hours, and then with care separate the male from the female, which latter will immediately begin to lay her eggs. If these should be laid upon the naked table, it would be impossible to get them off without breaking the shells; it is therefore recommended to cover the table with a piece of fine, half-worn saggathy, or some such thin kind of woollen stuff, from which the eggs are more easily separated than from paper or any other substance. But, as the table is chiefly destined to another purpose, it is also adviseable to suspend a strip of the same stuff upon a rod, all along one side, and so as to hang down nearly upon the edge of the table; and as fast as you perceive any moth beginning to lay her eggs, take her up gently, and put her upon the strip of



Creoles join an elegant shape and majestic walk, which seem to be natural to the women of warm countries. They are rarely endowed with that exact symmetry, which constitutes perfect beauty; but they almost always possess a certain comeliness, which it is more difficult to describe. The women in Georgia and Greece are beautiful; but in St. Domingo they are lovely. Their large eyes exhibit a happy medium between languor and vivacity; and if the severity of the climate were not an enemy to the freshness of their complexion, it would be difficult to defend one's self against the charm of a look in which tenderness and gaiety are mingled, without being confounded. But they are no strangers to the assistances of the toilette; and they know how to preserve the advantages which nature has bestowed.

The thinness of their dress gives an air of greater freedom to their motions; and the carelessness, that seems to accompany all their actions, serves but the more successfully to rouse those voluptuous ideas that are ever awake.

The idleness in which they are educated—the almost continual heats they experience—the attentions, of which they are perpetually the objects—the effects of a lively imagination and early puberty—all produce an extreme sensibility in their nervous system. This sensibility produces an indolence of disposition, which, struggling with their natural gaiety, constitutes a temperament bordering on the melancholic.

The stimulus of desire, however, is only wanting to make them exert all their energy. Accustomed to command, they grow obdinate, if controlled; but when their wishes are gratified, they sink down to their usual apathy. Without emulation for agreeable qualifications, which it would be so easy for them to acquire, they nevertheless envy these in others. But the greatest source of their uneasiness, arises from rivalry in exterior accomplishments. The Creole women rarely seek to form intimacies with their own sex; but they are lavish of civilities, when chance brings them together.

They are distinguished by an ex-

cessive tenderness for their children, and a pious affection for their parents, which they testify by the most engaging expressions of filial respect.

Love, that tyrant of feeling hearts, domineers over those of the Creoles. Amiable from their sensibility, and by the attractions with which nature has endowed them, they yield themselves willingly to that inclination, which in them does not sufficiently depend on sentiment, to procure for its votaries its highest gratifications. But the durability of their attachments would make them less blameable, if these could be defended on the score of decency. Happy is the whose marriage vows have been those of love! adoring her lover in her husband, her fidelity, which is more commonly the fruit of temperament than of virtue, will insure their mutual tranquility. But if the husband has no other rights but those of duty, let him beware of exercising them despotically, or of contemning those that are due to his wife; for his example will infallibly be imitated. Their attachment is always mingled with jealousy; and in spite of the indifference which many of them feel for the husband, whom convenience alone has procured, they cannot pardon his infidelities, but are inflamed at the discovery with inconceivable rage. By a sort of presentiment of the evils which the freed women occasion them in this way, they agree in vowing against them an implacable hatred, and are particularly offended at seeing them adorned with extraordinary finery, considering this as a sort of triumph or victory obtained over them by these dusky Roxanas.

Jealousy, which desolates the universe, often occasions the death of such Creole women as are not able to bear the estrangement of those whom they love: and they are more disposed to endure the loss of himself than of his affection.

They are so captivated with dancing, that they give themselves up to it without reserve, in spite of the heat of the climate and the delicacy of their constitution. This exercise seems to give new energy to the faculties; and they well know what new charms it adds to an elegant figure and graceful shape. It makes

them forget the indolence which at other times they so fondly cherish; and such is the delirium with which the dance affects them, that a stranger would suppose it to be the predominant pleasure of their hearts.

They are also fond of singing; and little tender airs are their favourites; but the old ballad they are particularly pleased with: its plaintive sounds seem to flatter the languor of their disposition; and they give such expression to its accents, as captivates the heart, while it charms the ear.

They are fond of solitude, and willingly seclude themselves, even in the heart of towns. This gives them an air of bashfulness in society, which never leaves them, except they have been tutored, in France, to adopt the familiar manners of that nation.

They are exceedingly temperate. Chocolates, sweets, fruits, and particularly coffee, are their chief food. But a taste, which it would seem they are not able to resist, prompts them to refuse simple and wholesome aliment, for the factitious seasonings of European dishes, or for their country food fantastically prepared, and known by names still more fantastic. Pure water is their common drink, but they sometimes prefer lemonade, made of syrup, and citron juice. They eat little at stated times; but whenever they feel the sollicitations of appetite, they immediately indulge it.

The Creole women are of feeble constitutions; their beauty is delicate, and its duration short. The inactivity and irregularity of their domestic life, ill-chosen food, and passions almost always at work, are the causes of the sudden decay of their charms: but perhaps the chief reason is the pernicious custom of marrying before they have attained the perfection of their growth. Being generally fruitful, and liable to no disease or danger, either during pregnancy or at parturition, they abuse these advantages, which are owing merely to the delicacy of their frame.

It will, perhaps, surprise many, to be told, that in a country where maternal affection is so exquisite, the children are nursed by slaves. It is but too true, that if few women here

attempt to suckle their own children, very few are able to do it. This is occasioned by the natural debility of their constitution, by premature connexion with our sex, by the impropriety of their food, and the general irritability of their nervous system. But the child is kept under their eye, and the nurse has always her liberty, in reward for her care. The mothers make amends by their tenderness and solicitude, for their inability to perform a duty, the neglect of which is often severely punished.

The Creole women never receive any education at St. Domingo; and when this is considered, their talents are astonishing. Their natural good sense, untinged with prejudice, gives a certain temper to their minds, which, if it misguides them sometimes, often procures them a character of stability, which some false reasoners have pretended their sex was incapable of.

In matters of sentiment and delicacy, they are excellent counsellors. They are endowed with a sort of instinctive inclination for what is honourable; they are haughty and indignant of what is mean. They despise the man who has been dishonoured; and they participate the resentment of him who has been affronted. That man must renounce the title of a lover, who can tamely submit to an injury; for they would rather weep over the grave, than listen to the vows, of a dastard.

They are naturally affable and generous, and melt with compassion over whatever has the appearance of misfortune or sorrow. But these virtues they sometimes forget, with regard to their domestic slaves; and a delicate lady, who can shed tears at the mere recital of distress, will often witness the infliction of the stripes which her passion has commanded. It is needless to say that the punishment is seldom proportioned to the offence; for she who can forget the character of her sex, rarely keeps within bounds. Nothing can equal the rage of a Creole woman, who chastises a slave whom her husband has seduced: and we would in vain attempt to describe it, in terms of sufficient horror.



of even useful innovations are thanked by their cotemporaries. Yet, undaunted by the severe treatment which his predecessors had received, he determined to publish to the world, a work that his extensive erudition, intense application, and extraordinary ingenuity, had enabled him to compose. The novelty of the subject, and the Latin language in which it was written, made it difficult for those who attempted a perusal, to comprehend it; and therefore, few could with certainty acquire a thorough knowledge of the whole system, unless communicated and explained by the author or his disciples.

Yet so fond were physicians of passing judgment upon it, that the majority, without examination, condemned the whole at once, as trifling and whimsical, because they were told it thwarted their favourite notions; and the remainder, who fancied they gave it a fair discussion, as they looked into the books without obtaining a full and true account of their contents, decided upon its merits with all the unfairness of ignorance and presumption.

The medical faculty of the university in Scotland, leagued in firm confederacy against the author and his doctrine, treated them both with contemptuous neglect, or, when they were mentioned, they were merely considered as a subject to reprobate and ridicule. The students were cautioned against his tenets, as dangerous heterodoxy, and much pains were taken to prevent among them, apostacy from academical faith. Even the learned Cullen, who plumed himself upon the victory he had gained by the overthrow of Boerhaave, now began to dread the attacks of a more formidable antagonist, whom he foresaw in Bruno: and the event has proved that his apprehensions were not groundless; for in spite of every injury and indignity, endured from its earliest infancy, the new doctrine has by degrees acquired Herculean strength, and overcome the hydra of opposition. The system of Bruno has been daily gaining reputation, during its author's life, in proportion to its extensive diffusion; while that of Cullen has hourly lost its undeserved renown, before the death of its propagator, as fast as it has been examined among the accurate reasoners of the age.

Whoever considers the arguments employed in the first edition of the *Elementa Medicinæ*, against the Stahlian doctrine of plethora, must acknowledge them valid and unanswerable; and with equal reason will be induced to admire the elegant style and interesting truths contained in the preface of the second. If in the published volumes, he has been sometimes obscure, (and who is there that expresses his thoughts, or even thinks, at all times, with uniform clearness?) it must be told to his honour, that he was always willing to own detected mistakes, and to alter and amend them by marginal notes, as he went along. He engaged in a labour too mighty, perhaps, for a single man to accomplish; but he proceeded with astonishing perseverance, to batter down the ill-founded Gothic edifice of physic—to remove the enormous heap of antiquated rubbish—and finally to construct, upon a more secure basis, a Corinthian fabric, that should be beautiful to look at, and comfortable to dwell under.

The desire to become acquainted with his opinions was so ardent, that not all the united endeavours of his enemies could hinder the curious and inquisitive youth from attending his lectures. They commonly heard his discourses at his own dwelling—and when, hunted by the terriers of the law, he fled to the royal liberties of Holyrood house for an asylum, they followed him there: and once, when he was confined in jail, for a small debt, so great was their attachment to him, that, as his pride would not permit them to release him by a subscription of money, they followed him unanimously in a body to the place of confinement, and received instruction, day after day, within those dreary walls. An event unparalleled in the history of medicine! for, although his adversaries maliciously rejoiced at his imprisonment, at first; yet they afterwards confessed, that it added more to his reputation than the clamorous applause of his friends.

I shall never forget a morning visit he once made me, bringing the original odes of Anacreon and Sappho in his hand; on several of which he offered such critical and explanatory remarks, as fully shewed his proficiency

cy in Grecian literature; and it is said the late professor Van Doeveren complimented him very highly, at Leyden, on the classical purity of his Latin conversation.

But, notwithstanding his various intellectual attainments, he had faults too glaring to pass unnoticed, by the strictest of his adherents; and to those are to be attributed, in some degree, the steady opposition to his doctrine and its retarded progress; people disliking his opinions on account of their aversion to the man.

At the recollection of his failings, I fetch a sigh of sorrow, for in vain should I cover with a veil of friendship, what he himself exposed to view. But while I remember the weaknesses of this individual, I remember, too, that perfection falls not to the lot of mortal man. This, after all, may be said with truth, that they were of a pardonable kind, as they proceeded from a temper naturally benevolent, but rendered austere by disappointments, vexations, and crosses, which were chiefly brought upon him through want of knowledge of the world, and of acquaintance with human nature.

He taught his pupils a due degree of medical scepticism, by which they dared to doubt the infallibility of ancient authority, and equally to discredit the unsupported assertions of modern dogmatism. He proved that life is a forced state of existence, and traced out some of the laws of animation. He pointed out the proper distinction between diseases of universally high and low excitement. He rendered more simple the practice of medicine, and cast away many useless and superfluous articles of the shops. But, on the history and treatment of local diseases, which compose so considerable a share of human calamities, he has said and written very little; and the disrespectful remarks on most of those characters whom he mentions, are another of his capital defects. He has also in some cases, pushed his doctrine too far—but, upon the whole, it is much to be lamented, that it is so little heard of, and so much less known among us.

*Fort Schuyler, September 23, 1788.*

*Account of Thomas Godfrey.—Written by the rev. Nathaniel Evans, of Gloucester, New Jersey.*

THOMAS GODFREY was born in Philadelphia, in the year 1736. His father, who was of the same name, was a glazier by trade, and likewise a citizen of Philadelphia; a person, whose great natural capacity for mathematics, has occasioned his name to be known in the learned world: being (as has been heretofore shewn by undeniable evidences) the original and real inventor of the very useful and famous sea-quadrant, which has been called Hadley's.

He died when his son was very young, and left him to the care of his relations, by whom he was placed at an English school, and there received a common education in his mother tongue; and without any other advantage than that, a natural genius, and an attentive perusal of the works of the English poets, he soon exhibited to the world the strongest proofs of poetical capacity.

It is not to be wondered, therefore, that in the early period of life, he should feel such a warm impulse for those elegant arts, for which nature had formed him. For, besides having a fine ear for music, and an eager propensity to poetry, we are told, that, when very young, he discovered a strong inclination to painting, and was very desirous of being bred to that profession. But those who had the charge of him, not having the same honourable idea, either of the profession, or its utility, which he had, crossed him in that desire. After some time, he was put to a watch-maker, an ingenious man, in Philadelphia: but still the muses and graces, poetry and painting, stole his attention. He devoted, therefore, all his private hours to the cultivation of his parts, and towards the expiration of this time, he composed those performances that were published, with so much favourable notice, in the American magazine.

At length he quitted the business of watch-making, and got himself recommended to a lieutenant's commission in the Pennsylvania forces, raised in the year 1758, for the expedition against Fort Du Quesne; in



at sea : there was little wind, and our course was slow ; at last the winds failed us entirely, and it fell a dead calm. For some days, the Portuguese gave us no more food, than was barely sufficient to preserve us alive.

“ Two negroes, determined on death, refused every species of nourishment, and secretly conveyed to us the bread and the dates that were designed for them. I hid them with care, that they might be employed in preserving the life of Ellaroe.

“ The calm continued ; the sea, without a wave, presented one vast immoveable surface, to which our vessel seemed attached. The air was as still as the sea. The sun and the stars, in their silent course, disturbed not the profound repose that reigned over the face of the deep. Our anxious eyes were continually directed to that uniform and unbounded expanse, terminated only by the heaven’s arch, that seemed to enclose us as in a vast tomb. Sometimes we mistook the undulations of light for the motion of the waters ; but that error was of short duration. Sometimes, as we walked on the deck, we took the resistance of the air for the agitation of a breeze ; but no sooner had we suspended our steps, than the illusion vanished ; and the image of famine recurring, presented itself to our minds with redoubled horror.

“ Our tyrants soon reserved for themselves the provisions that remained, and gave orders, that a part of the blacks should be sacrificed as food for the rest. It is impossible to say, whether this order, so worthy of the men of your race, or the manner in which it was received, affected me most. I read, on every face, a greedy satisfaction, a dismal terror, a savage hope. I saw those unfortunate companions of my slavery observe one another with voracious attention, and the eyes of tygers.

“ Two young girls of the village of Onebo, who had suffered most by the famine, were the first victims. The cries of these unhappy wretches still resound in my ears ; and I see the tears streaming from the eyes of their famished companions, as they devoured the horrid repast.

“ The little provisions, which I

had concealed from the observation of our tyrants, supported Ellaroe and myself, so that we were sure of not being destined to the sacrifice. I still had dates, and we threw into the sea, without being observed, the horrid morsels that were offered to us.

“ The calm continuing, despondency began to seize even our tyrants ; they became remiss in their attention to us ; they observed us slightly, and we were under little restraint. One evening, when they retired, they left me on the deck with Ellaroe. When she perceived we were alone, she threw her arms around me, and I pressed her with rapture in mine. Her eyes beamed with an unusual expression of sensibility and tenderness. I had never in her presence experienced such ardour, such emotion, such palpitation, as at that moment. Long we remained thus enfolded in one another’s arms, unable to speak. “ O thou,” said I at last, “ whom I had chosen to be my companion on a throne, thou shalt at least be my companion in death.” “ Ah, Zimeo !” said she, “ perhaps the great Orissa will preserve our lives, and I shall be thy wife.” “ Ellaroe,” I replied, “ had not these monsters by treachery prevailed, Damel would have chosen thee for my wife, as thy father had chosen me for thy husband. My beloved Ellaroe, do we still depend upon the authority of Damel, and shall we now wait for orders that we can never receive ? No, no, far from our parents, torn from our country, our obedience is now due only to our hearts.” “ O, Zimeo !” cried she, bedewing my face with her tears. “ Ellaroe,” said I, “ if you weep in a moment like this, you love not I as do.” “ Ah !” replied she, “ observe, by the light of the moon, this unchangeable ocean ; throw your eyes on these immoveable sails ; behold, on the deck, the traces of the blood of my two friends ; consider the little that remains of our dates, then—O Zimeo ! be but my husband, and I shall be contented !”

“ So saying, she redoubled her caresses. We swore, in presence of the great Orissa, to be united, whatever should be our destiny : and we gave ourselves up to numberless pleasures, which we had never before experi-

enced. In the enjoyment of these, we forgot our slavery; the thoughts of impending death, the loss of empire, the hope of vengeance, all were forgotten, and we were sensible to nothing but the blandishments of love. At last, however, the sweet delirium ceased; we found ourselves deserted by every flattering illusion, and left in our former state; truth appeared in proportion as our senses regained their tranquility; our souls began to suffer unusual oppression; weighed down on every side, the calm we experienced was awful and dead, like the stillness of nature around us.

"I was roused from this despondency by a cry from Ellaroe; her eyes sparkled with joy; she made me observe the sails and the cordage agitated by the wind; we felt the motion of the waves; a fresh breeze sprung up, that carried the two vessels in three days to Porto-Bello.

"There we met Matomba; he bathed me with his tears; he embraced his daughter, and approved of our marriage. Would you believe it, my friends? the pleasure of rejoining Matomba, the pleasure of being the husband of Ellaroe, the charms of her love, the joy of seeing her safe from such cruel distress, suspended in me all feeling of our misfortunes: I was ready to fall in love with bondage; Ellaroe was happy, and her father seemed reconciled to his fate. Yes, perhaps, I might have pardoned the monsters that had betrayed us; but Ellaroe and her father were sold to an inhabitant of Porto-Bello, and I to a man of your nation, who carried slaves to the Antilles.

"It was then that I felt the extent of my misery; it was then that my natural disposition was changed; it was then I imbibed that passion for revenge, that thirst of blood, at which I myself shudder, when I think of Ellaroe, whose image alone is able to still my rage.

"When our fate was determined, my wife and her father threw themselves at the feet of the barbarians that separated us; even I prostrated myself before them: ineffectual abasement! they did not even deign to listen to us. As they were preparing to drag me away, my wife, with wildness in her eyes, with outstretched

arms, and shrieks that still rend my heart, rushed impetuously to embrace me. I disengaged myself from those who held me; I received Ellaroe in my arms; she infolded me in hers, and instinctively, by a sort of mechanical impulse, we clasped our hands together, and formed a chain round each other. Many cruel hands were employed, with vain efforts, to tear us asunder. I felt that these efforts would, however, soon prove effectual: I was determined to rid myself of life; but how leave in this dreadful world my dear Ellaroe! I was about to lose her for ever; I had every thing to dread; I had nothing to hope; my imaginations were desperate; the tears ran in streams over my face; I uttered nothing but frantic exclamations, or groans of despair, like the roarings of a lion, exhausted in unequal combat. My hands gradually loosened from the body of Ellaroe, and began to approach her neck. Merciful Orissa! the whites extricated my wife from my furious embrace. She gave a loud shriek of despair, as we were separated; I saw her attempt to carry her hands towards her neck, to accomplish my fatal design; she was prevented; she took her last look of me. Her eyes, her whole countenance, her attitude, the inarticulate accents that escaped her, all bespoke the extremities of grief and of love.

"I was dragged on board the vessel of your nation; I was pinioned, and placed in such a manner as to make any attempt upon my life impossible; but they could not force me to take any sustenance. My new tyrants at first employed threats, at last they made me suffer torments, which whites alone can invent; but I resisted all.

"A negro, born at Benin, who had been a slave for two years with my new master, had compassion on me. He told me that we were going to Jamaica, where I might easily recover my liberty: he talked to me of the wild negroes, and of the commonwealth they had formed in the centre of the island; he told me that these negroes sometimes went on board English ships, to make depredations on the Spanish islands; he made me understand, that in one of those cruises, Ellaroe and her father might

be rescued. He awakened in my heart the ideas of vengeance and the hopes of love. I consented to live : you now see for what. I am already revenged, but I am not satisfied till I regain the idols of my heart. If that cannot be, I renounce the light of the sun. My friends, take all my riches, and provide me a vessel—”

Here Zimeo was interrupted by the arrival of Francisco, supported by the young negro who had so suddenly retired upon the sight of his prince. No sooner had Zimeo perceived them, than he flew to Francisco. “O, my father ! O Matomba !” cried he, “is it you ? do I indeed see you again ? O Ellaroe !” “She lives,” said Matomba ; “she lives, she weeps your misfortunes, she belongs to this family.” “Lead me, lead me,”—“See,” interrupted Matomba, shewing him Wilmot’s friend, “there is the man who saved us.” Zimeo embraced by turns, now Matomba, now Wilmot, and now his friend ; then with wild eagerness, “lead me,” he cried, “to my love.” Marianne, or rather Ellaroe, was approaching ; the same negro, who had met Matomba, had gone in quest of her ; she came trembling, lifting her hands and eyes to heaven ; and with tears in her eyes, in a faint voice, she could hardly utter, “Zimeo, Zimeo.” She had put her child into the arms of the negro, and after the first transports and embraces were over, she presented the infant to her husband. “Zimeo, behold thy son ! for him alone have Matomba and I supported life.” Zimeo took the child, and kissed him a thousand and a thousand times. “He shall not be a slave,” cried he ; “the son of my Ellaroe shall not be a slave to the whites.” “But for him,” said she, “but for him, I should have quitted this world, in which I could not find the man whom my soul loved.” The most tender discourses at last gave place to the sweetest caresses, which were only suspended to bellow these caresses on their child. But soon their gratitude to Wilmot and his friend engrossed them wholly ; and surely never did man, not even a negro, express this amiable sentiment so nobly and so well.

Zimeo, being informed that the English troops were on their march,

made his retreat in good order. Ellaroe and Matomba melted into tears on quitting Wilmot. They would willingly have remained his slaves ; they conjured him to follow them to the mountain. He promised to visit them there as soon as the peace should be concluded between the wild negroes and the colony. He kept his word ; and went thither often, to contemplate the virtues, the love, and the friendship of Zimeo, of Matomba, and of Ellaroe.



*Peter. A German tale.*

**I**N a village of the Margraviate of Bareith, in Franconia, lived a husbandman, whose name was Peter. He was in possession of the best farm in the country ; but that was the least part of his riches. Three girls and three boys, whom he had had by his wife, Theresa, were already married, had children, and were all of them his own inmates. Theresa, his wife, was seventy-eight years of age ; he himself was eighty ; and both were beloved, served, and respected by this numerous family, who had made it their business to prolong the old age of their venerable parents. Sobriety and labour during a long life, had guarded them against the infirmities of old age : content, loving, happy, and proud of their children, they blessed God, and prayed for their offspring.

One evening, having passed the day in reaping, the good old Peter, Theresa, and his family, seated on the turf, were indulging themselves at their own door. They were lost in contemplation of those sweet summer nights, that the inhabitants of cities never know. “Observe,” said the old man, “how that beautiful sky is besprinkled with stars, some of which, falling from the heavens, leave behind them a long train of fire. The moon, hid behind these poplars, gives us a pale and trembling light, which tinges every object with an uniform and soft splendor. The breeze is hushed ; the tree seems to respect the sleep of its feathered inhabitants. The linnets and thrush sleep with their heads beneath their wings. The ring-dove and her mate repose amidst their young, which have yet no other covering or feathers than

those of their mother. Nothing interrupts this deep silence, but that plaintive and distant scream, which, at equal intervals, strikes our ears: it is the cry of the owl, the emblem of the wicked. They watch, while others rest; their complaints are incessant, and they dread the light of heaven. My dearest children, be always good, and you'll be always happy. Sixty long years have your mother and I enjoyed a happy tranquility. God grant that none of you may ever purchase it so dearly."

With these words, a tear flood in the old man's eye. Louisa, one of his grand-daughters, about ten years old, ran and threw herself in his arms. "My dear grandpapa," said she, "you know how well pleased we all are, when of an evening you tell us some pretty story: how much more delighted should we all be, if you would tell us your own! It is not late; the evening is mild; and none of us are much inclined to sleep." The whole family of Peter seconded the request, and formed themselves in a semicircle before him. Louisa sat at his feet, and recommended silence. Every mother took on her knee the child whose cries might distract attention: every one was already listening; and the good old man, brooking Louisa's head with one hand, and the other lock'd in the hands of Theresa, thus began his history.

"It is a long time ago, my children, since I was eighteen years of age, and Theresa sixteen. She was the only daughter of Aimar, the richest farmer in the county. I was the poorest cottager in the village; but never attended to my wants, till I fell in love with Theresa. I did all I could, to smother a passion, which, I knew, must one day or other have made a wretch of me. I was very certain that the little pittance fortune had given me, would be an eternal bar in the way to my love; and that I must either renounce her for ever, or think of some means of becoming richer. But, to grow richer, I must have left the village where my Theresa lived; that effort was above me; and I offered myself as a servant to Theresa's father.

"I was received. You may guess with what courage I worked. I soon ac-

quired Aimar's friendship and Theresa's love. All of you, my children, who know what it is to marry from love, know too the heart-felt pleasure of reciprocity in every interview, every look, every action. Theresa loved me as much as she herself was loved. I thought of nothing but Theresa; I worked for her; I lived for her; and I fondly imagined that happiness was then eternally mine.

"I was soon undeceived. A neighbouring cottager asked Theresa in marriage from her father. Aimar went, and examined how many acres of ground his intended son-in-law could bring his daughter; and found that he was the very husband that suited her. The day was fixed for the fatal union.

"In vain we wept; our tears were of no service to us. The inflexible Aimar gave Theresa to understand, that her grief was highly displeasing to him; so that restraint added to our mutual wretchedness.

"The terrible day was near. We were without one glimmering of hope. Theresa was about to become the wife of a man she detested. She was certain, death must be the inevitable consequence. I was sure I could not survive her: we made up our minds to the only way that was left us; we both ran off; and heaven punished us.

"In the middle of the night we left the village. I placed Theresa on a little horse that one of her uncles had made her a present of: it was my decision, that there was no harm in taking it away, since it did not belong to her father. A small wallet contained her clothes and mine, with a trifle of money that Theresa had saved. For my part, I would take nothing with me; so true it is, that many of the virtues of youth are the offspring of fancy; I was robbing a father of his daughter, and I scrupled at the same time to carry off the value of a pin from his house.

"We travelled all night; at day-break we found ourselves on the frontiers of Bohemia, and pretty nearly out of the reach of any who might be in pursuit of us. The place we first stopped in, was a valley, beside one of these rivulets that lovers are so fond of meeting with. Theresa

alighted, sat down beside me on the grass, and we both made a frugal but delicious meal. When done, we turned our thoughts to the next step we were to take.

"After a long conversation, and reckoning twenty times over, our money, and estimating the little horse at its highest value, we found that the whole of our fortune did not amount to twenty ducats. Twenty ducats are soon gone! We resolved, however, to make the best of our way to some great town, that we might be less exposed, in case they were in search of us, and there get married as soon as possible. After these very wise reflections, we took the road that leads to Egra.

"The church received us on our arrival; and we were married. The priest had the half of our little treasure for his kindness; but never was money given with so much good will. We thought our troubles were now all at an end, and that we had nothing more to fear; and indeed we bought eight days' worth of happiness.

"This space being elapsed, we sold our little horse; and at the end of the first month we had absolutely nothing. What must we have done? What must have become of us? I knew no art but that of the husbandman: and the inhabitants of great cities look down with contempt on the art that feeds them. Theresa was as unable as myself to follow any other business. She was miserable; she trembled to look forward; we mutually concealed from each other our sufferings—a torture, a thousand times more horrid than the sufferings themselves. At length, having no other resource, I enlisted into a regiment of horse, garrisoned at Egra. My bounty money I gave to Theresa, who received it with a flood of tears.

"My pay kept us from starving; and the little works of Theresa—four indigence stimulated her invention—helped to keep a cover over our heads. About this time, a child coming to the world, linked our affections closer.

"It was you, my dear Gertrude; Theresa and myself looked upon you as the pledge of our constant love, and the hope of our old age. Every child that heaven has given us, we

have said the same thing, and we have never been mistaken. You were sent to nurse, for my wife could not suckle you; and she was inconsolable on the occasion: she passed the live-long day working at the side of your cradle; while I, by my attention to my duty, was endeavouring to gain the esteem and friendship of my officers.

"Frederic, our captain, was only twenty years of age. He was distinguishable among the whole corps, by his affability and his figure. He took a liking to me. I told him my adventures. He saw Theresa—and was interested in our fate. He daily promised that he would speak to Aimar for us; and as my absolute dependence was on him, I had his word, that I should have my liberty, as soon as he had made my father-in-law my friend. Frederic had already written to our village, but had had no answer.

"Time was running over our heads. My young captain seemed as eager as ever; but Theresa grew every day more and more dejected. When I enquired into the reason, she spoke of her father, and turned the conversation off. Little did I imagine that Frederic was the cause of her grief.

"This young man, with all the heat incident to youth, observed Theresa's loveliness, as well as myself. His virtue was weaker than his passion. He knew our misfortunes; he knew how much we depended on him; and was bold enough to give Theresa to understand what reward he expected for his patronage. My wife witnessed her indignation; but knowing my character to be both violent and jealous, she withheld the fatal secret from me; while I, too credulous, was daily lavish in the praises of my captain's generosity and friendship.

"One day, coming off guard, and returning home to my wife, who should appear before my astonished eyes, but Aimar! "At last I have found thee," exclaimed he; "infamous ravisher, restore my daughter to me! Give me back that comfort thou hast robbed me of, thou treacherous friend!" I fell at his knees: I endured the first storm of his wrath. My tears began to soften him: he

consented to listen to me. I did not undertake my own justification. "The deed is done," said I, "Theresa is mine: she is my wife. My life is in your hands; punish me; forgive your child—your only daughter. Do not dishonour her husband; do not let her fall a victim to grief; forget me, that you may more effectually remember her." With that, instead of conducting him to Theresa, I led him to the house where you were at nurse, my girl. "Come," added I, "come, and view one more, you must extend your pity to."

"You were in your cradle, Gertrude; you were fast asleep; your countenance—a lovely mixture of alabaster and vermilion—was the picture of innocence and health. Aimar gazed upon you. The big tear stood in his eye. I took you up in my arms; I presented you to him; "this too is your child," said I to him. You then awoke; and, as if inspired by heaven, instead of complaining, you smiled full upon him, and extending your little arms towards the old man, you got hold of his white locks, which you twined among your fingers, and drew his venerable face towards you. Aimar smothered you with kisses; and caught me to his breast. "Come," said he, "my son, shew me my daughter," extending one hand to me, and holding you on his arm with the other. You may judge with what joy I brought him to our house.

"On the road, I was afraid lest the sudden sight of her father might be too much for her: meaning to prevent any ill consequences, I left Aimar with you on his arm; I ran home, opened the door, and saw Theresa struggling with Frederic, exerting all her power to save herself from his base embraces. As soon as my eyes saw him, my sword was in his body. He fell; the blood gushed; he pierced the air with a cry of anguish; the house was full in a minute. The guards came; my sword was still reeking; they seized me: and the unfortunate Aimar just arrived to see his son-in-law loaded with irons.

"I embraced him; I recommended to him my wife, and my helpless baby, whom I likewise embraced, and then followed my comrades, who saw me lodged deep in a dungeon.

"I remained there, in the most cruel state, two days and three nights. I knew nothing of what was going forward: I was ignorant of Theresa's fate. I saw nobody but an unrelenting jailor, who answered to all my questions, that I need not trouble myself about any thing; for that in a very few hours, he was sure, sentence of death would be pronounced on me.

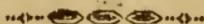
"The third day the prison gates were flung open. I was desired to walk out: a detachment were waiting for me; I was encircled by them, and led to the barracks green. From afar I perceived the regiment drawn up, and the horrid machine that was to put an end to a wretched life. The idea that my misery was now completed, restored the force I had lost. A convulsive motion gave precipitancy to my steps: my tongue of itself muttered Theresa's name, while I walked on; my eyes were wildly in search of her; I bled with anguish, that I could not see her; at last I arrived.

"My sentence was read; I was given into the hands of the executioner; and was preparing for the mortal blow, when sudden and loud shrieks kept back his falling arm. I once more stared round, and saw a figure half naked, pale, and bloody, endeavouring to make way thro' the guards that surrounded me. 'Twas Frederic. "Friends!" exclaimed he, I am the guilty man; I deserve death; pardon the innocent; I wished to seduce his wife: he punished me: he did what was just: you must be savages, if you attempt his life." The colonel of the regiment flew to Frederic, in order to calm him. He pointed out the law that doomed to death whoever raised his hand against his officer. "I was not his officer," cried Frederic; "for I had given him his liberty the evening before under my hand. He is no more in your power." The astonished officers assembled together. Frederic and humanity were my advocates: I was brought back to prison: Frederic wrote to the minister—accused himself—asked my pardon—and obtained it.

"Aimar, Theresa, and myself, went and threw ourselves at the feet of our deliverer. He confirmed the present he had made me of my liberty, which

he wished to heighten by others that we would not receive. We returned to this village, where the death of Aimar has made me master of all he possessed, and where Theresa and I shall finish our days, in the midst of peace, happiness, and you, my children."

Peter's children had crept close to him during the narrative; and, though finished, they still were in the attitude of people who listen; the tears trickled down their cheeks. "Be happy," said the good old man to them, "heaven has at last rewarded me with your love." With that he embraced them all round; Louisa kissed him twice; and all the happy family withdrew for the night.



### LAW INFORMATION.

*Case respecting a promise of marriage.*

ON Tuesday, came on to be tried, by a special jury, the cause, Cammock, per guardian, versus M<sup>r</sup> Anuff, for a breach of promise of marriage. The evidence was clear and decisive, of a promise made by the defendant, to marry miss Dorothy Cammock, the plaintiff, within twelve months, from the 24th of July, 1788: That in consequence of such promise, he was received into the lady's family, and by the lady herself, in every respect as her intended husband: That he carried himself as the lover extremely well, till about May last, when his attentions to the lady very sensibly declined. Upon application, his excuse was, first, hurry of business; but, when pressed by the lady's friends, he declared absolutely off the match, alleging the very low state of his finances in excuse, although, in support of his address, he had declared himself in the receipt of 4000*l.* per annum.

The defence set up by Mr. M<sup>r</sup> Anuff, was not contradictory to the promise, or the breach of that promise; but that upon mature deliberation, he found his circumstances by no means so promising as he at first had flattered the lady and himself with; and made it certainly apparent to the court and jury, that it would not have been eligible for him, in those circumstances, to have enhanced his annual expen-

diture, by a matrimonial connexion. From this it was urged, in his behalf, that, instead of condemning his conduct, by a verdict against him, he merited applause, for his candour in declining his prospects of hymeneal felicity, rather than subject a lady, whom he admired and esteemed, to penury and distress,—especially that lady, whom he had taught to believe (from miscalculation of his affairs) she should move in the sphere of life her merits and respectable connexions entitle her to.—The jury, after retiring about an hour, found the defendant guilty, and assessed damages, 325*l.* with costs. *Kingston, Sept. 12, 1789.*



### Law Case.

*The following cause was tried in the court of king's bench, London, on Friday May 8, 1789.*

THE assignees of Vaughan and co. bankrupts, against Smith, Kemble and co.—The plaintiffs, as assignees, brought their action against the defendants, to recover the value of a quantity of sugars, sold to the defendants, by Vaughan and co. the bankrupts.

The defendants pleaded a set-off of a bill of exchange for 600*l.* accepted by the bankrupts. The bill was payable to the order of William Broadhurst, the drawer thereof, and was by him indorsed to messrs. Towgood and Danvers, who, being apprehensive of the insolvency of Vaughan and co. and having heard rumours that they were expected to stop payment, applied to the defendants to discount the bill, at the same time communicating their apprehensions as to Vaughan and co. but intimating that the defendants, if they took the bill, could secure themselves, by buying sugars from Vaughan and co. Accordingly, the defendants discounted the bill, and soon afterwards bought the sugars, which became the subject of this action.

About three weeks afterwards, Vaughan and co. became bankrupts (before the bill of exchange, in question, became due) and the assignees insisted, that the bill could not be set off against the debt due for the sugars. But on a special case, reserved for the

opinion of the court of king's bench, judgment was given in favour of the defendants: the transaction was declared to be perfectly fair and proper, on the part of the defendants, as well as of Towgood and Danvers, who had, in the opinion of the court, used only what the law terms "due diligence" in protecting themselves against the apprehended insolvency of their debtor.



*Law Case.*

*London, Dec. 18, 1788.*

**A**T Guildhall was tried before Mr. Justice Heath, and a special jury, a cause of great consequence to trade in general, and manufacturers in particular. The action was brought by messrs. Quintin, of London, manufacturers, against messrs. Vigar, Stephens and co. carrying on part of the same trade at Bristol, for enticing away three of their apprentices and a journeyman, which being proved to the satisfaction of the court and jury, a verdict was given for the plaintiffs, for 300*l.* It was agreed and admitted, that the hiring of a journeyman, whilst in the service of another master, without the latter's consent, though only engaged from week to week, was enticing away, and therefore actionable; and that the same law extended to servants of all denominations.



*Law case. In the court of errors and appeals of the state of Delaware.*

*Benjamin Robinson and William Robinson, appellants, against the lessee of John Adams, respondent. P. 396.*

**W**E can easily account for inaccuracies in the testator's expressions, from sickness, hurry, want of knowledge or assistance. But we cannot account for such an inequality of distributions, as is required by the construction, in behalf of the respondent. The testator's offspring appear to be alike objects of his parental affection and providing care. Yet, what a needless, useless, encumbering diversity of regulations is introduced, if Thomas took a fee simple, with an executory devise to Elizabeth—William a fee tail, with an estate for life, or a fee tail limited to Francis—Ann

a fee tail, with an estate for life, or a fee tail limited to Valiance—and John a fee simple, with an executory devise to Comfort?

On the contrary, the construction in favour of the appellants, gives a sameness of arrangements, correspondent with the sentiments of the father towards his children. Each son took an unfettered estate, that is, a fee simple in the part devised to him—of course, if any son "came to lawful age," he might dispose of his share as he pleased—if any son died "before he came to lawful age," leaving issue, the estate went to that issue—but if any son died before he came to lawful age, and without leaving issue, the estate went to the substitute. This we believe to have been the testator's design; and, we think, he manifested in it great prudence, and paternal impartiality.

It has been observed by the respondent's council, "that this construction would carry the estate entirely from the descendants of the testator, into a strange family, and the respondent's lessor would suffer the peculiar hardship of being stripped of the inheritance, though he is heir of the testator and of the devisee."

It is impossible to calculate hardships of this kind, amidst the mutabilities of human affairs. It is to be remembered, that William Bagwell, the devisee and heir of the testator, was succeeded by his son William, and this William by his two daughters. Thus the construction of the council for the appellants, allows a fee simple to the heirs of the testator and devisee for several generations. About fifty years ago, as appears from the records of the orphans' court, the mother of the respondent's lessor obtained a partition with her brother William the second, of the lands devised by the testator to William the first, their father, as of an estate in fee simple; and the lands, assigned to her for her share, are held under that partition to this day. It would have been thought at that time extremely hard, if it had been insisted, that William, the grandfather of the respondent's lessor, took in fee tail the lands devised to him by this will; that therefore, upon his death, the whole descended to his son William, and that his daughter Agnes

was not entitled, under our intestate acts, to any part of so large an estate. Now, the complaint is directly reversed, and the construction that enured to the great benefit of the mother, is reprobated by the son claiming under her title. Yet, if either of the daughters of William the second had issue surviving, the same interpretation of this will would now suit the respondent's lessor, that heretofore was so advantageous to his parent.

The true construction of a will is to be collected from the words; and is not to be affected by collateral circumstances; consequently, not by events subsequent, remote, uncertain, and utterly unconnected with contingencies alluded to in the will\*. This rule cannot be departed from. The security of property, and the order of society, depend on an observance of the laws. Whatever may be the sensations of any of us, as a man, with respect to the situation of the respondent's lessor, they are superseded by the duty of a judge. They must be disregarded, though they may not be forgotten.

Our construction of this will appears to us, to be strengthened by three considerations, which we shall now mention.

First. It is very credible, that when a person undertakes to make a will, he means to dispose of all his property; and, though we do not perceive any sufficient reasons why this well-founded presumption might not be generally adopted as a guide in the interpretation of wills, especially in devises to children and other lineal descendants of the testator†, where the

#### NOTES.

\* 3 Peere Will. 259. Salk. 232, 235. 3 Burr. 1581.

† A remarkable distinction taken between a devise to a child, and a devise to a stranger, in Croke, Eliz.—Fuller against Fuller. In modern cases in law and equity, 132, it was held, that where a settlement is made by a lineal ancestor, in consideration of the marriage of his son, all the remainders to his posterity are within the consideration of that settlement: but when it is made by a collateral ancestor, after the limitations to his own children, all the remainders to his collateral kindred are voluntary.

gifts, dictated by fatherly affection, as its last acts of kindness, may justly be deemed as designed to be the most beneficial to the objects of it, if no restriction is declared; yet it must be acknowledged, that we do not recollect any case where it has been so adopted. Judges, however, have availed themselves of short and slight intimations in wills to this purport; have exerted themselves to render the disposition commensurate to the intention; and have particularly relied on such words as are used in this will,—"for my worldly estate," &c. to prove, that the testator designed to devise all his interest in an estate‡. This inference appears to be peculiarly apposite, where a question arises from various terms of limitation, or expressions tantamount, whether a devisee takes in fee simple or in fee tail.

The respondent's council, though strenuous advocates for their client's pretensions, have been too candid to assert, that the estate given to William, and, according to their idea, contracted to an estate tail, should, on failure of his issue, expand into a fee simple in Francis. They say, "Francis was to take the like estate that was limited to William, that is, an estate tail." Of course, a reversion would remain undisposed of by the testator, contrary to his design, manifested, not only by the preamble of his will, but also by the conclusion of it, in which last he uses these words—"all the rest of my personal estate, I give," &c. This clause, we believe, never would have been restricted to his "personal estate," if he had not been fully persuaded, that he had before disposed of all his real estate.||

Secondly. If it had been the intention of the testator, to give an estate tail to any of his sons, what reason can be assigned, why he did not use plain words for that purpose? He well knew even the technical terms for

#### NOTES.

‡ *Caus. temp. Talbot, Ibbetson against Beckwith. Tanner against Morse, Bernardist. Tuffnill against Page. Cowper 355. 1 Wilson, Grayson, against Atkinson. 3 Burr. Throgmorton against Holliday.*

|| *Cowper, 307. 3 Burr. 1622. 1623.*

creating such an estate; and repeatedly employed them in limitations over to his daughters, Elizabeth and Comfort, that, to each of them, being "to her and the lawfully begotten heirs of her body forever." But, such terms he never admitted in the devise to any of his sons, nor indeed to any of his unmarried daughters.

A case was quoted by the counsel for the respondent, from Pollexfen, to shew, that, where there is a variety of expression, there is a variety of intention. That case is very properly applicable here, for difference of language, not otherwise to be accounted for, must certainly proceed from difference of meaning.\*

Thirdly. It is inconsistent with the testator's intention, to construe the devise to his son William to be a fee tail, because it is inconsistent with that meaning which he himself has affixed to the words of the devise. † It is observable, that the testator, in the latter part of his will, gives personal effects to the legatees "and their heirs forever." Though these words, in such cases, are not necessary; yet they incontestably shew the donor's opinion of their force, and demonstrate his determination to give the most absolute estate he could give. The same was his determination, as he used the same words, in the devise to his son William, and therefore the son took a fee simple.

The judgment of the supreme court reversed.



## A N E C D O T E S.

1.  
SOON after the late sir William Johnson had been appointed superintendent of Indian affairs in America, he wrote to England for some suits of clothes richly laced. When they arrived, Hendrick, king of the five nations of the Mohawks, was present, and particularly admired them. In a few days, Hendrick called on sir William, and acquainted him that he had had a dream. On sir William's enquiring what it was, he told him, he had dreamed that he

had given him one of those fine suits, he had lately received. Sir William took the hint, and immediately presented him with one of the richest suits. Hendrick, highly pleased with the generosity of sir William, retired. Sir William, some time after this, happening to be in company with Hendrick, told him that he had also had a dream. Hendrick, being very solicitous to know what it was, sir William informed him, he had dreamed that he (Hendrick) had made him a present of a particular tract of land (the most valuable on the Mohawk river) of about five thousand acres. Hendrick presented him with the land immediately, with this shrewd remark: "*now, sir William, I will never dream with you again, you dream too hard for me.*"

2.  
THE Jews of Gibraltar, according to annual custom, had prepared a present for the governor. He was by some means informed it was but a thousand shakins: and refused to admit them to an audience, under the pretext of their being the descendants of those men who had crucified our Saviour. They easily discovered the real cause, and raised two thousand. He then received them very graciously, remarking that, "they, poor people, had no hand in the crucifixion."

3.  
DURING lord North's administration, a dispute happened one evening at the Smyrna coffee-house, whether the premier had any honour. A gentleman who had been heartily piqued at a refusal from lord North, would not allow him any share of it; whilst another as warmly espoused his having pretensions to every virtue. The subject created much warmth on both sides, and might perhaps have terminated very disagreeable to one or other of the parties, had not one of the company played the mediator,—and very archly said,—"There was no doubt of his honour, who had purchased half the honour of the nation." A general laugh ensued, at which my lord's advocate seemed nettled, and, turning upon his heel, said,—"it was a purchase very easily made."

### NOTES.

\* 2 Wilson, 31.

† 2 Ab. of cases in eq. 298. 302.

4  
A Philosopher and a wit were at sea, and a high swell rising, the philosopher seemed under great apprehensions lest he should go to the bottom. "Why," observed the wit, "that will suit your genius to a tittle; as for my part, you know, I am only for skimming the surface of things."

5.  
A French nobleman, who waited upon the late Frederic of Prussia, at Sans-Souci, expressed his astonishment at seeing the emperor's portrait in every apartment of the palace; and asked the king what might be the reason of his thus honouring the portrait of his greatest enemy?—"Oh!" said the king, "the emperor is a busy and enterprising young monarch, and I find it necessary always to have an eye upon him."

6.  
IN the year 1776, there was a general muster held in order to get people to turn out. Of the Turkey battalion, two captains told their men they were willing to assist in gaining independence, and asked who would follow their example? an equal number of men from each of their companies offered themselves: and one of the captains proposed tossing up for the command; the proposal being accepted by the other, they proceeded to decide, when fortune declared in favour of the proposer, who nobly offered his fellow-captain the command, saying, "he would act as his lieutenant." His reason for behaving in this manner, was (to make use of his own words) "because the other had been in service, and was consequently more capable of commanding than himself, who had not." The other as nobly refused the proffered superiority, saying, "fortune has declared for you, and I will, in obedience to her dictates, act as your lieutenant."

7.  
IN the early part of his life, Mr. Whitfield was preaching in an open field, when a drummer happened to be present, who was determined to interrupt his pious business, and rudely beat his drum in a violent manner, in order to drown the preacher's voice. Mr. Whitfield spoke very loud, but was not as powerful as the instrument,

He therefore called out to the drummer in these words, "friend, you and I serve the two greatest masters existing—but in different callings—you beat up for volunteers for king George, I for the Lord Jesus—in God's name, then, let us not interrupt each other; the world is wide enough for both; and we may get recruits in abundance." This speech had such an effect, that he went away in great good humour, and left the preacher in full possession of the field.

8.  
ONE day, as Charles XII. of Sweden was dictating some letters to his secretary, to be sent to court, a bomb fell on the house, pierced the roof, and burst near the apartment in which he was. One half of the floor was shattered to pieces; but the king's closet, being partly surrounded by a thick wall, suffered no damage; and, by an astonishing piece of fortune, one of the splinters which flew about in the air, entered at the closet door, which happened to be open. The report of the bomb, and the noise it occasioned in the house, which seemed ready to tumble, induced the secretary to drop his pen. "What is the reason," said the king with a tranquil air, "that you do not continue writing?" The secretary could only say, "Ah, fire! the bomb!" "Well," replied the king, "what has the bomb to do with the letter I am dictating to you? Go on!"

9.  
LOUIS XIV. one day said to the duke of Schomberg, "had it not been for your religion, you would have been long since a marshal of France." "Sire," replied the duke, "since your majesty thinks me worthy of that rank, I am satisfied; I aimed at nothing more."

10.  
FOOTE, on seeing a nobleman, who had very thin arms and legs, with a pot belly, said, in his usual sarcastic spirit, he looked like a greyhound that had got the dropsy.

11.  
AN Indian sachem was asked whether his subjects were free? "Why not?" said he, "since I myself am free, tho' their king."

## A W I N T E R - P I E C E :

NOW winter rules the year, and, wing'd with frost,  
 The piercing northwest flies—Upon the plain,  
 And on the neighb'ring hills, the leafless trees  
 Stand rueful—Among their boughs and waving  
 Tops, whistles the chilling blast—and ruthless  
 From the sap-left sprig beats off the ling'ring leaf.  
 Thick spread, the fallen foliage strews the ground ;  
 And, set in motion by the whirling gale,  
 Plays in light eddies round the rocking trees.  
 None of the feather'd songsters of the shade  
 Are seen, or heard, save the lone wood-pecker,  
 Beating with harden'd bill, the deaden'd slump.

The cattle, homeward from the wither'd field,  
 Plod, drooping—and, suppliant, low around  
 Their wonted stalls. Hush'd is the cheerful noise  
 Of rural life, and nought is heard, save, o'er  
 The wild, the hunter's gun, loud thund'ring far ;  
 Or, from the echoing woods, the sounding strokes  
 Of wood-cutter, felling the sturdy oak.

No more, at eve, the twitt'ring martins wheel,  
 With giddy'wing, around the chimney-top ;  
 Nor through the dusk, flitting from spray to spray,  
 The fire-flies glance—In marsh or stagnant pool  
 No more the bullfrog hoarse is heard—nor from  
 The grove the turtle coos her song of love.

While thus the fadden'd year moves slowly on,  
 And cheerful friends, with gladd'ning mirth no more  
 Beguile the tedious hours—let me close sit  
 By the warm hearth—peruse th' historic page,  
 And there, deep rapt in former times, converse  
 With sages of the ancient world—There mark  
 How empires rose, and by what means they fell.  
 There see thé hero on his course to fame—  
 Behold him lab'ring for the common good,  
 The patriot-virtues glowing in his breast ;  
 Or see him stretch'd on the ensanguin'd plain,  
 His manly breast gash'd o'er with many a wound,  
 And with his latest breath, beseeching heav'n  
 To shed its blessings on his country's cause.

Or, should fair fancy's scene delight me more,  
 Let me, enraptur'd, read the muse's song—  
 There catch the poet's fire, and soar with him  
 In his sublimest flights—now scale the sky—  
 Wheel round the spheres—and stretch my daring wing  
 To worlds unknown. From thence descending  
 To the walks of men—mourn, with the tragic muse—  
 Nor blush to weep, oft as the various scenes  
 Of innocence distress'd, demand a tear.

Or in the palace proud, and lofty dome,  
 Visit the higher circles of the great,  
 Where easy wit, and polish'd manners shine—  
 Or thence, to softer scenes of rural life—  
 Those sweet retreats, the muse's fav'rite theme,  
 Where innocence, and sweet contentment dwell—  
 There in the grove, or by some purling stream  
 Hear Damon tune his pipe, and Phyllis sing—

See flocks and herds at careless random rove,  
 And nymphs and shepherds telling tales of love,  
 Thus, other cares apart, let me pass off  
 Those lonesome wintry hours, till from the south  
 "Look out the joyous spring, look out and smile."  
*Bladenburg, (Maryland)*

D. F.



*For the American Museum.*

### THE BEE.

*Ah! see where, robb'd and murder'd in that pit,  
 Lies the still heaving hive! &c. &c.*

THOMSON.

AS late I walk'd t' enjoy that grateful hour,  
 When early breezes greet the rising day,  
 A bee, before me, rov'd from flow'r to flow'r,  
 And thus she sadly said, or seem'd to say :

" Ah ! what will all this toil and care avail :

" Why do I thus o'er hill and valley roam,  
 " And wearied bear thro' many an adverse gale,  
 " The spoil nectareous, to my distant home ?

" When the tall maple blossom'd, (pride of trees)  
 " My toil began, with the first smiles of spring ;  
 " And when the buck-wheat scented ev'ry breeze,  
 " Departing summer heard my restless wing.

" In vain, alas ! for when our work is o'er,  
 " And cells o'erflowing, all our cares repay—  
 " Sulphureous flames, snatch'd from th' infernal shore,  
 " To one lone grave, shall sweep our tribe away—

" And must we toil thro' summer's sultry hours,  
 " And death—a cruel death, be our reward !  
 " Tell, if thou canst, what fault, what crime of ours,  
 " Tyrannic man ! deserves a fate so hard ?

" For us no creatures are condemn'd to bleed,  
 " And lift in vain the pity-asking eye ;  
 " The slowrets, scatter'd o'er the verdant mead,  
 " And dews of heav'n, our guiltless feast supply.

" 'Tis true, protection thy warm hives afford,  
 " For which, a portion of our wealth be thine—  
 " With lib'ral hand, take of our luscious hoard,  
 " Spare ! spare our lives, our treasures we resign—

" Oh ! may the man, who, deaf to pity's call,  
 " Condemns us helpless, to devouring flames,  
 " Find all his honey turn'd to bitterest gall,  
 " While wax impure, provokes his frugal dame.

" If e'er soft slumber seal his weary eyes,  
 " When night and silence hold their gloomy sway,  
 " May glaring ghosts of murder'd bees arise,  
 " Buz round his bed, and frighten sleep away !

" But thou ! who dost our harmless race befriend,  
 " May smiling peace forever glad thy breast,  
 " May balmy sleep, unsought, thy couch attend,  
 " And gentlest visions lull thy soul to rest."

*Burlington, October, 1789.*

An elegiac epistle, written by John Osborn\*, at college, in the year 1785, upon the death of a sister, aged 13, and sent to another sister at Eastham.

DEAR sister, see the smiling spring,  
 In all its beauties, here ;  
 The groves a thousand pleasures bring,  
 A thousand grateful scenes appear ;  
 With tender leaves the trees are crown'd,  
 And scatter'd blossoms, all around,  
 Of various dyes,  
 Salute our eyes,  
 And cover o'er the speckled ground.  
 Now thickets shade the glassy fountains ;  
 Trees o'erhang the purling streams ;  
 Whisp'ring breezes brush the mountains ;  
 Grotts are fill'd with balmy streams.  
 But, sister, all the sweets that grace  
 The spring, and blooming nature's face—  
 The chirping birds,  
 Nor lowing herds,  
 The woody hills,  
 Nor murmur'ring rills,  
 The sylvan shades,  
 Nor flow'ry meads  
 To me their former joys dispense,  
 Though all their pleasures court my sense :  
 But melancholy damps my mind ;  
 I lonely walk the field,  
 With inward sorrow fill'd,  
 And sigh to ev'ry breathing wind.  
 I mourn our tender sister's death,  
 In various plaintive sounds ;  
 While hills above, and vales beneath,  
 The fault'ring notes rebound.  
 Perhaps, when in the pains of death,  
 She gasp'd her latest breath,  
 You saw our pensive friends around,  
 With tears bedew the ground,  
 Our loving father stand,  
 And press her trembling hand,  
 And gently cry, " my child, adieu !  
 We all must follow you."  
 Some tender friend did then perhaps arise,  
 And close her dying eyes :  
 Her stiffen'd body, cold and pale,  
 Was then convey'd within the gloomy vale  
 Of death's unhallow'd shade.  
 Weak mortals, O ! how hard our fate !  
 How sure our death—how short our date !  
 We all are doom'd to lay our heads  
 Beneath the earth, in mournful shades,  
 To hungry worms a prey.  
 But, loving sister, let's prepare,  
 With virtue's steady feet,  
 That we may boldly meet  
 The rider of the pale horse void of fear,  
 But why should you and I forever mourn

## NOTE.

\* For memoirs of John Osborn, see Vol. V. page 587.

Our dear relation's death? She's gone—  
 We've wept enough to prove  
 Our grief, and tender-love :  
 Let joy succeed, and smiles appear,  
 And let us wipe off ev'ry tear :  
 Not always the cold winter lalls,  
 With snows and storms, and northern blasts :  
 The raging seas with fury tost,  
 Not always break and roar ;  
 Sometimes their native anger's lost,  
 The smooth-hush'd waves glide softly to the shore.



*The oak.*

**A**L O N G fair Schuylkill's verdant banks, there grew,  
 In vigorous pride, a lovely oak, and rear'd,  
 High towering, its umbrageous verdant head,  
 In a delightful mead, fast by the lapse  
 Of an irriguous stream it stood, whose roots  
 The soft ring humor quaff'd ; among whose boughs  
 Th' aerial feather'd race tun'd their soft notes,  
 And gentle zephyrs play'd ; around, the gay  
 Enamell'd lawn with grace attractive caught  
 The eye, and humble cots, and forests brown,  
 And distant fields with golden harvests crown'd.

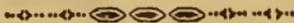
There smiling spring its earliest influence shed,  
 There faded last fair summer's ling'ring bloom.

Oft to whose shade repair'd th' athletic youth  
 Around ; there mildly pleasing sport stole fast  
 Their hours away—their pleasurable hours.

But now, alas ! fair tree, no more thou stand'st  
 To draw attention's gaze, no more the swains  
 Thy beauteousness admire ; but torn up sheer  
 By th' everblasting whirlwind's flying wing,  
 With all thy boughs pluckt off by winter's hand,  
 Lie'st a rude trunk, a harbor for vile worms ;  
 Half in the lovely stream, whose waters round  
 Thee foaming, seem thy loss to wail, the grace  
 Of all the country-village swains around.

Thus I've with youthful strains, and little skill,  
 In fair aonian art, delightful tree,  
 Thy mem'ry snatcht, from dark oblivion's veil.

S. C.



**FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.**

*Paris, October 9.*

*National assembly.*

**T**HE following letter was received  
 from the king :

“ *Gentlemen,*

“ The instances of attachment and  
 fidelity which I have received from  
 my good city of Paris, and the invi-  
 tation of the commons, have deter-  
 mined me to fix my permanent abode  
 there ; and in the confidence I have,  
 that you will not separate from me, I  
 invite you to choose commissioners,  
 to select the most proper place for the

national assembly to sit in. I shall  
 give the necessary orders to prepare it.  
 I shall facilitate and expedite the  
 measures which mutual confidence  
 may require.

“ **LOUIS.** ”

This letter occasioned some debate,  
 and some members argued against their  
 removal to Paris.

It was put to the voice, and by a  
 great majority it was decided that they  
 should remove to Paris, conformable  
 to their declaration to the king.

Several of the representatives, ima-  
 gining that the national assembly is  
 on the eve of being deprived of their

liberty, and, that, on its removal to Paris, it will be dangerous to manifest opinions contrary to those of the multitude, have demanded passports.

Several members complained of the insults offered to themselves and other representatives, by the populace; among other things, it was observed, that they wanted to assassinate M. Tirleu, one of the deputies who accompanied the king to Paris. One gentleman asserted, that his own house would have been plundered, had it not been for the national militia—The subject was adjourned.

*Oct. 13.* Several persons of distinction are taken up and in prison; fifteen thousand uniforms, made like those of the militia, having been found in their houses, besides many letters and papers, which indicate a very alarming design. Several other persons—among whom is said to be the count d'Estaing—have retired: and the report is, that upwards of twenty thousand men have been secretly kept in pay for some time past, who were to appear openly, when things were ripe for execution. A list of the principals in this association is handed about: but their names are too respectable to announce them, till matters are better authenticated: in short, all Paris is alarmed on this occasion. In the meantime, the royal family remain in the Thuilleries, guarded only by the militia, for the gardes du corps have been sent away.

Near three hundred of the members of the national assembly have already desired leave to withdraw.

All the barriers are shut, no person being permitted to go out of Paris without passports.

The queen of France owes the preservation of her life to the gallant marquis de la Fayette.

*Oct. 17.* The pecuniary presents, lately made to the French national assembly, have been great, and are increasing daily. The duke of Orleans has given 2,500,000 livres; M. Neckar 100,000 livres; l'abbé de S. Non, 400,000 livres, one moiety of his abbey; M. Nicola, president of the chambres des comptes, resigned a pension of 10,000 livres, and gave 25,000; M. de Atigre, a refugee in England, 100,000 crowns. The invalid guards, though poor, presented 300 livres; the canons of St. Gen-

vieve sent to the mint a silver chandelier, the finest, perhaps, in France; its weight 248 marks, of eight ounces each. The company of booksellers gave 20,000 livres; the patriotic society, of Versailles, gave 88,000 livres; a private soldier, of the Paris militia, 318; M. Rigaud, 1000; the pupils of an academy, 1400, &c. A lady of easy virtue sent 12,000 livres, with the following note, "Gentlemen, I have a heart formed for love. I have realized the enclosed by my amours, and I remit it to you as an offering to my country. May my example be followed by my companions of all classes." At Havre, the citizens have presented all their silver buckles, &c. the governor his plate: M. Rial, plate to the amount of 15,000 livres, also a remittance of 10,000 livres. These sacrifices, with what will follow, must soon make the treasury of France respectable.

*Oct. 20.* Some of the populace, headed by the women, lately attempted to set fire to the hotel de ville; the intended conflagration was, however, prevented by a youth, who, at the imminent hazard of his life, rushed forward; and, in a most surprising manner, extinguished the flame, which had just caught the building. On being desired, by some of the members of the national assembly, to demand a reward for his service and intrepidity, he nobly refused all pecuniary compensation; and requested only, that he might have the honour of having his name enrolled in the Paris militia.

*Vienna, October 6.*

His majesty, the emperor, has been pleased to raise the prince of Saxe Cobourg, to the rank of field marshal, in recompense for the signal services he has rendered his country; and particularly, in the late victory over the army of the grand vizir, on the 22d of September.

Yesterday evening, another courier arrived here from the prince de Cobourg, with the important news, that he had again attacked and beaten the grand vizir, and driven him back, as far as the Danube; that 2000 Turks were left dead on the field; and that our troops took 17 pieces of cannon, 300 loaded camels, 400 buffaloes, 2000 oxen, 5000 loaded waggons, 70,000

tents, with the whole of the grand vizir's treasure and equipage; and that the booty was altogether immense.

*Oct. 7.* The prince of Anhalt Bernbourg, who commands the van-guard of the Russian army, under prince Potemkin, lately attacked a seraskier of three tails, at the head of a body of between 7 and 8 thousand Spahis, on their march to succour the garrison of Bender, over whom he obtained a complete victory, near Kauscan, on the Niester.

Eight hundred of the enemy were killed on the spot, and 120 taken prisoners; among whom is the Ottoman general. The artillery has also fallen into the hands of the Russians.

*London, October 10.*

After the naval engagement, in which the Swedes manifested so much gallantry, but of which the issue was unfavourable, the king ordered new levies to be made, and the burgeses to be embodied, even to the manufacturers and artisans; but, after a time, this order was countermanded, as the fleet was soon found to be in a condition to resist the utmost efforts of the enemy.

*Oct. 12.* The French assembly have confirmed the ancient salique law, which absolutely and perpetually excludes all women from sitting on the throne.

The French are advancing to follow the example of the emperor, in giving the Jews the protection of government. In Alsace, they were threatened to be murdered, which produced this resolution in the national assembly. It is believed, that they will be shortly tolerated in France, and permitted to enjoy the rights of citizens.

*Oct. 13.* The eyes of Europe, which have long been fixed on France, are soon likely to be attracted to another quarter. Some grand scenes are on the eve of being presented in the Netherlands; and the emperor, if he be not entirely despoiled of his authority over the Belgic provinces, will probably have his authority curtailed within the proper limits of a count de Flandres.

*Oct. 14.* It is most generally believed, by every well-informed person in France, that it was his christian majesty's intentions to have escaped

to Metz, if he had not been prevented by the Parisians.

*Oct. 15.* That the empress of Russia has insulted the English flag, is certain; and so far has she acted against her own principles, but certainly not against ours; for denying, as we do, that free bottoms make free goods, we cannot justly complain that her cruisers attack our trade. Two English vessels, loaded with stores, were stopped by the Russian ships; but an English cutter, in both circumstances, gave them liberty; and we do not learn that any vessel has been carried into port.

*Oct. 17.* When the Parisian women attacked the king's body guards at Versailles, a girl of eighteen years discharged a pistol at the head of one of the most violent of the soldiers, and killed him on the spot.

Some extraordinary measures are expected in consequence of the disturbances in Flanders. The king of Prussia has a large army in the principality of Cleves, and the Dutch have a fleet at Flushing, ready to secure the Scheldt.

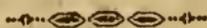
By a resolution of the national assembly, the French king is hereafter not to be styled king of France, but king of the Franks or freemen.

*Oct. 20.* The troubles in Corsica have been much exaggerated. Some houses have been burnt at Bastia, and several unpopular persons have fled, but nothing has been done yet amounting to a revolution. M. de Barin, commander of the island, is shut up in his citadel, and has sent home for a reinforcement of eight battalions, which, however, the French government does not seem disposed to grant.

Several of the princes and prelates of Germany, who are affected by the resolutions of the national assembly of France on the 4th of August, sent memorials to his most christian majesty, complaining of those resolutions, as infractions of solemn treaties. His majesty returned them for answer, that it was not in his power to give them any redress; but he would refer them to the national assembly, whence, and not from him, the resolutions had proceeded, of which they complained.

*Oct. 24.* M. Bouche, deputy from Aix, lately declared, that the number

of French who had left their country, exceeded 80,000, and that their subsisting revenue might be stated at 19 or 20 millions.



### AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

*Boston, November 18.*

It is a circumstance worthy of remark, and at the same time reflects honour on Great Britain, that the artists, patronized in that kingdom, by his majesty, are principally Americans. West is historical painter to, and a favourite of his majesty—Copley also stands high in the royal favour—and we lately have seen, that our young townsman, Brown, has been appointed painter to his royal highness, the duke of Clarence.

*Dec. 7.* We inform, as evidencing an increase of commerce, that one hundred and eighty-two ships and vessels have arrived in this port, since the 4th of August last, from foreign parts. The number of vessels building, rigging, and repairing, in this harbour, and in the several rivers, is another evidence of increasing navigation.—“Fearless, now, of hostile fleets,

Commerce spreads her native sail ;  
Peace the honest merchant greets—

While plenty flows on ev'ry gale.”

*Worcester, (Mass.) Dec. 10.*

The proprietors of the cotton manufactory in this town, have lately erected buildings suitable for the purpose, and taken other measures to carry on the business extensively. A large quantity of fullians, jeans, and some pieces of corduroy, are now ready for sale. Experiments have been made by purchasers, of the wear of these cloths, and it is with pleasure we can assure the public, that those made in Worcester, will last, and retain their colour and beauty, nearly double the time of those of the same fineness and price, made in England.

*Salem, November 24.*

It is remarkable, that a horrid plot of the negroes of Martinique to recover their liberty, was discovered about the same time their masters were thanking heaven for their own deliverance from the yoke of despotism. Poison, conflagration, and deadly weapons, were the means by which they were to have extirpated every white man from the island. The white women

were to have been saved for their wives ; and the mulattoes for servants. They were betrayed, and the ring-leaders taken. Five of them have been hanged, and he, who was to have been governor of the island, broke upon the rack ; the latter, in the agonies of death, turned his face with disdain from the cross, which was presented him to kiss ; and discovered an equal contempt for christians and their God.

*New York, December 17.*

We hear, that on Tuesday last, the cargo of the sloop Betsey, John Ingraham, master, from New London, was seized by the collector of this district, in conformity to the 29th section of the act for regulating the coasting trade—a hoghead of rum, and some other articles, being found on board, which had been inserted in the manifest, after it had been sworn to and certified by the collector at New London.

*Charleston, Nov. 24.*

The state of Virginia will not make more than half a crop of tobacco this season, owing to nipping-frosts late in the spring.

Notwithstanding the depredations of Indian parties in the state of Georgia, the frontier continues greatly to increase in strength, a great number of persons coming there to settle from the northern states.

The drought which has so parched the surface of this state, exceeds in its continuance any other known by very old citizens. Numberless brooks and springs are entirely dried up, and the exhausted, thirsty traveller is frequently obliged to go some miles out of his road, before he is able to procure the refreshment of a drink of water.

*Georgetown, Dec. 2.*

A letter from a gentleman near Fort Wheeling, dated November 12, 1789, says, “the spirit of emigration to the western regions rages more than ever : upwards of 3000 persons are encamped near this place, some of whom have been here ever since July last : they are detained on account of the high freshes in the river—want of boats, provision, &c. Their situation is truly deplorable, as this part of the country is but thinly settled. This large body of people with their horses and cattle, have raised the price of

provisions to an alarming height, which has induced many of them, who were able, to return, while others are spending their little all in expectation to see the waters fall."

*Philadelphia, December 21.*

A letter from a principal house in Amsterdam, dated the 24th September, 1789, received at Boston, informs "That American bonds, bearing 5 per cent. interest, fell on the exchange at 2 per cent. above par, and those bearing interest of 4 per cent. from 96 to 99 per cent. and are rising. This is the happy effect of the new federal government."

A letter from Paris, to a gentleman in Newhaven, dated August 30th, 1789, says, "it is extremely gratifying, my dear sir, to have spent the last six months in this country—where, next to the American revolution, the greatest and most wonderful scenes are unfolding. The progress of truth and reason is beyond calculation. We might have believed from theory, that government would meliorate—that the people might discover in time, that as laws are made for them, they ought to be made by them—that kings should be but executive magistrates, and therefore subject to the laws. But when we consider the slow and almost imperceptible progress of such ideas from the date of Magna Charta to the last revolution in England, their retrograde motion from the time of the great Henry, to Louis XVIth. in France, and their dormant state for many ages in all the rest of Europe, it is astonishing that so many events of this nature should be crowded into fifteen years. It is but since the American war that the freedom of thinking has been by any means general in France. The example of America in her theoretical ideas of liberty has certainly been a great advantage to France. But greater, if possible, will be her example in her development of these ideas in her government. The constitution of France, which is in a good degree of forwardness, will be as nearly like the American, as is consistent with having an hereditary chief magistrate. If they had not a king on hand, they would not create one. They will now preserve him with such powers as the people choose to dele-

gate to their executive chief. And he will gladly accept of what they may give him, acknowledging the source from whence it flows, the *jus divinum* of his fellow citizens.

"The other nations of Europe have now an example nearer home—and they will soon follow it. The gospel of civil liberty will run and be glorified—nations are coming to its light, and kings to the brightness of its rising. It cannot be ten years before Germany, Spain, and South America will be free: how many other states will precede, and how many follow them, cannot now be known; but all Europe must do one or the other. One principal occasional cause of these revolutions, is the immense national debts accumulated by the expensive wars of the present century. Spain finds a deficiency of eighty millions. The emperor's dominions are exhausted by war and taxes. No sovereign in Europe can impose a new tax, without the consent of the people, for France could not do it. Spain must assemble her cortes, or submit to a bankruptcy, either of which is the direct road, and the first, the beaten road, to a revolution. Assembling the notables here, has done the same thing."

*Philadelphia dispensary.*

The number of patients admitted from December 1, 1788, to December 1, 1789, is 1863

Of whom the number cured is	1561
Dead	85
Relieved	88
Incurable	2
Discharged disorderly	19
Removed to the hospital and house of employment	12
Remaining under care	96
	<hr/> 1863

Account of receipts and expenditures.	£.	s.	d.
Balance in the treasurer's hands last year,	17	13	5
Received from contributors	421	15	2
Balance due to the treasurer this year	24	14	4
	<hr/> £. 464	2	10



*Tuesday, May 19.*

MR. BODINOT brought forward a plan, for the arrangement of the executive departments. He introduced it by some general observations on the state of the several great offices under the confederation—He observed, that a new arrangement was now necessary, as those offices were not properly any longer in existence, and if they were, they could not, in the present structure, be taken as models for a new establishment—He then moved, as the first clause in the resolution, that a secretary of finance be appointed for the purposes, and with the powers, therein described.

Mr. Benson seconded the general propositions, but did not agree in the propriety of entering into the particulars of the arrangement, till the house had determined the general question, how many departments should be established. He therefore moved, as an amendment, that there should be three great departments established, for the aid of the executive magistrate—to wit, the department of foreign affairs, the department of the treasury, and the department of war.

This motion was, after some debate, withdrawn, in favour of one made by mr. Madison, to this effect, “Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, there should be established, for the aid of the chief magistrate, in executing the duties of his station, the following departments, to wit, a department for foreign affairs, at the head of which shall be an officer, called the secretary of the united states for foreign affairs; that there should be a department of the treasury, at the head of which shall be, &c. and a department of war, at the head of which shall be, &c.—to be nominated by the president, and appointed by him, with the advice and consent of the senate—and removable by the president.”

It was moved, as an amendment to this resolution, to annex another clause, providing a department for domestic affairs: and several reasons were suggested, to prove the present and the increasing necessity of such an establishment. But this motion was afterwards, for the present, withdrawn.

It was moved to make a division of the question, and that separate questions should be taken, on the subject of each department. The question on the first being put, was carried.

On the clause, rendering the heads of departments removable by the president, a considerable debate arose.

The objections were, that giving the power of removal to the president, would render vain and useless the constitutional provision for impeachment, and that it would convey a dangerous authority to the first magistrate. It was also observed, that if the president had this power, it ought at least to be tempered and qualified by the advice and consent of the senate; for it was proper, that the same power, which created, should remove officers.

In answer to these objections, it was said, that the mode of impeachments, provided by the constitution, respected only officers of a particular nature, and did not extend to the executive departments in general: that the idea of bringing all the inferior officers, employed in the administration of government, before the senate, by impeachments, was too absurd to be admitted: that it was necessary, to the responsibility of the president, that he should have the controul over the officers of his own appointment.

It was also observed, as to the last objection, that, if the consent of the senate in every removal and change of officers was made necessary, it would render it expedient for the senate to be constantly assembled.

A question was then taken, whether the president should have the sole power of removal, and it was carried in the affirmative by a large majority.

The question was then put, whether there should be a treasury department, and was carried in the affirmative. Adjourned.

*Wednesday, May 20.*

THE house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the arrangement of the great departments of the executive, mr. Trumbull in the chair.

Mr. Gerry opened the debate, by a description of the difficulties, which would attend such a department, under the administration of an individual.—He took up and examined the detail

of the powers and duties, proposed by the mover of the resolution, to be annexed to the office of secretary for the treasury department, and thought, they were too numerous and complicated, to be discharged and executed by any one man, whom the united states afforded.

He then went into a train of observations, to shew the danger of corruption in an office filled by a single man, possessed of such great controuling and uncontrollable powers: whereas a number of commissioners, possessing equal authority, would be a mutual check to each other, and corruption would be thereby rendered more difficult.

He objected further, that the constitution had provided in the senate a council to advise the president in the execution of government; but that the creation of a financier, with all the splendor and powers of office, would be the establishment of a ministry, which would be a dangerous instrument in the hands of the executive.

He then moved for an amendment to the resolution, by striking out that part relative to a secretary for the treasury department, and substituting a clause for the appointment of a board of commissioners.

Mr. Gerry was opposed by mr. Wadsworth, who confined himself to the proving the superiority, which single men of abilities possessed over boards, in the transaction of public business. He reprobated in the strongest terms the conduct of boards of commissioners in general, and especially the late board of treasury, not because they were deficient in integrity and talents, but because there was a radical vice in the very nature and principles of those institutions, which was productive of perpetual obstructions in the transaction of affairs, of want of harmony, and that decision and dispatch, which were the soul and spirit of public business.

He drew a comparison between the conduct of the late financier, and the board of treasury; and said, that the parallel was entirely to the advantage of the former, in every point of view.

Under the administration of that man, public business had been conducted with simplicity, accuracy, and dispatch, which saved our finances from

destruction. Immense savings had been made in all the departments, civil and military; over which he had had any controul, and which before had been in a state of distraction. Under the administration of the late commissioners, the finances had been in a state of darkness and confusion. Uncertainty, indecision, and weakness appeared in all their transactions. He spoke from experience. The difficulties and delays he had met with in doing business with boards, convinced him that there was some great defect in their formation, which was incurable.

Mr. Benson supported the same side of the question. He observed that all the arguments, respecting the danger of corruption, &c. would extend to the heads of all departments, as well as the treasury. They would extend to the president himself.

The debate was continued by mr. Baldwin, mr. Madison and mr. Boudinot, the latter of whom spoke largely. These opposed the amendment; and mr. Bland supported it.

The question was put upon the amendment, which was negatived without a dissenting vote.

Mr. Bland then moved, that a clause should be added, instituting a board of treasury, under the superintendance of the financier. He had before in the course of the debate, observed, that he was not opposed to the creating a minister of the finances, who should have a general superintendance over the finance establishment, and be vested with the power of devising, forming, and recommending systems for the improvement of the revenue; but he wished he might not possess any immediate controul over the revenue itself. He wished he might have no authority or agency whatever, in the receipts and disbursements of money. For such purposes as these, he thought a board was necessary—a board, who should possess powers, which could not safely be trusted with an individual in so elevated a station as the financier.

On this motion the question was put, and lost.

A question was then taken, whether this officer should be removable by the president; and it was carried.

After this, a question was taken,

whether there should be a department of war, at the head of which should be an officer, to be called the secretary for the department of war; which was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Vining then moved, that there should also be established a department for domestic affairs, at the head of which, &c. He supported his motion by a number of observations, pointing out the expediency of such an establishment. The motion was seconded by mr. Boudinot and mr. Huntington.

Mr. Benson objected—He thought it would be proper to postpone this part of the establishment to a future time. However extensive the object of such an office might be, he was not sure that the office itself was necessary. The duties which would properly come under this department, he conceived, might be divided and distributed among other departments. For instance, all domestic matters which related to the revenue, might be managed by the treasury department. All domestic matters of a military nature might be conducted by the secretary at war. If, however, a distinct department should be found necessary, it could be established at any time.

To this mr. Vining replied, by enumerating a number of objects which could not come within the management of either department, such as the numerous and increasing objects of a territorial nature, and the extensive correspondence between the federal government and its western dependencies. He also mentioned the propriety of instituting this office for the authentication of public instruments of every kind. At present there was no office to affix the seal of government to the numerous acts which would take place relative to domestic regulations.

To this idea of mr. Vining it was answered, that for the purpose of authenticating public acts by seal, there would undoubtedly be an officer appointed; but it would be very improper to establish a great department, with a large salary, to perform such an inconsiderable duty. An officer would probably be created in proper time, with a salary proportionate to the extent and importance of the object.

The committee then rose, and the house adjourned.

*Thursday, May 21.*

THE house took up the resolutions of the committee of yesterday, respecting the executive departments, and having confirmed the same, proceeded to ballot for a special committee of eleven, to prepare and bring in a bill or bills for the purpose of carrying those resolutions into effect. The committee were mr. Baldwin, mr. Benson, mr. Madison, mr. Vining, mr. Burke, mr. Livermore, mr. Boudinot, mr. Fitzsimons, mr. Wadsworth, mr. Cadwallader, and mr. Gerry.

The committee of elections, to whom were referred the several petitions from the inhabitants of New Jersey, respecting the election in that state for representatives in congress, reported a resolution, that a committee should be appointed, with authority to receive and hear evidence on the subject of those petitions; that a day should be appointed, on which this committee should sit for the above purpose; and that the speaker should be requested to transmit a copy of that resolution to the governor of New-Jersey, with a request that he would cause the same to be published in the several newspapers of that state. Adjourned.

*Friday, May 22.*

THE question of mr. Smith's eligibility to a seat, by reason of his having been seven years a citizen of the united states, was put, and at the request of mr. Tucker, who had been applied to by dr. Ramsey to have the yeas and nays taken on the question, it was determined in that mode in mr. Smith's favour, with only one dissenting vote. After this adjudication,

The house adjourned.

*Monday, May 25.*

Mr. Madison, who was, according to notice, to have moved, this day, for the house to go into a committee on the subject of amendments to the constitution, thought it expedient, for a number of reasons, to postpone his motion for the present; and gave further notice, that this day fortnight he would bring forward this motion.

Mr. Goodhue moved, that a committee should be appointed to report what compensation would be proper

to be allowed to the president, vice-president, &c.

Mr. Page thought it best to go into a committee of the whole on this business. The question for going into a committee of the whole being put and carried—the house resolved itself into a committee, and Mr. Trumbull was called to the chair.

A resolution was then moved, that per annum be allowed the president, during his continuance in office, to be paid in four equal quarterly payments.

On this resolution some debate took place respecting the form in which the allowance should be made him—whether the blank should be filled up with one gross sum, comprehending a provision for the support of his household and his secretary, or whether the allowance should be divided into two branches; the compensation for his services, and the maintenance of his household. In the course of this debate, Mr. Lawrence suggested twenty-five thousand dollars, as a proper sum to fill up the blank, including his private secretary, clerks, &c.

The committee rose without coming to any resolution.

*Tuesday, May 26.*

THE bill laying duties on tonnage was read the second time.

On motion of Mr. White, voted, That this bill be referred to a committee of the whole—and made the order of the day for to-morrow.

*Wednesday, May 27.*

ON motion, the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on a reported bill for imposing a duty on tonnage.

A motion was made to insert in the bill, a clause, imposing a duty of fifty cents on all vessels not built within the united states, which may become the property of citizens thereof. This, after some debate, was carried.

It was then moved, to strike out the clause restraining foreign ships from being employed in the coasting trade, which was negatived.

The committee rose, and reported the same, as amended, and it was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Fitzsimons, from the committee appointed for that purpose, pre-

sented a bill to regulate the collection of the impost, which was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

Adjourned.

*Thursday, May 28.*

THE house met, and the tonnage bill was read, as amended in the committee, and agreed to by the house; after which it was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, and made the order of the day for to-morrow.

The house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the state of the union, according to the established order of the day.

Mr. Trumbull in the chair.

Mr. Scott, in a pointed and argumentative speech, introduced to the attention of the committee, the necessity of establishing a land office, for the disposal of the vacant and unappropriated lands in the western territory; for which purpose, he moved the committee to agree to a resolution, recommending the appointment of a select committee, by the house, for the purpose of regulating the same.

He was seconded by Mr. Vining, who insisted on the necessity and propriety of the measure.

But the subject appearing of high importance to the committee, it was agreed to rise, in order to obtain time for gaining information. Adjourned.

*Friday, May 29.*

THE engrossed bill for laying a duty on tonnage, was read a third time, and passed the house.

The bill to regulate the collection of the impost, was read a second time and committed to a committee of the whole, to be taken up on Monday. Adjourned.

*Monday, June 1.*

Mr. Benson gave notice, that he intended to move a resolution to this effect, that congress will earnestly recommend to the legislature of Rhode Island, to call a convention of the people of that state, in order to adopt the constitution.

Mr. Benson said, he had no other view in bringing this forward, than that the united states should know certainly and speedily, whether the state of Rhode Island intended to become a member of the union. It might, he said, be supposed by some, that that state had already given its

ultimatum. But he would inform the house, that the governor of Rhode Island had sent information to the late congress, that the constitution had been submitted to the decision of the several towns in that state, a majority of which appeared to be opposed to it. That congress had taken no notice of this communication, as it was considered as an improper and unconstitutional mode of determining on the merits of the constitution.

Mr. Baldwin, from the committee appointed to agree upon the compensation to be allowed the president, vice-president, senators, and representatives, reported, that the president should be allowed, as a compensation for his services, twenty thousand dollars per annum, comprehending the allowance for his secretaries, clerks, &c. and exclusive of the expense of his equipage, servants, and some other objects to be provided for and defrayed from the public treasury.

That the vice-president should be allowed a salary of five thousand dollars per annum, and the senators and representatives, six dollars per day, during their actual attendance in congress; and, for the expenses of travelling to and from the seat of government, six dollars for every twenty miles.

On motion of Mr. Smith, a committee was appointed to bring in a bill for the establishment of a system of bankrupt laws, throughout the united states.

Then the house adjourned.

*Tuesday, June 9.*

MR. Baldwin, from the committee appointed to bring in a bill or bills, pursuant to the resolution for instituting the three subordinate executive departments, reported two bills—one, for the arrangement of the war department—the other, for the department of foreign affairs: these bills provided in substance, for bringing under the direction of these departments, by orders from the president, those national objects which had come within their cognizance, under the old confederation.

A motion was introduced and adopted, that the committee which had reported the bill for collecting the revenue, should be intrusted to prepare a bill or bills, providing for

the registering of vessels, ascertaining their tonnage, regulating pilotage, light-houses, &c. Adjourned.

*Wednesday, June 3.*

THE bill for the establishment of a department of war, and the bill for the establishment of a department of foreign affairs, were read a second time, and referred to a committee of the whole house, to be taken up on Tuesday next. Adjourned.

*Thursday, June 4.*

MR. Baldwin, from the committee appointed for the purpose, reported a bill to establish the treasury department. Adjourned.

*Friday, June 5.*

A Message from the senate, which was received yesterday, providing for the transmission of the acts of congress to the executives of the several states, was read a second time and received the unanimous concurrence of the house.

The bill providing for the arrangement of the treasury department, was read a second time, and referred to a committee of the whole house.

Mr. Jackson gave notice, that on Wednesday next, he should move for the appointment of a committee, to bring in a bill for the establishment of a system of naturalization for the united states.

Mr. Benson proposed, that the house should then form itself into a committee of the whole, on the state of the union, and take into consideration the proposed resolution respecting Rhode Island.

This occasioned a short discussion, which terminated in taking the previous question—whether the house should go into a committee of the whole for the above purpose? this passed in the negative, and so the proposed resolution was lost.

Mr. Ames introduced a petition from the artificers and manufacturers of the town of Boston—which being read, was laid on the table.

Mr. Vining gave notice, that on Wednesday next he would submit to the house a resolve, providing for the establishment of a fourth subordinate executive department, to be denominated; the department of the secretary of the united states for domestic affairs.

The house then adjourned.

*Monday, June 8.*

UPON motion, it was voted, that the several petitions from tradesmen and manufacturers, should be transmitted to the senate.

Mr. Madison, agreeably to notice, moved, that the house now form itself into a committee of the whole, upon the state of the union, to take into consideration the subject of amendments, agreeably to the fifth article of the constitution.

Mr. Smith suggested the inexpediency of taking up the subject at the present moment, in a committee of the whole, while matters of the greatest importance, and of immediate consequence, were lying unfinished. The great business of the revenue appeared to him to claim a constant and uninterrupted attention, till completed—he moved, therefore, that instead of referring the subject to a committee of the whole, a select committee should be appointed, to take into consideration the amendments proposed by the several states.

Mr. Jackson—I am opposed, sir, to taking up the subject of amendments to the constitution, till we have had some experience of its good or bad qualities. The constitution may be compared to a ship that has never yet put to sea; she is now lying in the dock: we have had no trial as yet; we do not know how she may steer: what sort of a helm she carries; we cannot determine, with precision, whether she sails upon an even keel or no. Upon experiment, she may prove faultless, or her defects may be very obvious; but the present is not the time for alterations. Very important and urgent business now requires the attention of this honourable body: business of such consequence, as that of revenue, without which the constitution is of very little importance. Should amendments now be taken up, it will be months, perhaps, before we can get through with them: mean time, the important interests of our constituents will be sacrificed. The state that I have the honour to represent, has ratified the constitution, without specifying any amendments. They are satisfied with it in its present form, till experience shall point out its defects. I move, therefore, sir, that the consideration of the subject of a-

amendments be postponed till the first day of March, 1790.

Mr. Goodhue observed, that though he considered it as premature, to take up the subject of amendments at the present time, yet he could not conceive the propriety of postponing the matter for so long a period. It certainly was the general idea, that amendments should be considered; and a regard to the wishes of our constituents, required that they should be attended to as soon as the public interest permitted.

Mr. Burke made some objections of similar import with those which fell from Mr. Goodhue; and thought that the subject of the revenue was of the greatest importance to be immediately attended to.

Mr. Madison observed, that the subject had been postponed from time to time, that the members might have opportunity more fully to make up their judgments upon it—a fortnight had elapsed since the first assigned period, and if the motion for a further distant period should be adopted, it would be construed into a design to take no serious notice of the business. The propositions for amendments to the constitution, came from various quarters, and those the most respectable; and therefore to give some degree of satisfaction, it seemed necessary that congress should, as soon as possible, attend to the wishes of their constituents. He did not propose that a full investigation should immediately be gone into; but to quiet the apprehensions of a great many persons, respecting the securing certain rights, which, it was supposed, were not sufficiently guarded, he thought it necessary, that congress should commence the enquiry, and place the matter in such a train, as to inspire a reasonable hope and expectation, that full justice would eventually be done to so important a subject—He therefore renewed his motion for the house to go into a committee of the whole, that the investigation of the business might at least commence.

Mr. Sherman supposed, that taking up the subject of amendments at this time, would alarm more persons than would have their apprehensions quieted thereby; he thought that the necessity of amendments would be

best pointed out by the defects, which experience might discover in the constitution.

Mr. White observed, that the subject of amendments was of very extensive importance: he supposed that the house could not, with any propriety, defer their consideration any longer; for although the constitution had been so generally ratified, yet it was evident, that alterations and amendments were expected by perhaps a majority of the people at large.

Mr. Smith then introduced a proposition for the appointment of a select committee, to take the business into consideration, and report.

Mr. Page was in favour of a committee of the whole, and urged the propriety of commencing the enquiry without any further delay, as a measure that would be productive of very happy consequences.

Mr. Vining was opposed to the measure, for several reasons—the incompleteness of the revenue and judiciary systems; these, he urged, ought to be finished previous to a discussion of amendments: the judiciary system might provide a remedy for some of the defects complained of—and without giving the constitution any operation, it was impossible to determine what were defects, or not—and what alterations were necessary. He further observed, that he conceived it necessary, previous to any discussion of the subject, that it should be ascertained, whether two-thirds of the house and senate were in favour of entering upon the business: he supposed, that the voice of two-thirds was as requisite to sanction the expediency of the measure, as it was to the adoption of amendments. He was fully of opinion, that experience alone could ascertain the real qualities of the constitution. The people are waiting with anxiety for the operations of the government. What have congress done? Have they passed a revenue law? Is not the revenue daily escaping us? Is it not of immense consequence to complete the system? Let us not perplex ourselves, by introducing one weighty and important question, after another, till some decisions are made: this mode of introducing one piece of business, before a former one is com-

pleted, tends to confuse the mind, and incapacitate it from doing full justice to any subject. He hoped, therefore, that the house would not go into a committee of the whole upon this business.

Mr. Madison conceded to the motion for choosing a select committee. He then observed, that he thought it would be attended with salutary effects, should congress devote, at the present time, so much as one day to this business, to convince the world, that the friends to the constitution, were as firm friends to liberty as those who had opposed it: the advocates for amendments are numerous and respectable: some alterations of the constitution lie with great weight upon their minds: they merit consideration. He urged the expediency of the measure, from the situation of Rhode-Island and North Carolina: He had no doubt that it would conciliate them towards the union, and induce them to unite, and again become branches of the great American family. He was, he observed, in favour of sundry alterations, or amendments to the constitution—he supposed that they could be made without any injury to the system. He did not wish a reconsideration of the whole; but supposed that alterations might be made, without affecting the essential principles of the constitution, which would meet with universal approbation; these, he proposed, should be incorporated in the body of the constitution. He then mentioned the several objections which had been made by several of the states, and by the people at large. A bill of rights had been the great object contended for—but this was one of those amendments which he had not supposed very essential. The freedom of the press, and the rights of conscience, those choicest flowers in the privileges of the people, were not guarded by the British constitution. With respect to these, apprehensions had been entertained of their insecurity under the new constitution; a bill of rights, therefore, to quiet the minds of the people upon these points, might be salutary. He then adverted to the several bills of rights, which were annexed to the constitutions of individual states; the great object of these was, to limit and

qualify the powers of government—to guard against the encroachments of the executive. In the federal government, the executive is the weakest—the danger lies not in the executive, but in the great body of the people—in the disposition which the majority always discovers, to bear down, and depress the minority.

In stating objections which had been made to affixing a bill of rights to the constitution, Mr. Madison observed, that objections to a continental bill of rights, applied equally to its adoption by the states. The objection to a bill of rights, from the powers delegated by the constitution, being defined and limited, has weight, while the government confines itself to those specified limits: but instances may occur, in which those limits may be exceeded, by virtue of a construction of that clause, empowering congress to make all laws necessary to carry the constitution into execution. The article of general warrants may be instanced. It has been observed, that the constitution does not repeal the state bills of rights; to this it may be replied, that some of the states are without any—and that some articles contained in those that have them, are very improper, and infringe upon the rights of human nature, in several respects. It has been said, that bills of rights have been violated; but does it follow from thence that they do not produce salutary effects? This objection may be urged against every regulation whatever. From these, and other considerations, he inferred the expediency of a declaration of rights, to be incorporated in the constitution.

Mr. Jackson observed, that the honourable gentleman's ingenious detail, so far from convincing him of the expediency of bringing forward the subject of amendments at this time, had confirmed him in the contrary opinion: the prospect, which such a discussion opened, was wide and extensive, and would preclude other business, of much greater moment, at the present juncture—he differed widely from the gentleman, with regard to bills of rights—several of the states had no such bills—Rhode Island had none—there, liberty was carried to excess, and licentiousness triumphed—in some states, which had

such a nominal security, the encroachments upon the rights of the people had been most complained of. The press, Mr. Jackson observed, is unboundedly free—a recent instance of which the house had witnessed, in an attack upon one of its members. A bill of rights is a mere *ignis fatuus*, amusing by appearances, and leading often to dangerous conclusions. I repeat it, Sir, the present is not the time to bring forward amendments: they must be speculative and theoretical in the very nature of things, and may themselves be the subject of future amendments. This consideration points out, in the strongest manner, the propriety of waiting the result of experiment, to determine the merits of the constitution: to that let us refer the subject, and not lose our time in useless speculations.

Mr. Gerry thought it unnecessary to go into a committee of the whole upon this subject at the present moment. He did not think such a step necessary to satisfy the people, who are fully sensible that congress is now engaged in the great objects of the government. He wished, however, that as early a day as possible, might be assigned; that the mode of another convention might not be thought of—in which we might lose the most essential parts of the constitution—he observed, that he was not a blind admirer of the system—there were defects as well as beauties in it—but as it was now become the constitution of the union, he conceived, that the salvation of the country depended upon its establishment, amended or not. He was further in favour of an early day, on account of North Carolina and Rhode Island, as the accession of these states to the union was very desirable, and good policy dictated that every proper step should be taken to expedite that event. He was opposed to referring that matter to a select committee, as derogatory to the dignity of the states. He conceived the whole of the amendments, proposed by the several conventions, should come immediately before the house. The faith of congress ought to be considered as pledged to take up this business upon the most extensive scale. He therefore moved, that all the various propositions for amend-

ments should be referred to a committee of the whole, and an early day be assigned to go into a full investigation of the subject—and proposed the first Monday in July.

Several other gentlemen spoke up on the subject, when

Mr. Madison arose, and withdrew his last motion for a select committee; and then submitted to the house, a resolve, comprising a number of amendments, to be incorporated in the constitution.

Mr. Livermore was opposed to this resolve—he conceived it entirely improper for any individual member to propose any particular number of amendments, which do not take up the different amendments proposed by the several states.

Mr. Page and Mr. Lee severally rose, to justify Mr. Madison; they thought themselves under great obligations to him, and conceived, that the mode he had adopted, was just and fair, and calculated to bring the attention of the house to a proper point, in determining on the subject.

Mr. Madison observed, that it was necessary the subject should be brought forward in some form or other. After waiting a considerable time for others to do it, he had thought proper to propose the form now submitted to the house. Newspapers and pamphlets were the repositories of the several amendments; those were not the proper sources; the resolve is now before the house, and they may do what they think proper with it.

Mr. Lawrence moved, that the resolve introduced by Mr. Madison, should be submitted to the consideration of a committee of the whole, on the state of the union.

This was carried in the affirmative.—The house then adjourned.

*Tuesday, June 9.*

THE house met, and resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the bill for collecting the impost.

Mr. Trumbull in the chair.

On motion of Mr. Goodhue, the committee agreed to add a clause to the bill, for dividing the coasts, bays, creeks and harbours of the united states, into port districts.

It was afterwards agreed, that a naval officer, collector, and surveyor, should be stationed at Boston in Mas-

sachusetts, New York in New York, Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Georgetown in Maryland, Norfolk and Alexandria in Virginia, Charleston in South Carolina, and Savannah in Georgia.

The committee rose and reported. Adjourned.

*Wednesday, June 10.*

IN committee of the whole, on the bill to regulate the collection of the impost. Mr. Trumbull in the chair.

On motion of Mr. Madison, a clause was inserted, which provides, “that there shall be a surveyor at each of the ports of delivery only,” excepting certain ports to be enumerated.

A motion, introduced by Mr. Ames, was adopted as a clause, to be inserted in the bill—It provides, that every master, or other person, having charge or command of a ship or vessel, bound to any port of the united states, shall be obliged to produce, on demand, to any officer, or person authorized for the purpose, two manifests, specifying, in words, the true contents of the cargo on board such ship or vessel; one of which manifests, the officer is to endorse, and return to the captain, noting the time, when the same was produced to him. The other he is to transmit to the naval officer of the port; where the said vessel is bound to.

*Thursday, June 11.*

THE house went into a committee, on the bill to regulate the collection of the impost. Mr. Trumbull in the chair.

On motion of Mr. Parker, a clause was added to the bill, declaring that foreign ships should be restricted to certain ports, at which only, they may enter and discharge their cargoes. These ports are yet to be enumerated.

On motion of Mr. Fitzsimons, another clause was added, restricting ships arriving from India or China, to certain ports, at which only they may enter and discharge their cargoes. These ports are yet to be enumerated. Some farther progress was made in the bill, and several other amendments agreed to.

*Friday, June 12.*

THE house went into a committee of the whole, on the bill to regulate the collection of the impost on goods, wares, and merchandises, imported into the united states.

[B]

Mr. Trumbull in the chair.

Considerable progress was made in the bill this day, by passing many of the clauses, most of them with amendments. The committee was proceeding in the discussion, when a message from the senate was announced. The secretary appeared on the floor of the house, and informed, that he had it in command from the senate, to inform the honourable house, that they had concurred, with amendments, in the bill for laying an impost on goods, wares and merchandises, imported into the united states—and hoped for the concurrence of the honourable house in those amendments. He then delivered in the bill, with a draught of the amendments, and withdrew. These amendments were read to the house, proposing to reduce the duties on certain articles very considerably, to wit: melasses from five, to two and an half cents, per gallon, rum from fifteen to ten, Madeira wine from twenty-five to eighteen, and other wines from fifteen to ten, &c. and then the chairman of the committee having resumed his place, further progress was made in discussing the bill. Adjourned.

*Saturday, June 13.*

THE house met, and resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the collecting bill.

Mr. Trumbull in the chair.

After getting through the principal of the commercial regulations, they came to consider a clause respecting, the manner of securing the payment of the duties, which may in any cases be bonded with security. A long debate took place, on the legal mode of recovering the amount in cases of insolvency, or non-payment, at the conclusion of which, but before the question was put on the clause.

Mr. Fitzsimons moved the committee to rise, for the purpose of referring the bill to a select committee; observing, that the commercial regulations were mostly gone through, and what remained, related principally to law points, if every one of which were to be debated in the same manner that the one just considered had been, he conjectured that it would take them seven years to get through the bill. He hoped gentlemen of legal knowledge would be placed upon the committee, and there they might

employ themselves in discussing the phraseology, while the house would be at liberty to proceed with other business.

After some little further conversation, the committee rose, and the bill was re-committed, together with the resolutions and clauses agreed to in committee of the whole, to messrs. Goodhue, Fitzsimons, Lawrence, Burke, Livermore, Sherman, and Jackson.

Adjourned.

*Monday, June 15.*

MR. Scott, from the committee appointed for the purpose, made report relative to the situation of the vacant lands in the western territory, which was read and ordered to lie on the table.

The house then proceeded to the consideration of the amendments, which had been proposed by the senate, to the bill for imposing duties on goods, wares and merchandises imported into the united states.

The enacting style of the bill, viz. "the congress of the united states," was amended by the senate, by proposing to insert "the senate and representatives of the united states." This amendment was non-concurred.

That clause of the bill which made a discrimination between states and kingdoms in alliance with the united states and those which are not, with respect to the duty on distilled spirits; the senate proposed should be struck out. A recapitulation of arguments used in the former progress of the bill, on both sides of the question, with little variation, took place—the result was, non-concurrence with the senate.

The following amendments, proposed by the senate, were also non-concurred by the house, viz.

A reduction of the duty on spirits of Jamaica proof from 15 to 10 cents—on other spirits from 12 to 8 cents.

The amendment which provides for the reduction of the duty on the following articles, was acceded to,

*cents.*  
Melasses from 5 to 2½

All wines, except Madeira, 15 to 10

The next amendments were to reduce the duties on the following articles viz.

Madeira wine from 25 to 18 cents.

Beer, ale or porter in casks, from 8 to 5

Cyder, beer, ale or porter in cents.  
 bottles, 25 to 16  
 Cables, from 75 to 60  
 Tared cordage, from 75 to 60  
 Twine or packthread, from 200 to 150  
 Coal per bushel, from 3 to 1

These reductions were non-concurrent.

The senate introduced the article indigo, with a duty of sixteen cents per lb.—this the house concurred in.

The next amendment was, to add to the following paragraph respecting teas, viz, "On all teas imported from China or India, in ships built within the united states, and belonging to a citizen or citizens thereof"—this clause, viz, "or in ships or vessels built in foreign countries, and, on the 16th of May last, the property of a citizen or citizens of the united states, and so continuing until the time of importation."

This was agreed to.

The next amendment was, to enhance the duty on all green teas, other than hyson, imported as aforesaid, from ten to twelve cents per pound. Agreed to.

The next amendment was, to strike out the following clause—

"On all teas imported from any other country than China or India, in any ship or vessel whatsoever, or from China or India in any ship or vessel which is not wholly the property of a citizen or citizens of the united states, as follows :

On bohea tea, per pound, 10 cents.

On all souchong or other black teas, 15 cents.

On all hyson teas, 30 cents.

On all green teas, 18 cents:" and to substitute—

"On teas imported from Europe, in ships or vessels built in the united states, and wholly belonging to a citizen or citizens thereof, or in ships built in foreign countries, and, on the 16th of May last, the property of a citizen or citizens of the united states, and so continuing till the time of importation, viz.

On bohea tea, per pound, 8 cents.

On souchong or other black teas, 13 cents.

On hyson teas, 26 cents.

On other green teas, 16 cents.

"On teas imported in any other manner.

Bohea tea, per pound 15 cents.

Souchong, or other black teas, 22 cents.

Hyson teas, 45 cents.

Other green teas, 27 cents."

The following clause was proposed by the senate—"on all other goods, wares, and merchandise imported in ships or vessels not built within the united states, and not wholly the property of a citizen or citizens thereof, or in vessels built in foreign countries, and, on the sixteenth of May last, the property of a citizen or citizens of the united states, and so continuing till the time of importation, 12½ per cent. ad valorem."

This was also adopted.

The next amendment was, to insert, "on gunpowder, and paints ground in oil," ten per cent. ad valorem.—Adopted.

Another amendment was, to enhance the duty on gold, silver, and plated ware, from 7½ per cent, to 10 per cent. and to add thereto gold and silver lace, and gold and silver leaf—this was agreed to.

There were several other amendments to raise the duties on articles enumerated, from 7½ to 10 per cent, which were non-concurrent.

A general concurrence with the senate in their amendments to the bill was urged by several gentlemen—they observed, that much time had already been expended in the discussion of the subject—that further delay would be sacrificing the revenue—that there was danger of our losing the benefit of the fall importations—that the high duties which had been voted by the house, were contrary to the opinion of a large minority, having been carried by a very small majority—to the minority was now added, the almost unanimous voice of the senate; therefore to reject the amendments of the senate, was hazarding the fate of the present bill. The sentiment in favour of low duties was sanctioned by the invariable experience of the commercial world—they were always productive of greater revenue than high duties, as the latter held out a powerful temptation to evade the laws; the public voice, it was contended, was in opposition to high duties: and accounts, received from mercantile characters in various parts of the union,

confirmed the truth of this observation: that as the operation and success of the laws, in the first instance, must depend upon the general opinion of their eligibility, it was rash to risk the popularity of the government, in a case where no risk was necessary: that the duty on spirits, in particular, was beyond all precedent, and would undoubtedly be evaded, as it was a premium to smugglers.

On the other hand it was said, that the duties were in general conformable to the sentiments of the people—particularly on distilled spirits—that on bulky articles, high duties could be realized with some degree of certainty—that the probable amount of the proposed duties would fall short of the exigencies of the union—the proposed deduction in some cases would curtail it fifty per cent.—that it yet remained to be ascertained whether high duties in many cases could not be collected with as great facility as low—the prompt collection of both being matter of speculation at present—that it was conceded on all hands that a revenue must be obtained, or the country be ruined. Direct taxes could not be thought of; and even the excise would be unpopular—that the opinion of respectable commercial characters was in favour of the proposed duties: in particular, the duty on spirits, agreeably to their ideas, could be easily collected, even if it had been set at a higher rate.

*Tuesday, June 16.*

THE house proceeded to consider the remainder of the amendments proposed by the senate to the impost bill—when the following being read, were acceded to, viz.

To insert playing cards, at a duty of 10 cents per pack:

Cotton, at 3 cents per lb.

To allow a drawback on brandy and geneva, exported from the united states:

After the words “exported out of the limits of the united states,” to add the following, viz, as settled by the late treaty of peace.

To strike out the sentence which provided for allowing a drawback of 5 cents per gallon, on spirits, distilled from melasses in the united states, and exported out of the same.

The discount of 10 per cent. on goods, wares, and merchandises, imported in vessels, built in the united states, and owned by a citizen or citizens thereof, was extended to goods, &c. imported in vessels not built in the united states, but which were owned by a citizen or citizens thereof, on the 16th May last, and continued so till the time of importation of such goods.

The house did not concur in the time fixed by the senate for this act to be in force, viz. The 1st of July next—and substituted the 1st of August.

The house then resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the bill for establishing an executive department, to be denominated the department of foreign affairs.

Mr. White proposed that this clause “To be removable by the president of the united states,” should be struck out.

This brought on an interesting debate, which continued till near half after three o’clock, when the committee rose, and the house adjourned.

*Wednesday, June 17.*

THE house met, and on motion resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the bill for establishing a department of foreign affairs.

Mr. Trumbull took the chair.

And the motion for striking out the clause vesting the power of removing the principal officer from office, in the president of the united states, was taken into consideration.

The debate of yesterday was resumed with animation, for more than four hours, but not being ready for the question, the committee rose and obtained leave to sit again tomorrow; after which the house adjourned.

*Thursday, June 18.*

ON motion, the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the bill for establishing a department of foreign affairs.

The debate, which began the day before yesterday, and continued all day yesterday, was extended through the whole of this day; but the committee not being prepared to decide the question, arose about four o’clock, and the house adjourned till to-morrow.

Friday, June 19.

THE house met agreeably to adjournment, and formed itself into a committee of the whole, upon the bill for establishing the department of foreign affairs. The motion, which had been under debate since Tuesday, for striking out the clause which empowers the president to remove officers, still under consideration. The question upon the motion being taken, it passed in the negative, 33 being in favour of retaining the clause, and 20 against it.

The committee then proceeded in the discussion of the bill.

Mr. Benson proposed the following clause for insertion, viz. That the secretary of the department of foreign affairs, immediately after his appointment, be empowered to take into his custody all the books and papers belonging to the late department of foreign affairs, established by the united states in congress assembled: this clause was adopted.

The further discussion of the bill produced some alterations and amendments, which being completed, the committee rose, and the chairman made report. The speaker having taken the chair, a message was received by the secretary from the senate, with the impost bill, informing the honourable house that they insisted on some of the amendments which they had proposed, and receded from others. Adjourned until Monday.

Monday, June 22.

THE order of the day being called for, the bill for establishing the department of foreign affairs, as reported from the committee of the whole, with the several amendments, were read, and the amendments agreed to by the house.

Mr. Carroll proposed a clause to limit the duration of the bill: among other reasons for the motion, Mr. Carroll observed, that he conceived the necessity of such an officer, as is appointed by the bill, would cease in a short time, by reason of the gradual withdrawing of our intercourse with European countries; and, in the course of a very few years, all political connexion with those powers would be at an end, which would render the establishment a superfluous expense.

Mr. Page seconded the motion—

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and added, that he could not conceive the propriety of gentlemen, who were elected only for two years, wishing to extend the laws of their enacting, to a period beyond the time, when the use and design of such laws should exist, and thus perpetuate the power and influence of the house.

Mr. Ames opposed the addition of the clause, as it would be unfavourable to the stability of government; and was little better than infusing a premature principle of mortality into the executive department.

Mr. Gerry was in favour of a limitation: he supposed, that if the expiration of the bill was not provided for, at the present time, it would be extremely difficult to effect its reduction, when the officers of this department shall have formed connexions with foreign courts; and, by means of these connexions, an extensive sphere of business, uninteresting to the united states, shall be created.

The vote being taken, it passed in the negative.

Mr. Benson proposed an amendment, which, he conceived, would more fully express the sense of the committee, as it respected the constitutionality of the decision, which had taken place: the amendment was, to strike out, in the second clause of the bill, these words, "in case of vacancy in the said office of secretary of the united states, for the department of foreign affairs;" and to insert in lieu thereof, the following, "whenever the said principal officer shall be removed by the president, or a vacancy in any other way shall happen."

This produced some debate, and the ayes and nays being called for, it was determined in the affirmative, as follows, viz.

Ayes—30.

Messieurs Ames, Baldwin, Benson, Browne, Burke, Carroll, Clymer, Contee, Fitzsimons, Gilman, Goodhue, Griffin, Hartley, Heister, Lawrence, Lee, Leonard, Madison, Moore, P. Muhlenberg, Scot, Sedgwick, Seney, Sinnickson, Smith, (Maryland), Sylvester, Thatcher, Trumbull, Vining, Wadsworth.—Thirty.

Nays—18.

Messieurs Cadwallader, Coles, Gerry, Grout, Hathorn, Huntington, Livermore, Matthews, Page, Parker,

[C]

Partridge, Van Rensselaer, Sherman, Smith, (S. C.) Sturgis, Sumpter, Tucker, White.—Eighteen.

It was then moved to strike out these words in the first clause, "removable by the president of the united states."

The principal reason, assigned for striking out these words, was, that, as the bill now stands, it appears to be a grant of power; whereas, it was presumed to be the sense of the committee, that the power was vested in the president, by the constitution. A recapitulation of arguments upon this point ensued, and the question was finally determined by ayes and nays. Some gentlemen voted in the negative, supposing, that retaining the words, would be an additional evidence of the sense of the house, that the power was vested in the president.

Ayes, 31—Messrs. Ames, Baldwin, Benson, Brown, Burke, Clymer, Coles, Gerry, Goodhue, Griffin, Grout, Hathorn, Huntington, Leonard, Livermore, Madison, Matthews, Moore, P. Muhlenberg, Page, Parker, Partridge, Van Rensselaer, Scott, Sherman, Sinnickson, Smith (S. C.) Sturgis, Sumpter, Vining, White.

Nays, 19—Messrs. Boudinot, Cadwallader, Carroll, Contee, Fitzsimons, Gilman, Hartley, Heister, Lawrence, Lee, Sherman, Sedgwick, Seney, Smith, (Maryland) Sylvester, Thatcher, Trumbull, Tucker, Wadsworth.

These additional amendments being completed, the bill passed to be engrossed for a third reading to-morrow.

And then the house adjourned.

*Tuesday, June 23.*

THE committee appointed for that purpose, brought in a bill for securing to authors and inventors, the benefits of their respective publications and inventions—which was read, and laid on the table.

The order of the day was then called for—and the engrossed bill, for establishing an executive department, to be denominated the department of foreign affairs, was read a third time.

Mr. Sumpter moved, that the final consideration of the bill should be postponed.

The vote upon this motion passed in the affirmative.

Mr. Lawrence moved, that the house should take into consideration the amendments to the impost bill, which were yet to be decided—this motion was adopted.—And the enacting clause, as amended by the senate, being read, which is in these words, "Be it enacted by the senate and representatives," &c. Mr. Thatcher proposed that "house of" should be inserted immediately before representatives—this motion was agreed to.

The next amendment, which the senate had not receded from, was, to strike out the clause which makes a discrimination in the duty imposed on distilled spirits imported from countries with which the united states were in treaty, and from those with which no treaties had been formed—it was moved and seconded, that the house should accede to the amendment; this produced an animated debate, in which many new observations occurred, and those which had been adduced in the former discussion, were repeated: the vote being taken, it passed in the negative—twenty-five being in favour of acceding, and twenty-seven against it. So the discrimination remains as it originally stood.

The house then adjourned.

*Wednesday, June 24.*

THE engrossed bill, which was yesterday ordered to lie on the table, was taken up and read the third time.

On the question, "shall the bill pass?" the ayes and nays were required by one fifth of the members, and were, ayes 29, nays 22; majority 7.

The house then took into consideration the amendments insisted on by the senate to the bill for laying an impost on certain goods, wares, and merchandize, and after refusing to concur therewith, a committee of conference was appointed on the part of the house, consisting of messrs. Boudinot, Fitzsimons, and Madison.

The house went into a committee on the bill for establishing the war department—after agreeing to some amendments, they rose and reported it as amended.

Adjourned.

*Thursday, June 25.*

THE report of the committee of the whole, on the bill for establishing the department of war, was gone through;

and the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading to-morrow.

The house then went into a committee of the whole, on the bill for establishing an executive department, to be denominated the treasury department.

Mr. Trumbull in the chair.

A considerable debate arose upon the propriety of making it the duty of the principal officer to "digest and report" plans for the improvement of the revenue, &c.

The words of the bill were altered, so as to read "digest and prepare;" after which the committee rose and reported progress. Adjourned.

*Friday, June 26.*

THE house met this day pursuant to adjournment, but the committee of conference being assembled, and a great proportion of the members attending their deliberations, it was moved and carried, to adjourn till to-morrow.

*Saturday, June 27.*

MR. Boudinot, of the committee appointed to confer with a committee of the senate, on the subject of amendments to the impost and tonnage bills, which amendments had been disagreed to by the house, reported, that the committees had held a conference, and had agreed to recommend an accommodation on some of the points in dispute.

Respecting the impost bill, the following amendments were then taken into consideration, and agreed to.

To reduce the duty on rum, of Jamaica proof, from 15 to 10 cents per gallon.

The discriminating clause, laying a less duty on rum imported from states or kingdoms in treaty with the united states, to be struck out; and the duty on all spirits, below Jamaica proof, reduced from 12 to 8 cents.

To reduce the duty on beer, ale, porter, or cyder, imported in casks, from 8 to 5 cents.

To reduce the duty on beer, ale, porter, or cyder, imported in bottles, from 25 to 20 cents.

To reduce the duty on coal, from 3 to 2 cents.

Respecting the tonnage bill, the following amendments were agreed to.

That instead of wholly excluding foreign ships from the coasting trade,

they might be employed in it, under certain restrictions.

That all ships, built within the united states, and afterwards the property of foreigners, should not pay more than 30 cents per ton.

The house then took up the next amendment of the senate, to strike out the discriminating clause. This gave rise to some conversation, when, on the question to strike out the clause, the house divided: Ayes, 25, Nays, 26. Adjourned.

*Monday, June 29.*

THE committee, to whom was re-committed the bill for the collection of the impost, reported a new bill, which was read, and ordered to be taken up in a committee of the whole, to-morrow.

The house then went into a committee on the bill for establishing the treasury department.

Mr. Trumbull in the chair.

In the paragraph, which recites the duties to be performed by the comptroller, Mr. Sedgwick moved to have the following words struck out—"that all monies, when collected, shall be paid into the public treasury," and to insert, "for the regular and punctual payment of all monies collected, and an account thereof, entered on the books of the treasury."

The words were struck out, and, instead of the whole of the amendment, the following were inserted, "for the regular and punctual payment of all money that shall be collected."

Adjourned.

*Tuesday, June 30.*

IN committee of the whole on the bill for establishing the treasury department: several amendments were proposed to this bill, and adopted; among others:

That the treasury should, on the day of every session of congress, lay before the house, copies of all accounts settled with the comptroller, also the state of the treasury.

Bonds to be given by the several officers, are to be deposited in the comptroller's office, and registered in the office of the supreme court of the united states. Adjourned.

*Wednesday, July 1.*

THE house met, pursuant to adjournment, and resumed the confide-

ration of the report of the committee of the whole house, on the bill for establishing the treasury department.

On motion of Mr. Burke, a clause was added, to restrain the officers of that department from being concerned in trade or commerce—the bill was then ordered to be engrossed for a third reading to-morrow.

It was moved by Mr. Gerry, to recede from the clause discriminating between foreign vessels.

The yeas and nays on the question being called by one-fifth of the members, were as follow :

Yeas. Messrs. Ames, Baldwin, Benson, Burke, Cadwallader, Fitzsimons, Gerry, Gilmore, Goodhue, Hathorn, Huntington, Jackson, Lawrence, Lee, Lियermore, Matthews, Moore, Partridge, Sedgwick, Sherman, Sinnickson, Smith, (Maryland) Smith, (S. C.) Stone, Sylvester, Thatcher, Trumbull, Tucker, Wadsworth, White, and Wynkoop. 31.

Nays. Messrs. Boudinot, Brown, Carroll, Clymer, Coles, Contee, Griffin, Grout, Hackly, Madison, P. Muhlenberg, Page, Van Rensselaer, Scott, Seney, Sturges, Sumpster and Vining. 18.

So it was carried in the affirmative.

Mr. Gerry reported a bill for regulating the pilots, and light-houses.

Adjourned.

*Thursday, July 2.*

THE engrossed bill, for establishing the treasury department, was read a third time, and the blank, in the clause, providing, that the treasurer shall give bond, with sufficient sureties, for the faithful performance of the duties of his office, and for that of the officers under him, was filled up with 150,000 dollars; and the blank, in the clause providing a penalty upon the secretary and other officers, for being concerned in commerce, speculations, &c. was filled up with 5000 dollars for the delinquency of the secretary, and 2000 dollars for that of the comptroller, register, &c.

The bill was then passed by a large majority.

On motion, Mr. Gerry's bill for establishing light-houses, and for authorising the several states to create and regulate pilots, was ordered to be

taken up in a committee of the whole on Wednesday next.

The house then resolved itself into a committee on the bill to regulate the collection of the impost; and the committee, having made some progress, rose, and the house adjourned.

*Friday, July 3.*

IN committee of the whole.

The bill, to regulate the collection of the impost, still under consideration,

The clause, which restricts foreign ships to particular enumerated ports, it was moved, should be struck out—this occasioned some debate, and the motion was finally withdrawn.

Mr. Gerry then introduced a motion, the purport of which was, that the names of the particular ports, that were the object of the above motion, should be struck out, and the following words substituted: "nor shall any foreign vessel enter or unlade but at those ports to which a collector, naval-officer, and surveyor, is appointed." This, after some conversation, was negatived.

The committee then proceeded in discussing the bill—several ports were added to the list of those at which foreign vessels may enter. The committee having made further progress, rose—the chairman reported—and the house adjourned till Monday.

*Monday, July 6.*

A letter to the speaker, from his excellency Beverly Randolph, governor of Virginia, inclosing an account of the exports and imports of that state, from January 20, 1788, to January 20, 1789. was read, and referred to the committee appointed to prepare estimates, &c.

In committee of the whole, on the bill to regulate the collection of the impost.

Mr. Trumbull in the chair.

Further progress was made in the discussion; the committee rose after three o'clock, and had leave to sit again to-morrow. Adjourned.

*Tuesday, July 7.*

IN committee of the whole, on the bill to regulate the collection of the impost.

Mr. Trumbull in the chair.

Very considerable progress was made in the further discussion of this lengthy bill this day; but there was

not sufficient time to finish it. The committee therefore rose.

The chairman reported progress, and asked leave to sit again. Adjourned.

*Wednesday, July 8.*

THE house being met, they resolved themselves into a committee of the whole on the bill for collecting the impost; but, not having time to complete the same, they rose and reported progress, and the house adjourned.

*Thursday, July 9.*

THE house in committee, resumed the consideration of the bill for regulating the collection of the impost, and made some further progress. Adjourned.

*Friday, July 10.*

IN committee of the whole, on the bill to regulate the collection of the impost.

The discussion of the bill was completed this day—when the committee rose. Adjourned.

*Saturday, July 11.*

THE house, according to order, took up the report of the committee of the whole on the bill for collecting the impost, and having gone through and agreed to the amendments of the same, ordered it to be engrossed for a third reading. Adjourned.

*Monday, July 12.*

THE house, on motion of Mr. Scott, resolved itself into a committee of the whole, upon the state of the union—to take into consideration the state of the western territory.

The report of the committee appointed on a former discussion of this subject, was then read and agreed to, as follows—

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an act of congress should pass for establishing a land-office to regulate the terms of granting vacant and unappropriated lands in the western territory. Adjourned.

*Tuesday, July 14.*

THE engrossed bill, to regulate the collection of the duties on goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into the united states, was read—after which the house proceeded to fill up the blanks—among others, the following :

All imported distilled spirits of 24

degrees, by the hydrometer, to be reckoned Jamaica proof.

The cost of goods to be estimated at the following rates :

	D. C.
The pound sterling of Great Britain,	4 44
The livre tournois of France,	18½
The florin, or guilder of the United Netherlands,	39
The mark banco of Hamburg,	33½
The rixdollar of Denmark,	1
The rixdollar of Sweden,	1
The rible of Russia,	1
Real plate of Spain,	0 10
The millre of Portugal,	1 24
The pound sterl. of Ireland,	4 10
The tale of China,	1 48
The pagoda of India,	1 94
The rupee of Bengal,	55½

And all other currencies, in value as near as may be to the said rates.

All duties to be paid in gold and silver. C.

The gold coin of France, Spain, England, and Portugal, and all other gold coin of equal fineness, to be valued *per dw.* at 89

The Mexican dollar, 100

The crown of France, 111

The crown of England, 111

And all other silver coin of equal fineness, *per oz.* 111

The blanks being filled—the question, shall the bill pass? was carried in the affirmative.

Mr. Fitzsimons introduced a motion, that leave be given to bring in a bill to provide for the government of the western territory, agreeably to the acts and ordinances of the late congress. This motion was adopted, and messrs. Fitzsimons, Sedgwick and Brown, appointed as the committee.

Another motion was then made by Mr. Fitzsimons, that a committee be appointed to bring in a bill providing for the settlement of accounts between the united states and individual states, agreeably to the acts and ordinances of the late congress: it was also agreed to, and messrs. Baldwin, Sturgis, and Smith, (of S. C.) appointed as the committee.

*Wednesday, July 15.*

THE house met and took up, for a second reading, the report of the committee of elections, respecting the con-

rested election of New Jersey. The object of this report was, to obtain instructions and power from the house to proceed to obtain proof of the facts stated by the petitioners, relative to unfair and illegal proceedings during the said election.

The petitioners, in favour of the sitting members, had applied to be heard, by counsel, whether the facts, if proved, were material to invalidate the election; and whether the house had, constitutionally, cognizance of the execution of the election law.

A long debate took place on a motion made by Mr. Benton to hear the petitioners by counsel; but, when the house were coming to a decision thereupon, the motion was withdrawn.

It was then proposed, that the house empower the committee to send for such persons, papers, and records, as they deem expedient; but on the question being put, the motion was negatived.

Another motion was made to authorize the committee to send a commission into New Jersey, for taking depositions; but this met a fate similar to the former.

It being understood that the committee were to proceed to obtain proof in such manner as they should deem expedient, the business was finished for the present, and the house then adjourned.

*Thursday, July 16.*

MR. Baldwin, of the committee appointed to prepare a bill, providing for the settlement of accounts between the united states and individual states, brought in a report: this bill provides for establishing a board of three commissioners, whose decision is to be final—read and laid on the table.

The report of the committee on compensations, was next taken into consideration.

On filling up the blank in the article which provides a compensation for the services of the president, a lengthy conversation ensued.

Mr. Sherman suggested the expediency of referring the subject to a committee, which should consist of a member from each state.

Mr. Livermore proposed that the blank should be filled up with 18,000 dollars; he observed, that the expenses of the household of the president of the

late congress, amounted, on an average, to about 13,000 dollars; he adverted to the difference of the charges of living at the present time, compared with what they were formerly: he said he was in favour of a generous and competent allowance.

Mr. Tucker proposed that 26,000 dollars should be the sum for the first year, and 15,000 for each of the three succeeding years: he supposed that this mode would be agreeable to the constitution, provided the whole sum was voted at once, and he conceived there was a propriety in making the grant, for the first year, larger than for the following; the average would be about the sum mentioned by the gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. Stone said, that he supposed, that 25,000 dollars would be as small a sum as would answer, and in case that sum was agreed to, the executive would be less expensive to the people than that of any similar government in the world; and if it is considered, that the unavoidable expenses will be great, and, that the president will require the assistance of two or more secretaries, to discharge his high and important trust, and that it cannot be expected that persons in such a station, should be in straitened or dependent circumstances, this sum will not be found excessive—besides, it is a maxim of sound policy, that executive officers should be independent.

Mr. White, Sir, I do not say that 25,000 dollars will be enough—or that it is not sufficient—but in order to determine what will be right, I should be glad to know in what style it is expected the president should live? If a style of magnificence and splendor is to be adopted, this sum will be too small; it will be extremely difficult to determine upon a proper sum, till this is known.

Mr. Baldwin gave an account of the different ideas of the gentlemen who were upon the committee, by which it appeared, that the sum, in the report, was nearly an average of their respective ideas upon the subject. He observed, that the sum was adopted with some reference to the character which now fills the chair, and the committee thought it would

be perfectly safe rather to exceed, than fall short, of the amount which might be requisite.

Mr. Boudinot made similar observations, with some enlargement, and added, that he should rather be for increasing than diminishing the sum.

Mr. Vining said that the committee had no documents on which to form a judgment—they had no light to guide them—they could not determine what ambassadors, and foreign ministers might be sent to this country, nor what expenses, the president must necessarily incur on that account, to support the honour and dignity of the states. He observed, that there are cases, in which generosity is the best economy, and no loss is ever sustained by a decent support of the chief magistrate. There is a certain appearance of parade and external dignity, which it is necessary should be kept up. Did I represent a larger state (said he) I would speak with more confidence upon this occasion. The ghost of poverty haunts us—We are stung by the cry of the poverty of the states—But, under the auspices of an energetic government, our funds will be established, and increased, and, I doubt not, they will be sufficient for all the purposes of the union—We ought not to confine our calculations to the present moment. If gentlemen will contend, that we are not able to support the government in a proper style, why there is an end of the business: but we should remember, the present is the season of organizing the government—patient and lengthy investigation is requisite, and the amount of the civil list will be thereby increased—But, in future, the sessions will be short, and the burden of expense greatly diminished. He said, he was against any reduction of the sum; he had always supposed it too small, and should rather propose to fill the blank with 30,000 dollars.

Mr. Page observed, that 30,000 dollars had been mentioned. He thought that would be an adequate sum; but not for the purposes of pomp and parade. Those, he said, were entirely out of the question. He had made a calculation upon the probable necessary expenses, and found, that, exclusive of the dignity and pageantry, which some talked of, this sum would

be sufficient. He therefore moved that the blank should be filled with 30,000 dollars.

The vote being taken on Mr. Page's motion, it passed in the negative.

It was then moved, that the blank should be filled with 25,000—which was carried by a large majority.

Upon the clause in the report, to allow the vice president 5000 dollars per annum, a debate ensued.

Mr. White said, he did not find any thing in the constitution authorizing a salary to that officer—He therefore moved that the sum should be struck out, and the clause so amended, as that the vice-president should receive daily pay, as president of the senate only—in which capacity alone, Mr. White further observed, services could be exacted from him—and he did not think they could consistently vote any allowance, but for services actually performed.

Mr. Page said, that he rose to second the motion of his colleague, but from quite opposite principles. He should propose that 5000 dollars be struck out as too small a sum. He could not see the propriety of making so great a difference between the first and second magistrates. He should therefore move that 5000 be struck out, in order to insert 8000.

Mr. Sedgwick observed that the principle, on which the motion of Mr. White was founded, did not appear to him to be just. The pay of the members is *per diem*, because they are together only for a time. The vice-president is an officer by the constitution, who, in case of accident, is to take the chair, and is to reside at the seat of government; from which it appears necessary that he should receive a permanent salary.

Mr. Seney. By the constitution, compensation is to be made for services performed. The vice-president may absent himself during the whole time—I am for giving him a handsome allowance, while employed; but I think he ought to be paid, *per diem*.

Mr. Sherman adverted to the circumstance of lieutenant-governors receiving salaries in the several states, where such officers are appointed; so that, in this view, the grant to the vice-president would agree with the practice of the states individually. It

appeared to be necessary, also, inasmuch as this officer would be taken off from all other business.

Mr. White. Sir, the constitution has not pointed out the vice-president as an officer to be provided for: it says, the president shall have a fixed and permanent compensation for his services, but is silent as to the vice-president. We are not authorized to institute sinecures for any man. Whether the vice-president may, or may not, pursue any other business, I will not pretend to say. He may, however, absent himself from the public service, and who can call him to account? The constitution being silent, I think we may not establish a precedent: as to the lieutenant-governors of the several states, some of them do not receive salaries.

Mr. Madison did not agree with his colleague: he said the vice-president ought to be placed in such a situation, that the states may always be able to command his services. The vice-president may be taken from the extremity of the continent. If he is to be considered as the apparent successor to the president in case of accident, it will be necessary that he should withdraw his attention from all other pursuits. It is generally true, that pay should be for the time during which services are performed; but it is not universally the case—the judges of the courts will not be always employed; but they will be entitled to constant pay.

Mr. Ames observed that the vice-president's acceptance of his appointment, is a renunciation of the common modes of obtaining a livelihood.—When a man is taken from the mass of the people, for a particular office, he is entitled to a compensation from the public. During the time in which he is not particularly employed, he is supposed to be engaged in political researches, for the benefit of his country.

Every man is eligible by the constitution to be chosen to this office; but if a competent support is not allowed, the choice will be confined to opulent characters. This is an aristocratic idea, and contravenes the spirit of the constitution.

Mr. Seney. This, sir, is a subject of a delicate nature, and rather dis-

agreeable in its discussion; but I consider it my duty to express my sentiments freely upon it: I have heard no arguments to convince me that the vice-president ought to receive an allowance any more than the other members of the legislature: he cannot be compelled to perform any duty: this is an important subject, and ought to be maturely considered, as much depends on the decision which will now take place.

Mr. Burke said, the embarrassed situation of our finances was such, as to put it out of our power to give such ample salaries as we might, in different circumstances, think necessary: that the vice-president should receive a compensation, as the second officer in the government, is but reasonable: he will be obliged to support an appearance, by living at the seat of government, which will subject him to extra expense. Mr. Burke further observed, that the sum proposed, might not be fully sufficient, but it was as much as we could afford, at the present moment.

Mr. Ames replied to the observations of Mr. Seney, and pointed out the difference between the situation of the vice-president and of the members of the legislature.

Mr. Sedgwick added some remarks of a similar import, and further said, it was necessary that the members of the house should return and mix with their constituents, in order to learn their sentiments, their feelings; and to witness their situation and wants; that, consequently, they may resume their occupations. But with respect to the vice-president, his acceptance must be considered as an abandonment of every other pursuit. He must reside at the seat of government, and necessarily incur extra expenses in consequence of the office he sustains.

Mr. Stone. I am, sir, for giving such salaries as will make the officers of this government easy in their polls. But we are confined by the constitution. Salaries are to be given for services performed—they are considered in no other light. We can consider the vice-president in no other view than as president of the senate. I am for his being paid per diem; but I am for giving him a generous support. The sum of 5000

dollars per annum, is not, I conceive, enough. I should be in favour of such a sum *per diem* as would amount to six hundred dollars *per annum*.

The question being put on Mr. White's motion, it was rejected, and the clause retained.

In the clause fixing six dollars a day as the pay of the senators and representatives, Mr. Sedgwick moved for a discrimination, viz. that the former should have six, and the latter five dollars *per diem*.

Mr. Jackson opposed this discrimination. He observed, we have all alike abandoned our particular pursuits in life, and are all equally engaged in the service of our country, and I can see no reason for making any difference: can a senator eat more, or does he drink better than a representative? I presume not; their expenses are equal. There is but one reason that can be assigned for this distinction, and that is, the senate may sit longer than the house; but as they will receive pay accordingly, this reason falls to the ground. The business of both houses is the same, and the pay ought to be alike.

Mr. Lee. The constitution has made a difference, and we ought to do the same: there is a degree of refinement in the mode of electing senators: they are to be our best men, and I think that every encouragement ought to be given to draw forth the first abilities. The difference of two or three dollars is but a trifling distinction to our venerable sages. At present, there may be young men in the senate; but the time will come, when our most honourable, grey-headed sires, the experienced and wise men of our land will fill those seats: old men are with difficulty brought into public life; every inducement should therefore be held out—the honour and dignity of our government are inseparably connected, with supporting, in a proper manner, this important branch of our legislature. The constitution warrants a distinction. It is founded on the best experience—I therefore give my hearty assent to the proposal for a discrimination.

Mr. White. Sir, I am opposed to a discrimination. I cannot see the difference in the constitution, which the gentleman refers to. There was

an artificial and political distinction established between the senators and the people in some of the ancient commonwealths. This was the case at Rome in particular. The senators were there considered as possessing a portion of divinity, and the rest of the people were not suffered to mix with them. Is it to be supposed, because our senators have the same name, that they are of a superior order to their fellow-men? Whatever may be the sentiment here, in their respective states, there is no difference in the general estimation between a senator and a representative—and why any discrimination should be made in their respective allowances, I cannot conceive.

This distinction will operate against the independence of the members of this house, and may, at some future day, enable the senate to carry points, by being able to prolong the sessions, when it may be greatly to the inconvenience of the house.

Mr. Madison was in favour of the discrimination. He said it was evidently contemplated by the constitution, to hold out some distinction in favour of the senate, as an inducement for men of staid and fixed principles, whom habits of retirement might render averse from the active scenes of public life, to devote the experience of their years, and the acquisitions of study, to the service of their country—and except something of this kind is done, we may find it difficult to obtain proper characters for the senate; as men of enterprise and genius will naturally prefer a seat in the house, which will be considered as a more conspicuous situation.

Mr. Vining was opposed to the motion for discrimination. He observed, that wealthy men would, in all probability, be chosen senators, and that the representatives would not, in general, be of that class; the discrimination, therefore, if any was made, ought to be in favour of the latter. This (said he) is a subject on which we can feel, but which is difficult to discuss. I am against the reduction of the sum mentioned in the report, as I think that sum quite insufficient. Six dollars, sir, is not equal to the expense per day, at which many gentlemen live,

when at home. We surely do not intend to make the public service unpleasant, by rendering the situation of gentlemen less eligible. As to discrimination, the constitution has sufficiently pointed out the proper distinction. Mr. Vining added many more observations, and concluded by saying, I have expressed myself fully upon this occasion: I am not afraid that my sentiments should be known to my constituents, because I think their's are agreeable to my own.

Mr. Sency. I am sorry, sir, that the question of discrimination has been brought before the house. What reason can be assigned for making this distinction? Are the services of the senate greater than those of the representatives? I think not. Gentlemen have brought forward the constitution upon this occasion; but I conceive it is opposed to the principle they mean to advocate. The independence of the several branches is to be strictly preserved; this will destroy that independence: if we establish a discrimination in favour of the senate, will it not naturally tend to create a sense of inferiority in the minds of the representatives? and the time may come, when they may find it for their interest, to be entirely subservient to the views of the senate. Sir, I feel so sensibly the impropriety and unconstitutionality of this measure, that if I had the smallest idea that it would comport with the sentiments of a majority of the members of this house, I should call for the ayes and noes upon the question—but as I do not conceive that to be the case, I shall for the present wave the proposition.

Mr. Sedgwick observed, that, whenever he had a motion to make in the house, he always endeavoured to satisfy himself of the reasonableness and propriety of the proposition it contained. When he had determined it was proper, the mode of decision that should be adopted, he considered as not of very material consequence—but, in determining the present question, he hoped the ayes and noes would not be called. There is (said he) a principle in human nature, which revolts from the idea of inferiority—hence, when a proposition is made, which has for its object the establishment of superiority, in whatever form you please, that principle is alarmed, and excited to oppo-

sition; but, in discussing such a question as the present, we ought to divest ourselves of every partiality and prejudice, which may bias our judgments to a decision, that will not bear the test of reason and experience. The constitution has, I conceive, plainly pointed out the precedence of the senate. There are grades in society which are necessary to its very existence. This is a self-evident proposition—it is recognized by every civilized nation. It is recognized by the house in the report before us. Why else have we made a difference between the president and vice-president? Is it not on account of the superior station, and weight of dignity of the former?—and between the vice-president and the senate? This distinction is also established in the difference of the terms for which the senate and the house of representatives is chosen. The time, for which the senate is chosen, points out the propriety of a difference in the pay they ought to receive. The administration of the government will require, that they should more completely abstract themselves from personal pursuits. Their time will be almost wholly absorbed by an attention to public duties: they should, therefore, have an adequate and independent allowance. They will generally be of an age that will preclude them from all ideas of ever engaging in their several professions, after once having engaged in the service of their country. Their age, their wisdom and experience, all warrant this discrimination. Mr. Sedgwick added many more observations to shew the policy and constitutionality of the discrimination, and concluded by saying, he thought the real dignity of the house so far from being diminished by adopting the proposition, that he conceived it was essentially connected with it.

Mr. Jackson, in reply to the enquiry of Mr. Sedgwick,—why have we made a difference between the president and vice-president? observed, that the president will be employed the whole of his time. The vice-president may retire to his farm, whenever he pleases. Reference is had to the wisdom of the senate—but how is this superior wisdom made to appear? If a distinction is to be made on this account, it follows that a dif-

ference should be made between the several members of this house, and also between those of the senate. We cannot be too cautious how we establish an undue pre-eminence, and give an influence and importance to one branch of the legislature over the other. All governments tend to despotism, as naturally as rivers run into the sea. Despotism carries its points gradually, by slow and imperceptible steps. Despotic power is never established all at once. We shall, ere we are aware, get beyond the gulph, and then wonder how we got there. The services of the senate are not more arduous than ours; their proper business is legislation, and I never will consent to any discrimination. Had I any idea that the question would be determined in favour of discrimination, I should be for calling the ayes and noes, and, should it be so determined, I shall choose to enter my negative against it.

Mr. Page was in favour of the discrimination: he said, that in his opinion, the senate ought to have permanent salaries, that they might be placed in an eligible and independent situation.

The proposition for a discrimination was negatived.

*Monday, July 20.*

MR. Smith (S. C.) moved, that a committee should be appointed to bring in a bill, to authorize the several states to provide funds for the support of hospitals for sick and disabled seamen, and for the regulation of their respective harbours. This motion was adopted, and messrs. Smith, (S. C.) Carroll, and Clymer, appointed the committee.

The bill for establishing an executive department, to be denominated the department of foreign affairs, as amended by the senate, was read, and the amendments agreed to.

*Tuesday, July 21.*

THE speaker informed the house that the enrolled bill to provide for the establishment of light-houses, beacons, and buoys, was ready for the inspection of the committee, who should examine and present the same to the president, for his approbation and signature.

*Wednesday, July 22.*

THE house went into a committee on the resolution respecting the western territory, and having gone through

it, ordered that a committee be appointed to bring in a bill in pursuance of the same.

Mr. Carroll moved, that the house now take up the report of the committee on the subject of the enrollment, attestation, publication, and preservation of the acts of congress.

This was, however, postponed on Mr. Vining giving notice that he should move for leave to bring in a bill to establish a domestic department. This subject was connected with one immediately preceding, as this establishment would provide a proper repository for the public records of the legislature, and many objects of the report might be comprehended in this provision.

Mr. Vining moved a resolution, that the president of the united states be authorized and requested, to provide a great and lesser seal, with proper devices, for the use of the united states.

After some conversation, in which it was observed that such a provision, respecting the great seal, was needless and improper, as one already existed—and some doubts were expressed as to the necessity of a privy seal—it was agreed that the motion should lie on the table.

Mr. Benson moved a resolution, that a committee should be appointed to bring in a bill, to prescribe the form of commissions to be granted to the officers of the united states.

Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Burke, of the committee appointed for that purpose, presented a bill for allowing a compensation to the president and vice-president of the united states.

In committee of the whole.

The bill, providing for the settlement of accounts between the united states and individual states, was discussed—the committee then rose, and the chairman reported, that the committee had gone through the discussion of the bill, without making any amendments. It was then moved that the committee be discharged from any further consideration of said bill—and that it be referred to a select committee—this passed in the affirmative, and messrs. Sturges, Baldwin, and Smith, (S. C.) were appointed.

The house, then, on motion of Mr. Scott, resolved itself into a commit-

tee of the whole, to take into consideration certain resolves respecting the western territory—and after some conversation, the following, in substance, were agreed to, viz.

Resolved, as the sense of this committee, that a land-office ought to be established, for the sale of vacant and unappropriated lands in the western territory.

That the said office be under the superintendence of the governor of the western territory, for the time being—that the lands to be sold, be contained within the following limits, viz.

That the tracts and parcels to be disposed of shall not exceed \_\_\_\_\_ acres.

That the price to be required shall be \_\_\_\_\_ per acre.

That every person, actually settled within the said limits, shall be entitled to the pre-emption of a quantity not exceeding \_\_\_\_\_ acres, including his settlement.

A committee, consisting of mr. Scott, mr. Sylvester, and mr. Moore, was then appointed to bring in a bill, or bills, agreeably to the said resolutions.

*Thursday, July 23:*

THE bill, establishing the compensation to be made to the president, &c. was reported by the committee appointed for that purpose, and ordered to be engrossed.

The house then resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the state of the union.

Mr. Vining moved his resolutions, respecting the establishment of a home department—comprehending and detailing a variety of domestic duties, which, he said, were not included and provided for, in any establishment which had been already made.

The general principle of these resolutions met with earnest opposition from mr. White, mr. Sedgwick, mr. Gerry, and others. It was contended, that such a department was unnecessary, because the functions, to be executed in it, would be properly distributed among the offices already created; that it was impolitic, because it was expensive; and because an increase of great officers would alarm the people. It was said, that many of the duties, proposed to be annexed

to the office, were unimportant in themselves; others might be performed by the chief magistrate; some might be executed by the minister of foreign affairs, and others again by the secretary of the senate, or the clerk of the house.

Mr. Vining replied at large to the arguments which were urged; and defended each clause of the resolutions.

The question was at length taken on the first clause, which provided generally for the establishment of the department, and was negatived.

A motion was then made by mr. Sedgwick, that a committee should be appointed, to bring in a bill, supplementary to the act establishing a department of foreign affairs, providing that the department should, in future, be denominated the department of state, and that certain domestic duties, which he enumerated, should be annexed to the department, such as keeping the seals, making out commissions, and affixing to them the seal of the united states, &c.

This motion was negatived, and the committee rose without coming to a decision. Adjourned.

*Friday, July 24.*

MR. Gerry, of the committee appointed for that purpose, brought in a bill to provide for the registering and clearing of vessels—for regulating their tonnage, and the coasting trade, which was read—voted that 100 copies be printed for the house.

The engrossed bill, for allowing compensations to the president and vice-president, for their respective services, was read a third time—this bill provides that the vice-president shall, in case the powers and duties of the president devolve upon him, receive the compensation allowed to the president, and his allowance as vice-president is then to cease. Upon motion, it was voted, that this bill be recommitted, and that the house will resolve itself into a committee of the whole, for the purpose of taking the same into consideration.

The committee, to whom was re-committed the bill to provide for the settlement of accounts between the united states and individual states, reported an amendment to said bill, which empowers the president of the

united states to nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, appoint proper persons to fill such vacancies as have taken place, or may happen, in the board of commissioners of accounts, appointed under the ordinance of the late congress; also authorizing said board to appoint a chief clerk, and such other clerks as the service may require.

This amendment, after some debate, was adopted, and the bill ordered to be engrossed for a third reading on Monday next.

In committee of the whole, Mr. Boudinot in the chair.

The engrossed bill for allowing compensations to the president and vice-president was then read, and amended, by more particular specifying the time when the compensations shall commence, viz. "At the time when they shall enter on the duties of their respective stations."

The clause respecting the vice-president's receiving the compensation of president, in case the powers and duties of that office should devolve upon him, was voted to be struck out.

The committee then rose—and it was ordered that the bill lie on the table.

Upon motion of mr. Fitzsimons, the estimate of supplies for 1789, was read and taken into consideration.

It was then voted that a committee of ways and means be appointed, to which the said estimate was referred.

Upon motion it was voted, that this committee consist of eleven—the ballots being collected, the following gentlemen were chosen, viz. messrs. Livermore, Gerry, Wadsworth, Laurance, Cadwallader, Fitzsimons, Vining, Smith, (M.) Madison, Smith, (S. C.) and Jackson. Adjourned.

*Monday, July 27.*

THE engrossed bill for settling accounts between the united states and individual states, was read, and the blanks filled.

To the chief clerk to the commissioners, 600 dollars a year was allowed, and 400 dollars to the other clerks.

In committee of the whole house, on the order of the day. Mr. Boudinot in the chair.

The report of the committee, appointed to confer with a committee of the senate, in preparing joint rules

to be established between the two houses for the enrolment, preservation, attestation and publication of the acts of congress, and to regulate the mode of presenting addresses, and other acts to the president of the united states, was taken up.

On motion of mr. Sedgwick, the following resolution was agreed to, viz. that it is the opinion of this committee, a select committee ought to be appointed, to prepare and report a bill, to provide, without establishing a new department, for the safe keeping of the acts, records, and great seal of the united states—for the publication, preservation, and authentication of the acts of congress—for establishing the fees of office, and prescribing the forms of commissions, &c.—This resolution being added to the report, and the discussion being finished, the committee rose, and the chairman reported the same, with the amendments, which were acceded to by the house.

*Tuesday, July 28.*

MR. Vining presented the report of the committee appointed to consider of and report amendments to the constitution. The report being read, 100 copies were ordered to be printed for the use of the members.

The bill for collecting the revenue was returned from the senate with amendments, which, being read, were severally agreed to, and the bill ordered to be enrolled.

The bill for regulating the coalling trade, was taken up in committee of the whole, and considered; after which the house adjourned.

*Wednesday, July 29.*

THE house went into a committee on the bill for regulating the coalling trade, and prescribing the manner of registering, entering, and clearing vessels. Some progress was made in the bill, when the committee rose, and requested leave to sit again.

Mr. Fitzsimons moved for leave to bring in a bill to suspend the operation of the impost and tonnage acts. But his motion was negatived.

*Thursday, July 30.*

THE committee, appointed to examine the enrolled bill, to regulate the collection of duties on tonnage, and on goods, &c. reported that it was found correct, and laid the same

upon the table. The speaker then signed the bill.

Mr. Livermore introduced a resolution, that each member should be furnished at the public expense with two newspapers of this city, such as he should choose, and no more. This was laid on the table.

In committee of the whole—the discussion of the bill before them yesterday, was finished—the committee then rose, and the chairman reported the same to the house with the various amendments proposed.

A message was received from the senate, by their secretary, mr. Otis, who informed the hon. house, that they had concurred in the bill for settling accounts between the united states and individual states, without any amendments.

The house then took up the report of the committee just made—many of the amendments were acceded to—some of them negatived—and others added by the house, so that the bill was not finished when they adjourned.

*Friday, July 31.*

MR. Scott, of the committee appointed for the purpose, brought in a bill for establishing a land office for the western territory; which was read and laid on the table.

Upon motion it was voted, that a standing committee be appointed to examine the enrolled bills, and to present the same to the president, for his approbation and signature, and mr. White and mr. Partridge were accordingly appointed.

Mr. White, of the committee appointed to examine into the measures taken by congress, and the state of Virginia, respecting the lands reserved for the use of the officers and soldiers of said state, &c.—brought in a report, which was read, and laid on the table.

The house then proceeded in the consideration of the amendments agreed upon in committee, to the bill for registering and clearing vessels, &c. which being finished, it was voted that the bill should be engrossed for a third reading on Monday next.

A message was received from the senate by their secretary, informing, that they had passed the bill for estab-

lishing the treasury department, with amendments.

Also, that the senate had appointed mr. Wingate to join the committee appointed by the hon. house to examine the enrolled bills, &c.

Mr. Sedgwick, of the committee for the purpose, brought in a bill to provide for the safe keeping of the acts, records, and great seal of the united states, for the publication, preservation, and authentication of the acts of congress, &c. which was read, and laid on the table. Adjourned.

*Monday, August 3.*

THE bill for regulating the coasting trade, &c. was brought in, engrossed, and read a third time.

Mr. Fitzsimons moved to recommend it, in order to correct certain errors which had escaped the houses; the bill was accordingly recommitted, and the house agreed to take it up tomorrow.

Mr. Fitzsimons then moved for leave to bring in a bill to supply a defect in the impost law. By that act, he said, a drawback had been allowed on all salt used on fish, and other salted provisions exported. As the law stood, exporters would receive a drawback on salt, which had been imported previously to the operation of the impost, and consequently had paid no duties at all. He wished, therefore, to have it provided, that the drawback should not take effect for a limited time.

This motion was opposed, on the ground that it was improper to pass an act to correct an error in a law which the congress had so lately passed. It was proposed to add a clause to the bill which had been last read, and recommitted, providing for this defect. To this mr. Fitzsimons consented.

Mr. Benson introduced a resolution to this purport: that a committee be appointed, to join a committee of the senate, to consider and report when it will be convenient for congress to adjourn; also, to report what business now before congress must necessarily be attended to previous to a recess, and what will be proper to postpone till the next session—laid on the table.

The bill for establishing the treasury department, with the amendments proposed by the senate, being read,

the amendments were acceded to in part—the consideration of two articles was postponed till to-morrow.

The bill for establishing light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers, as sent down from the senate, with the amendments, was taken into consideration, and several of the amendments acceded to on the part of the house.

The bill for allowing compensations for their services to the president and vice-president of the united states, was taken up—and on motion of mr. Smith (S. C.) a clause was added to the bill, by which the president is to have the use of furniture and other effects, now in his possession, belonging to the united states.

The bill was then passed to be engrossed for a third reading to-morrow—and then the house adjourned.

*Tuesday, August 4.*

Mr. Heister presented a petition from the inhabitants of Cumberland county, state of Pennsylvania, praying that the sessions of the federal courts may not be restricted to the city of Philadelphia—laid on the table.

The engrossed bill for allowing a compensation to the president and vice-president, for their services, was read a third time, and passed to be enacted.

Mr. White, of the standing committee to examine the enrolled bills, presented the bill providing for the government of the western territory, which the committee had examined, and found correct—the speaker then signed the same.

Mr. Burke, of the committee appointed for the purpose, brought in a bill for allowing a compensation to the members of both houses, and to their respective officers: this bill provides that the compensation shall be as follows, viz.

To each member of the senate and house, six dollars per day.

Speaker of the house, twelve dollars per day.

To the secretary of the senate, and clerk of the house, each fifteen hundred dollars a year, and two dollars a day, each, during the session of the legislature:—one principal clerk to each, at three dollars a day during the session—one engrossing clerk to

each, at two dollars a day during the session.

Serjeant-at-arms, three dollars a day, during the session.

Door keeper to the house and senate, each, seven hundred and thirty dollars a year.

Assistant door keepers, during the session, one dollar and fifty cents a day, each.

This bill was laid on the table.

The house then went into a committee of the whole, on the bill for registering and clearing vessels, and regulating the coasting trade.

A clause was added to this bill, which provides for a suspension of the bounty of five cents on every barrel of pickled fish, every quintal of dried fish, and every barrel of salted provisions, exported from the united states, as allowed by the impost law, till after the last day of July, 1790.

The committee having finished this bill, the speaker resumed the chair—the house acceded to the several amendments, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading to-morrow.

The house then resumed the consideration of those amendments to the treasury bill proposed by the senate, on which a decision was postponed yesterday—a lengthy debate ensued upon the subject, in which the substance of the argument upon the president's power of removing was repeated, and which terminated in not acceding to the amendments of the senate.

The house adjourned at half after three o'clock.

*Wednesday, August 5.*

THE house met pursuant to adjournment, and passed the bill for establishing the department of war, with the amendment proposed by the senate.

Also, passed the bill, with amendments, as returned by the senate, for regulating the government of the western territory.

The bill for regulating the coasting trade, was read the third time, passed the house, and ordered to be transmitted to the senate for concurrence.

The report of the committee, respecting the donation lands in the western territories, granted by Virginia to the Virginia troops, late in the

service of the united states, was read a second time: ordered, that a hundred copies therefore, be printed for the use of the members.

Mr. White laid a motion on the table, for rescinding a resolution of the late congress, respecting the location of lands for the Virginia troops.

The house went into a committee of the whole, on the bill for compensating the service of the members of the senate and house of representatives, and their officers.

A motion was made, to strike out six dollars per diem, as a compensation for each member.

Mr. Carroll called in question the propriety of the motion, supposing the committee not at liberty to alter principles settled in the house.

Mr. Page went into an argument to show, that the sum ought not to be diminished; he thought six dollars a day not more than sufficient to compensate gentlemen for their trouble and expenses; he was afraid of the consequence which would result from a parsimonious provision for the legislature of the general government.

Mr. Sedgwick advocated a reduction of the allowance, because he thought the temper of the people would be disoblged by the largeness of the sum: he did not think it more than a compensation for the sacrifices which gentlemen made, in dedicating their time and abilities to the public service; but he judged it to be more than the abilities of the people were able to support.

Mr. Vining joined the gentleman from Maryland (mr. Carroll) in supposing the motion out of order; and called upon the chairman, mr. Boudinot, to decide upon the point of order, which mr. Boudinot did, by saying, that when a bill was committed to a committee of the whole, every part of it was open to debate and alteration. Mr. Vining then proceeded to oppose a deduction of the compensation: he thought that gentlemen could not live, and reciprocate those civilities which common politeness and their situation required, for a less sum than that proposed in the bill. He presumed it was not the intention of the house, to embarrass the situation of gentlemen, who were at considerable expense in moving their

families to the seat of government, in order to be more at liberty to employ their attention to public business, and not have their minds divided between their domestic and public affairs. He thought that congress might contemplate a reduction of the compensation, when they should be removed to a place less expensive than the capital of one of the most considerable states in the union. When that event took place—and he would join the gentleman from Virginia (mr. White) who had dropped a sentiment yesterday of the kind—in giving his consent that it should early take place—he thought that the expenses of the civil list might then be properly reduced; but at present he could not think a less sum, than that proposed in the bill, was more than was absolutely necessary for the support of the members of congress; it was the averaged sum of what was given to the members of the late congress.

Mr. Fitzsimons thought every gentleman was able to form an opinion, from the facts within his knowledge, of what would be a proper compensation for his services and expenses.

Mr. Sedgwick reprobated these sentiments, as tending to preclude debate; for they would apply upon every other subject, as well as this.

Mr. Page again opposed the reduction, and joined in sentiment with mr. Fitzsimons, that much argument was unnecessary.

The question, for striking out six dollars, was put, and determined in the negative, thirty-four to sixteen.

A motion was made for reducing the compensation to the speaker, which met with a similar fate.

The committee, not having time to go through the bill, rose, and reported progress. Adjourned.

*Thursday, August 6.*

MR. White, from the committee appointed for the purpose of examining the enrollment of the laws, reported that they had examined the act concerning light houses, the act for establishing a department of war, and the act relative to the government of the western territory; that they were duly enrolled, and ready for the signature of the speaker.

The order of the day, for taking up the bill relative to copy rights of

authors and inventors, was postponed till Thursday next.

Mr. Gerry moved a resolution, that a committee be appointed to report a catalogue of books, necessary for the use of congress, and an estimate of the amount thereof, and the best mode of procuring them. The resolution was read and laid on the table.

The house went into a committee on the bill for establishing the compensation to be allowed the members of congress, and their officers, and having made some amendments to the bill, rose and reported the same: the bill was agreed to, and ordered to be engrossed; it now stands as follows:

The wages of the speaker twelve dollars per day, the other members six dollars per day, and two days' pay for every twenty miles distance from home.

The salary of the Chaplains was fixed at the rate of 500 dollars per annum, during the session of congress.

The salary of the secretary of the senate, and clerk of the house, at the rate of 1,500 dollars per annum, and two dollars per day, during the sessions of congress.

The first clerks under the secretary and clerk of the houses, at three dollars per day, and the other clerks at two dollars per day, each.

The serjeant at arms, four dollars per day, during the sessions.

The door-keepers, 730 dollars per annum, and their assistants, two dollars per day, during the sessions.

A message was received from the senate, that they persisted in their amendments to the treasury-bill, respecting the removability of the secretary by the president.

That they had agreed to the resolution of the house for appointing a committee to report what business ought to be finished previous to the adjournment. Adjourned.

*Friday, August 7.*

MR. Gerry introduced a motion, that a committee be appointed to prepare and report a bill for the further encouragement of the navigation and commerce of the united states. This motion was adopted, and a committee, consisting of mr. Gerry, mr. Trumbull, and mr. Burke, appointed.

The following message was received

ed from the president, by general Knox, viz.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

THE business which has hitherto been under the consideration of congress, has been of so much importance, that I was unwilling to draw their attention from it to any other subject. But the disputes, which exist between some of the united states and several powerful tribes of Indians, within the limits of the union, and the hostilities which have in several instances been committed on the frontiers, seem to require the immediate interposition of the general government.

I have therefore directed the several statements and papers, which have been submitted to me on this subject by general Knox, to be laid before you for your information.

While the measures of government ought to be calculated to protect its citizens from all injury and violence, a due regard should be extended to those Indian tribes, whose happiness, in the course of events, so materially depends on the national justice and humanity of the united states.

If it should be the judgment of congress, that it would be most expedient to terminate all differences in the southern district, and to lay the foundation for future confidence, by an amicable treaty with the Indian tribes in that quarter, I think proper to suggest the consideration of the expediency of instituting a temporary commission for that purpose, to consist of three persons, whose authority should expire with the occasion.

How far such a measure, unassisted by posts, would be competent to the establishment and preservation of peace and tranquility on the frontiers, is also a matter which merits your serious consideration.

Along with this object, I am induced to suggest another, with the national importance and necessity of which I am deeply impressed; I mean some uniform and effective system for the militia of the united states. It is unnecessary to offer arguments in recommendation of a measure, on which the honour, safety, and well-being of our country so evidently and so essentially depend.

But it may not be amiss to observe,

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that I am particularly anxious it should receive as early attention as circumstances will admit; because it is now in our power to avail ourselves of the military knowledge disseminated throughout the several states, by means of the many well instructed officers and soldiers of the late army, a resource which is daily diminishing by deaths and other causes.

To suffer this peculiar advantage to pass away unimproved, would be to neglect an opportunity which will never again occur, unless, unfortunately, we should again be involved in a long and arduous war.

G. WASHINGTON.

*New York, August 7, 1789.*

Another message was received from the president, by Mr. Secretary Lear, with three acts of congress, to which the president had affixed his approbation and signature, viz. the bill for establishing light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers; the bill for establishing the government of the western territory; and the bill for establishing the war department.

The engrossed bill, for allowing compensations to the members and officers of the two houses, was read; a motion was then made by Mr. Sedgwick, that the same should be recommended; this motion was seconded by several members, which brought on a debate.

The question, for the recommitment, was determined in the affirmative; and the house went into a committee of the whole.

The several clauses of the bill were then discussed, and the following amendments agreed to, viz. instead of two days' pay as an allowance for every twenty miles distance from the seat of government, six dollars, for every twenty-five miles, were inserted.

The allowance of seven hundred and thirty dollars to the doorkeeper, was struck out, and three dollars a day, during the session, for himself, and such labourers as he may find it necessary to employ, was voted. The other articles stand as agreed to yesterday: the discussion being finished, the committee rose, and the chairman reported the amendments, which were acceded to by the house, and the bill was again ordered to be engrossed for a third reading on Monday next. The house then adjourned.

*Saturday, August 8.*

THE message from the president, respecting Indian affairs and the militia of the union, received yesterday, was taken into consideration by the committee of the whole house on the state of the union, and it was resolved,

That it is the opinion of this committee, that an act ought to pass, providing for the necessary expenses attending any negotiations or treaties which may be held with the Indian tribes, or attending the appointment of commissioners for those purposes.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that an act ought to pass, providing a proper system of regulations for the militia of the united states.

These resolutions were adopted by the house. Adjourned till Monday.

*Monday, August 10.*

THE engrossed bill for allowing compensations to the members of congress, and the officers of both houses, was read a third time; on the question, shall this bill pass? the yeas and nays were called for by Mr. Goodhue. Affirmative—Messrs. Baldwin, Benson, Brown, Burke, Carroll, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Gale, Griffin, Hartley, Heister, Huntington, Lurance, Lee, Madison, Matthews, Moore, P. Muhlenberg, Page, Scott, Seney, Smith, (M.) Smith, (S. C.) Stone, Sturges, Sumpter, Trumbull, Tucker, Vining, and Wadsworth.—thirty.

Negative—Messrs. Ames, Boudinot, Cadwallader, Floyd, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hathorn, Leonard, Livermore, Partridge, Van Rensselaer, Sedgwick, Sylvester, and Thacher.—fourteen.

The amendments insisted on by the senate to the treasury bill, were taken up, and a vote passed for requesting a conference upon the subject.

The following message from the president, was delivered to the house by general Knox.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

I HAVE directed a statement of the troops in the service of the united states, to be laid before you, for your information.

These troops were raised by virtue of the resolves of congress of the 20th of October, 1786, and the 3d of Oc-

tober, 1787, in order to protect the frontiers from the depredations of the hostile Indians; to prevent all intrusions on the public lands; and to facilitate the surveying and selling the same, for the purpose of reducing the public debt.

As these important objects continue to require the aid of troops, it is necessary that the establishment thereof should, in all respects, be conformed, by law, to the constitution of the united states.

G. WASHINGTON.  
*New York, August 10.*

A statement of the troops now in service, accompanied the message.

Mr. Clymer, from the committee appointed for the purpose, brought in a bill for providing for the expenses of the Indian treaties, &c. Adjourned.

*Tuesday, August 11.*

THE bill for providing for the expenses of negotiations, and treating with the Indians, and the appointment of commissioners for that purpose, was read a second time, and referred to a committee of the whole house.

The house then resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take the above bill into consideration.

The words in the bill "that commissioners not exceeding three" it was moved should be struck out. This motion was opposed. It was contended, that if the appointment of commissioners be left indefinite, and they might be increased at pleasure, the united states may be plunged in great and heavy expenses. That past experience has shewn, that great frauds and peculations may be justly apprehended in these negotiations. That it was unconstitutional to vote monies, except a previous estimate of the service to be performed, was exhibited. It was further said, that the right of making and judging of treaties, was in the legislature; that the motion went to divest the house of a right, vested in it by the constitution—that the house could not justify the measure to its constituents—and that it would open a door to such encroachments, and establish such a precedent, and might be attended with the worst consequences—that the right of the house to interpose in the forming of treaties, is evident from this, "that the power

of making provision for the expenses of carrying those treaties in execution, rests in the house"—this was evident, it was said, from this, "that if ten commissioners should be appointed, still the house may provide for such a number as they may think proper."

In support of the motion, it was said—that it is entirely improper to limit the number of the commissioners—that the constitution has expressly vested the power of forming treaties in the executive—that, in fact, the house had nothing further to do in the business, than to provide the necessary supplies—that if we are to be deterred from adopting the motion by the fear of abuses, the same principle may prevent the decision of the house, upon almost any question that comes before them—but there are more serious abuses to be apprehended from neglect and delay in this business, than from the supposed fraudulency of those who may be appointed commissioners. War will open a wider door to frauds and peculations—and is not (it was asked) the shedding of blood a greater evil? Is not the destruction of our defenceless citizens an abuse of a much more alarming consequence? It was further observed, that we have every reason to suppose, that such persons will be appointed, as have a character to support—a unanimous policy, it is expected, will be adopted by the new government—such a policy as will inspire a veneration and confidence in the minds of the Indian tribes—and if, agreeable to this idea, a respectable commission is appointed in due season, much expense in future, and a cruel war, may be prevented. It was said, that the constitution has assigned to the several parts of the administration, their respective powers. The power of forming treaties is not in the house; and if they usurp this power, they may, upon the same principle, assume all the powers of the constitution: if we restrain the president as to the number of commissioners, it may be necessary for him to exceed the limitation, and it would, in that case, certainly be his duty to do it, which would render the restriction nugatory.

The vote being taken, the motion for striking out the words, passed in the affirmative, by a large majority.

A motion was then made, that the committee should rise, and report the bill—upon which,

Mr. Jackson rose, and said, that he conceived it to be his indispensable duty, to give the house some information respecting the deplorable situation of the defenceless, plundered, and wretched inhabitants of the state of Georgia. Whatever congress may do, respecting the sending commissioners to treat with the Creek Indians, except the latter, at the same time, are given to understand, and made to believe, that, if they will not treat, the arm of power will be extended to teach them justice, the appointment of commissioners will be of no avail. We have lately sent commissioners, who were treated with contempt—and since that time, the people have been plundered, their houses destroyed, and numbers of them butchered, no age or sex has been spared. Mere paper negotiations they are taught to despise. Congress alone can strike them with awe. To congress the people look for redress—and if they are not succoured and relieved by the union, they must seek protection elsewhere. In full confidence of this support and protection, they were led to the unanimous adoption of the new constitution. And shall their hopes and expectations be defeated? I trust not. The Creek chief has his emissaries in S. and North Carolina, and in Georgia—and the determination of this legislature will be soon known to him. It is in vain to think of giving security to the citizens of Georgia, or bringing these Indians to treat, without inspiring a full apprehension, that a sufficient force will be raised to convince them of the power of the united states to bring them to terms. Mr. Jackson added several other observations, and concluded by reading a clause, which he moved should be added to the bill—providing for the raising a sufficient military force, for the protection of the inhabitants of the state of Georgia, in case the Creeks refuse to enter into a treaty.

This motion was seconded, but, after some debate, it was withdrawn.

The committee then rose, and the chairman reported the bill, with the amendments, to which the house acceded, and voted that the bill be en-

grossed for a third reading to morrow.

The message received from the president yesterday, was read, and referred to a committee of the whole house on the state of the union. Mr. Jackson then brought forward his clause in the form of a resolution, which was referred to the same committee.

Mr. Wadsworth, of the joint committee appointed to consider and report when it will be convenient for congress to adjourn—also to report what business, now before congress, must be necessarily attended to, previous to a recess, brought in a report to this effect: that it will be proper and convenient for congress to adjourn on the twelfth of September next—and that, postponing other business, till the next session, it will be necessary to attend to the following bills, previous to the adjournment, viz.

For establishing the treasury, and judicial departments.

To regulate the coasting trade.

For allowing compensations to the president and vice-president.

For allowing compensations to the members, and officers of both houses of congress.

For providing for the expenses of negotiations and treating with the Indians.

Also the reports of the committees on the memorial of Andrew Ellicot; and on the subject of the amendments.

The bills to regulate the punishment of crimes.

To regulate processes in the federal courts, and fees in the same.

The salaries of the judges.

The salaries of the executive officers.

And the bill for the safe keeping of the acts, records, and great seal of the united states.

This report being read, the house adjourned.

*Wednesday, August 12.*

THE engrossed bill, providing for the expenses which may attend negotiations, and treating with the Indian tribes, and for appointing commissioners to superintend the same, was read, when the house proceeded to fill up the blanks. It was moved, that the sum of forty one thousand dollars be inserted in the first blank. This mo-

tion was opposed by Mr. Sumpter, Mr. Gerry, and Mr. Livermore. It was said, that a previous estimate of the expenses necessary to be incurred, ought first to be exhibited to the house; that great frauds and abuses had been complained of in these negotiations; that the whole amount of the revenue would fall short of the necessary expenses of the current year, and therefore it was incumbent on the house, to grant monies with due caution and deliberation; that it could not be contended that so large a sum was requisite, but on the supposition of a very large number of Indians attending, and presents being provided for them. It was urged, that the treaties would be as efficacious, without collecting a whole nation together; and, the custom of giving presents, was reprobated by some of the members, as a measure fraught with useless expense, much mischief, and inconvenience.

Mr. Jackson, Mr. Hartley, Mr. Clymer, and Mr. Baldwin, supported the motion. The latter gentleman produced a statement of the expenses which would arise from holding a treaty with the Creek nation only, of which it was expected that one thousand five hundred would attend. It was observed, that the sum moved for, was to defray the expenses of treating with the Indian tribes in general—more particularly with the Wabash nation, and with the tribes to the southward of the Ohio. That, agreeably to the estimate which was laid on the table, the whole sum moved for, would be necessary: but if the house chose to have the treaties conducted upon different principles from what had been customary, they could make such alterations as they might see proper.

The motion for forty-one thousand dollars, being put, it passed in the negative. Mr. Madison then moved, that the blank should be filled with forty thousand: this was likewise opposed; and the yeas and nays called for on the question, which are as follow:

Ayes. Messrs. Baldwin, Benson, Brown, Burke, Cadwallader, Clymer, Cole, Fitzsimons, Gale, Griffin, Hartley, Huntington, Jackson, Lorraine, Lee, Madison, Matthews, P. Muhlenberg, Page, Scott, Smith,

(S. C.) Stone, Sylvester, Trumbull, Tucker, Vining, Wadsworth, Wynkoop.—Twenty-eight.

Nays. Messrs. Ames, Boudinot, Carrol, Floyd, Gerry, Gilman, Grout, Heister, Hathorn, Leonard, Livermore, Moore, Parker, Partridge, Van Rensselaer, Schureman, Sedgwick, Seney, Sherman, Smith, (M.) Sturges, Sumpter, Thacher.—Twenty-three—So the motion was carried.

The blank in the clause for allowing a compensation to the commissioners, was filled with eight dollars per day, exclusive of their actual expenses at the place of holding the treaties.

*Thursday, August 13.*

THE engrossed bill, providing for the expenses of negotiations and treating with the Indians, &c. was read, and passed to be enacted.

Mr. Lee moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole on the state of the union, to take into consideration the report of the committee on amendments to the constitution.

The immediate adoption of this motion was advocated by Mr. Madison, Mr. Page, and Mr. Hartley, and opposed by Mr. Sedgwick, Mr. Smith, (S. C.) Mr. Gerry, Mr. Lorraine, and Mr. Sherman. The latter gentleman particularly observed, that there was a great variety of business before the house, which it is of the greatest importance should precede the consideration of all other; that it appears absurd to make alterations in a form of government, before it has an operative existence; that it is of the first consequence to complete the judiciary bill; that without this, and several other bills, now pending in the house, we cannot carry one of the revenue laws into execution; not a breach of the laws of the united states can be punished; not a vessel can be seized. The discussion of the subject, at this moment, will obstruct the wheels of government, and throw every thing into confusion—mean time the united states are without law, and have no authority to punish a single crime. It was further said, that few, if any of the state-assemblies are in session, and therefore it will unnecessarily consume the present time, which is so precious: that the people, reposing full confidence in the justice and wisdom of the

house that this subject would have reasonable and due attention paid to it, are as anxious to see the government in operation, as they are about amendments.

The speakers against the motion feverally expressed themselves in favour of taking up the subject as soon as the judicial, executive, and revenue departments were so far completed, that it could with propriety be said we had a government.

In support of the motion it was observed, that since the subject has first been introduced, so much time has elapsed, that if it is not now taken up, the people will be led to suppose, that it is the intention of congress never to do any thing in the business; that the people are extremely anxious upon the subject, and nothing short of a conviction, that those rights, which they conceive to be in danger, as the constitution now stands, will be placed in a state of greater security, will quiet their apprehensions. That the number of those in favour of amendments, consisted of a large and respectable proportion of the citizens of the states. That the peace and tranquility of the union depend upon a proper attention to their just expectations. That if those who are anxious for amendments, had been added to those who openly opposed the constitution, it would have probably met a quite different fate. That except these amendments are made, the government will want the confidence of the people, and that energy, which is necessary to its existence. That the same reasons for a postponement have repeatedly been assigned; and there is no prospect that a more convenient opportunity will offer.

The question being put on the motion of mr. Lee, it passed in the affirmative. The house accordingly formed into a committee of the whole—mr. Boudinot in the chair.

The report of the committee was then read, the first article of which is in these words, viz.

In the introductory paragraph of the constitution, before the words, "we the people," add, "government, being intended for the benefit of the people, and the rightful establishment thereof being derived from their authority alone."

M. Sherman. I am opposed to this mode of making amendments to the constitution, and am for striking out from the report of the committee, the first article entirely. I conceive that we cannot incorporate these amendments in the body of the constitution. It would be mixing brass, iron, and clay—it would be as absurd as to incorporate an act in addition to an act, in the body of the act proposed to be amended or explained thereby, which, I believe, was never heard of before. I conceive that we have no right to do this, as the constitution is an act of the people, and ought to remain entire, whereas the amendments will be the act of the several legislatures. Mr. Sherman then read a proposition, which he moved should be substituted in place of the article in the report.

This being seconded, brought on an interesting debate, whether the amendments should be incorporated in the body of the constitution, or be made a distinct supplementary act.

Mr. Madison supported the former, and said, that he did not coincide with the gentleman from Connecticut. I conceive, said he, that there is a propriety in incorporating the amendments in the constitution itself, in the several places to which they belong; the system will, in that case, be uniform and entire; nor is this uncommon. It is true, that acts are generally amended by additional acts; but this, I believe, may be imputed rather to indolence; this, however, is not always the case; for, where there is a taste for political and legislative propriety, it is otherwise. If these amendments are added to the constitution, by way of supplement, it will embarrass the people; it will be difficult for them to determine to what parts of the system they particularly refer; and, at any rate, will create unfavourable comparisons between the two parts of the instrument. If these amendments are adopted, agreeably to the plan proposed, they will stand upon as good foundation as the other parts of the constitution, and will be sanctioned by equally good authority. I am not, however, very solicitous about the mode, so long as the business is fully attended to.

Mr. Smith, (S. C.) agreed with

Mr. Madison, and read that clause in the constitution, which provides that alterations and amendments, when agreed to, shall become part of the constitution—from whence he inferred, that it was evidently the design of the framers of the system, that they should be incorporated—nor is the house at liberty to adopt any other mode. Mr. Smith cited the instance of South Carolina, which, instead of making acts in addition to acts, which had been found extremely perplexing, repealed their laws generally, in order to form a more simple and unembarrassing code.

Mr. Livermore supported the motion of Mr. Sherman—he adverted to the custom and usage of the British legislature, and of the several state assemblies, in forming laws and additional acts. We have no right, he observed, to make any alterations or interpolations in the instrument—it will be attended with difficulties, in some future day.

Mr. Vining. Adding amendments, will be attended with a variety of inconveniences—it will distort the system—it will appear like a letter, which, carelessly written in haste, requires a postscript much longer than the original composition—this motion is founded upon the custom of amending acts by additional acts, to explain and amend preceding acts, a custom, which involves endless perplexities, and has nothing in reason to recommend it.

Mr. Clymer advocated the motion: I wish, sir, that the constitution may forever remain in its original form, as a monument of the wisdom and patriotism of those who framed it.

Mr. Stone was in favour of Mr. Sherman's motion. If, sir, said he, the amendments are incorporated in the instrument, it will assert that which is not true—for this constitution has been signed by the delegates from the several states, as a true instrument—and therefore, in this case, we must go further, and say, that a constitution made at such a time, was defective, and George Washington, and those other worthy characters who signed this instrument, cannot be said to have signed the constitution.—

According to the observation of the gentleman from South-Carolina, re-

specting repealing laws, to make a complete act, we must repeal the constitution in order to make a new one;—but will any gentleman say that this legislature has authority to do this? To incorporate these amendments, the constitution must, however, be repealed in part, at least—the moment we prepare ourselves to do this, there is an end of the constitution, and to the authority under which we act. Mr. Stone then replied particularly to the inference drawn by Mr. Smith, from the passage which he had quoted from the constitution, and observed, that the words could not imply any thing more than this, that such amendments, when adopted, agreeably to the mode pointed out, would be equally binding with the other parts of the system, to which they do not specially refer.

Mr. Gerry enquired whether the mode could make any possible difference in the validity of the system, provided the sanction is the same. He conceived it could not. The constitution, in my opinion, said he, has provided that amendments should be incorporated. The words are express, that they shall become “part of this constitution.” The gentleman, (Mr. Stone) says, we shall lose the names of the worthy gentlemen who subscribed the constitution: but I would ask, whether the names would be of any consequence, except the constitution had been ratified by the several states? or will the system be of no effect, since it is ratified, if the names were now erased? If we adopt the mode proposed, we shall, in all probability, go on to make supplements to supplements, and thus involve the system in a maze of doubts and perplexities. It appears to me, that in order that the citizens of the united states may know what the constitution is, it is necessary that it be comprized in one uniform, entire system. If the amendments are incorporated, the people will have one constitution; but if they are added by way of supplement, they will have more than one: and if in the original system, there should any clauses be found, which are inconsistent with the added amendments, the government will be compounded of opposite principles, both in force at the same time.

Upon the idea of gentlemen, as to the sacredness of the original system, if amendments are made upon their plan, they will be considered in a point of light inferior to the original; in this view, amendments are of no consequence, and had better be omitted. This would tend to defeat the salutary purposes of amendments altogether, by derogating from their dignity and authority.

Mr. Laurance was in favour of the motion made by Mr. Sherman: he said, it appeared to him impossible to incorporate the amendments in the constitution, without involving very great absurdities in the supposition. If they should be engrafted in the body of the constitution, it will make it speak a language different from what it originally did. What will become of the laws enacted under the instrument, as it originally stood? Will they not be vitiated thereby? The ratifications of the several states had respect to the original system. It is true that a majority of them have proposed amendments; but this does not imply a necessity of altering the original, so as to make it a different system from that which was ratified. The mode, proposed by the motion, is agreeable to custom; it is the least liable to objection, and appears to me safe and proper.

Mr. Benson observed, that this question was agitated in the select committee, and the result is contained in the report now under consideration. It should be remembered, that the ratifications of several of the states enjoin the alterations and amendments in this way; they propose that some words should be struck out, and the sentences altered. I do not conceive that incorporating the amendments can affect the validity of the original constitution: that will remain where it is, in the archives of congress, unaltered, with all the names of the original subscribers. The amendments are provided for in that instrument, and completing those amendments is completing the original system—the records of the legislature will inform how this was done; and for my part, I can see no difficulty in proceeding agreeably to the report of the committee.

Mr. Page said, he supposed that

the committee of the whole is now acting upon the constitution as upon a bill: and they have a right, said he, to take up the subject paragraph by paragraph.

I am opposed to the amendment of the preamble of the constitution, as proposed by the committee, as well as to the motion of the gentleman from Connecticut. I could wish, therefore, that we may not consume time in settling the mere form of conducting the business; but proceed, after rejecting the first amendment, to consider those that are subsequent in the report.

Mr. Livermore replied to Mr. Page. He said, that with respect to the constitution, the committee stood upon quite different grounds from what they did when discussing a bill; and he contended, that it is not in the power either of the legislature of the united states, or of all the legislatures upon the continent, to alter the constitution, unless they were specially empowered by the people to do it.

Mr. Jackson advocated the motion of Mr. Sherman—he said, if we repeal this constitution, we shall perhaps, the next year, have to make another—and in that way the people will never be able to know whether they have a permanent constitution or not. The constitution, in my opinion, ought to remain sacred and inviolate. I will refer to the constitution of England. Magna charta has remained, as it was received from King John to the present day, and the bill of rights the same; and although the rights of the people, in several respects, have been more clearly ascertained and defined, those charters remain entire: a constitutional privilege has lately been established, in the independency of the judges, but no alteration in the constitution itself, was thought proper. All the amendments are supplementary—the sacred deposit of English liberty remains untouched—their great charter remains unaltered, though defects have been supplied, and additions made. The constitution of the united states has been made by the people; it is their own act, and they have a right to do it. I hope we shall not do any thing to violate or mutilate it. I therefore heartily join in the motion for striking out the words

and adopting the mode proposed by the gentleman from Connecticut.

The question on Mr. Sherman's motion being taken, it passed in the negative.

A doubt was then raised, whether it was necessary that the article in the constitution, which requires that two thirds of the legislature should recommend amendments, should be attended to by the committee—this occasioned a debate—an appeal was made to the chairman, who determined that the business, while before the committee, should be transacted in the usual manner, by a majority—an appeal was made from this judgment to the house, and on the question being put, whether the chairman's decision was in order, it passed in the affirmative.

The committee then rose, reported progress, and had leave to sit again to-morrow. Adjourned.

*Friday, August 14.*

The house went into a committee on the amendments to the constitution.

Mr. Trumbull in the chair.

The first amendment was again read, which was, to prefix to the introductory paragraph these words—“Government being intended for the benefit of the people, and the rightful establishment thereof being derived from their authority alone.”—

Mr. Gerry objected to the phraseology of this clause; it might seem to imply, that all governments were instituted and intended for the benefit of the people, which was not true. Indeed, most of the governments, both of ancient and modern times, were calculated on very different principles. They had chiefly originated in fraud or in force, and were designed for the purpose of oppression and personal ambition. He wished to have nothing go out from this body, as a maxim, which was false in fact, or which was not clear, in its construction. He moved to alter the clause, by inserting the words “of right.”—This motion was negatived.

Mr. Tucker objected to any amendments being made to the preamble of the constitution. This, he said, was no part of the constitution; and the object was only to amend the constitution: the preamble was no more a subject of amendment, than the letter of the president, annexed to the constitution.

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Mr. Smith (S. C.) in answer to Mr. Tucker, shewed that this amendment had been recommended by three states, and that it was proper it should be made.

Mr. Tucker replied, that he was not opposed to the principle; but thought this was an improper place to express it. It could be inserted with propriety in a bill of rights, if one should be agreed on, and in that form be prefixed to the constitution: but the preamble was not the place for it.

Other gentlemen objected to the whole clause, as it was unnecessary, since the words, “we the people,” contained the principle of the amendment fully. Mr. Sherman observed, that if the constitution had been a grant from another power, it would be proper to express this principle: but as the right, expressed in the amendment, was natural, and inherent in the people, it is unnecessary to give any reasons or any ground on which they made their constitution: it was the act of their own sovereign will. It was also said, that it would injure the beauty of the preamble.

Mr. Madison contended for the amendment—he saw no difficulty in associating the amendment with the preamble, without injuring the propriety or sense of the paragraph. Though it was indisputable, that the principle was on all hands acknowledged, and could itself derive no force from expressing it, yet he thought it prudent to insert it, as it had been recommended by three respectable states.

The question, on adopting the amendment, being put, was carried in the affirmative.

Second amendment: from art. 1, sect. 2, par. 3, strike out all between the words “direct” and “until such:” and, instead thereof, insert “after the first enumeration, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred; after which, the proportion shall be so regulated by congress, that the number of representatives shall never be less than one hundred, or more than one hundred and seventy-five: but each state shall always have at least one representative.”

Mr. Vining moved, that a clause should be inserted in the paragraph, providing, that, when any one state

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possessed forty-five thousand inhabitants, it should be entitled to two representatives.

This was negatived without a division.

Mr. Ames then moved to strike out the word, "thirty" and insert "forty;" so that the ratio of representation should be one for forty thousand—he went into a train of reasoning to prove the superior advantages of a small representation. He drew an argument, in the first place, from the satisfaction which the people universally expressed in the present representation, that their minds were reconciled to it, and were convinced, that a more faithful and more prompt discharge of the business of the union would take place, in so small an assembly. Experience had taught them, that all the information that was necessary—both of a general and local nature—would be found in a body similar to the present. He suggested the importance of the expense of a numerous representation, as a capital burden, which would soon become dissatisfactory to the people. According to the ratio of one to thirty thousand, the increase of the people would swell the representation to an enormous mass, whose support would be insufferable, and whose deliberations would be rendered almost impracticable. The present population would, on the first census, produce upwards of one hundred. The augmentation would be very rapid; it was therefore proper to fix the proportion immediately, so as to prevent these evils. He went very copiously into the usual arguments, to prove that all numerous popular bodies are liable, in proportion to their number, to fluctuations, fermentations, and a factious spirit. By enlarging the representation, the government, he said, would depart from that choice of characters, who could best represent the wisdom and the interest of the united states; and who would alone be able to support the importance and dignity of this branch of the legislature. Men would be introduced, more liable to improper influences, and more easy tools for designing leaders.

He said, it appeared clear to him, that, as the whole number was increased, the individual consequence—the

pride of character—and, consequently, the responsibility—of each member would be diminished. The responsibility would also be in some proportion to the number of the constituents. A representative of a large body of people would feel, in a higher degree, the weight imposed upon him; and he would be thereby the more interested to support a virtuous fame, and redouble his exertions for the public good.

He contended, that the original design of those, who proposed the amendment, respecting representation, was not to obtain an increase, beyond what their first census would give them; their intention was, to fix a limitation, that it should not be in the power of congress, to diminish the representation at any time, below the point of security. Their object was certainly not augmentation.

Mr. Madison, in reply, insisted, that the principal design of these amendments, was, to conciliate the minds of the people: and prudence required, that the opinion of the states, which had proposed the important amendment in contemplation, should be attended to. He said, it was a fact, that some states had not confined themselves to limitation, but had proposed an increase of the number; he did not conceive it to be very necessary in this case, to investigate the advantages or disadvantages of a numerous representation; he acknowledged, that, beyond a certain point, the number might be inconvenient. That point was a matter yet of uncertainty. It was true, that numerous bodies were liable to some abuses; but if, on one hand, they were prone to those evils, which the gentleman had mentioned, they were, on the other hand, less susceptible of corruption.

He thought, also, that to fix the ratio at even 40,000 for one, would not prevent the abuses which Mr. Ames apprehended: for, before the second census should be taken, it was probable that the increase of population would be so great, as to make the body very large. There was little choice, therefore, with a view to futurity, between one ratio or the other: but as this, of one for thirty thousand, was the proportion contemplated and proposed by the states, it was most advisable to adopt it.

Mr. Gerry, mr. Sedgwick, mr. Livermore, mr. Jackson, and mr. Seney, opposed the amendment; and mr. Ames replied to them largely. The question being taken, mr. Ames's proposition was rejected.

Mr. Tucker moved to strike out the first "one hundred" in the amendment, and to insert "two hundred," and then to strike out the rest of the paragraph—so that the representation should not be less than two hundred; nor should congress have a discretion, to fix any ratio of increase, but that such proportion should be adopted, as to keep the representation fixed at two hundred.

After some debate, this motion was negatived.

On motion of mr. Sedgwick, the words "one hundred and seventy-five," were struck out, and "two hundred" inserted. And then the paragraph, as amended, was agreed to.

Third amendment. Art. 1, sec. 2, par. 3—Strike out all between the words "direct" and "and until such," and instead thereof, insert, "but no law, varying the compensation, shall take effect, until an election of representatives shall have intervened. The members."

This amendment was agreed to.

Committee rose—house adjourned.

*Saturday, August 15.*

The house went into a committee on the amendments to the constitution,

Mr. Boudinot in the chair.

The committee took up the fourth amendment.—"Art. 1, sect. 9.—Between par. 2, and 3—insert—"no religion shall be established by law, nor shall the equal rights of conscience be infringed."

Mr. Livermore moved to strike out this clause, and to substitute one, to the following effect—"The congress shall make no laws touching religion, or the rights of conscience." He observed, that though the sense of both provisions was the same, yet the former might seem to wear an ill face, and was subject to misconstruction.

The question on this motion was carried.

Fifth amendment.—"The freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of the people peaceably to

assemble and consult for their common good, and to apply to the government for redress of grievances, shall not be infringed."

Mr. Tucker moved to insert between the words "common good," and "and to" in this paragraph, these words, "to instruct their representatives."

On this motion a long debate ensued.—

Mr. Hartley said, it was a problematical subject.—The practice on this principle might be attended with danger. There were periods, when, from various causes, the popular mind was in a state of fermentation, and incapable of acting wisely.—This had frequently been experienced in the mother country, and once in a sister state. In such cases, it was a happiness to obtain representatives, who might be free to exert their abilities against the popular errors and passions.—The power of instructing, might be liable to great abuses; it would, generally, be exercised in times of public disturbance, and would express rather the prejudices of faction, than the voice of policy; thus it would convey improper influences into the government. He said he had seen so many unhappy examples of the influence of the popular humours in public bodies, that he hoped they would be provided against, in this government.

Mr. Page was in favour of the motion.

Mr. Clymer remarked, that the principle of the motion was a dangerous one. It would take away all the freedom and independence of the representatives, and destroy the very spirit of representation itself, by rendering congress a passive machine, instead of a deliberative body.

Mr. Sherman insisted, that instructions were not a proper rule for the representative, since they were not adequate to the purposes for which he was delegated. He was to consult the common good of the whole, and was the servant of the people at large. If they should coincide with his ideas of the common good, they would be unnecessary; if they contradicted them, he would be bound, by every principle of justice, to disregard them.

Mr. Jackson also opposed the motion.

Mr. Gerry advocated the proposition—he said, the power of instructing was essential, in order to check an administration, which should be guilty of abuses.—Such things would probably happen. He hoped gentlemen would not arrogate to themselves more perfection than any other government had been found to possess—or more, at all times, than the body of the people. It had, he said, been always contended, by the friends of this government, that the sovereignty resided in the people. That principle seemed inconsistent with what gentlemen now asserted; if the people were the sovereign, he could not conceive why they had not the right to instruct and direct their agent, at their pleasure.

Mr. Madison observed, that the existence of this right of instructing, was at least a doubtful right. He wished, that the amendments which were to go to the people, should consist of an enumeration of simple and acknowledged principles. Such rights only ought to be expressly secured, as were certain and fixed.—The insertion of propositions, that were of a doubtful nature, would have a tendency to prejudice the whole system of amendments, and render their adoption difficult. The right suggested was doubtful; and would be so considered by many of the states. In some degree, the declaration of this right might be true—in other respects false. If by instructions was meant giving advice, or expressing the wishes of the people, the proposition was true; but still was unnecessary, since that right was provided for already. The amendments, already passed, had declared, that the press should be free, and that the people should have the freedom of speech and petitioning; therefore the people might speak to their representatives, might address them through the medium of the press, or by petition to the whole body. They might freely express their wills by these several modes. But if it was meant that they had any obligatory force, the principle was certainly false. Suppose the representative was instructed to do any act incompatible with the constitution, would he be bound to obey those instructions? Suppose he was directed to do what he knew was contrary to the public good, would he be bound to sacrifice

his own opinion? Would not the vote of a representative, contrary to his instructions, be as binding on the people as a different one? If these things then be true, where is the right of the constituent? Or, where is the advantage to result from? It must either supersede all other obligations, the most sacred, or it could be of no benefit to the people. The gentleman says, the people are the sovereign: True. But who are the people? Is every small district, the people? And do the inhabitants of this district express the voice of the people, when they may not be a thousandth part, and although their instructions may contradict the sense of the whole people besides?—Have the people, in detached assemblies, a right to violate the constitution, or control the actions of the whole sovereign power?—This would be setting up a hundred sovereignties in the place of one.

Mr. Smith, (S. C.) was opposed to the motion. He said, the doctrine of instructions, in practice, would operate partially. The states, which were near the seat of government, would have an advantage over those more distant. Particular instructions might be necessary for a particular measure: such could not be obtained by the members of the distant states. He said, there was no need of a large representation, if in all important matters, they were to be guided by express instructions. One member from each state would serve every purpose. It was inconsistent with the principle of the amendment which had been adopted the preceding day.

Mr. Stone differed with Mr. Madison, that the members would not be bound by instructions. He said, when this principle was inserted in the constitution, it would render instructions sacred and obligatory in all cases; but he looked on this as one of the greatest of evils. He believed this would change the nature of the constitution. Instead of being a representative government, it would be a singular kind of democracy, and whenever a question arose, what was the law, it would not properly be decided by recurring to the codes and institutions of congress, but by collecting and examining the various instructions of different parts of the union.

Several of the members spoke, and the debate was continued in a desultory manner—and at last the motion was negatived by a great majority. The question on the original amendment was then put, and carried in the affirmative.

Committee rose.

Mr. Ames moved, that all questions on the subject of the amendments, should be decided in committee by two thirds of the members. This was laid on the table.

The house then adjourned.

*Monday, August 17.*

In committee of the whole, on the subject of amendments to the constitution.

The 6th and 7th amendments were agreed to without alteration.

In the 8th, on motion of mr. Laurance, after the words "nor shall" these words were inserted, "in any criminal cases." The 9th was adopted without alteration. In the 10th, on motion of Benson, after the words "and effects," these words were inserted, "against unreasonable searches and seizures." 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th were agreed to in their original form. The committee then rose, and the house adjourned.

*Tuesday, August 18.*

The committee appointed to bring in a bill to regulate the post-office, brought in a resolve, which, with the preamble, was to the following effect, that as the shortness of the time, previous to the adjournment, would not admit of making the necessary arrangements, therefore resolved, that the post-master-general be directed to continue the post-office upon the system established by the late congress, and that he be authorized to make the necessary contracts, &c.

Mr. Gerry introduced a motion upon the subject of amendments, to this purport, that such amendments to the constitution of the united states, as have been proposed by the different states, which are not in the report of the select committee, be referred to a committee of the whole house; and that those, with the amendments proposed by that committee, be included in one report. This motion was introduced by a lengthy speech upon the subject of amendments at large, and was seconded by mr. Sumpter; this brought on a warm de-

bate, which continued till near one o'clock; when the question being called for, from various parts of the house, the ayes and noes were required by mr. Gerry. Upon which, mr. Vining called for the previous question, and the ayes and noes were then required upon that also; this occasioned a further debate; at length the speaker directed the clerk to call the ayes and noes on—shall the main question be put?

Noes. Messrs. Ames, Baldwin, Benson, Boudinot, Brown, Cadwalader, Carroll, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Foster, Gilman, Goodhue, Hartley, Heister, Huntington, Laurence, Lee, Madison, Moore, P. Muhlenberg, Partridge, Schureman, Scott, Sedgwick, Seney, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Smith (S. C.) Smith (M.) Thatcher, Trumbull, Vining, Wadsworth, Wynkoop.—34.

Ayes. Messrs. Burke, Coles, Floyd, Gerry, Griffin, Grout, Hathorn, Livermore, Page, Parker, Van Rensselaer, Sherman, Stone, Sturgis, Sumpter, Tucker.—16.

The house then went into a committee of the whole on the report of the select committee.

The five remaining amendments were agreed to by the committee, with some little variation. They then rose, and the chairman reported their proceedings, which, it was ordered, should lie on the table for the consideration of the members.

A message was received from the senate by their secretary, informing the house that they had concurred, with one amendment, in the bill to provide for the necessary expenses attending negotiations and treating with the Indian tribes, &c.

The proposed amendment is, to strike out "forty," and insert "twenty," which would make the provision for the expenses twenty thousand instead of forty thousand dollars.

Mr. Tucker presented a number of papers, containing seventeen proposed amendments to the constitution; which were read and laid on the table.

The committee on the subject of the disputed election of the members from New Jersey brought in a report, containing a state of facts respecting said election, which was read, and then the house adjourned.

*Wednesday, August 19.*

Took up the bill to provide for the necessary expences attending negotiations and treating with the Indian tribes, as sent from the senate yesterday, and concurred with their amendment. Adjourned.

*Thursday, August 20.*

The subject of amendments resumed.

Mr. Ames's proposition was taken up. Five or six other gentlemen brought in propositions on the same point; and the whole, by mutual consent, were laid on the table. The house then proceeded to the third amendment and agreed to the same.

The fourth amendment, on motion of Mr. Ames, was altered, so as to read, "Congress shall make no law establishing religion, or to prevent the free exercise thereof; or to infringe the rights of conscience." This was adopted.

The fifth amendment was agreed to.

Mr. Scott objected to the clause in the sixth amendment, "no person religiously scrupulous shall be compelled to bear arms." He said, if this becomes part of the constitution, we can neither call upon such persons for services nor an equivalent: it is attended with still further difficulties, for you can never depend upon your militia. This will lead to the violation of another article in the constitution, which secures to the people the right of keeping arms, as in this case you must have recourse to a standing army. I conceive it is a matter of legislative right altogether. I know there are many sects religiously scrupulous in this respect: I am not for abridging them of any indulgence by law; my design is to guard against those who are of no religion. It is said that religion is on the decline; if this is the case, it is an argument in my favour; for when the time comes that there is no religion, persons will more generally have recourse to those pretences to get excused.

Mr. Boudinot said, that the provision in the clause, or something like it, appeared to be necessary. What dependence can be placed on men who are conscientious in this respect? or what justice can there be in compelling them to bear arms, when, if they

are honest men, they would rather die than use them. He then adverted to several instances of oppression in the case, which occurred during the war. In forming a militia, we ought to calculate for an effectual defence, and not compel characters of this description to bear arms. I wish that in establishing this government, we may be careful to let every person know, that we will not interfere with any person's particular religious profession. If we strike out this clause, we shall lead such persons to conclude, that we mean to compel them to bear arms,

Mr. Vining and Mr. Jackson spoke upon the question. The words "in person" were added after the word "arms," and the amendment was adopted.

The 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th amendments, without any material alterations were agreed to. Adjourned.

*Friday, August 21.*

The order of the day, on amendments to the constitution, 15th amendment under consideration.

Mr. Gerry moved to strike out these words, "public danger," to insert "foreign invasion." This was negatived. It was then moved to strike out the last clause, "and if it be committed, &c." to the end. This motion obtained, and the amendment as it then stood was adopted.

16th and 17th amendments were accepted, without alterations.

18th amendment. In this Mr. Gerry proposed to insert the word "expressly" after the word "powers." This being objected to, the yeas and nays were called for on the question; and there appeared for the affirmative 17—for the negative 32—so the question was lost.

19th amendment. Mr. Sherman moved, that after the words "prohibited by it to the" "government of the united," and after the words "reserved to the" "individuals" should be inserted. This motion was acceded to, and the clause was then adopted.

The report of the committee being gone through, Mr. Burke introduced the following amendment, viz. "Congress shall not alter, modify, or interfere in the times, places, or manner of electing senators or representatives of the united states, except when any

state shall refuse, or neglect, or be unable, from actual invasion or rebellion, to make such election." This brought on a debate, and the ayes and noes being called, there appeared for the affirmative 23—for the negative 28—majority against the proposition 5.

The consideration of the amendment, which was postponed yesterday, was then resumed.

A variety of propositions were read, and, on the questions being taken, were negatived.

The following, in substance, introduced by Mr. Smith (S. C.) was adopted, viz. After the first enumeration, there shall be one representative to every 30,000 inhabitants, till the number shall amount to 100; after which the proportion shall be so regulated by congress, that there shall be one to every 40,000, till the number amount to 200; after which the number shall not be increased at a less rate than one for every 50,000. Adjourned.

*Saturday, August 22.*

The house went into the consideration of amendments; Mr. Tucker moved to add an amendment recommended by the state of South Carolina, respecting direct taxes, stipulating that congress should first make requisitions on the states respectively, before they attempt to obtain revenue in that way.

Mr. Stone made a motion that this proposition should lie on the table; this was negatived. Mr. Partridge then moved the previous question; which was also negatived. On the main question to agree to the proposition, the yeas and nays were called by Mr. Livermore, who being supported by a constitutional number, they were taken, and were, ayes 9—noes 39.

So it was determined in the negative.

Mr. Tucker then presented another amendment from those recommended by the state of South Carolina, to strike out, in art. 3. sect. 1, "inferior court" and insert "court of admiralty". This was negatived.

Mr. Gerry proposed an amendment, that congress should never establish a company of merchants with exclusive privileges of commerce; this was negatived.

Mr. Gerry offered another proposition, to prohibit the officers of the

general government from accepting any title of nobility from any foreign king, prince, potentate, &c. which was negatived.

*Monday, August 24.*

Mr. Fitzsimons, of the committee appointed to bring in a bill for establishing the salaries of the officers in the executive departments, brought in a report, which was read the first time.

The amendments of the senate to the treasury bill, respecting the removability of the secretary by the president, were considered; and, on motion of Mr. Vining, the house adhered to their disagreement against the amendment proposed by the senate.

On motion, the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the bill for establishing the judicial courts of the united states.

Some small alteration in the language of the first clause was moved for, and agreed to.

Mr. Tucker moved to strike out the whole of the second clause, dividing the united states into thirteen districts.

Mr. Livermore moved to strike out the third clause, which establishes district judges and district courts; and supported his motion by arguments, tending to shew that such a regulation was expensive and unnecessary: they were expensive, by reason of the long suite of salary officers attending on such an establishment, the occasion for public buildings, such as court houses and jails, all of which must be erected; they were unnecessary, because justice could be (as indeed was the case at present) as well administered in the state courts as in the district courts; but if there was apprehensions of partiality in their decisions, it were to be remembered that the adjudications are subject to appeal and revision in the federal supreme court, which in his opinion afforded sufficient security.

He moreover said the establishment was invidious, and tending to blow the coals of civil war; two jarring jurisdictions, a subversion of the old system of jurisprudence, could never be agreeable to the people of America, who did not view courts of justice, and the officers connected with them, in the most favourable light. What would they think of such heterogeneous establishments? He begged gentlemen to consider this point tho-

roughly before they made a decision, for much depended thereon.

The committee rose without coming to any further resolution.

Then the house adjourned.

*Tuesday, August 25.*

The house resolved itself into a committee on the bill to provide for the safe keeping of the acts, records and seal of the united states, for the publication of the acts of congress, for the authentication of records, the custody of the seal, &c.

Several amendments were made, and the committee rose without going through the bill.

*Wednesday, August 26.*

The house went into a committee on the bill for annexing to the duties of the secretary of foreign affairs, (under the title of secretary of state) the keeping of the seals, taking care of the archives, &c. and after some time spent in the business, the committee went through and reported the bill with amendments, which were agreed to by the house, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed.

The bill for regulating the coasting trade, came down from the senate with amendments—they proceeded to consider the same, but not having time to go through them, adjourned until to-morrow.

*Tuesday, August 27.*

The amendments of the senate to the coasting bill were then taken into consideration—and agreed to with some small variations. The senate have reduced the fees in this bill: among others—for

Every register from	3 to 2 dollars.
Subsequent ditto	2 to 1 & 50 cents.
Certificate of enrollment,	1 dol. to 50 cents.
License to trade or carry on the whale or bank fisheries for one year,	} 1 dol. to 50 cents.
Every bond for license to trade,	

Mr. Gerry presented a supplementary report to the estimate of the necessary supplies for the year 1789—read and referred to the committee of ways and means.

Mr. Smith (S. C.) of the committee appointed for the purpose, brought

in a bill providing for the establishing hospitals for disabled seamen, and for the regulation of harbours—which was read the first time.

Mr. Scott, agreeably to notice, moved a resolution to the following effect: That a place ought to be fixed for the permanent residence of the general government, as near the centre of population, wealth, and extent of country, as is consistent with the convenience of the Atlantic navigation, having also a due regard to the western territory. He then moved to make this motion the order of the day for Thursday next.

This motion, which gave rise to a long debate, was at length agreed to.

*Friday, August 28.*

Mr. Fitzsimons presented a memorial from the public creditors of the state of Pennsylvania, which was read and laid on the table.

Mr. Trumbull presented a memorial from the commanders of the packets, which ply between New-York, and Newport and Providence in Rhode-Island, respecting the hardships which they suffer by reason of that state's being considered out of the union.

A letter from the governor of South-Carolina, addressed to the speaker, inclosing an account of the exports of that state from December, 1787, to December, 1788, was read.

The report of the committee on the memorials from the merchants of George-town and Alexandria, was taken up, and accepted, and the same committee ordered to bring in a bill for the relief the memorialists.

The house resolved itself into a committee on the bill for establishing the salaries of the officers of government.

Mr. Boudinot in the chair.

To the secretary of the treasury, it was proposed by the bill to allow 5000 dollars per annum.

This sum was reduced, after some debate, to 3500.

To the secretary for foreign affairs (now called secretary for the department of state) it proposed an allowance of 3500 dollars—This was reduced to 3000.

To the comptroller of the treasury, it proposed to allow 2000—this was reduced to 2000.

To the auditor, it proposed to allow 1500 dollars, to the treasurer, 1600, and to the register 1250—these sums were agreed to.

To the assistant of the secretary of the treasury, it proposed an allowance of 1600 dollars—this was reduced to 1500.

To the governor of the western territory, it proposed an allowance of 1000 dollars, with an additional allowance as superintendant of Indian affairs.

This was altered; the allowance as superintendant of Indian affairs was struck out, and the salary as governor raised to 2500 dollars.

A clause was added, providing for the salaries of the three judges of the western territory, allowing to each of them 800 dollars per annum.

To the secretary of the governor of the western territory, the salary was fixed at 750 dollars.

The remainder of the bill was gone through without any material amendment, when the committee rose and reported.

The report was accepted, and the bill ordered to be engrossed for a third reading. Adjourned.

*Saturday, August 29.*

THE bill for regulating the coasting trade was received from the senate, with the concurrence of that body in the amendments proposed by the house, to the amendments of the senate.

The engrossed bill for establishing the salaries of the executive officers, was read a third time, when Mr. Smith (S. C.) moved to recommit it, in order to supply some deficiencies. He observed, that a number of officers were not provided for, such as the foreign ministers, consuls, &c.

It was, however, thought improper to annex salaries to offices which the legislature had not expressly created or recognised; and the motion was negatived.

The question was then put on passing the bill, and the yeas and nays being called, it passed in the affirmative—Yeas 27—Noes 16.

The house then resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the judiciary bill.

Mr. Tucker's motion for striking out that section which provides for the

establishment of district judges in each state, was taken into consideration. This brought on a warm debate. The motion was advocated by Mr. Livermore, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Burke, Mr. Stone; and opposed by Mr. Smith (S. C.) Mr. Benson, Mr. Sedgwick, Mr. Ames and Mr. Sherman. The committee rose at four o'clock without deciding the question, and the house adjourned.

The importance of the debate on this subject, and the impossibility of publishing the whole in the present number, induces us to defer it till the next.

*Monday, August 31.*

THE engrossed bill for suspending so much of the collection law, as obliged vessels bound to George-town and Alexandria, on Patowmac, to enter at Yeocomico and St. Mary's, was read a third time, and on motion of Mr. Bland, was recommitted, in order to receive a clause to remedy the same grievance, complained of by the inhabitants of Peterburg and Richmond, on James river.

Mr. Bland was added to the committee, and a motion of Mr. Thatcher, respecting a similar inconvenience suffered by the inhabitants of the river Kennebeck, was referred to them.

The petition of the masters of packet boats and others, trading between Newport and Providence and New York, presented by Mr. Trumbull, was referred to the same committee.

The petition of Hugh Williamson, in behalf of the merchants and citizens of North Carolina, complaining of the operation of the tonnage law on that state, by subjecting it to the duties imposed on the vessels of foreigners, was read, and referred to the committee on the petition from Alexandria.

The house went into a committee on the judiciary bill. Mr. Livermore renewed the debate on the clause for instituting the district courts, by a general reply to the arguments of Mr. Smith, and others, on Saturday.

The discussion was continued in an animated manner by Messrs. Stone, Jackson, Sumpter and Burke, for striking out the clause, and by Messrs. Vining, Gerry and Lawrence, against it.

[ G

The question being at length put on the motion for striking out, was negatived by 33 against 11.

*Tuesday, Sept. 1.*

A message came from the senate, with a bill providing for the punishment of certain crimes; also the bill for allowing certain compensations to the members of the house and senate, and their respective officers; in which the senate had concurred with amendments.

*Wednesday, September 2.*

A petition from the citizens of Philadelphia, respecting the permanent and temporary residence of congress, was read.

The committee to whom was recommended the bill to relieve the inhabitants of Georgetown and Alexandria on the Patowmack, reported that they had not thought proper to recommend any alteration in it.

The petition of the creditors of

the united states, residing in the city of Philadelphia, was referred to the committee of ways and means.

Mr. Vining then brought forward a motion, respecting the validity of the Jersey election, viz. "Resolved, that James Schureman, Lambert Cadwallader, Elias Boudinot, and Thomas Sinnickson, were duly elected and properly returned members of this house."

The question being taken on Mr. Vining's motion, was carried in the affirmative.

A message was received from the president of the united states, informing the house that he had approved and signed the bill for regulating the coasting trade, and the treasury bill.

The house then took up the amendments of the senate to the bill for establishing the compensation of the members of congress. Adjourned.

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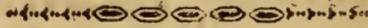
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