NEW TRAVELS

IN THE

UNITED STATES

OF

AMERICA.

Performed in 1788,

By J. P. BRISSOT DE WARVILLE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

A People without Morals may acquire Liberty, but without Morals they cannot preserve it.

Nemo illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere, nec corrumpi seculum vocatur . . . Plusquamibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges. TACITUS.

FROM THE PRESS OF JOSEPH BUMSTRAD,
UNION-STREET—BOSTON.

1797.

PREFACE of the AUTHOR.

THIS publication of Voyages and Travels will doubtleſs appear, at firſt view, an operation foreign to the preſent circumſtances of France. I ſhould even myſelf regret the time I ſpent in reducing this Work to order, if I did not think that it might be uſeful and neceſſary in ſupporting our Revolution. The object of theſe Travels was not to ſtudy antiques, or to ſearch for unknown plants, but to ſtudy men who had juſt acquired their liberty. A free people can no longer be ſtrangers to the French.

We have now, likewiſe, acquired our liberty, It is no longer neceſſary to learn of the Americans the manner of acquiring it, but we muſt be taught by them the ſecret of preſerving it. This ſecret conſiſts in the morals of the people; the Americans have it; and I ſee with grief, not only that we do not yet poſſeſs it, but that we are not even thoroughly perſuaded of its abſolute neceſſity in the preſervation of liberty. This is an important point; it involves the ſalvation of the revolution, and therefore merits a cloſe examination.

What is liberty? It is the moſt perfect ſtate of ſociety: it is the ſtate in which man depends but upon the laws which he makes; in which, to make them good, he ought to perfect the powers of his mind; in which, to execute them well, he muſt employ all his reaſon; for coercive meaſures are diſgraceful to freedom—they are almoſt uſeleſs in a free State; and when the magiſtrate calls them to his aid, liberty is on the decline, morals are nothing more than reaſon applied to all the

actions of life; in their force consists the execution of the laws. Reason or morals are to the execution of the laws among a free people, what fetters, scourges, and gibbets are among slaves. Destroy morals, or practical reason, and you must supply their place by fetters and scourges, or else society will no longer be but a state of war, a scene of deplorable anarchy, to be terminated by its destruction.

Without morals there can be no liberty. If you have not the former, you cannot love the latter, and you will soon take it away from others; for if you abandon yourself to luxury, to ostentation, to excessive gaming, to enormous expences, you necessarily open your heart to corruption; you make a traffic of your popularity, and of your talents; you sell the people to that despotism which is always endeavouring to replunge them into its chains.

Some men endeavour to distinguish public from private morals; it is a false and chimerical distinction, invented by vice, in order to disguise its danger. Doubtless a man may possess the private virtues without the public; he may be a good father, without being an ardent friend to liberty; but he that has not the private virtues, can never possess the public; in this respect they are inseparable; their basis is the same, it is *practical reason*. What! within the walls of your house, you trample reason under foot; and do you respect it abroad, in your intercourse with your fellow citizens? He that respects not reason in the lonely presence of his household gods, can have no sincere attachment to it at all; and his apparent veneration to the law is but the effect of fear, or the grimace of hypocrisy. Place him out of danger from the public force, his fears vanish, and his vice appears. Besides, the hypocrisy of public virtue entrains another evil; it spreads a dangerous snare to liberty over the abyss of despotism.

What confidence can be placed in those men who, regarding the revolution but as their road to fortune, assume the appearance of virtue but to deceive the people; who deceive the people but to pillage and en-

ſlave them; who, in their artful diſcourſes, where eloquence is paid with gold, preach to others the ſacrifice of private intereſt, while they themſelves ſacrifice all that is ſacred to their own? Men whoſe private conduct is the aſſaſſin of virtue, an opprobrium to liberty, and gives the lie to the doctrines which they preach:

Qui Curios ſimulant, et bacchanalia vivunt.

Happy the people who deſpiſe this hypocriſy, who have the courage to degrade, to chaſtiſe, to excommunicate theſe double men, poſſeſſing the tongue of Cato, and the ſoul of Tiberius. Happy the people who, well convinced that liberty is not ſupported by eloquence, but by the exerciſe of virtue, eſteem not, but rather deſpiſe, the former, when it is ſeparated from the latter. Such a people, by their ſevere opinions, compel men of talents to acquire morals; they exclude corruption from their body, and lay the foundation for liberty and long proſperity.

But if this people, improvident and irreſolute, dazzled by the eloquence of an orator who flatters their paſſions, pardon his vices, in favour of his talents; if they feel not an indignation at ſeeing an Alcibiades training a mantle of purple, laviſhing his ſumptuous repaſts, lolling on the boſom of his miſtreſs, or raviſhing a wife from her tender huſband; if the view of his enormous wealth, his exterior graces, the ſoft ſound of his ſpeech, and his traits of courage, could reconcile them to his crimes; if they could render him the homage which is due only to talents united with virtue; if they could laviſh upon him praiſes, places, and honors; then it is that this people diſcover the full meaſure of their weakneſs, their irreſolution, and their own proper corruption; they become their own executioners; and the time is not diſtant, when they will be ready to be ſold, by their own Alcibiades, *to the great king, and to his ſatraps.*

Is it an ideal picture which I here trace, or, is it not ours? I tremble at the reſemblance! Great God! ſhall we have atchieved a revolution the moſt inconceivable, the moſt unexpected, but for the ſake of drawing from

nihility a few intriguing, low, ambitious men, to whom nothing is sacred, who have not even the mouth of gold to accompany their soul of clay? Infamous wretches! they endeavour to excuse their weakness, their venality, their eternal capitulations with despotism, by saying, These people are too much corrupted to be trusted with compiete liberty. They themselves give them the example of corruption; they give them new shackles, as if shackles could enlighten & ameliorate men.

O Providence! to what destiny reservest thou the people of France? They are good, but they are flexible; they are credulous, they are enthusiastic, they are easily deceived. How often, in their infatuation, have they applauded secret traitors, who have advised them to the most perfidious measures! Infatuation announces either a people whose aged weakness indicates approaching dissolution, or an infant people, or a mechanical people, a people not yet ripe for liberty: for the man of liberty is by nature a man of reason, he is rational in his applauses, he is sparing in his admiration, if, indeed, he ever indulges this passion; he never profanes these effusions, by lavishing them on men who dishonor themselves. A people degraded to this degree, are ready to caress the gilded chains that may be offered them. Behold the people of England dragging in the dirt that parliament to whom they owed their liberty, and crowning with laurels the infamous head of M[illegible] who sold them to a new tyrant.

I have scrutinized those men, by whom the people are so easily infatuated. How few patriots was I able to number among them! How few men, who sincerely love the people, who labour for their happiness & amelioration, without regard to their personal interest! These true friends, these real brothers of the people, are not to be formed in those infamous gambling houses, where the representatives sport with the blood of their fellow citizens; they are not found among those vile courtisans who, preserving their disposition, have only changed their mask: they are not found among those patriots of a day, who, while they are preaching the Rights of Man, are gravely occupied with a gilded

phaeton, or an embroidered vest. The man of this frivolous taste has never descended into those profound meditations, which make of humanity, as of the exercise of reason, a constant pleasure and a daily duty. The simplicity of wants and of pleasures, may be taken as a sure sign of patriotism. He that has few wants, has never that of selling himself; while the citizen, who has the rage of ostentation, the fury of gambling, and of expensive frivolities, is always to be sold to the highest bidder; and every thing around him betrays his corruption!

Would you prove to me your patriotism? Let me penetrate into the interior of your house. What! I see your antichamber full of insolent lackies, who regard me with disdain, because I am like Curius, *incomptis capillis*: they address you with the appellation of *fierabras*; they give you still those vain titles which liberty treads under foot, and you suffer it, and you call yourself a patriot!—I penetrate a little further: your cielings are gilded; magnificent vases adorn your chimney pieces; I walk upon the richest carpets; the most costly wines, the most exquisite dishes cover your table; a crowd of servants surround it; you treat them with haughtiness:—No, you are not a patriot, the most consummate pride reigns in your heart, the pride of birth, of riches, and of talents. With this triple pride, a man never believes in the doctrine of equality: you belie your conscience, when you prostitute the word patriot.

But whence comes this display of wealth? You are not rich. Is it from the people? They are still poor. Who will prove to me that it is not the price of their blood? Who will assure me that there is not this moment existing, a secret contract between you and the court? Who will assure me that you have not said to the court, Trust to me the power which remains to you, and I will bring back the people to your feet; I will attach them to your car; I will enchain the tongues and pens of those independent men who brave you. A people may sometimes be subjugated without the aid of bastilles.

I do not know if ſo many pictures as every day ſtrike our eyes, will convince us of the extreme difficulty of connecting public incorruptibility with corruption of morals; but I am convinced, that if we wiſh to preſerve our conſtitution, it will be eaſy, it will be neceſſary, to demonſtrate this maxim: "Without "private virtue, there can be no public virtue, no "public ſpirit, no liberty."

But how can we create private virtue among a people who have juſt riſen ſuddenly from the dregs of ſervitude, dregs which have been ſettling for twelve centuries on their heads?

Numerous means offer themſelves to our hands; laws, inſtruction, good examples, education, encouragement to a rural life, parceling of real property among heirs, reſpect to the uſeful arts.

Is it not evident, for inſtance, that private morals aſſociate naturally with a rural life; that, of conſequence, manners would much improve, by inducing men to return from the city to the country, and by diſcouraging them from migrating from the country to the city? The reaſon why the Americans poſſeſs ſuch pure morals is, becauſe nine-tenths of them live diſperſed in the country. I do not ſay that we ſhould make laws direct to force people to quit the town, or to fix their limits; all prohibition, all reſtraint is unjuſt, abſurd, and ineffectual. Do you wiſh a perſon to do well? Make it for his intereſt to do it. Would you re-people the country? Make it his intereſt to keep his children at home. Wiſe laws and taxes well diſtributed will produce this effect. Laws which tend to an equal diſtribution of real property, to diffuſe a certain degree of eaſe among the people, will contribute much to the reſurrection of private and public morals; for miſery can take no intereſt in the public good, and want is often the limit of virtue.

Would you extend public ſpirit through all France? Into all the departments, all the villages, favour the propagation of knowledge, the low price of books and of newſpapers. How rapidly would the revolution conſolidate, if the government had the wiſdom to frank

the public papers from the expence of poſtage! It has often been repeated, that three or four millions of livres expended in this way, would prevent a great number of diſorders which ignorance may countenance or commit; and the reparation of which coſts many more millions. The communication of knowledge would accelerate a number of uſeful undertakings, which greatly diffuſe public proſperity.

I will ſtill propoſe another law, which would infallibly extend public ſpirit and good morals; it is the ſhort duration of public functioners in their office, and the impoſſibility of re-electing them without an interval. By that the legiſlative body would ſend out every two years, into the provinces, three or four hundred patriots, who, during their abode at Paris, would have ariſen to the horizon of the revolution, and obtained inſtruction, activity in buſineſs, and a public ſpirit. The commonwealth, better underſtood, would become thus ſucceſſively the buſineſs of *all*; and it is thus that you would repair the defect with which repreſentative republics are reproached, that the commonwealth is the buſineſs of but few.

I cannot enlarge upon all the means; but it would be rendering a great ſervice to the Revolution, to ſeek and point out thoſe which may give us morals and public ſpirit.——

Yet I cannot leave this ſubject without indulging one reflection, which appears to me important; LIBERTY, either political or individual, cannot exiſt a long time without perſonal independence. There can be no independence without a property, a profeſſion, a trade, or an honeſt induſtry, which may inſure againſt want and dependence.

I aſſure you that the Americans are and will be for a long time free; it is becauſe nine tenths of them live by agriculture; and when there ſhall be five hundred millions of men in America, all may be proprietors.

We are not in that happy ſituation in France: the productive lands in France amount to fifty millions of acres; this, equally divided, would be two acres to a

perſon; theſe two acres would not be ſufficient for his ſubſiſtence; the nature of things calls a great number of the French to live in cities. Commerce, the mechanic arts, and divers kinds of induſtry, procure their ſubſiſtence to the inhabitants; for we muſt not count much at preſent on the produce of public offices. Salaries indemnify, but do not enrich; neither do they inſure againſt future want. A man who ſhould ſpeculate upon ſalaries for a living, would only be a ſlave of the people, or of foreign powers: every man, therefore, who wiſhes ſincerely to be free, ought to exerciſe ſome art or trade. At this word, *trade*, the patriots ſtill ſhiver; they begin to pay ſome reſpect to commerce; but though they pretend to cheriſh equality, they do not feel themſelves frankly the equals of a mechanic. They have not yet abjured the prejudice which regards the tradeſman, as below the banker or the merchant. This vulgar ariſtocracy will be the moſt difficult to deſtroy.*—If you wiſh to honor the mechanic arts, give inſtruction to thoſe who exerciſe them: chooſe among them the beſt inſtructed, and advance them in public employments; and diſdain not to confer upon them diſtinguiſhed places in the aſſemblies.

I regret that the National Aſſembly has not yet given this ſalutary example; that they have not yet crowned the genius of agriculture, by calling to the preſident's chair the good cultivator, Co[illegible]rd; that the merchants and other members of the Aſſembly, who exerciſe mechanic arts, have not enjoyed the ſame honor. Why this excluſion? It is very well to inſert in the Declara-

---

* *It extends even to officers choſen by the people. With what diſdain they regard an artiſan from head to foot! With what ſeverity many of our national guards treat thoſe wretches who are arreſted by them! With what inſolence they execute their orders!—Obſerve the greater part of the public officers; they are as haughty in the exerciſe of their functions, as they were grovelling in the Primary Aſſemblies. A true patriot is equal at all times; equally diſtant from baſeneſs at elections, and inſolence in office.*

tion of Rights, that all men are equal; but we muſt practiſe this equality, engrave it on our hearts, conſecrate it in all our actions, and it belongs to the National Aſſembly to give the great example. It would perhaps force the executive power to reſpect it likewiſe. Has he ever been known to deſcend into the claſs of profeſſions there to chooſe his miniſters, his agents, from men of ſimplicity of manners, not rich, but well inſtructed, and no courtiers?

Our democrats of the court, praiſe indeed, with a borrowed enthuſiaſm, a Franklin or an Adams; they ſay, and even with a ſilly aſtoniſhment, that one was a printer, and the other a ſchoolmaſter! But do they go to ſeek in the work-ſhops, the men of information? No.—But what ſignifies at preſent the conduct of an adminiſtration, whoſe deteſtable foundation renders them antipopular, and conſequently perverſe? They can never appear virtuous, but by hypocriſy. To endeavour to convert them, is a folly; to oppoſe to them independent adverſaries, is wiſdom: the ſecret of independence is in this maxim, *Have few wants, and a ſteady employment to ſatisfy them.*

With theſe ideas man bends not his front before man. The artizan glories in his trade that ſupports him: he envies not places of honor; he knows he can attain them, if he deſerves them: he idolizes no man; he reſpects himſelf too much to be an idolator: he eſteems not men becauſe they are in place, but becauſe they deſerve well from their country. The leaders of the revolution in Holland, in the ſixteenth century, ſeated on the graſs at a repaſt of herrings and onions, received, with a ſtern ſimplicity, the deputies of the haughty Spaniard. This is the portrait of men who feel their dignity, and know the ſuperiority of freemen over ſlaves of kings.

Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent.

When ſhall we have this elevated idea of ourſelves? When will all the citizens look with diſdain on thoſe idols on whom they formerly proſtituted their adoration? Indeed, when ſhall we experience a general diffuſion of public ſpirit?

I have no uneasiness about the rising generation: the pure souls of our young men breathe nothing but liberty; the contagious breath of personal interest has not yet infected them. An education truly national, will create men surpassing the Greeks and Romans; but people advanced in life, accustomed to servitude, familiarized with the idolatry of the great—What will reclaim them? What will strip them of the old man? Instruction; and the best means of diffusing it, is to multiply popular clubs, where all those citizens so unjustly denominated passive, come to gain information on the principles of the Constitution, and on the political occurrences of every day. It is there that may be placed under the eyes of the people, the great examples of virtue furnished by ancient and modern history; it is there that detached parts of the work, which I now publish, may serve to shew my fellow-citizens the means of preserving their liberty.

O Frenchmen! who wish for this valuable instruction, study the Americans of the present day. Open this book; you will here see to what degree of prosperity the blessings of freedom can elevate the industry of man; how they dignify his nature, and dispose him to universal fraternity: you will here learn by what means liberty is preserved; that the great secret of its duration is in good morals. It is a truth that the observation of the present state of America demonstrates at every step. Thus you will see, in these Travels, the prodigious effects of liberty on morals, on industry, and on the amelioration of men. You will see those stern presbyterians, who, on the first settlement of their country, infected with the gloomy superstitions of Europe, could erect gibbets for those who thought differently from themselves. You will see them admitting all sects to equal charity and brotherhood, rejecting those superstitions which, to adore the Supreme Being, make martyrs of part of the human race. Thus you will see all the Americans, in whose minds the jealousy of the mother country had disseminated the most absurd prejudices against foreign nations, abjure those prejudices, reject every idea of war,

and open the way to an universal confederation of the human race. You will see independent America contemplating no other limits, but those of the universe, no other rule but the laws made by her representatives. You will see them attempting all sorts of speculations; opening the fertile bosom of the soil, lately covered by forests; tracing unknown seas; establishing new communications, new markets; naturalizing, in their country, those precious manufactures which England had reserved to herself; and, by this accumulation of the means of industry, they change the balance that was formerly against America, and turn it to their advantage. You will see them faithful to their engagements, while their enemies are proclaiming their bankruptcy. You will see them invigorating their minds, and cultivating their virtues; reforming their government, employing only the language of reason to convince the refractory; multiplying every where moral institutions and patriotic establishments; and, above all, never separating the idea of public from private virtues. Such is the consoling picture, which these Travels will offer to the friend of liberty.

The reverse is not self-consoling; if liberty is a sure guarantee of prosperity; if, in perfecting the talents of man, it gives him virtues, these virtues, in their turn, become the surest support of liberty. A people of universal good morals would have no need of government; the law would have no need of an executive power. This is the reason why liberty in America is safely carried to so high a degree that it borders on a state of nature, and why the government has so little force. This, by ignorant men, is called anarchy: enlightened men, who have examined the effects on the spot, discern in it the excellence of the government; because, notwithstanding its weakness, society is there in a flourishing state. The prosperity of a society is always in proportion to the extent of liberty; liberty is in the inverse proportion to the extent of the governing power: the latter cannot increase itself, but at the expence of the former.

Can a people without government be happy? Yes; if you can suppose a whole people with good morals; and this is not a chimera. Will you see an example? observe the Quakers of America. Though numerous, though dispersed over the surface of Pennsylvania, they have passed more than a century, without municipal government, without police, without coercive measures, to administer to the State, or to govern the hospitals. And why? See the picture of their manners, you will there find the explanation of the phenomenon.

Coercive measures and liberty never go together: a free people hates the former; but if these measures are not employed, how will you execute the law? By the force of reason and good morals—take away these, and you must borrow the arm of violence, or fall into anarchy. If, then, a people wishes to banish the dishonourable means of coercion, they must exercise their reason, which will shew them the necessity of a constant respect for the law.

The exercise of this faculty produces among the Americans, a great number of men designated by the name of *principled men*. This appellation indicates the character of a class of men so little known among us, that they have not acquired a name. There will be one formed, I have no doubt; but, in the mean time, I see none but vibrating, vacillating beings, who do good by enthusiasm, and never by reflection. There can be no durable revolution, but where reflection marks the operation, and matures the ideas. It is among these men of principle that you find the true heroes of humanity, the Howards, Fothergills, Penns, Franklins, Washingtons, Sidneys, and Ludlows.

Shew me a man of this kind, whose wants are circumscribed, who admits no luxury, who has no secret passion, no ambition, but that of serving his country—a man who, as Montaigne says, *ait des opinions superceliers, sans avoir des mœurs sourcilleuses*—a man whom reflection guides in every thing; this is the man of the people.

In a word, my countrymen, would you be always free, always independent in your elections, and in

your opinions? Would you confine the executive power within narrow limits, and diminish the number of your laws?—have morals!—*in pessima republica plurimæ leges*. Morals supply perfectly, the necessity of laws; laws supply but imperfectly, and in a miserable manner, the place of morals. Would you augment your population, that chief wealth of nations? Would you augment the ease of individuals, industry, agriculture, and every thing which contributes to general prosperity?—*have morals!*

Such is the double effect of morals in the United States, whose form of government still frightens pusillanimous and superstitious men. The portraits offered to view, in these Travels, will justify that republicanism which knaves calumniate with design, which ignorant men do not understand, but which they will learn to know and respect. How can we better judge of a government than by its effects? Reasoning * may deceive; experience is always right. If liberty produces good morals, and diffuses information, why do freemen continue to carp at that kind of government, which being founded on the greatest degree of liberty, secures the greatest degree of prosperity?

I thought it very useful and very necessary to prove these principles from great examples; and this is my reason for publishing these Travels. Examples are more powerful than precepts. Morality, put in action, carries something of the dramatic, and the French love the drama.

This, then, is my first object; it is national, it is universal: for, when it is demonstrated that liberty creates morals, and morals, in their turn, extend and maintain liberty, it is evident, that, to restrain the progress of liberty, is an execrable project; since it is to restrain the happiness, the prosperity, and the union of the human race.

---

* *If you would see excellent reasoning on this subject, read the work just published by the celebrated Paine, intitled,* RIGHTS OF MAN; *especially the miscellaneous chapter.*

A second object which guides me in this publication, is likewise national. I wished to describe to my countrymen a people with whom we ought, on every account, to connect ourselves in the most intimate manner. The moral relations which ought to connect the two nations, are unfolded in the two first volumes; the third comprises particularly the commercial connections. This third volume was published in 1787, by Mr. Claviere and me.

There is still wanting, to complete this work, a fourth volume, which ought to treat of the political connections, and of the present federal government of the United States. I have the materials, but I have not the time to reduce them to order. The comparative view of their constitution with ours, requires a critical and profound examination. Experience has already determined the qualities of one; the other is still in its infancy. Perhaps, indeed, it requires a time of more calmness, less ignorance and prejudice in the public mind, to judge wisely of the American constitution. We must prepare the way for this maturity of judgement; and these Travels will accelerate it, in setting forth with truth, the advantages of the only government which merits any confidence.

If I had consulted what is called the Love of Glory, and the Spirit of Ancient Literature, I could have spent several years in polishing this Work; but I believed, that though necessary at present, it might be too late, and, perhaps, useless in a few years. We have arrived at the time when men of letters ought to study, above all things, to be useful; when they ought, for fear of losing time, to precipitate the propagation of truths, which the people ought to know; when, of consequence, we ought to occupy ourselves more in things than in words; when the care of style, and the perfection of taste, are but signs of a trifling vanity, and a literary aristocracy. Were Montesquieu to rise from the dead, he would surely blush at having laboured twenty years in making epigrams on laws: he would write for the people; for the revolution cannot [illegible] but by the people, and for the people

inſtructed: he would write, then, directly and ſimply from his own ſoul, and not torment his ideas to render them brilliant.

When a man would travel uſefully, he ſhould ſtudy, firſt, *men*; ſecondly, *books*; and thirdly, *places*. To ſtudy men he ſhould ſee them of all claſſes, of all parties, of all ages, and in all ſituations.

I read in the Gazettes, that the ambaſſadors of Tippo Sultan were feaſted by every body; they were carried to the balls, to the ſpectacles, to the manufactures, to the arſenals, to the palaces, to the camps. After being thus feaſted for ſix months, I wonder if, on returning home, they conceived that they knew France. If ſuch was their opinion, they were in an error; for they ſaw only the brilliant part, the ſurface; and it is not by the ſurface that one can judge of the force of a nation. The ambaſſador ſhould deſcend from his dignity, travel in a common carriage without his attendants, go into the ſtables to ſee the horſes, into the barns to ſee the grain and other productions of the country. It is thus that Mr. Jefferſon travelled in France and Italy; he had but one ſervant with him; he ſaw every thing with his own eyes. I believe that few voyages have been made with ſo much judgment and utility, as thoſe of that philoſopher. But his modeſty conceals his obſervations from the public eye.

People diſguiſe every thing, to deceive men in place. A prince goes to an hoſpital; he taſtes the ſoup and the meat. Does any one ſuppoſe that the ſuperintendant was fool enough not to have given orders to the cook that day?

True obſervation is that of every day. A traveller, before ſetting out, ought to know from books and men the country he goes to viſit.

He will have ſome *data*; he will confront what he ſees, with what he has heard.

He ought to have a plan of obſervation; if he wiſhes that nothing ſhould eſcape him, he ſhould accuſtom himſelf to ſeize objects rapidly, and to write, every night, what he has ſeen in the day.

The choice of perſons to conſult, and to rely upon, is difficult.

The inhabitants of a country have generally a predilection in favour of it, and ſtrangers have prejudices againſt it. In America I found this prejudice in almoſt every ſtranger. The American revolution confounds them. They cannot familiarize the idea of a *king-people* and an *active chief*, who ſhakes hands with a labourer, who has no guards at his gate, who walks on foot, &c. The foreign conſuls are thoſe who decry, with the moſt virulence, the American conſtitution; and, I ſay it with grief, I ſaw much of this virulence among ſome of ours. According to them, the United States, when I landed in America, were juſt falling to ruin. They had no government left, the conſtitution was deteſtable; there was no confidence to be placed in the Americans, the public debt would never be paid; and there was no faith, no juſtice among them.

Being a friend of Liberty, theſe calumnies againſt the American government were revolting to me: I combated them with reaſoning. My adverſaries, who objected to me then their long abode there, and the ſhortneſs of mine, ought to be convinced by this time that the teleſcope of reaſon is rather better than the microſcope of office. They have, in general, ſome abilities and ſome information; but they have generally been educated in the inferior places in the French adminiſtration, and they have well imbibed its prejudices. A republic is a monſtrous thing in their ſight; a miniſter is an idol that they adore; the people, in their view, is a herd that muſt be governed with rigour. A man who lives upon the rapines of deſpotiſm, is always a bad judge of a free country; and feel that they ſhould be nothing in ſuch a ſtate; and a man does not like to fall into nothing.*

---

* *Judge by the following inſtance, with what inſolence the agents of deſpotiſm treat the chiefs of reſpectable republics.—I heard M. de Mouſtier boaſting, that he told the preſident of Congreſs, at his own houſe, that he was but a tavern keeper; and the Americans had the complaiſance not to demand his recall! What horror muſt this man have for our revolution! He declared himſelf the enemy of it when he was in*

I met in our French travellers, the fame prejudices as in the confuls. The greater part of Frenchmen who travel or migrate, have little information, and are not prepared to the art of obfervation. Prefumptuous to excefs, and admirers of their own cuftoms and manners, they ridicule thofe of other nations. Ridicule gives them a double pleafure; it feeds their own pride and humbles others. At Philadelphia, for inftance, the men are grave, the women ferious, no finical airs, no libertine wives, no coffee-houfes, no agreeable walks. My Frenchman finds every thing deteftable at Philadelphia; becaufe he could not ftrut upon a boulevard, babble in a coffee-houfe, or feduce a pretty woman by his important airs and fine clothes. He was almoft offended that they did not admire them; that they did not fpeak French.

He was greatly troubled that he could fpeak American with the fame facility; he loft fo much in not being able to fhow his wit.

If, then, a perfon of this caft attempts to defcribe the Americans, he fhows his own character, but not theirs. A people grave, ferious, and reflecting, cannot be judged of and appreciated, but by a perfon of a like character.

It is to be hoped that the revolution will change the character of the French. If they ameliorate their morals, and augment their information, they will go far; for it is the property of reafon and enlightened liberty to perfect themfelves with ceafing, to fubftitute truth to error, and principle to prejudice. They will then infenfibly lay afide their political prejudices, which tarnifh ftill the glorious conftitution which they have founded. They will imitate the Americans as far as local and phyfical circumftances will permit;—they will imitate them, and they will be happier for it; for general happinefs does not confift with abfurdities and

America, and expreffed himfelf with violence againft its leaders. These facts are public; I denounced them to M. Montmorin, who neverthelefs, to recompenfe him for his anti-revolution manœuvres, has fent him ambaffador to Berlin.

contradictions; it cannot arise from the complication, nor from the shock of powers. There is but one real power in government, and it is in referring it back to its source as often as possible, that it is to be rendered beneficent; it becomes dangerous in proportion as it is distant from its source: in one word, *the less active and passive the government, the more active, powerful, and happy is the people*: this is the phenomenon demonstrated in the present History of the United States.

These Travels give the proof of the second part of this political axiom; they prove the activity, the power, the happiness of the Americans; that they are destined to be the first people on earth, without being the terror of others.

To what great chain are attached these glorious destinies? To three principles: 1. All power is elective in America. 2. The legislative is frequently changed. 3. The executive has, moreover, but little force.*

---

* *This last point merits some attention, in the present circumstances of France. The president of the United States is elected like all other presidents and governors of States. A man cannot conceive, in that country,* that wisdom and capacity are hereditary. *The Americans, (who shake their heads at this European folly) from sixteen years experience, have found none of those troubles, at the time of electing a president, as were apprehended by ignorant people in Europe. The same tranquility reigns in this election, as in that of the simple representatives. Men who cannot answer to arguments, raise phantoms, in order to have something to combat; they attend not to the effects of the progress of reason, and the instinct of analogy which the people possess. The moment they are accustomed to the election of the representative body, all other elections are easy to them. It is the same reason among men instructed, and the same instinct of analogy among those not instructed, which inspires an eternal distrust of the executive power, in countries where the chiefs are hereditary, and not elective. The moment that we decreed the monarchy hereditary, we decreed an eternal distrust in the people, of the executive power. It would be, indeed, against nature that they should have confidence in individuals, who pretend to*

It will be easy for me one day to deduce from these three principles, all the happy effects which I have observed in America. At present I content myself with describing their effects, because I wish to leave to my readers the pleasure of recurring to the causes, and then of descending from those causes, and making the application to France. I have not even told all the facts; I had so little time both to detail the facts, and draw the consequences. I am astonished to have been able to finish a work so voluminous, in the midst of so many various occupations which continually surround me; charged *alone* with compiling and publishing a daily paper, undertaken with the sole desire of establishing, in the public opinion, this powerful instrument of revolutions; a paper in which the defence of good principles, the watching over a thousand enemies, and

---

supernatural superiority, and who really have one in fact, being independent of the people. There cannot exist an open confidence, but in governments where the executive power is elective, because the governing is dependent on the governed.

Now, as confidence is impossible under an hereditary monarchy, as it results necessarily from a government elective in all its members, we may explain—whence the eternal quarrels between the people and the government, in the first case—whence the frequent recurrence to force—whence treasons and ministerial delinquencies go unpunished—whence liberty is violated—and whence nations, thus governed, enjoy but a fictitious and partial prosperity, often stained with blood; while, in the other case, where the people, by elections, have an check the members of the government, there exists an unity of interests, which produces a prosperity, real, general, and pacific.

The president of the United States can make no treaty, send no ambassador, nominate to no place, without the advice of the senate. This senate is elective; the president is responsible; he may be accused, prosecuted, suspended, condemned; the public good suffers nothing from this responsibility; the places of president and ministers are not vacant on that account; but they are filled by men of acknowledged merit; for the people who elect do not like thieves, seek for accomplices; but honesty, like kings, seeks ministers of known and godly character.

repulsing perpetual attacks, occupy my attention without ceasing. Much of my time is likewise taken up by my political and civil functions; by many particular pamphlets; by the necessity of assisting at clubs, where truths are prepared for the public eye; by the duty which I have prescribed to myself, to defend the men of colour and the blacks.

I mention these facts to my Readers, to prove to them that I have still some right to their indulgence. I merit it likewise, for the motive which directs me. *Consilium futuri ex præterito venit.* Great prospects are opening before us. Let us hasten, then, to make known that people whose happy experience ought to be our guide.

Paris, April 21, 1791.

PREFACE of the TRANSLATOR.

NO traveller, I believe, of this age, has made a more useful present to Europe, than M. de Warville in the publication of the following Tour in the United States. The people of France will derive great advantages from it; as they have done from a variety of other labours of the same industrious and patriotic author. Their minds are now open to inquiry into the effects of moral and political systems, as their commerce and manufactures are to any improvements that their unembarrassed situation enables them to adopt.

Many people read a little in the preface, before they buy the book; and I shall probably be accused of being in the interest of the bookseller, and of making an assertion merely to catch this sort of readers, when I say that the English have more need of information on the real character and condition of the United States of America, than any other people of Europe; and especially when I add, that this book is infinitely better calculated to convey that information, than any other, or than all others of the kind that have hitherto appeared.

I do not know how to convince an English reader of the first of these remarks; but the latter I am sure he will find true on perusing the work.

The fact is, we have always been surprizingly ignorant both of the Americans and of their country. Had we known either the one or the other while they were colonies, they would have been so at this day, and probably for many days longer; did we know them now, we should endeavour to draw that advantage from them that the natural and adventitious circumstances of the two countries would indicate to reasonable men. There is no spot on the globe, out of England, so in-

tereſting for us to ſtudy under all its connections and relations, as the territory of the United States. Could we barter all the Canadas and Nova-Scotias, with all their modifications and ſubdiviſions, for ſuch an amicable intercourſe as might have been eſtabliſhed with that people ſince the cloſe of the war, we would have every reaſon to rejoice in the change.

Miniſters, as wicked as they are, do more miſchief through ignorance, than from any leſs pardonable cauſe. And what are the ſources of information on this ſubject, that are generally drawn from in this kingdom? Thoſe Americans, who beſt know their own country, do not write; they have always been occupied in more important affairs. A few light ſuperficial travellers, ſome of whom never appear to have quitted Europe, who have not knowledge enough even to begin to enquire after knowledge; a few miniſterial governors of royal provinces, whoſe buſineſs it always was to give falſe information: ſuch are the men whoſe errors have been uniformly copied by ſucceeding writers, ſyſtematized by philoſophers, and acted out by politicians.

Theſe blunders aſſume different ſhapes, and come recommended to us under various authorities. You ſee them muſtered and embodied in a gazetteer or a geographical grammar,* marching in the ſplendid retinue of all the ſciences in the Encyclopedia; you find them by regiments preſſed into the ſervice of De Paw, tortured into diſcipline, and taught to move to the muſic of Raynal, and then mounted among the heavy armed cavalry of Robertſon. Under ſuch able commanders, who could doubt of their doing execu-

* *Perhaps no work that is not ſyſtematically falſe, contains more errors than the Geographical Grammar publiſhed under the name of William Guthrie; I ſpeak only of that part which reſpects the United States. To thoſe who wiſh to be informed on this ſubject, I would recommend* Morſe's American Geography, *publiſhed in America, and now reprinted for Stockdale in London. It contains more information relative to that country, than all the books ever written in Europe.*

tion? Indeed their operations have been too fatal to us. Our falſe ideas of the Americans have done us more injury, even ſince the war, than twenty Ruſſian or Spaniſh armaments. But the evil ſtill continues; and every day leſſens the opportunity of profiting from their acquaintance.

We have refuſed, ever ſince the war, to compliment them with an envoy; we have employed, to take care of our conſular intereſts, and repreſent the epitomized majeſty of the Britiſh nation, an American Royaliſt, who could be recommended to us only for his ſtupidity, and to them only for his ſuſpected perfidy to their cauſe.

The book which bears the name of Lord Sheffield on the American trade, has ſerved as the touchſtone, the ſtateſman's confeſſion of faith, relative to our political and commercial intercourſe with that country. It is ſaid to have been written by an American who had left his country in diſgrace, and therefore intended to write againſt it. And the book really has this appearance; it has paſſed for a long time in England as a moſt patriotic and uſeful performance; it has taught us to deſpiſe the Americans in peace and commerce, as the works of other men of this caſt had before told us to do in war and politics. The details in it, furniſhed by the clerks of the cuſtom-houſe, are doubtleſs accurate, though of little conſequence; but the reaſoning is uniformly wrong, the predictions are alſo falſe, and the concluſions which he draws, and which of courſe were to ſerve as advice to the government, are calculated to flatter our vanity, to confirm us in our errors, and miſlead us in our conduct. Had the ableſt ſophiſt in Europe been employed to write a book profeſſedly againſt Great-Britain and in favour of America, he could not have ſucceeded ſo well. It perſuaded us to refuſe any kind of commercial treaty with them; which forced them to learn a leſſon, of which they might otherwiſe have been ignorant for half a century. That after beating our armies they could rival our manufactories; that they could do without us much better than we could without them.

M. de Warville has taught his countrymen to think very differently of that people. I believe every reader of these travels, who understands enough of America to enable him to judge, will agree with me in opinion, that his remarks are infinitely more judicious, more candid, and less erroneous than those of any other of the numerous observers that have visited that country. Most of them have been uniformly superficial, often scurrilous, blending unmerited censure with fulsome praise, and huddling together, to form the whole piece, a parcel of unfinished images, that give no more a picture of that people, than of the Arabs or the Chinese. Their only object, like that of a novel writer, is to make a book that will sell; and yet they preserve not even that consistency with themselves, which is indispensable in the wildest romance.

M. de Warville is a sober, uniform, indefatigable, and courageous defender of the rights of mankind; he has certainly done much in his own country in bringing forward the present Revolution. His great object in these travels, seems to have been, to observe the effects of habitual liberty on man in society; and his remarks appear to be those of a well-informed reasoner, and an unprejudiced inquirer.

London, Feb. 1, 1792.

NEW TRAVELS

IN THE

UNITED STATES.

LETTER I.

From M. CLAVIERE to M. BRISSOT de WARVILLE.

PLAN OF OBSERVATIONS

On the Political, Civil, and Military State of the Free Americans; their Legislation, &c.

May 18, 1788.

THE voyage which you are going to undertake, my dear friend, will doubtless form the moſt intereſting period of your contemplative life. You are going to tranſport yourſelf into a part of the globe, where a perſon may, with the leaſt obſtruction, bring into view the moſt ſtriking and intereſting ſcenes that belong to humanity. It is with a little courage, much patience, a continual diffidence of his own habits of mind and manners, a total oblivion of his moſt cheriſhed opinions, and of himſelf, and with a determination to be cautious and ſlow in judging, that he may conclude what is the ſituation where man, the child of the earth, may aſſemble the greateſt ſum, and the longeſt duration of public and private happineſs.

In a few years, and without great dangers, you may contemplate the moſt varied ſcenes; you may paſs in America, from a ſoil the beſt cultivated, and grown old with an active population, into the deſarts, where the hand of man has modified nothing; where time, vegetation, and the dead maſs of matter, ſeem to have furniſhed the expence of the theatre.

Between theſe extremes, you will find intermediate ſtages of improvement; and it is doubtleſs, in contemplating theſe, that reaſon and ſenſibility will find the happieſt ſituation in life.

The preſent ſtate of independent America, will, perhaps, give us a glance at the higheſt perfection of human life that we are permitted to hope for; but who, in judging of it, can ſeparate himſelf from his age, from his temperament, from his education, from the impreſſion of certain circumſtances? Who can ſilence his imagination, & govern the ſenſations which excite it? I hope, my friend, that you may have this power; and you ought to neglect nothing to acquire it, if you wiſh to anſwer the end of your Travels. You wiſh to enlighten mankind, to ſmooth the way to their happineſs; for this reaſon, you ought to be more on your guard than any one, not to deceive yourſelf by appearances.

When, therefore, you ſhall form your opinion on the ſpot, of thoſe celebrated American conſtitutions, do not exaggerate too much either the vices of Europe, to which you compare them, or the virtues of America, which you bring into the contraſt. Make it a principal object to determine whether it may not be ſaid, *in reality things are here as they are with us; the difference is ſo ſmall, that it is not worth the change.* This is a proper method to guard againſt error. It is well, at the ſame time, to form a juſt idea of the difficulty of change; this ſhould be always preſent to the mind. Voltaire ſays,

La patrie eſt aux lieux où l'aiſe eſt enchaînée.

You wiſh to contemplate the effects of liberty on the progreſs of men, of ſociety, and of government. May you, in this examination, never loſe ſight of im-

partiality and cool circumspection, that your friends may not be exposed either to incredulity, or to deception.

I do not imagine that you can find in America, new motives to encourage every reasonable European to the love of liberty. What they will most thank you for is, to describe to us what America in fact is, and what, in opinion, she may be, in a given time, making a reasonable allowance for those accidents which trouble the repose of life.

Men always dispute; they are every where formed of the same materials, and subject to the same passions: but the matters on which they dispute, are, in a given country, more or less fitted to disturb the general harmony and individual happiness. Thus a state of universal toleration renders harmless the diversity of opinion in religious matters.

In proportion as political institutions submit the ruling power to well-defined forms, at the same time that they have the public opinion in their favour, political dissentions are less dangerous. This, my friend, is the point of view under which the political state of America ought to be known to us. Let us know, above all, what we have to expect, for the present and future, from that variety which distinguishes so considerably some states from others, and whether some great inconvenience will not result from it; whether the federal tranquillity will ever be shaken by it; whether this variety will corrupt the justice of some states towards others in their ordinary commerce, and in those cases where the confederation is the judge; whether some states will not give themselves commotions and agitations, for the sake of forming their governments, similar, or dissimilar, to that of some others; whether state jealousies do not already exist, occasioned by these varieties. Such jealousies greatly injure the Swiss cantons; they have ruined Holland, and will prevent its restoration. If these jealousies are unknown to the Americans, and will never arise there, explain to us this phenomenon, why it exists, and why it will continue; for you know, that from

what you may obſerve to us on this ſingle point, your friends may be induced either to ſtay where they are, or to give the preference to one ſtate in the union over another.

There is one advantage in America which Europe does not offer; a man may ſettle himſelf in the deſart, and be ſafe from political commotions. But is there no danger in this? Endeavour to explain to us the ſtate of the ſavages on that great continent, the moſt certain account of their numbers, their manners, the cauſes, more or leſs, inevitable, of wars with them. This part of your accounts will not be the leaſt intereſting. Forget not to give us, as far as you have opportunity, all that can be known relative to the ancient ſtate of America.

Obſerve what are the remains of the military ſpirit among the Americans; what are their prejudices in this reſpect; are there men among them who wiſh to ſee themſelves at the head of armies? Do they enliſt any ſoldiers? Can you perceive any germe, which, united to the ſpirit of idleneſs, would make the profeſſion of a ſoldier preferable to that of a cultivator, or an artizan? For it is this wretched ſituation of things in other countries, which furniſhes the means of great armies. Inform us about thoſe *Cincinnati*, a body truly diſtreſſing to the political philoſopher.

Solomon ſays, there is nothing new under the ſun. This may be true; but are we yet acquainted with all political revolutions, in order to make the circle complete? Hiſtory furniſhes the picture of no revolution like that of the United States, nor any arrangements ſimilar to theirs. Thus you may look into futurity, and ſee what perſeverances or changes may contradict the philoſophy of hiſtory.

You ought likewiſe to foreſee whether foreign wars are to be expected; whether the Europeans are right in ſaying, that the United States will one day wiſh to be conquerors. I do not believe it; I believe rather that their revolution will be contagious, eſpecially if their federal ſyſtem ſhall maintain union and peace in all parts of the confederation. This is the maſter point

of the revolution; it ought to engage the whole force of your meditations.

Tell us, finally, if the rage of law-making has paſſed the ſeas with the coloniſts of the United States. You will doubtleſs find there many minds ſtruck with the diſorders reſulting from war and independence; others who preſerve a lively image of the great liberty which each individual ought to enjoy; the firſt will be frightened at the leaſt diſturbance, and wiſh to ſee a law or a ſtatute applied to every trivial thing; the others think that laws can never be too few. What is the prevailing opinion there on this ſubject? When we conſider what charms and what utility muſt be found in the private occupations of men in that country, we ſhould think that the commonwealth would remain a long time without intermingling with them. But we are aſſured that lawyers abound there, and enjoy a dangerous influence; that the civil legiſlation is there, as in England, an abundant ſource of law-ſuits and of diſtreſs. Enlighten us on this ſubject. We have often obſerved, that civil legiſlation has corrupted the beſt political inſtitutions; it is often a crime againſt ſociety.

Internal police, every where in Europe, is founded on the opinion, that man is depraved, turbulent, and wicked; and the timidity that wealth inſpires, diſpoſes the rich to regard the poor as capable only of being reſtrained by fetters. Is this European truth a truth in America?

LETTER II.

On the Soil, Productions, Cultivation, &c.

May 20, 1788.

AFTER having inſtructed us on all political ſubjects, and principally thoſe on which depend internal and external peace, and the ſecurity of individuals, you will have to contemplate the ſoil of America as relative to human induſtry, which, in its turn, influences prodigiouſly the different modes of living.

It ſeems, in this reſpect, that all the great diviſions of the earth ſhould reſemble each other. It is poſſible, however, that America offers, in the ſame ſpace, more aliments to induſtry, more *data*, than can be found in Europe. Fix our ideas upon thoſe invitations that nature has traced on the ſoil of America, in addreſſing herſelf to the human underſtanding. To particularize minutely what the maps give us only in groſs, will be more worthy of your attention, than the details which intereſt the painter, the poet, or the lover of an Engliſh garden.

We have undertaken to adviſe the Americans to be cultivators, and to leave to the Europeans thoſe manufactures which agree not with a country life. You will be curious to diſcover their diſpoſition in this reſpect. It ought to depend much on the facility of communication; and if, as it appears, independent America, in a little time, and with ſmall expence, may be interſected by canals in all directions; if this advantage is ſo generally felt, that they will apply themſelves to it at an early period, there is no doubt but in America human activity will be occupied principally in the production of ſubſiſtence, and of raw materials.

It is the opinion in Europe, that conſumption cauſes production, and that the failure of conſumption diſcourages labour; for this reaſon they require cities and manufactures. But there is, in all theſe opinions, a great confuſion of ideas, which the ſpectacle of nations, riſing under the protection of liberty, will aid you in clearing up. You will ſee, perhaps, with evidence, that a man ceaſes to fear the ſuperfluity of ſubſiſtences, when he is no longer under the neceſſity of exchanging them for money, to pay his taxes and his rents. Should this be his fear, and he has near him the means of a cheap tranſport, if he may himſelf load his boat and carry his proviſions to market, and make his traffic without quitting his boat, man is too fond of activity to ſuffer ſuperfluity to impede his induſtry. Thus, to engage him to open the boſom of the earth,

there is no need that he ſhould be aſſured beforehand what he ſhall do with his grain. Expences are the impediments of induſtry; and you will ſee, without doubt, in America, a new order of things, where theſe expences are not embarraſſing; the theory of conſumption, and production, is doubtleſs very different from what is ſuppoſed in Europe. Endeavour, my friend, to call to mind, that in this we have need of more details, compariſons, calculations, facts, and proofs, than travellers generally bring together; and that this part of political œconomy is ſtill entirely new, on account of the embarraſſments, abſtractions, difficulties, and diſguſts which attend them in Europe.

It is on the accounts that you will give us in this reſpect, that the opinions of your friends will be formed. So many miſadventures and miſinformations have hitherto accompanied emigrants, though virtuous, and otherwiſe well-informed, that people are intimidated from the attempt, though ill-ſituated in Europe. You know what the Genevans have ſuffered, rather than go to Ireland.

Thus, my friend, if you wiſh to inſtruct thoſe who would fly from the tyranny of Europe, and who would find a ſituation of honeſt induſtry for their children, ſtudy the hiſtory of emigrants. Study the cauſes of the diſaſters of travellers; judge of their illuſions; go to the places of debarkation, and learn the precautions neceſſary to be taken to render eaſy and agreeable their firſt arrival.

Begin with ſuch as you know to be in eaſy circumſtances, and deſcending, by degrees, to the honeſt individual, who, full of health and vigour, his coat on his back, and his ſtaff in his hand, carries with him all he poſſeſſes; inform each one what he ought to expect, if, after conquering all his averſions, and taking all his precautions, he determines to quit Europe, to go to the land of liberty.

Finally, my friend, in all that concerns private life, as in political relations, in the means of acquiring fortune; as in the honeſt ambition of ſerving the public, let your obſervations atteſt that you have neglected

no means of comparing the enjoyments of Europe, with what may be expected among the free Americans.

LETTER III.

Plan of a Colony to be established in America.

May 21, 1788.

WHEN we contemplate the American Revolution, the circumstances which have opposed its perfection, the knowledge we are able to collect for the institution of republics on a more perfect plan, the lands destined by Congress for new States, and the multitude of happy circumstances which may facilitate their preparatives, and protect their infancy, we are hurried insensibly into projects chimerical at the first sight, which become attracting by reflection, and which we abandon, but with regret, on account of the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of persons for their execution.

When a tract of land is offered for sale, and its limits ascertained, why cannot it be prepared, in all circumstances, for a republic, in the same manner as you prepare a house for your friends.

Penn had already seen the necessity of regulating beforehand, the conduct of a colony on the soil which they were going to inhabit. We have at present many more advantages than he had, to ordain and execute the same thing with more success; and, instead of savages, who gave him trouble, we should at present be sustained and protected by the States, with which we should be connected.

I have no doubt, that having acquired the soil, we might establish a republic, better calculated for peace and happiness, than any now existing, or that ever did exist. Hitherto they have formed from chance and involuntary combinations; it has been necessary in them all, that national innovations should be reconciled with absurdities, knowledge with ignorance, good

ſenſe with prejudices, and wiſe inſtitutions with barbariſms. Hence that chaos, that eternal ſource of diſtreſſes, diſputes, and diſorders.

If men of wiſdom and information ſhould organize the plan of a ſociety before it exiſted, and extend their foreſight to every circumſtance of preparing proper inſtitutions for the forming of morals, public and private, and the encouragement of induſtry, ought they to be condemned as having formed an Eutopia? I do not believe it; it is my opinion even, that the love of gain, the love of novelty, and the ſpirit of philoſophy, would lend a hand to an enterpriſe, which, before the American Revolution, might have been judged impracticable.

Profit, therefore of your travels in America, to inform yourſelf, if, among the lands to be ſold by Congreſs, there exiſts not a ſituation of eaſy acceſs, where the nature of the ſoil is favourable to induſtry, and its other circumſtances inviting to the firſt ſettlers. It ſhould be furniſhed with eaſy communications by land and water.

For this purpoſe, there ſhould be a topographical map and deſcription, ſufficiently minute and extended, to enable us to trace upon it the ſmaller diviſions. There ought to be found levels, relative to a certain point, in order to know beforehand the poſſibility of canals. All other objects of conſequence ought to be noted at the ſame time: ſuch as the nature of the ſoil in every part, the kinds of timber, the quarries of ſtone, &c. This will doubtleſs be an expenſive operation; but any expences may be undertaken by great aſſociations, and here are motives ſufficient to encourage and reward a very expenſive one.

It will be neceſſary to know, on what conditions the Congreſs would treat for the ceſſion of ſuch a tract, and whether they would agree to take the principal part of the payment, only as faſt as the ſettlers ſhould come to take poſſeſſion of their lands.

It would be deſirable that the territory choſen, ſhould be ſuch that, at the place of the firſt ſettlement, it would be eaſy to eſtabliſh conveniences for the recep-

tion of the ſettlers, to provide them ſuch neceſſaries as will preſerve them from thoſe embarraſſments and calamities which ſometimes throw infant ſettlements into trouble, miſery, and deſpair.

After having acquired an exact idea of what may be expected from the nature of the ſoil, and its connection with neighbouring places, we might then undertake the work of forming a political and civil legiſlation, ſuited to the new republic, and its local circumſtances. Such ſhould be the taſk to be accompliſhed before the people departed from hence; that every ſettler might know beforehand what laws he is to live under, ſo that he will conſent to them beforehand by choice.

The previous regulations ought to be carried ſo far, that every perſon ſhould foreſee where he was going, and what he was to do in order to fulfil his engagements; whether he was a purchaſer of lands, or had inrolled himſelf as a labourer.

The lands ſhould not be ſold out to individuals by chance, and according to the caprice of each purchaſer; but a plan ſhould be purſued in the population, that the people might aid each other in their labours, and be a mutual ſolace and protection by their neighbourhood.

The public expences, thoſe of religion and education, ſhould be furniſhed by the produce of a portion of land reſerved in each diſtrict for that purpoſe. Theſe lands could be the public domain; they ought to be put in cultivation the firſt. There ought perhaps to be a regulation for a regular ſupply of workmen on the public lands, roads, and other public works. By this we ſhould always have employment for new comers, and might receive all men capable of labour, provided their manners and character were ſuch as to entitle them to be members of a new republic.

Theſe details will be ſufficient to recall to your mind our frequent converſations on a plan of this kind. If you can acquire from Congreſs the certainty of being able to realize it, ſo far as it depends on them, and we have only to find the company here to undertake it; I believe it may be eaſily done in Europe.

The company will have lands to ſell; their price will augment in proportion as they come in vogue; the company will endeavour to render it an object of general attention, by the preparations made for the reception of the firſt ſettlers, in order to avoid the difficulties incident to the beginning of an eſtabliſhment. I doubt not, therefore, that this project will offer a ſufficient proſpect of gain, to engage people to adventure in it many millions of livres.

The better to determine them to it, the intereſt ſhould be divided into ſmall ſhares, and proper meaſures taken to aſſure the holders of ſhares of an adminiſtration worthy of confidence, to prevent the abuſes of truſt, and watch over the execution of their reſolves, both reſpecting their intereſt and that of the ſettlers.

A proſpectus, ſufficiently detailed, ſhould inform the Public of the nature of the enterpriſe, the principal object of which ſhould be to realize a republic, founded on the leſſons of experience and good ſenſe, on the principles of fraternity and equality, which ought to unite mankind.

The principal means of its execution will be, to have purchaſed the lands ſo as to be able to re-ſell them at a price ſufficiently low, to encourage their cultivation, and at the ſame time with ſufficient profit to the company. For it is natural to obſerve, that the difference between the original value of lands in their wild ſtate, and their value when an active ſettlement is begun upon them, will aſſure to the firſt purchaſers a prodigious profit from their firſt advances.

This, however, ſuppoſes, as I have already mentioned, that, receiving a ſmall proportion of the purchaſe-money when the purchaſe is made, the Congreſs will conſent to receive the principal payments only in proportion as the lands may be re-ſold to individuals; without this condition, the enterpriſe would require ſuch great advances as to diſcourage the undertaking.

Thus, the funds of the company ſhould be compoſed, 1. of the firſt payments to be made to Congreſs; 2. the expences neceſſary in acquiring a topographical knowledge of the territory, and in making its diviſions;

3. the funds neceſſary for public works, and the eſtabliſhment for the reception of thoſe who arrive, to inſure them againſt want and diſcouragement.

Theſe three objects will doubtleſs require a conſiderable fund; but the riſing value of the lands to be ſold, and to be paid for only as faſt as they are ſold, will greatly indemnify the undertakers. Theſe are the ſolid arguments to be offered to the lovers of gain. Many other conſiderations might be detailed in the proſpectus, to determine philoſophers and friends of humanity to become ſharers.

This is enough, my friend, to recall to your mind more ideas than I can give you on the ſubject. Study it; and if at the firſt view it looks romantic, find the means of ſaving it from that objection; converſe upon it with intelligent perſons; find ſuch as are ſufficiently attached to great objects, to be willing to concur in them with zeal, when they are deſigned for the aid and conſolation of humanity.

Age will prevent me from undertaking in this great work. It ſeems to me, that there is nothing like it in times paſt, that it would be greatly uſeful to the future, and would mark the American revolution with one of the happieſt effects which it can produce. Is not this enough to animate the generous ambition of all thoſe who have youth, health, and courage, ſo as not to be frightened at difficulties, or diſheartened by delays?

LETTER IV.

May 21, 1788.

THE Utopia will be but a dream; and you will find, without doubt, the new American ſettlements invincibly deſtined to a ſcattering herd of people, who will form infenſibly, by the addition of new families and individuals; without following any plan, without providing ſuch laws as would be ſuitable to them, when their herds ſhall become ſufficiently numerous to be repreſented as a republic in the federal union. It is thus that all political ſyſtems ſeem con-

demned to resemble what has already taken place in such and such a state, according as the multitude or some bold leader, shall decide.

We must, then, abandon this project; and then, where will you place those friends whom we wish to establish in America. You will inform yourself, for them, of the progress of population and civilization in Kentucky, of which they tell so many wonders. But reflect on two things: first, That our settlement will be very uncertain, if we must go ourselves to prepare it, build houses, &c. Some persons must, therefore, go before the others; and when shall they rejoin? How many accidents may intervene! When the emigrant society shall be formed in Europe, the members ought all to go at once; but in that case they should make choice of a certain tract in the neighbourhood of a town, where the people could be lodged, till they could build their houses. This precaution seems to exclude Kentucky; for no good town is sufficiently near it. You will see, then, my friend, how it will be possible to reconcile every thing, and find a position where the pain and vexation will not surpass the satisfaction. Your task is not a trifling one in making this examination; for you must not forget, that, to satisfy the persons whom we wish not to leave behind, we must have a situation where we can unite the advantages of commerce with those of agriculture; we must be near a navigable river, communicating with the sea; we must have a town, where we can find sailors, vessels, &c. In a word, those among us who shall have been accustomed to the affairs of commerce and of manufactures, must not be placed in a position which shall force them absolutely to renounce their habits, and expose themselves to regrets; for you know that one is never weary in walking, as long as a horse or a carriage marches by his side, which he may use whenever he pleases.

It is a pity that Pittsburg is not more populous, or that Virginia is separated by deserts from the new States.

It is useless to enter into more particular details on this matter; you know us: I shall only recommend to

you an attention to the climate. A fine sky, temperature of Paris, no musketoes, agreeable situation, and good soil, are things indispensable.

The numerous observations which you propose to collect for the instruction of the public, will inform us of many other things, which I should mention here, if they did not enter into your general plan. In observing customs and tastes, forget not the article of music, considered in its effects on the powers of the mind. The taste for music is general in Europe; we make of it one of the principal objects of education. Is it so in America?

Finally, As we are not needy adventurers, think what answers you must give, when our wives, our children, and even ourselves, shall ask you what is to be done on our arrival in considerable numbers in America; for as we cannot send forward a messenger we ought to provide for our debarkation in an unknown country.

LETTER V.

May 22, 1788.

AFTER having given you my thoughts on general subjects, it is unnecessary to be more particular on those which promise a more certain and palpable advantage to your travels. I mean the purchase of lands or public funds, according as circumstances may invite.

Three classes of persons may wish to purchase lands in the United States: those who mean to employ others to cultivate them, those who will cultivate for themselves, and those who wish to place their money in them, with the prospect that these lands will increase in value, in proportion to the population.

Let us leave the two first classes to make their own choice. Your general observations, to be published on your return, will instruct such as wish to remove to America, how to go and choose for themselves.

The case of the simple speculators is different.

Some wish to purchase, to sell again to a profit as soon as possible; others extend their views further, and, calculating the vicissitudes of Europe, find it very prudent to place a dead fund in lands, which, by the effect of neighbouring population, will acquire a great value in the course of years.

Many heads of families, provident for their descendants, place dead funds in a bank, to accumulate, in favour of their children. A greater number would do the same thing, if there were a satisfactory solution of all questions in the Chapter of Accidents. Now, nothing appears to me better to answer this wise precaution, than to place such money on the cultivated soil of the United States.

The information that you will be able to give on this subject, will be very useful. There are lands, which from their position, must remain uncleared for a longer or shorter period; others rendered valuable by the neighbourhood of rivers and other important communications; others on account of their timber, &c. &c.

But, can lands be purchased with full surety? Are there any sure methods established, to recognize territorial property, that may rest for some time without visible marks or bounds? Is there no risk of finding one's property in the possession of another, or of having purchased that of another?

The present is the epoch that will decide the Europeans, as to their confidence in the United States. I doubt not but the States in general will sanction the constitution; and from that time every eye ought to look upon America as being in the road of unfailing prosperity. Then, without doubt, many Europeans will think of purchasing lands there. I know of no period when the spirit of speculation has been so general as at present; no period which presents a revolution like that of independent America; and no foundation so solid as that which they are about to establish. Thus, past events prove nothing against what I presume of the dispositions of men's minds relative to this business.

I should not be astonished, then, if he who applies himself to the knowledge of lands in this point of view, and gives solutions to all questions of caution and diffidence, should engage the Europeans to very great purchases.

LETTER VI.

Method of Observations for my Travels in America.

May, 1788.

MY principal object is, *to examine the effects of liberty on the character of man, of society, and of government.* This being the grand point of all my observations, in order to arrive at it, I must write every evening, in a journal, what has principally struck me in the day. As my observations will refer to five or six grand divisions, I shall make a tablet for each division. The following are the divisions:

Federal Government.

To collect all those points in which the ancient system resembles the new:—to obtain all that has been written on the subject; among other things, the Letters of *Publius*;—to remark the inconveniences of the old system, the advantages of the new, the objections made against it, the general opinions on the new government.

Observations of my Friend Claviere.

A number of little States, whose extent is not so great as to render the operations of their individual government too complicated, may be united under one general government, charged with maintaining

* *I thought proper to publish this method: it may be useful to other travellers. The method is mine; the observations are from M. Claviere.*

internal peace, and rendering their union respectable abroad. Such, without doubt, is the political association which is attended with the greatest advantages. You must then endeavour principally to find what we have a right to expect from the present federal form of the United States.

Government of each State.

To consider the composition of the legislative body, the senate, and executive power; elections; any abuses that may be in them. Compare the effects of each legislature, to judge which is the best.

Observations.—What are we to expect from their dissimilarities? In what do they consist principally? They all acknowledge the supremacy of the people; but it is not preserved to them in an equal manner in all; and where they cannot resume it without a sedition, there can be little certainty of peace. Peace is very doubtful, likewise, where the will of the people is subject to the slow forms of instruction. The different States should be examined after this principle.

Legislation, Civil, Criminal; Police.

In examining these objects, facts only are to be attended to. Their comparison with those of other countries can be made afterwards.

State of the Commerce between each State, and the Savages, the Canadians, Nova-Scotia, the English Islands, France, Spain, Holland, Northern States of Europe, Mexico, China, India, Africa.

To remark the principal articles of exportation and importation; the number of vessels employed; the state of money used in commerce.

Observations.—Forget not to fix well the matters of exchange, especially with the Spanish possessions; for it is principally thence that their gold and silver must come. Do they go by land to the western coast

of America? Do the free Americans travel among their neighbours the Spaniards?

Is their money-system a simple one? Has it a standard constant and easy to conceive? Is it of a permanent nature; so that, in a course of time, one may always judge of the price of things, in bringing them to a term of comparison not liable to change? This can only be done by having one integral metal, to which others relate, either as merchandize, or as a bill of credit referring to money, with regard to which it expresses a right, but not an intrinsic value. A piece of coined copper, for instance, is a bill of credit, on the portion of that metal which is adopted as a standard of value; for coined copper has by no means the intrinsic value of that portion of money which it represents.

Banks.

Observations.—Banks are an important article in the commonwealth; the proportion which they observe between the money they contain, and the bills they circulate, is their great secret, the criterion of their solidity. Those which have little or no money, and which circulate many bills, are in a precarious and dangerous condition. Read with attention in Smith, the History of Banks in Scotland. It is very natural to be led astray on this subject, which cannot be too much simplified, if you wish to examine it thoroughly.

Federal Revenue of each State—Taxes which they impose—Manner of collecting them—Effect of these Taxes.

Observations.—What is the prevailing system of taxation? Is land considered as the basis of taxes? In that case, is it known that it is dangerous to discourage the farmer? Why have they not reserved a domain to the States?

The Federal Debt of every State—Those of Individuals—Federal Expences of each State—Their Accountability.

Observations.—The debt has been reduced; and they justify this reduction by the enormous prices of

provisions and stores which have formed the debt. Read again the Memoirs of Mr. S. you will see that there was a moment when the scale of depreciation was unjust.

There are curious inquiries to be made on this subject. Why did they gain so much before they allowed a depreciation? Because they ran a risk of another kind; they doubted of the possibility of payment, because they were not sure of the success of the revolution. In this point of view, how do they justify the scale of depreciation, especially towards those who had no interest in the revolution?

Money was very scarce; this was a great cause of discredit. It must have been distressing to those who were reduced to the necessity of borrowing: hence great augmentations in the prices of articles. In some instances, was not the reduction unjust? This taken from first to last, must be a very curious history. It will, perhaps, teach us, that they have made a fraudulent bankruptcy. But, in this case, there is nothing to fear from this conclusion; besides, supposing extortion on the part of the creditors, it does not justify a reduction on the part of the debtor: nothing but necessity can justify this. The new Encyclopedia says, that the disorders which occasioned the depreciation, existed before the war.

But if paper-money existed then, that of every state was not in discredit; and yet the depreciation has struck at all paper-money without exception.

It is said in the Encyclopedia, that the depreciation had not injured strangers. Is this a fact?

It is very important to obtain a just idea of the Public expences necessary to the Americans in future; and to penetrate as much as possible, the public opinion on this subject. What do they think of loans? They are sometimes a benefit; but the wisest governments are the most careful to avoid this resource. When they once begin, they know not where they can stop.

Public loans are always so much taken from industry; and the theory of restoring to it what is thus taken, is always deceitful.

The Americans ought to hold them in aversion, from the evils which they now experience from them; at least, unless they owe their liberty to them.

State of the Country near the great Towns—Interior Parts—Frontiers—Cultivation; its Expences and Produce; clearing new Lands, what encourages or hinders it—Money circulating in the Country—Country Manufactures.

Observations.—It is said, that the lands are uncultivated near New-York; that this town is surrounded with forests, and that though fire-wood is cheap, they prefer coals, even at an high price.

It should seem, that commerce was in such a state at New-York, that agriculture is despised there, or that they purchase provisions at a lower price than they can raise them. If this be true, there are singularities to be explained, which we know nothing of in Europe.

Consider the state of commerce and of agriculture in America, under such a point of view as to determine why they incline to the one rather than to the other.

You will find, perhaps, that the origin of new comers determines their vocation. The English arrive with their heads filled with commerce, because they have some property; the Scotch, Irish, Germans, and others, who arrive poor, turn to agriculture, and are, besides, for the greater part, peasants. In clearing up these facts, you will tell us what a little property, the love of labour, united to simplicity of manners, and turned to agriculture, will produce.

What is the true reason of the low price of cultivated farms and houses? Doubtless there is a great excess of productions, compared with the consumptions; in that case, farming renders little profit.

They speak much of the advantages of rearing cattle. Nations have prejudices, tastes, whims, like individuals. What do they think of manufactures in the United States? What is the prevailing mode of agriculture in America? Do they speak of the great and the little culture?

Private Morals in the Towns and in the Country.

Observations.—Do you find manners truly American? Or do you not rather, at every inſtant, find Europe at your heels? Speak to us of education public and private. Do they, as in Europe, ſacrifice the time of the youth in uſeleſs and inſignificant ſtudies? Make acquaintance, as far as poſſible, with the miniſters of religion. Is paternal authority more reſpected there, than in Europe? Does the mild education of Rouſſeau prevail among the free Americans?

Inequalities of Fortune.

Forget not, under this head, the ſubject of marriages, dowers, and teſtaments. Uſages, in theſe reſpects, prevent or accelerate inequality.

LETTER I.

From M. DE WARVILLE.

Havre de Grace, June 3, 1788.

I AM at laſt, my friend, arrived near the ocean, and in ſight of the ſhip that is to carry me from my country. I quit it without regret; ſince the miniſterial deſpotiſm which overwhelms it, leaves nothing to expect for a long time, but frightful ſtorms, ſlavery, or war. May the woes which threaten this fine country, ſpare what I leave in it the moſt dear to my heart!

I ſhall not deſcribe the cities and countries which I have paſſed on my way hither. My imagination was too full of the diſtreſſing ſpectacle I was leaving behind; my mind was thronged with too many cares and fears, to be able to make obſervations. Inſenſible to all the ſcenes which preſented themſelves to me, I was with difficulty drawn from this intellectual paraliſis, at the view of ſome parts of Normandy, which brought England to my mind.

The fields of Normandy, eſpecially the canton of Caux, diſplay a great variety of culture. The houſes of the peaſants, better built, and better lighted than thoſe of Picardy and Beauce, announce the eaſe which generally reigns in this province. The peaſants are well clad. You know the odd head-dreſs of the women of Caux; the cap in the form of a pyramid, the hair turned back, conſtrained, plaiſtered with powder and greaſe, and the tinſel which always diſfigures ſimple nature. But we excuſe this little luxury, in conſidering that, if their huſbands were as miſerable as the peaſants of other provinces, they would not have the means of paying the expence. The Norman peaſants have that air of contentment and independence which is obſervable in thoſe of the Auſtrian Flanders; that calm and open countenance, an infallible ſign of the happy mediocrity, the moral goodneſs, and the dignity of man. If ever France ſhall be governed by a free conſtitution, no province is better ſituated, or enjoys more means to arrive at an high degree of proſperity.

Bolbec and Bottes, near Havre, contain ſome ſituations quite pictureſque and delicious for the hermitage of a philoſopher, or the manſion of a family who ſeek their happineſs within themſelves.

I fled from Rouen as from all great towns. Miſery dwells there at the ſide of opulence. You there meet a numerous train of wretches covered with rags, with ſallow complexions, and deformed bodies. Every thing announces that there are manufactories in that town; that is to ſay, a crowd of miſerable beings who periſh with hunger, to enable others to ſwim in opulence.

The merchants of Havre complain much of the treaty of commerce between France and England; they think it at leaſt premature, conſidering our want of a conſtitution, and the ſuperiority of the Engliſh induſtry. They complain likewiſe that the merchant was not conſulted in forming it. I endeavoured to conſole them by ſaying, that the conſequences of this treaty, joined with other circumſtances, would doubt-

leſs lead to a free conſtitution; which, by knocking off the ſhackles from French induſtry and commerce, would enable us to repair our loſſes; and that ſome bankruptcies would be but a ſmall price for liberty. With regard to the indifference the miniſtry in conſulting the merchants, I convinced them, that it was as much the reſult of ſervile fear, and want of public ſpirit in the merchants, as of the principles of an unlimited monarchy. It admits to the adminiſtration none but ſhort-ſighted intriguers, and preſumptuous knaves; and this kind of miniſters love not conſultations.

Havre is, next to Nantz and Bordeaux, the moſt conſiderable place for the ſlave trade. Many rich houſes in this city, owe their fortunes to this infamous traffic, which increaſes, inſtead of diminiſhing. There is, at preſent, a great demand for ſlaves in the colonies, occaſioned by the augmentation of the demand for ſugar, coffee, and cotton, in Europe. Is it true then that wealth increaſes? You may believe it, perhaps, if you look into England; but the interior parts of France give no ſuch idea.

Our negro traders believe, that were it not for the conſiderable premiums given by the government, this trade could not ſubſiſt; becauſe the Engliſh ſell their ſlaves at a much lower price than the French. I have many of theſe details from an American captain, who is well acquainted with the Indies and with Africa. He aſſures me, that the negroes are, in general, treated much better on board the French than the Engliſh ſhips. And perhaps, this is the reaſon why the French cannot ſupport a concurrence with the Engliſh, who nouriſh them worſe, and expend leſs.

I ſpoke with ſome of theſe merchants of the ſocieties formed in America, England, and France, for the abolition of this horrid commerce. They did not know of their exiſtence, and they conſidered their efforts as the movements of a blind and dangerous enthuſiaſm. Filled with old prejudices, and not having read any of the profound diſcuſſions which this philoſophical and political inſurrection has excited in England, they

ceased not to repeat to me, that the culture of sugar could not be carried on, but by the blacks, and by black slaves. The whites, they say, cannot undertake it, on account of the extreme heat; and no work can be drawn out of the blacks, but by the force of the whip.

To this objection, as to twenty others which I have heard an hundred times repeated, I opposed the victorious answers which you know;* but I converted nobody. Interest still speaks too high; and it is not enough instructed.

These French merchants have confirmed to me a fact, which the society in London has announced to us; it is, that the English carry on this trade under the name of French houses, and thus obtain the premiums which the French government give to this commerce. These premiums amount to one half of the original price of the slaves.

I mentioned to them an establishment formed at Sierra Leona, to cultivate sugar by free hands, and extend their culture and civilization in Africa. They answered me, that this settlement would not long subsist; that the French and English merchants viewed it with an evil eye, and would employ force to destroy their rising colony.†

These merchants appeared to me to have more prejudice than inhumanity; and that if they could be told of a new commerce more advantageous, it would not be difficult to induce them to abandon the sale of the wretched Africans. Write then, print, and be not weary in giving information.

I see in this port, one of those packets destined for the correspondence between France and the United States, and afterwards employed in the very useless and expensive royal correspondence with our Islands.

---

* *See Clarkson, Frossard, &c.*

† *This infernal project has succeeded, but the triumph will not be long; for two societies are formed in London, to colonize in Africa, and civilize the blacks. See, on this subject, an excellent pamphlet, entitled,* L'Admiral refuté par lui même.

a system adopted only to favour, at the public expence, some of the creatures of the ministry. This ship, called *Marechal de Castries*, was built in America, and is an excellent sailer. This is the best answer to all the fables uttered at the office of Marine at Versailles, against the American timber, and the American construction.

Adieu, my friend! the wind is fair, and we are on the point of embarking. I am impatient; for every thing here afflicts me; even the accents of patriotism are alarming and suspicious. Such is the fatal influence of arbitrary governments: they sever all connections, they cramp confidence, induce suspicion, and, of consequence, force men of liberty and sensibility to sequester themselves, to be wretched, or to live in eternal fear. I paint to you, here, the martyrdom which I have endured for six months; I have not seen a new face, that has not given me suspicion. This situation is too violent for me—in a few hours my breast will be at ease, my soul will be quiet. What happiness I am going to enjoy in breathing a free air!

LETTER II.

Boston, July 30, 1788.

WITH what joy, my good friend, did I leap to this shore of liberty! I was weary of the sea; and the sight of trees, of towns, and even of men, gives a delicious refreshment to eyes fatigued with the desert of the ocean. I flew from despotism, and came at last to enjoy the spectacle of liberty, among a people, where nature, education, and habit had engraved the equality of rights, which every where else is treated as a chimera. With what pleasure did I contemplate this town, which first shook off the English yoke! which, for a long time, resisted all the seductions, all the menaces, all the horrors of a civil war! How I delighted to wander up and down that long street, whose simple houses of wood border the magnificent channel of Bos-

ton, and whose full stores offer me all the productions of the continent which I had quitted! How I enjoyed the activity of the merchants, the artizans, and the sailors! It was not the noisy vortex of Paris; it was not the unquiet, eager mien of my own countrymen; it was the simple, dignified air of men who are conscious of liberty, and who see in all men their brothers and their equals. Every thing in this street bears the mark of a town still in its infancy, but which, even in its infancy, enjoys a great prosperity. I thought myself in that Salentum, of which the lively pencil of Fenelon has left us so charming an image. But the prosperity of this new Salentum was not the work of one man, of a king, or a minister; it is the fruit of liberty, that parent of industry. Every thing is rapid, every thing great, every thing durable with her. A royal or ministerial prosperity, like a king or a minister, has only the duration of a moment. Boston is just rising from the devastations of war, and its commerce is flourishing; its manufactures, productions, arts, and sciences, offer a number of curious and interesting observations.

The manners of the people are not exactly the same as described by M. de Crevecœur. You no longer meet here that Presbyterian austerity, which interdicted all pleasures, even that of walking; which forbade travelling on Sunday, which persecuted men whose opinions were different from their own. The Bostonians unite simplicity of morals with that French politeness and delicacy of manners which render virtue more amiable. They are hospitable to strangers, and obliging to friends; they are tender husbands, fond and almost idolatrous parents, and kind masters. Music, which their teachers formerly proscribed as a diabolical art, begins to make part of their education. In some houses you hear the forte-piano. This art, it is true, is still in its infancy; but the young novices who exercise it, are so gentle, so complaisant, and so modest, that the proud perfection of art gives no pleasure equal to what they afford. God grant that the Bostonian women may never, like those of France, acquire the malady of perfection in this art! It is never attained, but at the expence of the domestic virtues.

The young women here, enjoy the liberty they do in England, that they did in Geneva when morals were there, and the republic existed; and they do not abuse it. Their frank and tender hearts have nothing to fear from the perfidy of men. Examples of this perfidy are rare; the vows of love are believed; and love always respects them, or shame follows the guilty.

The Bostonian mothers are reserved; their air is however, frank, good, and communicative. Entirely devoted to their families, they are occupied in rendering their husbands happy, and in training their children to virtue.

The law denounces heavy penalties against adultery; such as the pillory, and imprisonment. This law has scarcely ever been called into execution. It is because families are happy; and they are pure, because they are happy.

Neatness without luxury, is a characteristic feature of this purity of manners; and this neatness is seen every where at Boston, in their dress, in their houses, and in their churches. Nothing is more charming than an inside view of the church on Sunday. The good cloth coat-covers the man; callicoes and chintzes dress the women and children, without being spoiled by those gewgaws which whim and caprice have added to them among our women. Powder and pomatum never sully the heads of infants and children: I see them with pain, however, on the heads of men: they invoke the art of the hair-dresser; for, unhappily, this art has already crossed the seas.

I shall never call to mind, without emotion, the pleasure I one day had in hearing the respectable Mr. Clarke, successor to Dr. Chauncy. His church is in close union with that of Dr. Cooper, to whom every good Frenchman, and every friend of liberty, owes a tribute of gratitude, for the love he bore the French, and the zeal with which he defended and preached the American independence. I remarked in this auditory, the exterior of that ease and contentment of which I have spoken; that collected calmness, resulting from the habit of gravity, and the conscious presence of the

Almighty; that religious decency, which is equally distant from grovelling idolatry, and from the light and wanton airs of those Europeans who go to a church as to a theatre,

Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectantur ut ipsæ.

But, to crown my happiness, I saw none of those livid wretches, covered with rags, who in Europe, soliciting our compassion at the foot of the altar, seem to bear testimony against Providence, our humanity, and the order of society. The discourse, the prayer, the worship, every thing, bore the same simplicity. The sermon breathed the best morality, and it was heard with attention.

The excellence of this morality characterizes almost all the sermons of all the sects through the Continent. The ministers rarely speak dogmas: universal tolerance, the child of American independence has banished the preaching of dogmas, which always lead to discussion and quarrels. All the sects admit nothing but morality, which is the same in all, and the only preaching proper for a great society of brothers.

This tolerance is unlimited at Boston; a town formerly witness of bloody persecutions, especially against the Quakers; where many of this sect paid with their life for their perseverance in their religious opinions. Just Heaven! how is it possible there can exist men believing sincerely in God, and yet barbarous enough to inflict death on a woman, the intrepid Dyer,* because she

---

* *M. de Warville appears to have been misinformed with respect to the severity of the persecutions against the Quakers in Massachusetts; and particularly the circumstances relating to Mrs. Dyer. This woman, I believe is the only person ever put to death in that colony for any thing connected with religious principles. The highest penalties inflicted by law against the Quakers, or any other sect, on account of its religion, was banishment. The Quakers then formed a settlement at Rhode*

she'd and shou'd men, because she did not believe in the divine mission of priests, because she would follow the gospel literally! But let us draw the curtain over these scenes of horror; they will never again sully this new continent, destined by Heaven to be the asylum of liberty and humanity. Every one at present worships God in his own way at Boston. Anabaptists, Methodists, Quakers, and Catholics, profess openly their opinions: and all offices of government, places and emoluments, are equally open to all sects. Virtue,

---

Island;" but several of them returned frequently to Massachusetts, with such a zeal for making proselytes, as to disturb the order of society. The disobedience of returning from banishment was there interdicted by the penalty of whipping: this not answering the purpose, the terrors of death were added. This unhappy woman, inspired, it seems, with the frenzy of martyrdom, came to provoke the pains of this severe law. She raved in the streets against the magistrates and the church; went into religious assemblies, raised loud cries to drown the voice of the preachers, called them the worshippers of Baal; defied the judges, and said she would leave them no peace till they should incur the vengeance of Heaven, and the down-fall of their own sect, by putting her to death!

The causes on both parties, which led to this event, were doubtless culpable; but, to compare the demerit of each, would require a research equally difficult and useless at the present day. Persecution and contumacy are reciprocal causes and effects of the same evil in society; and perhaps these particular persecuted Quakers were as different in their character from the present respectable order of Friends in America, as the first Puritans of Boston were from its present inhabitants.

The delirium about witchcraft in Massachusetts, is sometimes ignorantly confounded with the persecution of the Quakers. TRANSLATOR.

talents, and not religious opinions, are the tests of public confidence.

The ministers of different sects live in such harmony, that they supply each other's places when any one is detained from his pulpit.

On seeing men think so differently on matters of religion, and yet possess such virtues, it may be concluded, that one may be very honest, and believe, or not believe, in transubstantiation, and the word. They have concluded that it is best to tolerate each other, and that this is the worship most agreeable to God.

Before this opinion was so general among them, they had established another: it was the necessity of reducing divine worship to the greatest simplicity, to disconnect it from all its superstitious ceremonies, which gave it the appearance of idolatry; and particularly, not to give their priests enormous salaries, to enable them to live in luxury and idleness; in a word, to restore the evangelical simplicity. They have succeeded. In the country, the church has a glebe; in town, the ministers live on collections made each Sunday in the church, and the rents of pews. It is an excellent practice to induce the ministers to be diligent in their studies, and faithful in their duty; for the preference is given to him whose discourses please the most,* and his salary is the most considerable: while, among us, the ignorant and the learned, the debauchee and the man of virtue, are always sure of their livings.

---

* *The truth of this remark struck me at Boston and elsewhere in the United States. Almost all the ministers are men of talents, or at least, men of learning. With those precarious salaries, the ministers of Boston not only live well, but they marry, and rear large families of children. This fact confirms the judicious remarks of M. Claviere on the advantages of the priests marrying, even when their salary is small. Their alliance would be sought after, by fathers who would wish to give their daughters husbands well instructed, and of good morals. The same thing will happen in France when the priests shall be allowed to marry. They ought not then to dread marriage, though their salaries should be small.*

It reſults, likewiſe, from this, that a mode of worſhip will not be impoſed on thoſe who do not believe in it. Is it not tyranny to force men to pay for the ſupport of a ſyſtem which they abhor?

The Boſtonians are become ſo philoſophical on the ſubject of religion, that they have lately ordained a man who was refuſed by the biſhop. The ſect to which he belongs have inſtalled him in their church, and given him the power to preach and to teach; and he preaches, and he teaches, and diſcovers good abilities; for the people ſeldom deceive themſelves in their choice.—This economical inſtitution, which has no example but in the primitive church, has been cenſured by thoſe who believe ſtill in the tradition of orders by the direct deſcendants of the Apoſtles. But the Boſtonians are ſo near believing that every man may be his own preacher, that the apoſtolic doctrine has not found very warm advocates. They will ſoon be, in America, in the ſituation where M. d'Alembert has placed the miniſters of Geneva.

Since the ancient puritan auſterity has diſappeared, you are no longer ſurpriſed to ſee a game of cards introduced among theſe good Preſbyterians. When the mind is tranquil, in the enjoyment of competency and peace, it is natural to occupy it in this way, eſpecially in a country where there is no theatre, where men make it not a buſineſs to pay court to the women, where they read few books, and cultivate ſtill leſs the ſciences. This taſte for cards is certainly unhappy in a Republican State. The habit of them contracts the mind, prevents the acquiſition of uſeful knowledge, leads to idleneſs and diſſipation, and gives birth to every malignant paſſion. Happily it is not very conſiderable in Boſton: you ſee here no fathers of families riſking their whole fortunes in it.

There are many clubs at Boſton. M. Chaſtellux ſpeaks of a particular club held once a week. I was at it ſeveral times, and was much pleaſed with their politeneſs to ſtrangers, and the knowledge diſplayed in their converſation. There is no coffee-houſe at Boſton, New-York, or Philadelphia. One houſe in each town, that they call by that name, ſerves as an exchange.

One of the principal pleasures of the inhabitants of these towns, consists in little parties for the country, among families and friends. The principal expence of the parties, especially after dinner, is tea. In this, as in their whole manner of living, the Americans in general resemble the English. Punch, warm and cold, before dinner; excellent beef, Spanish and Bordeaux wines, cover their tables, always solidly and abundantly served. Spruce beer, excellent cyder, and Philadelphia porter, precede the wines. This porter is equal to the English: the manufacture of it saves a vast tribute formerly paid to the English industry. The same may soon be said with respect to cheese. I have often found American cheese equal to the best Cheshire of England, or the Rochfort of France. This may with truth be said of that made on a farm on Elizabeth Island, belonging to the respectable Governor Bowdoin.

After forcing the English to give up their domination, the Americans determined to rival them in every thing useful. This spirit of emulation shews itself every where: it has erected at Boston an extensive glass manufactory, belonging to M. Breck and others.

This spirit of emulation has opened to the Bostonians, so many channels of commerce, which lead them to all parts of the globe.

Nil mortalibus arduum est;
Audax Japeti genus.

If these lines could ever apply to any people, it is to the free Americans. No danger, no distance, no obstacle impedes them. What have they to fear? All mankind are their brethren: they wish peace with all.

It is this spirit of emulation, which multiplies and brings to perfection so many manufactories of cordage in this town; which has erected filatures of hemp and flax, proper to occupy young people, without subjecting them to be crouded together in such numbers as to ruin their health and their morals; proper, likewise, to occupy that class of women, whom the long voyages of their sea-faring husbands and other accidents reduce to inoccupation.

To this spirit of emulation are owing the manufactories of salt, nails, paper and paper-hangings, which are multiplied in this state. The rum distilleries are on the decline, since the suppression of the slave trade, in which this liquor was employed, and since the diminution of the use of strong spirits by the country people.

This is fortuntae for the human race; and the American industry will soon repair the small loss it sustains from the decline of this fabrication of poisons.

Massachusetts wishes to rival, in manufactures, Connecticut and Pennsylvania; she has like the last, a society formed for the encouragement of manufactures and industry.

The greatest monuments of the industry of this state, are the three bridges of Charles, Malden and Essex.

Boston has the glory of having given the first college or university to the new world. It is placed on an extensive plain, four miles from Boston, at a place called Cambridge; the origin of this useful institution was in 1636. The imagination could not fix on a place that could better unite all the conditions essential to a seat of education; sufficiently near to Boston, to enjoy all the advantages of a communication with Europe and the rest of the world; and sufficiently distant, not to expose the students to the contagion of licentious manners, common in commercial towns.

The air of Cambridge is pure, and the environs charming, offering a vast space for the exercise of the youth.

The buildings are large, numerous, and well distributed. But, as the number of the students augments every day, it will be necessary soon to augment the buildings. The library, and the cabinet of philosophy, do honor to the institution. The first contains 13,000 volumes. The heart of a Frenchman palpitates on finding the works of Racine, of Montesquieu, and the Encyclopedia, where 150 years ago, arose the smoke of the savage calumet.

The regulation of the course of studies here, is nearly the same as that at the university of Oxford. I

think it impoſſible but that the laſt revolution muſt introduce a great reform. Free men ought to ſtrip themſelves of their prejudices, and to perceive, that, above all, it is neceſſary to be a man and a citizen; and that the ſtudy of the dead languages, of a faſtidious philoſophy and theology, ought to occupy few of the moments of a life, which might be uſefully employed in ſtudies more advantageous to the great family of the human race.

Such a change in the ſtudies is more probable, as an academy is formed at Boſton, compoſed of reſpectable men, who cultivate all the ſciences; and who, diſengaged from religious prejudices, will doubtleſs very ſoon point out a courſe of education more ſhort and more ſure in forming good citizens and philoſophers.

Mr. Bowdoin, preſident of this academy, is a man of univerſal talents. He unites with his profound erudition, the virtues of a magiſtrate, and the principles of a republican politician. His conduct has never diſappointed the confidence of his fellow citizens; though his ſon-in-law, Mr. Temple, has incurred their univerſal deteſtation, for the verſatility of his conduct during the war, and his open attachment to the Britiſh ſince the peace. To recompenſe him for this, the Engliſh have given him the conſulate-general of America.

But, to return to the univerſity of Cambridge—Superintended by the reſpectable preſident Willard. Among the aſſociates in the direction of the ſtudies, are diſtinguiſhed, Dr. Wiggleſworth and Dr. Dexter. The latter is profeſſor of natural philoſophy, chemiſtry and medicine; a man of extenſive knowledge, and great modeſty. He told me to my great ſatisfaction, that he gave lectures on the experiments of our ſchool of chemiſtry. The excellent work of my reſpectable maſter, Dr. Fourcroy, was in his hands, which taught him the rapid ſtrides that this ſcience has lately made in Europe.

In a free country, every thing ought to bear the ſtamp of patriotiſm. This patriotiſm ſo happily diſplayed in the foundation, endowment, and encouragement of this univerſity, appears every year in a ſolemn feaſt celebrated at Cambridge in honor of the Sciences.

This feaſt, which takes place once a year in all the colleges of America, is called the COMMENCEMENT: it reſembles the exerciſes and diſtribution of prizes in our colleges. It is a day of joy for Boſton; almoſt all its inhabitants aſſemble in Cambridge. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of the ſtudents diſplay their talents in preſence of the public; and theſe exerciſes, which are generally on patriotic ſubjects, are terminated by a feaſt, where reign the freeſt gaiety, and the moſt cordial fraternity.

It is remarked, that, in countries chiefly devoted to commerce, the ſciences are not carried to any high degree. This remark applies to Boſton. The univerſity certainly contains men of worth and learning; but ſcience is not diffuſed among the inhabitants of the town. Commerce occupies all their ideas, turns all their heads, and abſorbs all their ſpeculations. Thus you find few eſtimable works, and few authors. The expence of the firſt volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of this town, is not yet covered; it is two years ſince it appeared. Sometime ſince was publiſhed, the hiſtory of the late troubles in Maſſachuſets; it is very well written. The author has found much difficulty to indemnify himſelf for the expence of printing it. Never has the whole of the precious hiſtory of New-Hampſhire, by Belknap, appeared, for want of encouragement.

Poets, for the ſame reaſon, muſt be more rare than other writers. They ſpeak, however, of an original, but lazy poet, by the name of *Allen*. His verſes are ſaid to be full of warmth and force. They mention particularly, a manuſcript poem of his, on the famous battle of Bunker-Hill; but he will not print it. He has for his reputation and his money the careleſſneſs of *La Fontaine*.

They publiſh a Magazine here, though the number of Gazettes is very conſiderable. The multiplicity of Gazettes proves the activity of commerce, and the taſte for politics and news; the merits and multiplicity of Literary and Political Magazines are ſigns of the culture of the ſciences.

You may judge from these details, that the arts, except those that respect navigation, do not receive much encouragement here. The history of the Planetarium of Mr. Pope is a proof of it. Mr. Pope is a very ingenious artist, occupied in clock-making. The machine which he has constructed, to explain the movement of the heavenly bodies, would astonish you, especially when you consider that he has received no succour from Europe, and very little from books. He owes the whole to himself; he is, like the painter Trumbull, the child of nature. Ten years of his life have been occupied in perfecting this Planetarium. He had opened a subscription to recompense his trouble, but the subscription was never full.

This discouraged artist told me one day, that he was going to Europe to sell this machine, and to construct others. This country, said he, is too poor to encourage the arts. These words, *this country is too poor*, struck me. I reflected, that if they were pronounced in Europe, they might lead to wrong ideas of America; for the idea of poverty carries that of rags, of hunger; and no country is more distant from that sad condition. When riches are centered in a few hands, these have a great superfluity; and this superfluity may be applied to their pleasures, and to favour the agreeable and frivolous arts. When riches are equally divided in society, there is very little superfluity, and consequently little means of encouraging the agreeable arts. But which of these two countries is the rich, and which is the poor? According to the European ideas, and in the sense of Mr. Pope, it is the first that is rich; but to the eye of reason, it is not; for the other is the happiest. Hence it results, that the ability of giving encouragement to the agreeable arts, is a symptom of national calamity.

Let us not blame the Boltonians; they think of the useful, before procuring to themselves the agreeable. They have no brilliant monuments; but they have neat and commodious churches, but they have good houses, but they have superb bridges, and excellent ships. Their streets are well illuminated at night;

while many ancient cities of Europe, containing proud monuments of art, have never yet thought of preventing the fatal effects of nocturnal darkness.

Beſides the ſocieties for the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures, they have another, known by the name of the Humane Society. Their object is to recover drowned perſons. It is formed after the model of the one at London, as that is copied from the one at Paris. They follow the ſame methods as in Europe, and have rendered important ſuccours.

The Medical Society is not leſs uſeful, than the one laſt mentioned. It holds a correſpondence with all the country towns; to know the ſymptoms of local diſeaſes, propoſe the proper remedies, and give inſtruction thereupon to their fellow citizens.

Another eſtabliſhment is the alms-houſe. It is deſtined to the poor, who, by age and infirmity, are unable to gain their living. It contains at preſent about 150 perſons.

Another, called the work-houſe, or houſe of correction, is not ſo much peopled as you might imagine. In a riſing country, in an active port, where proviſions are cheap, good morals predominate, and the number of thieves and vagabonds is ſmall. Theſe are vermin attached to miſery; and there is no miſery here.

The ſtate of exports and imports of this induſtrious people, to prove to you how many new branches of commerce they have opened ſince the peace, I refer to the general table of the commerce of the United States, which I propoſe to lay before you.

An employment which is, unhappily, one of the moſt lucrative in this ſtate, is the profeſſion of the Law. They preſerve ſtill the expenſive forms of the Engliſh practice, which good ſenſe, and the love of mankind ought to teach them to ſuppreſs; they render eloquence neceſſary; they have likewiſe borrowed from their fathers, the Engliſh, the habit of demanding exorbitant fees. But, notwithſtanding the abuſe of law proceedings, they complain very little of the Lawyers. Thoſe with whom I have been acquainted, appear to enjoy a great reputation for integrity; ſuch as Sumner, Wendell, Lowell, Sullivan.

They did themselves honour in the affair of the Tender Act, by endeavouring to prevent it from being enacted, and afterwards to diminish as much as possible its unjust effects.

It is in part to their enlightened philanthropy, that is to be attributed the Law of the 26th of March, 1788, which condemns to heavy penalties, all persons who shall import or export slaves, or be concerned in this infamous traffic.

Finally, they have had a great part in the Revolution, by their writings, by their discourses, by taking the lead in the affairs of Congress, and in foreign negociations.

To recall this memorable period, is to bring to mind one of the greatest ornaments of the American bar, the celebrated John Adams; who, from the humble station of a school-master, has raised himself to the first dignities; whose name is as much respected in Europe, as in his own country, for the difficult embassies with which he has been charged. He has, finally, returned to his retreat, in the midst of the applauses of his fellow-citizens, occupied in the cultivation of his farm, and forgetting what he was when he trampled on the pride of his king, who was forced to receive him as the ambassador of a free country. Such were the generals and ambassadors of the best ages of Rome and Greece; such were Epaminondas, Cincinnatus, and Fabius.

It is not possible to see Mr. Adams, who knows so well the American constitutions, without speaking to him of that which appears to be taking place in France. I don't know whether he has an ill opinion of our character, of our constancy, or of our understanding; but he does not believe that we can establish a liberty, even equal to what the English enjoy;* he does not believe even that we have the right, like the ancient States-General, to require that no tax should be imposed without the consent of the people. I had no difficulty in combating him, even by authorities, in depen-

* *The event has proved how much he was deceived.*

dent of the ſocial compact againſt which no time, no conceſſions can preſcribe.

Mr. Adams is not the only man diſtinguiſhed in this great revolution, who has retired to the obſcure labours of a country life. General Heath is one of thoſe worthy imitators of the Roman Cincinnatus; for he likes not the American *Cincinnatus*: their eagle appears to him a gewgaw, proper only for children. On ſhewing me a letter from the immortal Waſhington, whom he loves as a father, and reveres as an angel—this letter, ſays he, is a jewel which, in my eyes, ſurpaſſes all the eagles and all the ribbons in the world. It was a letter in which that General had felicitated him for his good conduct on a certain occaſion. With what joy did this reſpectable man ſhew me all parts of his farm! What happineſs he enjoys on it! He is a true farmer. A glaſs of cyder, which he preſented to me with frankneſs and good humour painted on his countenance, appeared to me ſuperior to the moſt exquiſite wines. With this ſimplicity, men are worthy of liberty, and they are ſure of enjoying it for a long time.

This ſimplicity characteriſes almoſt all the men of this ſtate, who have acted diſtinguiſhed parts in the revolution: ſuch, among others, is Samuel Adams, and Mr. Hancock the preſent governor. If ever a man was ſincerely an idolator of republicaniſm, it is Samuel Adams, and never did a man unite more virtues to give reſpect to his opinions. He has the exceſs of Republican virtues, untainted probity, ſimplicity, modeſty,* and, above all, firmneſs: he will have no capitulation with abuſes; he fears as much the deſpotiſm of virtue and talents, as the deſpotiſm of vice. Cheriſhing the greateſt love and reſpect for Waſhington, he voted to take from him the command at the end of a certain term: he recollected, that Cæſar could not have ſucceeded in overturning the Republic, but by prolonging

* *When I compare our legiſlators, with their airs of importance, always fearing they ſhall not make noiſe enough, that they ſhall not be ſufficiently praiſed; when I compare them to theſe modern republicans, I fear for the ſucceſs of the revolution. The vain man can never be far from ſlavery.*

the command of the army. The event has proved that the application was fine; but it was by a miracle, and the safety of a Country should never be risked on the faith of a miracle.

Samuel Adams is the best supporter of the party of Governor Hancock. You know the great services which the latter made in the revolution, and the boldness with which he declared himself at the beginning of the insurrection. The same spirit of patriotism animates him still. A great generosity, united to a vast ambition, forms his character: he has the virtues and the address of popularism; that is to say, that, without effort, he shews himself the equal, & friend of all. I supped at his house with a hatter, who appeared to be in great familiarity with him. Mr. Hancock is amiable and polite, when he wishes to be; but they say he does not always chuse it. He has a marvellous gout, which dispenses him from all attentions, and forbids the access to his house. Mr. Hancock has not the learning of his rival, Mr. Bowdoin; he seems even to disdain the sciences. The latter is more esteemed by enlightened men; the former more beloved by the people. Among the partizans of the governor, I distinguished two brothers, by the name of Jarvis; one is Comptroller General of the State; the other, a Physician, and Member of the legislature. The first has a much calmness of examination and profundity of thought, as the latter has of rapidity in his penetration, agility in his ideas, and vivacity in his expression. They resemble each other in one point, that is, in simplicity —the first of republican virtues; a virtue born with the Americans, and only acquired with us. If I were to paint to you all the estimable characters which I found in this charming town, my portraits would never be finished. I found every where that hospitality, that affability, that friendship for the French, which M. Chastellux has so much exalted. I found them especially with Messrs. Breck, Russell, Gore, Barrett, &c.

The parts adjacent to Boston, are charming and well cultivated, adorned with elegant houses and agreeable situations. Among the surrounding eminences you

distinguish Bunker-hill. This name will recall to your mind the famous Warren; one of the first martyrs of American liberty. I owed an homage to his generous manes; and I was eager to pay it. You arrive at Bunker-hill by the superb bridge at Charlestown, of which I have spoken. This town was entirely burnt by the English, in their attack of Bunker-hill. It is at present rebuilt with elegant houses of wood. You see here the store of Mr. Gorham, formerly President of Congress. This hill offers one of the most astonishing monuments of American [illegible]. It is impossible to conceive how seven or eight hundred men, badly armed, and fatigued, having just constructed, in haste, a few miserable intrenchments, and who knew nothing, or very little, of the use of arms, could resist, for so long a time, the attack of thousands of the English troops, fresh, well disciplined, succeeding each other in the attack. But such was the vigorous resistance of the Americans, that the English lost twelve hundred men, killed and wounded, before they became masters of the place. Observe that they had two frigates, which, crossing their fire on Charlestown, prevented the arrival of succour to the Americans. Yet it is very probable that the English would have been forced to retire, had not the Americans failed in ammunition.

While the friend of liberty is contemplating this scene, and dropping a tear to the memory of Warren, his emotions of enthusiasm are renewed on viewing the expressive picture of the death of that warrior, painted by Mr. Trumbull, whose talents may equal, one day, those of the most famous masters.

I must finish this long, and too long, letter. Many objects remain still to entertain you with in this state, such as the constitution, debts, taxes; but I refer them to the general table which I shall make of them for the United States. The taxable heads of this state are upwards of 100,000; acres of arable land 200,000; pasturage, 340,000; uncultivated 2,000,000; tons of shipping at Boston 60,000.

LETTER III.

Journey from Boston to New-York, by land.

9th. August, 1788.

The distance of these towns is about two hundred and fifty miles. Many persons have united to establish a kind of diligence, or public stage, which passes regularly for the convenience of travellers. In the summer season the journey is performed in four days.

We set out from Boston at four o'clock in the morning, and passed through the handsome town of Cambridge. The country appears well cultivated as far as Weston, where we breakfasted; thence we passed to Worcester to dinner, forty-eight miles from Boston. This town is elegant, and well peopled: the printer, Isaiah Thomas, has rendered it famous through all the continent. He prints most of the works which appear; and it must be granted that his editions are correct. Thomas is the *Didot* of the United States. The tavern, where we had a good American dinner,* is a charming house of wood, well ornamented; it is kept by Mr. Pease, one of the proprietors of the Boston stage. He has much merit for his activity and industry; but it is hoped he will change the present plan, so far as it respects his horses: they are over-done with the length and difficulty of the courses, which ruin them in a short time, besides retarding very much the progress.

We slept the first night at Spenser, a new village in the midst of the woods. The house of the tavern was but half built; but the part that was finished, had an air of cleanliness which pleases, because it announces that degree of competence, those moral and delicate habits, which are never seen in our villages. The chambers were neat, the beds good, the sheets clean.

---

* *If I sometimes cite dinners and suppers, it is not via matter of eating and drinking, but it is to show the manner of living of the country, and likewise to speak of the prices of provisions, in which I am assisted by Chastellux.*

supper passable; cyder, tea, punch, and all for fourteen pence a-head. There were four of us. Now, compare, my friend, this order of things with what you have a thousand times seen in our French taverns—chambers dirty and hideous, beds infected with bugs, those insects which Sterne calls the rightful inhabitants of taverns, if indeed long possession gives a right; sheets ill washed, and exhaling a fetid odour; bad coverlids, wine adulterated, and every thing at its weight in gold; greedy servants, who are complaisant only in proportion to your equipage; grovelling towards a rich traveller, and insolent towards him whom they suspect of mediocrity. Such are the eternal torments of travellers in France: add to this, the fear of being robbed, the precautions necessary to be taken every night to prevent it; while, in the United States, you travel without fear, as without arms;* and you sleep quietly among the woods, in an open chamber of a house whose doors shut without locks. And now judge which country merits the name of civilized, and which bears the aspect of the greatest general happiness.

We left Spenser at four o'clock in the morning. New carriage, new proprietor. It was a carriage without springs, a kind of waggon. A Frenchman who was with me, began, at the first jolt, to curse the carriage, the driver, and the country. Let us wait, said I, a little, before we form a judgment; every custom has its cause; there is doubtless some reason why this kind of carriage is preferred to one hung with springs. In fact, by the time we had run thirty miles along the rocks, we were convinced that a carriage with springs would very soon have been overset and broke.

The traveller is well recompensed for the fatigue of this route, by the variety of romantic situations, by the beauty of the prospects which it offers at each step, by

---

* *I travelled with a Frenchman, who, thinking he had much to fear in a savage country, had furnished himself with pistols. The good American smiled at his precautions, and advised him to put his pistols in his trunk: he had wit enough to believe him.*

the perpetual contrast of nature, and the efforts of a
Those vast ponds of water, which lose themselves
the woods, those rivulets, that wash the meadow, new
ly snatched from uncultivated nature; those neat hous
scattered among the forests, and containing swarms
children, joyous and healthy, and well clad; that
fields, covered with trunks of trees, whose destructi
is committed to the hand of time, and which are
ered under the leaves of Indian corn; those oaks, whi
preserve still the image of their ancient vigour, b
which, girdled at the bottom, raise no longer to he
ven but dry and naked branches, which the fir
stroke of wind must bring to the earth: all these ob
jects, so new to an European, arrest him, absorb hi
and plunge him into an agreeable reverie. The depth
of the forests, the prodigious size and height of th
trees, call to his mind the time when the savages were
the only inhabitants of this country. This ancient
tree has beheld them; they filled these forests; the
have now given place to another generation. The cul
tivator fears no more their vengeance; his musket
formerly his necessary companion at the plough, no
more suspended in his house. Alone with his wife an
children, in the midst of the forests, he sleeps quiet
he labours in peace, and he is happy. Such were the
ideas which occupied me the greater part of my jour
ney: they sometimes gave place to others, arising fro
the view of the country houses, which are seen at mod
distances through all the forests of Massachusetts
Neatness embellishes them all. They have frequently
but one story and a garret; their walls are papered
tea and coffee appear on their tables; their daughters
clothed in callicoes, display the traits of civility, frank
ness, and decency; virtues which always follow ease
contentment and ease. Almost all these houses are inhab
ited by men who are both cultivators and artizans
one is a tanner, another is a shoemaker, another
goods; but all are farmers. The country stores
well assorted; you find in the same shop, hats, ma
liquors. This order of things is necessary in a new
tlement: it is to be hoped that it will continue

this general retail, occupies less hands, and detaches fewer from the great object of agriculture. It is not supposed that one third of the land of Massachusetts is under cultivation: it is difficult to say when it will all be so, considering the invitations of the western country and the provinces of Maine. But the uncleared lands are all located, and the proprietors have inclosed them with fences of different sorts. These several kinds of fences are composed of different materials, which announce the different degrees of culture in the country. Some are composed of the light branches of trees; others, of the trunks of trees laid one upon the other; a third sort is made of long pieces of wood, supporting each other by making angles at the end; a fourth kind is made of long pieces of hewn timber, supported at the ends by passing into holes made in an upright post; a fifth is like the garden fences in England: the last kind is made of stones thrown together to the height of three feet. This last is most durable, and is common in Massachusetts. From Spenser to Brookfield is fifteen miles. The road is good as far as this last town. A town you know in the interior of America, designates an extent of eight or ten miles, where are scattered an hundred or two hundred houses. This division into towns, is necessary for assembling the inhabitants for elections and other purposes. Without this division, the inhabitants might go sometimes to one assembly, and sometimes to another, which would lead to confusion. Besides, it would render it impossible to know the population of any particular canton; this serves for the basis of many regulations. No people carry their attention to this particular, so far as the Americans.

The situation of Brookfield is picturesque. While breakfast was preparing, I read the gazettes and journals, which are distributed through all the country. Our breakfast consisted of coffee, tea, boiled and roasted meat, the whole for ten pence, New-England currency, for each traveller. From this place to Wilbraham the road is covered with rocks, and bordered with woods. At this place, a new proprietor, and a new carriage,

A small light carriage, well suspended, and drawn by two horses, took place of our heavy waggon. We could not conceive how five of us could sit in this little parisian chariot, and demanded another. The conductor said he had no other: that there were so few travellers in this part of the road, that he could not afford to run with more than two horses; that most of the travellers from New-York stopped in Connecticut, and most of those from Boston at Worcester. We were obliged to submit. We started like lightning; and arrived, in an hour and a quarter, at Springfield, 14 miles. This road appeared really enchanting: I seemed the whole way to be travelling in one of the alleys of the Palais-royal. This man was one of the most lively and industrious, at the same time the most patient I ever met with. In my two journies through this place I have heard many travellers treat him with very harsh language: he either answers not at all, or answers by giving good reasons. The greater part of men of this profession, in this country, observe the same conduct in such cases; while the least of these injuries in Europe would have occasioned bloody quarrels. This fact proves to me, that, in a free country, reason extends her empire over all classes of men.

Springfield, where we dined, resembles an European town; that is, the houses are placed near together. On a hill that over-looks this town, is a magazine of ammunition and arms belonging to the State of Massachusetts. This is the magazine that the rebel Shays endeavored to take, and was so happily defended by General Shepard. We set out from Springfield, after dinner, for Hartford. We passed in a ferry-boat, the river that washes the environs of Springfield.

I have passed twice through Hartford, and both times in the night; so that I cannot give an exact description of it. It is a considerable rural town; the greater part of the inhabitants live by agriculture; so that ease and abundance universally reign in it. It is considered as one of the most agreeable in Connecticut, on account of its society. It is the residence of one of the most respectable men in the United States, Gen-

Wadsworth. He enjoys a considerable fortune, which he owes entirely to his own labour and industry. Perfectly versed in agriculture and commerce; universally known for the service he rendered to the American and French armies during the war; generally esteemed and beloved for his great virtues; he crowns all his qualities by an amiable and singular modesty. His address is frank, his countenance open, and his discourse simple. Thus you cannot fail to love him as soon as you see him; especially as soon as you know him. Here describe the impression he made on me.

M. de Chastellux, in making the eulogium of this respectable American, has fallen into an error which I ought to rectify. He says, that he has made many voyages to the coast of Guinea. It is incredible that this writer should persist in printing this as a fact, after Col. Wadsworth begged him to suppress it. "To advance," said he, "that I have carried on the Guinea trade, is "to give the idea that I have carried on the slave trade: "whereas I always had the greatest abhorrence for "this infamous traffic. I prayed M. de Chastellux, "that in the edition he was about to publish in France "he would suppress this, as well as many other strik"ing errors which appeared in the American edition "of his work; and I cannot conceive why he has recti"fied nothing."

The environs of Hartford display a charming cultivated country; neat elegant houses, vast meadows covered with herds of cattle of an enormous size, which furnish the market of New-York, and even Philadelphia. You there see sheep resembling ours; but not, like ours, watched by shepherds, and tormented by dogs: hogs of a prodigious size, surrounded with numerous families of pigs, wearing on the neck a triangular piece of wood invented to hinder them from passing the barriers which inclose the cultivated fields; geese and turkeys in abundance, as well as potatoes and all other vegetables. Productions of every kind are excellent and cheap: the fruits, however, do not partake of this excellent quality, because they are less attended to. Apples serve for making cyder; and great quantities of them are likewise exported.

To describe the neighbourhood of Hartford, is to describe Connecticut; it is to describe the neighbourhood of Middleton, of Newhaven, &c. Nature and Art have here displayed all their treasures; it is really the Paradise of the United States. M. de Crevecoeur who has been so much reproached with exaggeration, is even below the truth in his description of this part of the country. Read again his charming picture, and this reading will supply the place of what it would be useless here to repeat.

This State owes all its advantages to its situation. It is a fertile plain, inclosed between two mountains, which render difficult its communications by land with the other States. It is washed by the superb river Connecticut, which falls into the sea, and furnishes a safe and easy navigation. Agriculture being the basis of the riches of this State, they are here more equally divided. There is here more equality, less misery, more simplicity, more virtue, more of every thing which constitutes republicanism.

Connecticut appears like one continued town. On quitting Hartford you enter Weathersfield, a town not less elegant, very long, consisting of houses well built. They tell me it gave birth to the famous Silas Deane, one of the first promoters of the American revolution; from a schoolmaster in this town, elevated to the rank of an Envoy from Congress to Europe: he has since been accused of betraying this glorious cause. Is the accusation true, or false? It is difficult to decide. But he has been for a long time miserable in London: and it is in favor of the goodness of heart of the Americans, to recount, that his best friends and benefactors are still among the ancient American Whigs.

Weathersfield is remarkable for its vast fields uniformly covered with onions; of which great quantities are exported to the West-Indies. It is likewise remarkable for its elegant meeting-house, or church. On Sunday it is said to offer an enchanting spectacle, by the number of handsome young persons who assemble there, and by the agreeable music with which they intermingle the divine service.

Newhaven yields not to Weathersfield for the beauty of the fair sex. At their balls during the winter, it is not rare to see an hundred charming girls, adorned with those brilliant complexions, seldom met with in journeying to the South, and dressed in elegant simplicity. The beauty of complexion is as striking in Connecticut, as its numerous population. You will not go into a tavern without meeting with neatness, decency, and dignity. The tables are served by a young girl, decent and pretty: by an amiable mother, whose age has not effaced the agreeableness of her features; by men who have that air of dignity which the idea of equality inspires; and who are not ignoble and base, like the greatest part of our tavern-keepers. On the road you often meet those fair Connecticut girls, either driving a carriage, or alone on horse-back, galloping boldly; with an elegant hat on the head, a white apron, and a calico gown—usages which prove at once the early cultivation of their reason, since they are trusted so young to themselves, the safety of the roads, and the general innocence of manners. You will see them hazarding themselves alone, without protectors, in the public stages.—I am wrong to say hazarding; who can offend them? They are here under the protection of public morals, and of their own innocence. It is the consciousness of this innocence which renders them so complaisant and so good; for a stranger takes them by the hand, and laughs with them, and they are not offended at it.

Other proofs of the prosperity of Connecticut are the number of new houses every where to be seen, and the number of rural manufactories arising on every side, of which I shall speak hereafter. But even in this state there are many lands to sell. A principal cause of this is the taste for emigration to the western country. The desire of finding better, embitters the enjoyments even of the inhabitants of Connecticut. Perhaps this taste arises from the hope of escaping taxes, which though small, and almost nothing in comparison with those of Europe, appear very heavy. In a country like the United States every thing favours

the forming of new settlements. The new-comers are sure, every where, of finding friends and brothers, who speak their own language, and admire their courage. Provisions are cheap the whole way; they have nothing to fear from the search of custom-house clerks, on entering from one province to another, nor river-tolls, nor imposts, nor vexations; man is free as the air he breathes. The taste for emigration is every day augmenting, by the accounts in the public papers of the arrival of different families. Man is like sheep every where; he says, *Such or one has succeeded, why shall not I succeed? If I am nothing here, I shall be something on the Ohio; I work hard here, I shall not work so hard there.*

Before arriving at Middleton, where we were to breakfast, we stopped on the hill which overlooks that town and the immense valley on which it is built. It is one of the finest and richest prospects that I have seen in America. I could not satiate myself with the variety of the scenes which this landscape laid before me.

Middleton is built like Hartford; broad streets, trees on the sides, and handsome houses. We changed horses and carriages at Durham; and after admiring a number of picturesque situations on the road, we arrived at Newhaven, where we dined. The university here enjoys a great reputation through the continent; the port is much frequented; the society is said to be very agreeable. Newhaven has produced the celebrated poet, Trumbull,* author of the immortal poem of Fingal, which rivals, if not surpasses, in keen pleasantry, the famous Hudibras. Col. Humphreys,* (whose poem, much esteemed in America, is translated by M. de Chastellux,) is likewise a native of this town. The University is presided by a respectable and learned man, Mr. Stiles. We were obliged to quit this charming town, to arrive in the evening at Fairfield. We passed the inconvenient ferry at Stratford; afterwards, assailed by a violent storm, we were

* *M. de Warville is here misinformed. Mr. Trumbull is a native of Waterbury, and Mr. Humphreys of Derby.*

well enough defended from it by a double curtain of leather which covered the carriage. The driver, though pierced through with the rain, continued his route through the obscurity of a very dark night. Heaven preserved us from accident, at which I was much astonished. We passed the night at Fairfield, a town unhappily celebrated in the last war. It experienced all the rage of the English, who burnt it. You perceive still the vestiges of this infernal fury. Most of the houses are rebuilt; but those who have seen this town before the war, regret its ancient state, and the air of ease, and even opulence, that then distinguished it. They shewed me the house of the richest inhabitant, where all travellers of distinction met an hospitable reception; and where was often feasted the infamous Tryon, who commanded this expedition of Cannibals. Forgetting all sentiments of gratitude and humanity, he treated with the last extremity of rigour the mistress of this house, who had received him as a friend; and after having given her his word for the safety of her house, he ordered it to be set on fire. At Fairfield finished the agreeable part of our journey. From this town to Rye, thirty-three miles, we had to struggle against rocks and precipices. I knew not which to admire most in the driver, his intrepidity or dexterity. I cannot conceive how he avoided twenty times dashing the carriage in pieces, and how his horses could retain themselves in descending the stair-cases of rocks. One of these is called Horseneck; a chain of rocks so steep, that if an horse should slip, the carriage must be thrown into a valley two or three hundred feet.

From Horseneck we passed to New-Rochelle, a colony founded the last century by some French emigrants, which appears not to have prospered. Perhaps this appearance results from the last war; for this place suffered much from the neighbourhood of the English, whose head-quarters were at New-York. This place, however, will always be celebrated for having given birth to one of the most distinguished men of the last revolution—a republican remarkable for his firmness

and his coolneſs, a writer eminent for his nervous ſtyle, and his cloſe logic, Mr. Jay, at preſent miniſter of foreign affairs.

The following anecdote will give an idea of the firmneſs of this republican: at the time of laying the foundation of the peace in 1783, M. de Vergennes, actuated by ſecret motives, wiſhed to engage the ambaſſadors of Congreſs to confine their demands to the fiſheries, and to renounce the weſtern territory; that is, the vaſt and fertile country beyond the Alleganey mountains. The Miniſter required particularly, that the independence of America ſhould not be conſidered as the baſis of the peace; but, ſimply, that it ſhould be conditional. To ſucceed in this project, it was neceſſary to gain over Jay and Adams. Mr. Jay declared to M. de Vergennes, that he would ſooner loſe his life than ſign ſuch a treaty; that the Americans fought for independence; that they would never lay down their arms till it ſhould be fully conſecrated; that the Court of France had recogniſed it, and that there would be a contradiction in her conduct, if ſhe ſhould deviate from that point. It was not difficult for Mr. Jay to bring Mr. Adams to this determination; and M. de Vergennes could never ſhake his firmneſs.*

Conſider here the ſtrange concurrence of events. The American, who forced the Court of France, and gave laws to the Engliſh miniſter, was the grandſon of a French refugee of the laſt century, who fled to New-Rochelle. Thus the deſcendant of a man, whom Louis XIV. had perſecuted with a fooliſh rage, impoſed his deciſions on the deſcendant of that ſovereign, in his own palace, an hundred years after the baniſhment of the anceſtor.

Mr. Jay was equally immoveable by all efforts of the

---

* *The talents of Mr. Jay ſoone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre in the convention of the State of New-York for examining the new federal conſtitution. Mr. Clinton the Governor, at the head of the Antifederaliſts, had at firſt a great majority; but he could not reſiſt the logic of Mr. Jay, and the eloquence of Mr. Hamilton.*

English minister, whom M. de Vergennes had gained to his party. He proved to him that it was the interest of the English themselves, that the Americans should be independent, and not in a situation which should render them dependant on their ally. He converted him to this sentiment; for his reasoning determined the court of St. James's. When Mr. Jay passed through England to return to America, Lord Shelburne desired to see him. Accused by the nation of having granted too much to the Americans, he desired to know, in case he had persisted not to accord to the Americans the western territory, if they would have continued the war? Mr. Jay answered, that he believed it, and that he should have advised it.

It is thirty one miles from Rye to New-York. The road is good, even, and gravelly. We stopped at one of the best taverns I have seen in America. It is kept by Mrs. Haviland. We had an excellent dinner, and cheap. To other circumstances very agreeable, which gave us good cheer at this house, the air of the mistress was infinitely graceful and obliging; and she had a charming daughter, genteel and well educated, who played very well the forte-piano. Before arriving at New-York, we passed by those places which the English had so well fortified while they were masters of them. You still see their different redoubts and fortifications, which attest to the eye of the observer the folly of this fratricidious war.

LETTER IV.

*Journey from Boston to New-York, by Providence.**

ON the 12th of October, we set out from Boston at half past seven in the morning, and arrived by six in the evening at Providence. It is forty-nine

* *Though this journey was made after the date of several of the succeeding letters, it was thought best to insert it here, as an appendage to the journey by land.*

miles; the road good, the soil stony, gravelly and sandy, and, as usual for such a soil, covered with pines. The country bordering the road, appears neither fertile, nor well peopled: you may here see houses in decay, and children covered with rags. They had, however, good health, and good complexions. The silence which reigns in the other American towns on Sunday, reigns at Providence even on Mondays. Every thing here announces the decline of business. Few vessels are to be seen in the port. They were building, however, two distilleries; as if the manufactories of this poison were not already sufficiently numerous in the United States. Whether it be from prejudice or reality, I seemed to perceive every where the silence of death, the effect of paper-money. I seemed to see, in every face, the air of a Jew; the result of a traffic founded on fraud and finesse. I seemed to see likewise, in every countenance, the effects of the contempt which the other States bear to this, and the consciousness of meriting that contempt. The paper-money at this time was at a discount of ten for one.†

I went from Providence to Newport in a packet-boat. This journey might be made by land; but I preferred the water. We arrived in seven hours and a half; and during two hours we had contrary wind. This distance is thirty miles. We never lost sight of land; but it offers nothing picturesque or curious. A few houses, some trees, and a sandy soil, are all that appear to the eye.

The port of Newport is considered as one of the best in the United States. The bottom is good, the harbour capable of receiving the largest ships, and seems destined by nature to be of great consequence. This place was one of the principal scenes of the last war. The successive arrival of the American, English, and French armies, left here a considerable quantity of money.*

---

† *Providence is now* (1797) *a very flourishing, prosperous town.*

* *The English destroyed all the fine trees of ornament and fruit: they took a pleasure in devastation.*

Since the peace, every thing is changed.† The reign of solitude is only interrupted by groups of idle men, standing with folded arms at the corners of the streets; houses falling to ruin; miserable shops, which present nothing but a few coarse stuffs, or baskets of apples, and other articles of little value; grass growing in the public square, in front of the court of justice; rags stuffed in the windows, or hung upon hideous women and lean unquiet children.

Every thing announces misery, the triumph of ill faith, and the influence of a bad government. You will have a perfect idea of it, by calling to mind the impression once made upon us on entering the city of Liege. Recollect the crowd of mendicants besieging us at every step, to implore charity; that irregular mass of Gothic houses falling to ruin, windows without glass, roofs half uncovered; recall to your mind the figures of men scarcely bearing the print of humanity, children in tatters, and houses hung with rags; in short, represent to yourself the asylum of famine, the rascality and the impudence that general misery inspires, and you will recollect Liege, and have an image of Newport.

These two places are nevertheless well situated for commerce, and surrounded by lands by no means unfruitful; but at Liege, the productions of the country serve to fatten about fifty idle ecclesiastics, who, by the aid of ancient religious prejudices, riot in pleasure in the midst of thousands of unhappy wretches who are dying with hunger.* At Newport, the people, deceived by two or three knaves, have brought on their own misery, and destroyed the blessings which Nature had lavished upon them. They have themselves sanctified fraud; and this act has rendered them odious to their neighbours, driven commerce from their doors, and labour from their fields.

† *This town owed part of its prosperity to the slave trade, which is at present suppressed.*

* *When I wrote these lines, I was far from foreseeing the revolutions of Liege. Liberty displays her banners there. God grant she may triumph, and atchieve her work!*

Read again, my friend, the charming description given of this town and this State, by M. de Crevecœur. It is not exaggerated. Every American whom I have questioned on this subject, has described to me its ancient splendor, and its natural advantages, whether for commerce, agriculture, or the enjoyments of life.

The State of Rhode-Island will never again see those happy days, till they take from circulation their paper-money, and reform their government. The magistrates should be less dependent on the people than they are at present, and the members of the legislature should not be so often elected. It is inconceivable that so many honest people should groan under the present anarchy; that so many Quakers, who compose the basis of the population of this State, should not combine together to introduce this reform.*—If this reform is not speedily executed, I doubt not but the State will be unpeopled. A great part of the emigration for the settlement at Muskingum on the Ohio, is from this State. Gen. Varnum is at their head. A number of families are preparing to join them. Nearly all the honest people of Newport would quit the place, if they could sell their effects. I doubt not, likewise, but the example of Rhode-Island will be a proof, in the eyes of many people, that republican government is disastrous. This would be a wrong conclusion:—this example only proves, that there should not be a too frequent rotation in the legislative power, and that there ought to be a stability in the executive; that there is as much danger in placing the magistrates in a state of too great dependence on the people, as there is in making them too independent. It argues, in fact, against a *pure democracy*, but not against a *representative democracy*; for a representation of six months, is but a government by the people themselves. Representation, in this case, is but a shadow, which palls

* *The author is happy to find, that before the publication of this letter, this State has acceded to the new federal government. This fact proves, that good principles will predominate at last, and particular abuses will disappear.*

too suddenly to be perceived, or to feel its own existence. Of consequence, this example proves nothing against the wise system of representation, more durable, more independent, and which constitutes the true republican government, such as that of the other United States. But in the midst of these disorders, you hear nothing of robberies, of murders, or of mendicity; for the American poor do not degrade themselves so far as to abjure all ideas of equity, and all shame. And this is a trait which still marks a difference between Newport and Liege; the Rhode-Islander does not beg, and he does not steal—the ancient American blood still runs in his veins.

I was detained at Newport by the south-west winds, till the 13th, when we set sail at midnight; the Captain not wishing to sail sooner, for fear of touching before day on Block-Island. The wind and tide carried us at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour; and we should have arrived at New-York the next evening, but we were detained at Hell-Gate, a kind of gulph, eight miles from New-York. This is a narrow passage, formed by the approach of Long-Island to York-Island, and rendered horrible by rocks, concealed at high water. The whirlpool of this gulph is little perceived at low water; but it is not surprising that vessels which know it not, should be dashed in pieces. They speak of an English frigate lost there the last war. This Hell-Gate is an obstacle to the navigation of this strait; but it is not rare in summer to run from Newport to New-York, two hundred miles, in twenty hours. As you approach this city, the coasts of these two islands, present the most agreeable spectacle. They are adorned with elegant country-houses. Long-Island is celebrated for its high state of cultivation. The price of passage and your table from Providence to New-York, is six dollars.

I ought to say one word of the packet-boats of this part of America, and of the facilities which they offer. Though, in my opinion, it is more advantageous, and often less expensive, to go by land; yet I owe some praises to the cleanliness and good order ob-

ſervable in theſe boats. The one which I was in contained fourteen beds, ranged in two rows, one above the other; every one had its little window. The chamber was well aired; ſo that you do not breathe that nauſeous air which infects the packets of the Engliſh channel. It was well varniſhed; and two cloſe corners were made in the poop, which ſerve as private places. The proviſions were good. There is not a little town on all this coaſt, but what has theſe kinds of packets going to New-York; ſuch as New-Haven, New-London, &c. They have all the ſame neatneſs, the ſame embelliſhment, the ſame convenience for travellers. You may be aſſured, there is nothing like it on the old continent.

LETTER V.

On NEW-YORK.

Auguſt, 1788.

I HAVE read again, my dear friend, the deſcription given by Mr. Crevecœur, of this part of the United States; and after having compared all the articles of it with what I have ſeen, I muſt declare, that all the traits of his picture are juſt.

Nothing is more magnificent than the ſituation of this town—between two majeſtic rivers, the north and the eaſt. The former ſeparates it from New-Jerſey; it is ſo profound, that ſhips of the line anchor in it. I have at this moment under my eyes, a French ſhip of 1200 tons, deſtined to the Eaſt-India trade, which has come into it to refit. Two inconveniencies are, however, experienced in this river; the deſcent of ice in the winter, and the force of the north-weſt wind. Ships mount this commodious river as far as Albany, a town ſituated an hundred and ſeventy miles from New-York.

Albany will yield very ſoon, in proſperity, to a town called Hudſon, built on a ſpot, where, four years ago, there was only a ſimple farm-houſe. At preſent it

contains an hundred good dwelling houses, a court-house, public fountains, &c. More than fifty ships are owned here, which export the American productions to the islands and to Europe. Two whaleing ships are of the number. Their vessels do not winter idly like those of Albany, in the port. They trade in the West-Indies during his season. Poughkeepsie, on the same river, has doubled its population and its commerce since the war. The inattention of the people of Albany to foreign commerce, may be attributed to the fertility of their lands. Agriculture abounds there, and they like not to hazard themselves to the dangers of the sea, for a fortune which they can draw from the bounty of the soil which surrounds them. The fertility of the uncultivated lands, and the advantages which they offer, attract settlers to this quarter. New settlements are forming here, but slowly; because other States furnish lands, if not as fertile, at least attended with more advantages for agriculture, as they are less exposed to the excessive rigours of so long a winter.

When this part of America shall be well peopled, the north river will offer one of the finest channels for the exportation of its productions. Navigable for more than two hundred miles from the ocean, it communicates with the river Mohawk, with the lakes Oneida, Ontario, Erie, and all that part of Canada. The falls which are found in this route, may be easily vanquished by canals, so easy to construct in a country abounding with men and money. This river communicates with Canada in another quarter, by the lakes George and Champlaine. It is this situation which will render New-York the channel of the fur-trade, at least during the existence of this kind of commerce, which supposes the existence of savages, and great quantities of uncultivated lands.

By the East River, New-York communicates with Long-Island, and with all the Eastern States. Ships of the line anchor likewise in this river, and near the quay, where they are sheltered from the storms which sometimes ravage these coasts. This happy situation of New-York will explain to you the causes why the

English give it the preference over the other parts of America. Being the great market for Connecticut and New-Jersey, it pours in upon those States the productions of the East Indies, and of Europe. It is difficult to obtain an account of the exportations and importations of this State. Colonel Lamb, who is at the head of the Custom-House, invelopes all his operations in the most profound mystery; it is an effect of the Dutch spirit, which still governs this city. The Dutchman conceals his gains and his commerce; he lives but for himself. I have been able, however, to procure some details, which you will find in the general table of the commerce of the United States. The English have a great predilection for this city, and for its productions; thus its port is always covered with English ships. They prefer even its wheat; so that the American merchants bring wheat from Virginia, and sell it for that of New-York.

The presence of Congress with the diplomatic body, and the concourse of strangers, contributes much to extend here the ravages of luxury. The inhabitants are far from complaining at it; they prefer the splendour of wealth, and the show of enjoyment, to the simplicity of manners, and the pure pleasures resulting from it. The usage of smoking has not disappeared in this town, with the other customs of their fathers, the Dutch. They smoke cigars, which come from the Spanish islands. They are leaves of tobacco, rolled in form of a tube, of six inches long, which are smoked without the aid of any instrument. This usage is revolting to the French. It may appear disagreeable to the women, by destroying the purity of the breath. The Philosopher condemns it, as it is a superfluous want. It has, however, one advantage, it accustoms to meditation, and prevents loquacity. The smoker is asked a question; the answer comes a few minutes after, and is well founded. The cigar renders to a man the service that the philosopher does from a glass of water, which he drank when he was in anger.

The great commerce of this city, and the facility it

living here, augments the population of the State with great rapidity. In 1773, they reckoned 148,124 whites; in 1786, the number was 219,996.

If there is a town on the American continent where the English luxury displays its follies, it is New-York. You will find here the English fashions. In the dress of the women you will see the most brilliant silks, gauzes, hats, and borrowed hair. Equipages are rare; but they are elegant. The men have more simplicity in their dress; they disdain gewgaws, but they take their revenge in the luxury of the table.

Luxury forms already, in this town, a class of men very dangerous in society—I mean bachelors. The expence of women causes matrimony to be dreaded by men.

Tea forms, as in England, the basis of the principal parties of pleasure. Fruits, though more attended to in this State, are far from possessing the beauty and goodness of those of Europe. I have seen trees, in September, loaded at once with apples and with flowers.

M. de Crevecœur is right in his description of the abundance and good quality of provisions at New-York, in vegetables, flesh, and especially in mutton. It is difficult to unite so many advantages in one place. Provisions are dearer at New-York, than in any other of the northern or middle States. Many things, especially those of luxury, are dearer here than in France. An hair-dresser asks twenty shillings per month; washing costs four shillings for a dozen pieces.

Strangers, who, having lived a long time in America, tax the Americans with cheating, have declared to me, that this accusation must be confined to the towns, and that in the country you will find them honest. The French are the most forward in making these complaints; and they believe that the Americans are more churlish with them than with the English. If this were a fact, I should not be astonished at it. The French, whom I have seen, are eternally crying up the service which their nation has rendered to the Americans, and opposing their manners and customs, decrying their government, exalting the favours rendered

by the French government to the Americans, and diminishing those of Congress to the French.

One of the greatest errors of travellers is to calculate prices of provisions in a country, by the prices in taverns and boarding-houses. It is a false basis; we should take for the town, the price at the market, and this is about half the price that one pays at the tavern. This basis would be still false, if it were applied to the country. There are many articles which are abundant in the country, and are scarcely worth the trouble of collecting and bringing to market. These reflections appear to me necessary to put one on his guard against believing too readily in the prices estimated by hasty travellers. Other circumstances likewise influence the price: such, for example, as war, which Mr. Chastellux takes no notice of in his exaggerated account of American prices.

These prices were about double in New-York during the war, to what they are now. Boarding and lodging by the week, is from four to six dollars. The fees of lawyers are out of all proportion; they are, as in England, excessive. Physicians have not the same advantage in this respect as lawyers: the good health generally enjoyed here, renders them little necessary; yet they are sufficiently numerous.

I conversed with some of them, and asked what were the diseases most common: They told me, bilious fevers; and that the greatest part of diseases among them were occasioned by excessive cold, and the want of care; but there are few diseases here, added they. The air is pure; the inhabitants are tolerably temperate; the people in good circumstances, are not sufficiently rich to give themselves up to those debaucheries which kill so many in Europe; and there are no poor, provisions being so cheap.

Let those men who doubt the prodigious effects that liberty produces on man, and on his industry, transport themselves to America. What miracles will they here behold! whilst every where in Europe the villages and towns are falling to ruin, rather than augmenting, new edifices are here arising on all sides

New-York was in great part consumed by fire in the time of the war. The vestiges of this terrible conflagration disappear; the activity which reigns every where, announces a rising posterity: they enlarge in every quarter, and extend their streets. Elegant buildings, in the English style, take place of those sharp-roofed sloping houses of the Dutch. You find some still standing in the Dutch style; they afford some pleasure to the European observer; they trace to him the origin of this colony, and the manners of those who inhabit it, while they call to his mind the ancient Belgic State.

I walk out by the side of the North River; what a rapid change in the space of six weeks! the river is forced back 200 feet, and, by a simple mechanism, they have constructed a kind of encasement, composed of large trunks of trees crossing each other at convenient distances, and fastened together by strong beams. They conduct this floating dyke to the place where it is to be fixed, and where there is often forty feet of water. Arrived at its destination, it is sunk with an enormous weight of stones. On all sides, houses are rising, and streets extending: I see nothing but busy workmen building and repairing.

At the same time they are erecting a building for Congress. They are likewise repairing the hospital; this building is in a bad condition; not a sick person could be lodged in it at the end of the war; it was a building almost abandoned: they have restored the administration of it to the Quakers, from whom it had been taken away during the war; they have ordered it to be repaired, and the reparations are executing with the greatest vigour. This building is vast; it is of brick, and perfectly well situated on the bank of the North River. It enjoys every advantage: air the most salubrious, that may be renewed at pleasure; water in abundance; pleasant and extensive walks for the sake of magnificent and agreeable prospects; out of the town, and yet sufficiently near it.

All this is due to the Quakers, to those men so much calumniated, of whom I shall speak more fully here-

after, that is owing the order observable in the work-house, of which they have the superintendance.

It is to their zeal that is to be attributed the formation of the society for the abolition of slavery. As I shall consecrate to this important article a particular chapter, I shall not speak of it here.

A society of a more pompous title, but whose services are less real, has been lately formed. Its object is the general promotion of science and useful knowledge. They assemble rarely, and they do nothing. They have, however, eight hundred pounds in the bank, which remain idle. Their president is Gov. Clinton; and he is any other thing rather than a man of learning.

This society will have little success here—the Dutch are no lovers of letters.

But though men of learning do not abound in this city, the presence of Congress attracts from time to time, at least from all parts of America, the most celebrated men. I have seen particularly, Messrs. Jay, Madison, Hamilton, King, and Thornton. I have already spoke to you of the first.

The name of Madison, celebrated in America, is well known in Europe, by the merited eulogium made of him by his countryman and friend, Mr. Jefferson.

Though still young, he has rendered the greatest services to Virginia, to the American confederation, and to liberty and humanity in general. He contributed much, with Mr. White, in reforming the civil and criminal codes of this country. He distinguished himself particularly, in the conventions for the acceptation of a new federal system. Virginia balanced a long time in adhering to it. Mr. Madison determined to it the members of the convention, by his eloquence and his logic. This republican appears to be but about thirty-three years of age. He had, when I saw him, an air of fatigue; perhaps it was the effect of the immense labours to which he has devoted himself for some time past. His look announces a censor; his conversation discovers the man of learning; and his reserve was that of a man conscious of his talents and of his duties.

During the dinner, to which he invited me, they spoke of the refusal of North-Carolina to accede to the new constitution. The majority against it was one hundred. Mr. Madison believed that this refusal would have no weight on the minds of the Americans, and that it would not impede the operations of Congress. I told him, that though this refusal might be regarded as a trifle in America, it would have great weight in Europe; that they would never enquire there into the motives which dictated it, nor consider the small consequence of this State in the confederation; that it would be regarded as a germe of division, calculated to retard the operations of Congress; and that certainly this idea would prevent the resurrection of the American credit.

Mr. Madison attributed this refusal to the attachment of a great part of the inhabitants of that State to their paper-money, and their tender-act. He was much inclined to believe, that this disposition would not remain a long time.

Mr. Hamilton is the fellow-labourer of Mr. Madison: his figure announces a man of thirty-eight or forty years; he is not tall; his countenance is decided; his air is open and martial. He was aid-de-camp to General Washington, who had great confidence in him. Since the peace he has taken the profession of the law, and devoted himself principally to public affairs. He has distinguished himself in Congress, by his eloquence, and the solidity of his reasoning. Among the works which have come from his pen, the most distinguished are, a number of letters inserted in the Federalist, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter; and the letters of Phocion, in favour of the royalists. Mr. Hamilton had fought them with success during the war. At the establishment of peace, he was of opinion, that it was not best to drive them to despair by a rigorous persecution. And he had the happiness to gain over to these mild sentiments, those of his countrymen, whose resentment had been justly excited against these people, for the woes they had brought on their country.

This Orator triumphed again in the convention of the State of New-York, where the antifederal party was numerous. When the convention was formed at Poughkeepsie, three quarters of the members were opposed to the new system. Mr. Hamilton, joining his efforts to those of the celebrated Jay, succeeded in convincing the most obstinate, that the refusal of New York would entrain the greatest misfortunes to that State, and to the confederation. The constitution was adopted; the feast which followed the ratification in New-York, was magnificent; the ship Federalist, which was drawn in procession, was named Hamilton in honor of this eloquent speaker.

He has married the daughter of General Schuyler, a charming woman, who joins to the graces all the candour and simplicity of an American wife. At dinner, at his house, I found General Mifflin, who distinguished himself for his activity in the last war. To the vivacity of a Frenchman, he appears to unite every obliging characteristic.

Mr. King, whom I saw at this dinner, passes for the most eloquent man in the United States. What struck me most in him, was his modesty. He appears ignorant of his own worth. Mr. Hamilton has the determined air of a republican. Mr. Madison, the meditative air of a profound politician.

At this dinner, as at most others which I made in America, they drank the health of M. de la Fayette. The Americans consider him as one of the heroes of their liberty. He merits their love and esteem; they have not a better friend in France. His generosity to them has been manifested on all public occasions, and still more in private circumstances, where he could remain unknown. It is not, perhaps, to the honour of France, or the Frenchmen who have been in America, to recount the fact, That he is the only one who has succoured the unhappy sufferers in the fire at Boston in 1787, and the only one whose doors are open to the Americans.

---

* He gave three hundred pounds sterling.

Doctor Thorntorn, intimately connected with the Americans whom I have mentioned, runs a different career, that of humanity. Though, by his appearance, he does not belong to the society of friends, he has their principles, and practises their morals with regard to the blacks. He told me the efforts which he has made for the execution of a vast project conceived by him for their benefit. Persuaded that there never can exist a sincere union between the whites and the blacks, even on admitting the latter to the rights of freemen, he proposes to send them back, and establish them in Africa. This plan is frightful at the first aspect; but, on examination, it appears to be necessary and advantageous. I shall not enter upon it here, but reserve it for my letter on the state of the blacks in this country.—Mr. Thornton, who appears, by his vivacity and his agreeable manners, to belong to the French nation, was born at Antigua: his mother has a plantation there. It is there that, instead of hardening his heart to the fate of the negroes, as most of the planters do, he has acquired that humanity, that compassion for them, with which he is so much tormented. He told me, he should have set his slaves at liberty, if it had been in his power; but not being able to do this, he treats them like men.

I cannot finish this letter without speaking of another American, whose talents in finance are well known here; it is Col. Duer, secretary to the board of treasury. It is difficult to unite to a great facility in calculation, more extensive views and a quicker penetration into the most complicated projects. To these qualities he joins goodness of heart; and it is to his obliging character, and his zeal, that I owe much valuable information on the finances of this country, which I shall communicate hereafter.

I should still be wanting in gratitude, should I neglect to mention the politeness and attention shewed me by the President of Congress, Mr. Griffin. He is a Virginian, of very good abilities, of an agreeable figure, affable and polite. I saw at his house, at dinner, seven or eight women, all dressed in great hats, plumes, &c.

It was with pain that I remarked much of pretention in some of these women; one acted the giddy, vivacious; another, the woman of sentiment. This last had many pruderies and grimaces. Two among them had their bosoms very naked. I was scandalized at this indecency among republicans.

A President of Congress is far from being surrounded with the splendor of European monarchs; and so much the better. He is not durable in his station; and so much the better. He never forgets that he is a simple citizen, and will soon return to the station of one. He does not give pompous dinners; and so much the better. He has fewer parasites, and less means of corruption.

I remarked, that his table was freed from many usages observed elsewhere;—no fatiguing presentations, no toasts, so despairing in a numerous society. Little wine was drank after the women had retired. These traits will give you an idea of the temperance of this country; temperance, the leading virtue of republicans.

I ought to add one word on the finances of this State. The facility of raising an impost on foreign commerce, puts them in a situation to pay, with punctuality, the expences of the Government, the interest of their State debt, and their part of the civil list of Congress. Their revenues are said to amount to £.80,000, money of New-York. The expences of the city and county of New-York amounted, in 1787, to one-eighth of this sum, that is, to £.10,110. I will add here a state of these expences.

	£.		
Salaries	37	10	—
Elections	62	12	—
Pumps and wells	204	8	4
Roads and streets	734	2	4
Poor houses	3,791	14	4
Bridewell, or house of correction	899	11	4
Lamps	1,439	19	—
Night watch	1,931	3	—
Prisoners	372	18	10
Repairs of public building	342	15	4

Quays	25	—	—
City of New-York	137	19	—
County of New-York	130	9	—
£.	10,110	1	10

The bank of New-York enjoys a good reputation; it is well administered. Its cashier is Mr. William Seton, to whom Mr. de Crevecœur has addressed his letters; and what will give you a good idea of his integrity, is, that he was chosen to this important place notwithstanding his known attachment to the English cause. This bank receives and pays, without reward, for merchants and others, who choose to open an accompt with it.

LETTER VI.

Journey from New-York to Philadelphia.

I WENT from New-York the 25th of August, at six o'clock in the morning; and had the North River to pass before arriving to the stage. We passed the ferry in an open boat, and landed at Paulus Hook; they reckon two miles for this ferry, for which we pay sixpence, money of New-York.

The carriage is a kind of open waggon, hung with double curtains of leather and woolen, which you raise or let fall at pleasure: it is not well suspended. But the road was so fine, being sand and gravel, that we felt no inconvenience from that circumstance. The horses are good, and go with rapidity. These carriages have four benches, and may contain twelve persons. The light baggage is put under the benches, and the trunks fixed on behind. A traveller who does not choose to take the stage, has a one-horse carriage by himself.

Let the Frenchmen who have travelled in these carriages, compare them to those used in France; to those

heavy diligences, where eight or ten persons are stuffed in together; to those cabriolets in the environs of Paris, where two persons are closely confined, and deprived of air, by a dirty driver, who torments his miserable jades: and those carriages have to run over the finest roads, and yet make but one league an hour. If the Americans had such roads, with what rapidity would they travel? Since, notwithstanding the inconvenience of the roads, they now run ninety-six miles in a day. Thus, with only a century and a half of existence, and opposed by a thousand obstacles, they are already superior to people who have been undisturbed in their progress for fifteen centuries.

You find in these stages, men of all professions. They succeed each other with rapidity. One who goes but twenty miles, yields his place to one who goes farther. The mother and daughter mount the stage to go ten miles to dine; another stage brings them back. At every instant, then, you are making new acquaintances. The frequency of these carriages, the facility of finding places in them, and the low and fixed price, invite the Americans to travel. These carriages have another advantage, they keep up the idea of equality. The member of Congress is placed by the side of the shoe-maker who elected him: they fraternize together, and converse with familiarity. You see no person here taking upon himself those important airs, which you too often meet with in France. In that country, a man of condition would blush to travel in a diligence: it is an ignoble carriage; one knows not with whom he may find himself. Besides, it is in style *to run post*; this style serves to humiliate those who are condemned to a sad mediocrity. From this inequality, result envy, the taste for luxury, ostentation, an avidity for gain, the habit of mean and guilty measures to acquire wealth. It is then fortunate for America, that the nature of things prevents this distinction in the mode of travelling.

The artizan, or the labourer, who finds himself in one of these stages with a man in place, composes himself, is silent; or if he endeavors to rise to the level of

others by taking part in the conversation, he at least gains instruction. The man in place has less haughtiness, and is facilitated in gaining a knowledge of the people.

The son of Governor Livingston was in the stage with me; I should not have found him out, so easy and civil was his air, had not the tavern-keepers from time to time addressed him with respectful familiarity. I am told that the governor himself often uses those stages. You may have an idea of this respectable man, who is at once a writer, a governor, and a plowman, on learning that he takes a pride in calling himself a New-Jersey farmer.

The American stages, then, are the true political carriages. I know that the *petits maitres* of France would prefer a gay well-suspended chariot; but these carriages roll in countries of Bastilles, in countries afflicted with great inequality, and consequently with great misery.

The road from New-York to Newark is in part over a marsh: I found it really astonishing; it recalls to mind the indefatigable industry of the ancient Dutch settlers, mentioned by Mr. de Crevecœur. Built wholly of wood, with much labour and perseverance in the midst of water, on a soil that trembles under your feet, it proves to what point may be carried the patience of man, who is determined to conquer nature. But though much of these marshes are drained, there remains a large extent of them covered with stagnant waters, which infect the air, and give birth to those musquitoes with which you are cruelly tormented, and to an epidemical fever which makes great ravages in summer; a fever known likewise in Virginia and in the southern States, in parts adjacent to the sea. I am assured that the upper parts of New-Jersey are exempt from this fever, and from musquitoes; but this State is ravaged by a political scourge, more terrible than either; it is paper-money. This paper is still, in New-Jersey, what the people call a legal tender; that is, you are obliged to receive it at its nominal value, as a legal payment.

I saw, in this journey, many inconveniences resulting from this fictitious money. It gives birth to an infamous kind of traffic, that of buying and selling it, by deceiving the ignorant; a commerce which discourages industry, corrupts the morals, and is a great detriment to the public. This kind of stock-jobber is the enemy to his fellow-citizens. He makes a science of deceiving; and this science is extremely contagious. It introduces a general distrust. A person can neither sell his land, nor borrow money upon it; for sellers and lenders may be paid in a medium which may still depreciate, and they know not to what degree it may depreciate. A friend dares not trust his friend. Instances of perfidy of this kind have been known, that are horrible. Patriotism is consequently at an end, cultivation languishes, and commerce declines. How is it possible, said I to Mr. Livingston, that a country so rich, can have recourse to paper-money? New-Jersey furnishes productions in abundance to New-York and Philadelphia. She draws money, then, constantly from those places; she is their creditor. And shall a creditor make use of a resource which can be proper only for a miserable debtor? How is it that the members of your legislature have not made these reflections? The reason of it is very simple, replied he: At the close of the ruinous war, that we have experienced, the greater part of our citizens were burdened with debts. They saw in this paper-money, the means of extricating themselves; and they had influence enough with their representatives to force them to create it. But the evil falls at length on the authors of it, said I; they must be paid themselves, as well as pay others, in this same paper; and why do they not see that it dishonors their country, that it ruins all kinds of honest industry, and corrupts the morals of people? Why do they not repeal this *legal tender*? A strong interest opposes it, replied he, of stock jobbers and speculators. They wish to prolong this miserable game, in which they are sure to be the winners, though the ruin of their country should be the consequence. We expect relief only from the new constitution, which takes away

from the States the power of making paper-money. All honeſt people wiſh the extinction of it, when ſilver and gold would re-appear; and our national induſtry would ſoon repair the ravages of the war.

From Newark we went to dine at New-Brunſwick, and to ſleep at Trenton. The road is bad between the two laſt places, eſpecially after a rain; it is a road difficult to be kept in repair. We paſſed by Prince-Town; this part of New-Jerſey is very well cultivated. Mr. de Crevecœur has not exaggerated in his deſcription of it. All the towns are well built, whether in wood, ſtone, or brick. Theſe places are too well known in the military annals of this country, to require that I ſhould ſpeak of them. The taverns are much dearer on this road, than in Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut: I paid at Trenton, for a dinner, three ſhillings and ſixpence, money of Pennſylvania.

We paſſed the ferry from Trenton at ſeven in the morning. The Delaware, which ſeparates Pennſylvania from New-Jerſey, is a ſuperb river, navigable for the largeſt ſhips. Its navigation is intercepted by the ice during two months in the year. Veſſels are not attacked here by thoſe worms which are ſo deſtructive to them in rivers farther ſouth.

The proſpect from the middle of the river is charming: on the right, you ſee mills and manufactories; on the left, two charming little towns, which overlook the water. The borders of this river are ſtill in their wild ſtate. In the foreſts which cover them, are ſome enormous trees. There are likewiſe ſome houſes; but they are not equal, in point of ſimple elegance, to thoſe of Maſſachuſetts.

We breakfaſted at Briſtol, a town oppoſite to Burlington. It was here that the famous Penn firſt planted his tabernacles. But it was repreſented to him, that the river here did not furniſh anchoring ground ſo good and ſo ſafe as the place already inhabited by the Swedes, where Philadelphia has ſince been built. He reſolved, then, to purchaſe this place of them, give them other lands in exchange, and to leave Briſtol.

Paſſing the river Shammony, on a new bridge, and

then the village of Frankford, we arrived at Philadelphia, by a fine road bordered with the beſt cultivated fields, and elegant houſes, which announce the neighbourhood of a great town.

LETTER VII.

Journey to Burlington.

Auguſt 27, 1788.

I HAD paſſed but a few hours at Philadelphia, when a particular buſineſs called me to Burlington, on the borders of the Delaware. It is an elegant little town, more ancient than Philadelphia. Many of the inhabitants are Friends, or Quakers: this was formerly their place of general rendezvous.

From thence I went to the country-houſe of Mr. Temple Franklin. He is the grandſon of the celebrated Franklin; and as well known in France for his amiable qualities, as for his general information. His houſe is five miles from Burlington, on a ſandy ſoil, covered with a foreſt of pines. His houſe is ſimple, his garden is well kept, he has a good library, and his ſituation ſeems deſtined for the retreat of a philoſopher.

I dined here with five or ſix Frenchmen, who began their converſation with invectives againſt America and the Americans, againſt their want of laws, their paper-money, and their ill faith. I defended the Americans, or rather I deſired to be inſtructed by facts; for I was determined no more to believe in the opinions of individuals.

You wiſh for facts, ſaid one of them, who had exiſted in this country for three years: I will give you ſome. I ſay that the country is a miſerable one. In New-Jerſey, where we now are, there is no money, there is nothing but paper. The money is locked up, ſaid Mr. Franklin. Would you have a man be fool enough to exchange it for depreciated rags? Wait till the law ſhall take the paper from circulation. But

you cannot borrow money on the beſt ſecurity. I believe it, ſaid Mr. Franklin; the lender fears to be paid in paper. Theſe facts prove not the ſcarcity of money, but the prudence of thoſe who hold it, and the influence which debtors have in the legiſlature.

They paſſed to another point. Your laws are arbitrary, and often unjuſt: for inſtance, there is a law laying a tax of a dollar on the ſecond dog; and this tax augments in proportion to the number that a man keeps. Thus a labourer has need of dogs; but he is deprived of their ſuccour. He has no need of them, ſaid Mr. Franklin, he keeps them but for his pleaſure; and if any thing ought to be taxed, it is pleaſure. The dogs are injurious to the ſheep; inſtead of defending them, they often kill them. I was one of the firſt to ſolicit this law, becauſe we are infeſted with dogs from this quarter. To get rid of them we have put a tax on them, and it has produced ſalutary effects. The money ariſing from this tax is deſtined to indemnify thoſe whoſe ſheep are deſtroyed by theſe animals.

My Frenchmen returned to the charge:——But your taxes are extremely heavy. You ſhall judge of that, ſays Mr. Franklin; I have an eſtate here of five or ſix hundred acres: my taxes laſt year amounted to eight pounds, in paper money; this reduced to hard money, is ſix pounds.

Nothing can be more concluſive than thoſe replies. I am ſure, however, that this Frenchman has forgot them all; and that he will go and declare in France, that the taxes in New-Jerſey are diſtreſſingly heavy, and that the impoſition on dogs is abominable.

Burlington is ſeparated from Briſtol only by the river. Here is ſome commerce, and ſome men of conſiderable capital. The children here have that air of health and decency, which characteriſes the ſect of the Quakers.

LETTER VIII.

August 23, 1788.

ON returning from Burlington, I went with Mr. Shoemaker to the house of his father-in-law, Mr. Richardson, a farmer, who lives near Middleton, twenty two miles from Philadelphia.

Mr. Shoemaker is thirty years of age; he was not educated in the sect of Friends: he declared to me, that, in his youth, he was far from their principles; that he had lived in pleasure; that growing weary of them, he reflected on his conduct, and resolved to change it; that he studied the principles of the Quakers, and soon became a member of their society, notwithstanding the railleries of his friends. He had married the daughter of this Quaker, to whose house we were going. I wished to see a true American farmer.

I was really charmed with the order and neatness of this house, and of its inhabitants. They have three sons and seven daughters. One of the latter only is married; three others are marriageable. They are beautiful, easy in their manners, and decent in their deportment. Their dress is simple; they wear fine cotton on Sunday, and that which is not so fine on other days. These daughters aid their mother in the management of the family. The mother has much activity; she held in her arms a little grand daughter, which was caressed by all the children. It is truly a patriarchal family. The father is occupied constantly in the fields. We conversed much on the Society of Friends, the Society in France for the abolition of slavery, the growing of wheat, &c.

No, never was I so much edified as in this house: it is the asylum of union, friendship, and hospitality. The beds were neat, the linen white, the covering elegant; the cabinets, desks, chairs, and tables, were of black walnut, well polished, and shining. The garden furnished vegetables of all kinds, and fruits. There were ten horses in the stable; the Indian corn of the last year, still on the cob, lay in large quantities

in a cabin, of which the narrow planks, placed at small distances from each other, leave openings for the circulation of the air.

The barn was full of wheat, oats, &c; their cows furnish delicious milk for the family, of which they make excellent cheeses; their sheep give them the wool of which the cloth is made, which covers the father and the children. This cloth is spun in the house, wove and fulled in the neighbourhood. All the linen is made in the house.

Mr. Sheemaker shewed me the place where this worthy cultivator was going to build a house for his eldest son. You see, said he to me, the wealth of this good farmer. His father was a poor Scotchman; he came to America, and applied himself to agriculture, and by his industry and economy amassed a large fortune. This son of his is likewise rich; he sells his grain to a miller in the neighbourhood; his vegetables, butter, and cheese, are sent once a week to town.

I went to see this miller. I recollected what Mr. de Crevecœur had said in praise of the American mills. This one merited it for its neatness, and for the intelligence with which the different operations were distributed. There were three sets of stones destined to the making of four of different degrees of fineness. They employ only the stones of France for the first quality of flour. They are exported from Bourdeaux and Rouen. In these mills they have multiplied the machinery, to spare hand-labour in all the operations; such as, hoisting the wheat, cleansing it, raising the flour to the place where it is to be spread, collecting it again into the chamber, where it is to be put in barrels.

These barrels are marked at the mill with the name of the miller; and this mark indicates the quality of the flour. That which is designed for exportation is again inspected at the port; and, if not merchantable, it is condemned.

The millers here are flour-merchants; mills are a kind of property which ensure a constant income.

LETTER IX.

Visit from the good Warner Mifflin.

August 30th, 1788.

I WAS ſick, and Warner Miflin came to ſee me. You know Warner Miflin; you have read the eulogium made of him by M. de Crevecœur. It is he that firſt freed all his ſlaves; it is he who, without a paſſport, traverſed the Britiſh army, and ſpoke to General Howe with ſo much firmneſs and dignity; it is he who, fearing not the effects of the general hatred againſt the Quakers, went, at the riſk of being treated as a ſpy, to preſent himſelf to General Waſhington, to juſtify to him the conduct of the Quakers; it is he, that in the midſt of the furies of war, equally a friend to the French, the Engliſh, and the Americans, carried generous ſuccours to thoſe among them who were ſuffering. Well, this angel of peace came to ſee me. I am Warner Miflin, ſays he; I have read the book wherein thou defendeſt the cauſe of the Friends, wherein thou preacheſt the principles of univerſal benevolence; I knew that thou waſt here, and I have come to ſee thee; beſides, I love thy nation. I was, I confeſs, much prejudiced againſt the French; I even hated them, having been, in this reſpect, educated in the Engliſh principles. But when I came to ſee them, a ſecret voice ſaid to me, that I ought to drive from my heart that prejudice; that I ought to know them, and love them. I have then ſought for them. I have known them; and it is with pleaſure I have found them to poſſeſs a ſpirit of mildneſs and general benevolence, which I had never found among the Engliſh.

I cannot report to you all the converſation of this worthy Quaker; it made a deep impreſſion on my heart. What humanity! and what charity! It ſeems, that to love mankind, and to ſearch to do them good, conſtitutes his only pleaſure, his only exiſtence; his conſtant occupation is to find the means of making all men but one family; and he does not deſpair of it. He ſpoke to me of the Society of Quakers at Nifmes,

and of some friends in America and England, who have been to visit them. He regarded them as instruments designed to propagate the principles of the society through the world. I mentioned to him some obstacles; such as the corruption of our morals, and the power of the clergy. O, my friend, said he, is not the arm of the Almighty stronger than the arm of man? What were we when the society took its birth in England? What was America thirteen years ago, when Benezet raised his voice against the slavery of the blacks? Let us always endeavour to do good; fear no obstacles, and the good will be done.

All this was said without the least ostentation. He said what he felt, what he had thought a thousand times; he spoke from the heart, and not from the head. He realized what he had told me of that secret voice, that internal spirit, of which the Quakers speak so much; he was animated by it. Ah! who can see, who can hear a man, so much exalted above human nature, without reflecting on himself, without endeavouring to imitate him, without blushing at his own weakness? What are the finest writings, in comparison with a life so pure, a conduct so constantly devoted to the good of humanity? How small I appeared in contemplating him! And shall we calumniate a sect to which a man so venerable belongs? Shall we paint it as the centre of hypocrisy and deceit? We must then suppose that Mifflin counterfeits humanity; that he is in concert with hypocrites, or that he is blind to their true character. To counterfeit humanity, to consent to sacrifice one's interests, to be scoffed and ridiculed, to impart his goods to the poor, to affranchise his negroes, and all this by hypocrisy, would be a very bad speculation; hypocrisy makes better calculations. But, if you suppose this man to be true and honest as to himself, can you imagine him to be in concert with knaves? This would be an absurd contradiction. Finally, on hearing this man, full of good sense, and endowed with a solid judgment, reasoning with so much force, can you believe that he has been, for all his life, the dupe of a band of sharpers, when he is

at the same time in all their most secret counsels, and one of their chiefs? Yes, my friend, I repeat it, the attachment of an angel like Warner Mifflin to the sect of Quakers, is the fairest apology for that society.

He took me one day to see his intended wife, Miss Ameland, whom he was to marry in a few days. She is a worthy companion of this reputable Quaker. What mildness! what modesty! and, at the same time, what entertainment in her conversation! Miss Ameland once loved the world. She made verses and music, and was fond of dancing. Though young still, she has renounced all these amusements, to embrace the life of an anchorite. In the midst of the world she has persisted in her design, notwithstanding the pleasantries of her acquaintance.

LETTER X.

The Funeral of a Quaker—A Quaker-Meeting.

I WAS present at the funeral of Thomas Holsall, one of the elders of the Society of Friends. James Pemberton conducted me to it. I found a number of Friends assembled about the house of the deceased, and waiting in silence for the body to appear. It appeared, and was in a coffin of black walnut, without any covering or ornament, borne by four Friends: some women followed, who, I was told, were the near relatives, and grand-children of the deceased.* All the friends followed in silence, two by two. I was of the number. There were no places designated; young and old mingled together; but all bore the same air of gravity and attention. The burying ground is in the town; but it is not surrounded with houses. I saw near some of the graves, some pieces of black stones, on which the names only of the dead were

---

* *None of them were dress in black. The Quakers regard this testimony of grief as childish.*

engraved. The greateſt part of the Quakers diſlike even this; they ſay, that a man ought to live in the memory of his friends, not by vain inſcriptions, but by good actions. The grave was ſix or ſeven feet deep; they placed the body by the ſide of it. On the oppoſite ſide were ſeated, on wooden chairs, the four women, who appeared to be the moſt affected. The people gathered round, and remained for five minutes in profound meditation. All their countenances marked a gravity ſuitable to the occaſion, but nothing of grief. This interval being elapſed, they let down the body, and covered it with earth; when a man advanced near the grave, planted his cane in the ground, fixed his hat upon it, and began a diſcourſe relative to this ſad ceremony. He trembled in all his body, and his eyes were ſtaring and wild. His diſcourſe turned upon the tribulations of this life, the neceſſity of recurring to God, &c. When he had finiſhed, a woman threw herſelf on her knees, made a very ſhort prayer, the men took off their hats, and all retired.

I was at firſt ſurpriſed, I confeſs, at this trembling of the preacher. We are ſo accuſtomed, by our European philoſophy, to conſider thoſe appearances as the effect of hypocriſy, and to annex to them the idea of ridicule, that it was difficult to prevent myſelf from being ſeized with a like impreſſion: but I recollected that ſomething ſimiliar had happened to me a hundred times; when I had been warmed with a ſubject, and drawn into an intereſting diſcuſſion, I have been tranſported out of myſelf to ſuch a degree, that I could neither ſee nor hear, but experienced a conſiderable trembling. Hence I concluded, that it might be natural, eſpecially to a man continually occupied in meditation on the Almighty, on death, and a future ſtate. I went from thence with theſe Friends to their meeting. The moſt profound ſilence reigned for near an hour; when one of their miniſters, or elders, who ſat on the front bench, roſe, pronounced four words—then was ſilent for a minute, then ſpoke four words more; and his whole diſcourſe was pronounced in this manner. This method is generally followed by

their preachers; for, another who spoke after him observed the same intervals.

Whether I judged from habit or reason, I know not; but this manner of speaking appeared to me not calculated to produce a great effect: for the sense of the phrase is perpetually interrupted; and the hearer is obliged to guess at the meaning, or be in suspense; either of which is fatiguing. But before forming a decisive opinion, we ought to inquire into the reasons which have led the Quakers to adopt this method. Certainly the manner of the ancient orators and modern preachers, is better imagined for producing the great effect of eloquence. They speak by turns, to the imagination, to the passions, and to the reason; they please in order to move; they please in order to convince; and it is by pleasure that they draw you after them. This is the eloquence necessary for men enervated and enfeebled, who wish to spare themselves the trouble of thinking. The Quakers are of a different character; they early habituate themselves to meditation; they are men of much reflection, and of few words. They have no need, then, of preachers with sounding phrases and long sermons. They disdain elegance as an useless amusement; and long sermons appear disproportioned to the force of the human mind, and improper for the divine service. The mind should not be loaded with too many truths at once, if you wish they should make a lasting impression. The object of preaching being to convert, it ought rather to lead to reflection, than to dazzle and amuse.

I observed, in the countenances of all this congregation, an air of gravity mixed with sadness. Perhaps I am prejudiced; but I should like better, while people are adoring their God, to see them have an air which would dispose persons to love each other, and to be fond of the worship. Such an air would be attracting to young people, whom too much severity disgusts. Besides, why should a person with a good conscience pray to God with a sad countenance?

The prayer which terminated the meeting was fervent; it was pronounced by a minister, who fell a

his knees. The men took off their hats; and each retired, after having ſhaken hands with his neighbour.

What a difference between the ſimplicity of this, and the pomp of the catholic worſhip! Reformation, in all ſtages, has diminiſhed the formalities: You will find this regular diminution in deſcending from the Catholic to the Lutheran, from the Lutheran to the Preſbyterian, and from thence to Quakers and Methodiſts. It is thus that human reaſon progreſſes towards perfection.

In conſidering the ſimplicity of the Quaker's worſhip, and the air of ſadneſs that in the eyes of ſtrangers appears to accompany it, an air which one would think diſguſting to young people even of their own ſect, I have been ſurpriſed that the Society ſhould maintain a concurrence with more brilliant ſects, and even increaſe by making proſelytes from them. This effect is principally to be attributed to the ſingular image of domeſtic happineſs which the Quakers enjoy. Renouncing all external pleaſures, muſic, theatres, and ſhows, they are devoted to their duties as citizens, to their families, and to their buſineſs; thus they are beloved by their wives, cheriſhed by their children, and eſteemed by their neighbours. Such is the ſpectacle which has often drawn to this Society, men who have ridiculed it in their youth.

The hiſtory of the Quakers will prove the falſity of a principle often advanced in politics. It is this: that, to maintain order in ſociety, it is neceſſary to have a mode of worſhip ſtriking to the ſenſes; and that the more ſhow and pomp are introduced into it, the better. This is what has given birth to, and ſtill juſtifies, our full *chants*, our *ſpiritual concerts*, our *proceſſions*, our *ornaments*, &c. Two or three hundred thouſand Quakers have none of theſe mummeries, and yet they obſerve good order.

This fact has led me to another concluſion, the falſidity of which has been hitherto diſputed. It is, the poſſibility of a *nation of Deiſts*.* A nation of Deiſts

* *Neither the Engliſh nor Americans attach the ſame idea*

maintaining good government, would be a miracle in political religion. And why should it not exist, when knowledge shall be more universally extended, when it shall penetrate all ranks of society? What difference would there be between a society of Deists, and one of Quakers, assembling to hear a discourse on the immortality of the soul, and to pray God in simple language!

LETTER XI.

*Visit to a Bettering-House, or House of Correction.**

THIS hospital is situated in the open country, in one of those parts of the original plan of Philadelphia not yet covered with houses. It is already divided into regular streets; and, God grant that these projected streets may never be any thing more than imaginary! If they should one day be adorned with houses, it would be a misfortune to the hospitals, to Pennsylvania, and to all America.

This hospital is constructed of bricks, and composed of two large buildings; one for men, and the other for women. There is a separation in the court, which is common to them. This institution has several objects; they receive into it, the poor, the sick, orphans, women in travail, and persons attacked with venereal diseases. They likewise confine here, vagabonds, disorderly persons, and girls of scandalous lives.

There exists then, you will say, even in Philadelphia that disgusting commerce of diseases, rather than of pleasures, which for so long a time has empoisoned our continent. Yes, my friend, two or three of the most considerable maritime towns of the new conti-

---

to this word that a Frenchman does. They consider the Deist as a kind of Materialist. I understand by a Deist, a man who believes in God, and the immortality of the soul.

* *This house is properly named, because, contrary to the ordinary effect of hospitals, it renders the prisoners better.*

nent are afflicted by this leprosy. It was almost unknown before the revolution; but the abode of foreign armies has naturalized it, and it is one of those scourges for which the free Americans are indebted to us. But this traffic is not carried on so scandalously as at Paris or London. It is restrained, it is held in contempt, and almost imperceptible. I ought to say, to the honor of the Americans, that it is nourished only by emigrants and European travellers; for the sanctity of marriage is still universally respected in America. Young people marrying early, and without obstacles, are not tempted to go and dishonor, and empoison themselves in places of prostitution.

But to finish my account of this hospital, there are particular halls appropriated to each class of poor, and to each species of sickness, and each hall has its superintendant. This institution was rich, and well administered before the war. The greater part of the administrators were Quakers. The war and paper-money introduced a different order of things. The legislature resolved not to admit to its administration, any persons but such as had taken the oath of fidelity to the State. The Quakers were by this excluded, and the management of it fell into hands not so pure. The spirit of depredation was manifest in it, and paper-money was still more injurious. Creditors of the hospital were paid, or rather ruined by this operation. About a year ago, on the report of the inspectors of the hospitals, the legislature, considering the abuses practised in that administration, confided that of the bettering-house again to the Quakers. Without any resentment of the affronts they had received during the war, and only anxious to do good and perform their duty, the Friends accepted the administration, and exercise it as before, with zeal and fidelity. This change has produced the effect which was expected. Order is visibly re-established; many administrators are appointed, one of whom, by turns, is to visit the hospital every day: six physicians are attached to it, who perform the service *gratis*.

I have seen the hospitals of France, both at Paris,

and in the provinces. I know none of them, but the one at Besançon, that can be compared to this at Philadelphia. Every sick, and every poor person, has his bed well furnished, but without curtains, as it should be. Every room is lighted by windows placed opposite, which introduce plenty of light, that great consolation to a man confined, of which tyrants for this reason are cruelly sparing. These windows admit a free circulation of air: most of them open over the fields; and as they are not very high, and without grates, it would be very easy for the prisoners to make their escape; but the idea never enters their heads. This fact proves that the prisoners are happy, and, consequently, that the administration is good.

The kitchens are well kept, and do not exhale that fetid odour which you perceive from the best kitchens in France. The eating-rooms, which are on the ground floor, are equally clean, and well aired: neatness and good air reign in every part. A large garden at the end of the court, furnishes vegetables for the kitchen. I was surprised to find there, a great number of foreign shrubs and plants. The garden is well cultivated. In the yard they rear a great number of hogs; for, in America, the hog, as well as the ox, does the honors of the table through the whole year.

I could scarcely describe to you the different sensations which, by turns, rejoiced and afflicted my heart, in going through their different apartments. An hospital, how well soever administered, is always a painful spectacle to me. It appears to me so consoling for a sick man to be at his own home, attended by his wife and children, and visited by his neighbours, that I regard hospitals as vast sepulchres, where are brought together a crowd of individuals, strangers to each other, and separated from all they hold dear. And what is man in this situation?—A leaf detached from the tree, and driven down by the torrent—a skeleton no longer of any consistence, and bordering on dissolution.

But this idea soon gives place to another. Since societies are condemned to be infested with great cities, since misery and vice are the necessary offspring of these

cities, a house like this becomes the asylum of beneficence; for, without the aid of such institutions, what would become of the greater part of those wretches who here find a refuge? So many women, blind, deaf, rendered disgusting by their numerous infirmities. They must very soon perish, abandoned by all the world, to whom they are strangers. No door but that of their common mother earth would receive these hideous figures, were it not for this provision made by their common friend, Society.

I saw in this hospital, all that misery and disease can assemble. I saw women suffering on the bed of pain; others, whose meagre visages, roughened with pimples, attest the effect of fatal incontinence; others, who waited with groans the moment when Heaven would deliver them from a burden which dishonours them; others, holding in their arms the fruit, not of a legal marriage, but of love betrayed. Poor innocents! born under the star of wretchedness! Why should men be born, predestinated to misfortunes? But, bless God, at least, that you are in a country where bastardy is no obstacle to respectability and the rights of citizenship. I saw with pleasure these unhappy mothers caressing their infants, and nursing them with tenderness. There were few children in the hall of the little orphans; these were in good health, and appeared gay and happy. Mr. Shoemaker, who conducted me thither, and another of the directors, distributed some cakes among them, which they had brought in their pockets. Thus the directors think of their charge even at a distance, and occupy themselves with their happiness. Good God! there is, then, a country where the soul of the governor of an hospital is not a soul of brass!

Blacks are here mingled with the whites, and lodged in the same apartments. This, to me, was an edifying sight; it seemed a balm to my soul. I saw a negro woman spinning with activity by the side of her bed. Her eyes seemed to expect from the director, a word of consolation—She obtained it; and it seemed to be heaven to her to hear him. I should have been

more happy, had it been for me to have spoken the word: I should have added many more. Unhappy negroes! how much reparation do we owe them for the evils we have occasioned them—the evils we still occasion them! and they love us!

The happiness of this negress was not equal to that which I saw sparkle on the visage of a young blind girl, who seemed to leap for joy at the sound of the director's voice. He asked after her health: she answered him with transport. She was taking her tea by the side of her little table—Her tea!—My friend, you are astonished at this luxury in an hospital—It is because there is humanity in its administration, and the wretches are not crowded in here in heaps to be stifled. They give tea to those whose conduct is satisfactory: and those who by their work are able to make some savings, enjoy the fruits of their industry. I remarked in this hospital, the women were much more numerous than the men; and among the latter, I saw none of those hideous figures so common in the hospitals of Paris—figures on which you trace the marks of crimes, misery, and indolence. They have a decent appearance: many of them asked the director for their enlargement, which they obtained.

But what resources have they, on leaving this house? They have their hands, answered the director, and they may find useful occupations. But the women, replied I, what can they do? Their condition is not so fortunate, said he. In a town where so many men are occupied in foreign commerce, the number of unhappy and disorderly females will be augmented. To prevent this inconvenience, it has been lately proposed to form a new establishment, which shall give to girls of this description an useful occupation, where the produce of the industry of each person shall be preserved and given to her on leaving the house; or, if she should choose to remain, she shall always enjoy the fruit of her own labour.

This project will, without doubt, be executed; for the Quakers are ingenious and persevering, when they have in view the succour of the unhappy. My friend,

the author of this project is my conductor. I see him beloved and respected, constantly occupied in useful things; and he is but thirty years of age! and is it astonishing that I praise a sect which produces such prodigies?

On our return from the hospital, we drank a bottle of cyder. Compare this frugal repast to the sumptuous feasts given by the superintendants of the poor of London—by those humane inspectors who assemble to consult on making repairs to the amount of six shillings, and order a dinner for six guineas. You never find among the Quakers these robberies upon indigence, these infamous treasons against beneficence. Bless them, then, ye rich and poor: ye rich, because their fidelity and prudence economise your money: ye poor, because their humanity watches over you without ceasing.

The expences of this hospital amount to about five pence a day, money of Pennsylvania, for each pensioner. You know that the best administered hospital in Paris, amounts to about fourteen pence like money a day; and, what a difference in the treatment!

LETTER XII.

HOSPITAL for LUNATICS.

THIS is the hospital so justly celebrated by M. de Crevecœur, and which the humane Mr. Mazzei regards only as a curiosity scarcely worth seeing.

The building is fine, elegant and well kept. I was charmed with the cleanliness in the halls of the sick, as well as in the particular chambers. I observed the bust of Franklin in the library, and was told that this honor was rendered him as one of the principal founders of this institution. The library is not numerous, but it is well chosen. The hall on the first floor, is appropriated to sick men: there were six in it. About the same number of sick women were in a like hall on

the second floor. These persons appeared by no means miserable; they seemed to be at home. I went below, to see the lunatics; they were about fifteen, male and female. Each one has his cell, with a bed, a table, and a convenient window with grates. Stoves are fixed in the walls, to warm the cell in winter.

There were no mad persons among them. Most of the patients are the victims of religious melancholy, or of disappointed love. These unhappy persons are treated with the greatest tenderness; they are allowed to walk in the court; are constantly visited by two physicians. Dr. Rush has invented a kind of swing chair for their exercise.

What a difference between this treatment and the atrocious regulations to which we condemn such wretches in France! where they are rigorously confined, and their disorders scarcely ever fail to increase upon them. The Turks, on the contrary, manifest a singular respect to persons insane: they are eager to administer food to them, to load them with caresses. Fools in that country are never known to be injurious; whereas, with us, they are dangerous, because they are unhappy.

The view of these persons affected me more than that of the sick. The last of human miseries, in my opinion, is confinement; and I cannot conceive how a sick person can be cured in prison, for confinement itself is a continual malady. The exercise of walking abroad, the view of the field, the murmur of the rivulets, and the singing of birds, with the aid of vegetable diet, appear to me the best means of curing insanity. It is true, that this method requires too many attendants; and the impossibility of following it for the hospital of Philadelphia, makes it necessary to recur to locks and bars. But why do they place these cells beneath the ground-floor, exposed to the unwholsome humidity of the earth? The enlightened and humane Dr. Rush told me, that he had endeavored for a long time in vain, to introduce a change in this particular; and that this hospital was founded at a time when little attention was thought necessary for the accommodation

of fools. I observed, that none of these fools were naked, or indecent; a thing very common with us. These people preserve, even in their folly, their primitive characteristic of decency.

I could not leave this place without being tormented with one bitter reflection.—A man of the most brilliant genius may here finish his days. If Swift had not been rich, he had dragged out his last moments in such an hospital. O ye who watch over them, be gentle in your administration!—perhaps a benefactor of the human race has fallen under your care.

LETTER XIII.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

THANKS to God, he still exists!—This great man, for so many years the preceptor of the Americans, who so gloriously contributed to their independence, death had threatened his days; but our fears are dissipated, and his health is restored. I have just been to see him, and enjoy his conversation, in the midst of his books, which he still calls his best friends. The pains of his cruel infirmity change not the serenity of his countenance, nor the calmness of his conversation. If these appeared so agreeable to our Frenchmen, who enjoyed his friendship in Paris, how would they seem to them here, where no diplomatic functions impose upon him that mask of reserve which was sometimes so chilling to his guests. Franklin, surrounded by his family, appears to be one of those patriarchs whom he has so well described, and whose language he has copied with such simple elegance. He seems one of those ancient philosophers, who at times descended from the sphere of his elevated genius, to instruct weak mortals, by accommodating himself to their feebleness. I have found in America, a great number of enlightened politicians and virtuous men; but I find none who appear to possess, in so high a degree as Franklin,

the characteristics of a real philosopher. You know him, my friend. A love for the human race in habitual exercise, an indefatigable zeal to serve them, extensive information, simplicity of manners, and purity of morals; all these furnish not marks of distinction sufficiently observable between him and other patriot politicians, unless we add another characteristic; it is, that Franklin, in the midst of the vast scene in which he acted so distinguished a part, had his eyes fixed without ceasing on a more extensive theatre—on Heaven and a future life; the only point of view which can sustain, disinterest, and aggrandize man upon earth, and make him a true philosopher. All his life has been but a continued study and practice of philosophy.

I wish to give you a sketch of it from some traits which I have been able to collect, as his history has been much disfigured. This sketch may serve to rectify some of those false anecdotes which circulate in Europe.

Franklin was born at Boston, in 1706, the fifteenth child of a man who was a dyer and a soap-boiler. He wished to bring up this son to his own trade; but the lad took an invincible dislike to it, preferring even the life of a sailor. The father disliking this choice, placed him apprentice with an elder son, who was a printer and published a news-paper.

Three traits of character, displayed at that early period, might have given an idea of the extraordinary genius which he was afterwards to discover.

The puritanic austerity which at that time predominated in Massachusetts, impressed the mind of young Benjamin in a manner more oblique than it had done that of his father. The old man was in the practise of making long prayers and benedictions before all his meals. One day, at the beginning of winter, when he was salting his meat, and laying in his provision for the season, "Father," says the boy, "it would be a great saving of time, if you would say grace over all these barrels of meat at once, and let that suffice for the winter."

Soon after he went to live with his brother, he be-

gan to address pieces to him for his paper, in a disguised hand-writing. These essays were universally admired: his brother became jealous of him, and endeavored, by severe treatment, to cramp his genius. This obliged him soon to quit his service, and go to seek his fortune at New-York.

Benjamin had read a treatise of Dr. Tryon on the Pythagorean regimen; and, fully convinced by its reasoning, he abstained from the use of meat for a long time; and became irreconcilable to it, until a cod-fish, which he caught in the open sea, and found its stomach full of little fish, overturned his whole system. He concluded, that since the fishes eat each other, men might very well feed upon other animals. This Pythagorean diet was economical to the printer's boy: it saved him some money to lay out for books; and reading was the first and constant passion of his life.

Having left his father's house without recommendation, and almost without money, depending only upon himself, but always confident in his own judgment, and rejoicing in his independence, he became the sport of accidents, which served rather to prove him, than to discourage him. Wandering in the streets of Philadelphia, with only five shillings in his pocket, not known to a person in the town, eating a crust of bread, and quenching his thirst in the waters of the Delaware; who could have discerned in this wretched labourer, one of the future legislators of America, one of the fathers of modern philosophy, and an ambassador covered with glory in the most wealthy, the most powerful, and the most enlightened country in the world? Who could have believed that France, that Europe, would one day erect statues to the man who had not where to lay his head?

This circumstance reminds me of a similar one of Rousseau:—Having for his whole fortune six liards; harrassed with fatigue, and tormented with hunger; he hesitated whether he should sacrifice this little piece to his repose, or to his stomach. He decided the conflict by purchasing a piece of bread, and resigning himself to sleep in the open air. In this abandonment

of nature and men, he ſtill enjoyed the one, and deſpiſed the other. The Lycæneſe, who diſdained Rouſſeau becauſe he was ill dreſſed, has died unknown; while ſtatues are now erected to the man ill-dreſſed. Theſe examples ought to conſole men of genius, whom fortune may reduce to the neceſſity of ſtruggling againſt want. Adverſity but forms them, and perſeverance will bring its reward.

Arriving at Philadelphia did not finiſh the misfortunes of Benjamin Franklin. He was there deceived and diſappointed by Governor Keith, who, by fine promiſes for his future eſtabliſhment, which he never realized, induced him to embark for London, where he arrived without money and without recommendations. Happily he knew how to procure ſubſiſtence. His talent for the preſs, in which no perſon excelled him, ſoon gave him occupation. His frugality, the regularity of his conduct, and the good ſenſe of his converſation, procured him the eſteem of his comrades; his reputation in this reſpect, exiſted for fifty years afterwards in the printing-offices in London.

An employment promiſed him by a Mr. Derham, recalled him to his country in 1726, when fortune put him to another proof. His protector died; and Franklin was obliged, for ſubſiſtence to have recourſe again to the Preſs. He found the means ſoon afterwards to eſtabliſh a Printing-Preſs himſelf, and to publiſh a Gazette. At this period began his good ſucceſs, which never afterwards abandoned him. He married a Miſs Read, to whom he was attached by a long friendſhip, and who merited all his eſteem. She partook of his enlarged and beneficent ideas, and was the model of a virtuous wife and a good neighbour.

Having arrived at this degree of independence Franklin had leiſure to purſue his ſpeculations for the good of the public. His gazette furniſhed him with the regular and conſtant means of inſtructing his fellow-citizens. He made this gazette the principal object of his attention; ſo that it acquired a vaſt reputation, was read through the whole country, and may be conſidered as having contributed much to perfect-

mate in Pennsylvania those excellent morals which still distinguish that State.

I possess one of these gazettes, compiled by him, and printed at his press. It is a precious relick, a monument which I wish to preserve with reverence, to teach men to blush at the prejudice which makes them despise the useful and important profession of the editor of daily papers. Men of this profession, among a free people, are their first preceptors, and best friends; and when they unite talents with patriotism and philosophy, when they serve as the canal for communicating truths, for dissipating prejudices, and removing those hatreds which prevent the human race from uniting together in one great family, these men are the curates, the missionaries, the angels, deputed from heaven for the happiness of men.

Let it not be said, in ridicule of this profession, that an ill use is sometimes made of it, for the defence of vice, of despotism, of errors. Shall we proscribe eloquence and the use of speech, because wicked men possess them?

But a work which contributed still more to diffuse in America the practise of frugality, economy, and good morals, was *Poor Richard's Almanack*. You are acquainted with it; it had a great reputation in France, but still more in America. Franklin continued it for twenty-five years, and sold annually more than ten thousand copies. In this work, the most weighty truths are delivered in the simplest language, and suited to the comprehension of all the world.

In 1736, Franklin began his public career. He was appointed Secretary of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and continued in that employment for many years.

In 1737, the English government confided to him the administration of the general post-office in America. He made it at once lucrative to the revenue, and useful to the inhabitants. It served him particularly to extend every where his useful gazettes.

Since that epoch, not a year has passed without his proposing, and carrying into execution, some project useful to the colonies.

To him are owing the companies of insurance against fire; companies so necessary in countries where houses are built with wood, and where fires completely ruin individuals; while, on the contrary, they are disastrous in a country where fires are not frequent, and not dangerous.

To him is owing the establishment of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, its library, its university, its hospitals, &c.

Franklin, persuaded that information could not be extended but by first collecting it, and by assembling men who are likely to possess it, was always extremely ardent to encourage literary and political clubs. In one of these clubs, which he founded, the following questions were put to the candidate:—

"Do you love all men, of whatever religion they may be? Do you believe that we ought to persecute or decry a man for mere speculative opinions, or for his mode of worship? Do you love truth for its own sake? And will you employ all your efforts to discover it, and make it known to others?"

Observe, again, the spirit of this club in the questions put to the members at their meetings.—"Know you any citizen who has lately been remarkable for his industry? Know you in what the Society can be useful to its brethren, and to all the human race? Is there any stranger arrived in town? In what can the Society be useful to him? Is there any young person beginning business, who wants encouragement? Have you observed any defects in the new acts of the legislature, which can be remedied? How can the Society be useful to you?"

The attention which he paid to these institutions of literature and humanity, did not divert him from his public functions, nor from his experiments in natural philosophy.

His labours on these subjects are well known; I shall therefore not speak of them, but confine myself to the fact which has been little remarked: it is, that Franklin always directed his labours to that kind of public utility which, without procuring any great eclat to its

author, produces great advantage to the citizens at large. It is to this popular taste, which characterised him, that we owe the invention of his electrical conductors, his economical stoves, his dissertations, truly philosophical, on the means of preventing chimneys from smoking, on the advantages of copper roofs to houses, the establishment of so many paper-mills in Pennsylvania,* &c.

The circumstances of his political career are likewise known to you; I therefore pass them over in silence. But I ought not to omit to mention his conduct during the war of 1755. At that period he enjoyed a great reputation in the English colonies. In 1754 he was appointed one of the members of the famous Congress, which was held at Albany; the object of which was to take the necessary measures to prevent the invasion of the French. He presented to that Congress an excellent *plan of union and defence*, which was adopted by that body; but it was rejected in London by the department for the colonies, under the pretext that it was too democratical. It is probable that, had this plan been pursued, the colonies would not have been ravaged by the dreadful war which followed. During this war, Franklin performed many important functions. At one time he was sent to cover the frontiers, to raise troops, build forts, &c. You then see him contesting with the governor, to force him to give his consent to a bill taxing the family of Penn, who were proprietors of one-third of the lands of Pennsylvania, and refused to pay taxes. He then was sent deputy to London, where he was successful in supporting the cause of the colony in the Privy Council against that powerful family.

---

* *Dr. Franklin told me that he had established about Eighteen paper-mills. His grandson, Mr. T. Franklin will doubtless publish a collection of his useful letters on the salutary or pernicious effects of different processes in the arts. These letters are scattered in the American gazettes. The collection of them would be curious.*

The superior skill and management which he discovered in these negociations, were the forerunners of the more important success which attended him during the war of independence, when he was sent ambassador to France.

On his final return to his country, he obtained all the honors which his important services merited. His great age, and his infirmities, have compelled him at last to renounce his public career, which he has run with so much glory. He lives retired, with his family, in a house which he has built on the spot where he first landed, sixty years before, and where he found himself wandering without a home, and without acquaintance. In this house he has established a printing-press and a type-foundery. From a printer he had become ambassador; from this he has now returned to his beloved press, and is forming to this precious art his grandson, Mr. Bache. He has placed him at the head of an enterprise which will be infinitely useful; it is a complete edition of all the classic authors, that is, of all those moral writers whose works ought to be the manual for men who wish to gain instruction, and make themselves happy in doing good to others.

It is in the midst of these holy occupations, that this great man waits for death with tranquillity. You will judge of his philosophy on this point, which is the touchstone of philosophy, by the following letter, written thirty years ago on the death of his brother John Franklin, addressed to Mrs. Hubbard, his daughter-in-law.

"My dear child,

I AM grieved with you; we have lost a friend, who, to us, was very dear, and very precious. But it is the will of God and of nature, that these mortal bodies should be laid aside, when the soul is ready to enter into real life; for this life is but an embryo state, a preparation for life. A man is not completely born, until he is dead. Shall we complain, then, that a new-born has taken his place among the immortals?

We are spirits. It is a proof of the goodness of God, that our bodies are lent us so long as they can be useful to us, in receiving pleasure, in acquiring knowledge, or in doing good to our fellow-creatures; and he gives a new proof of the same goodness in delivering us from our bodies, when, instead of pleasure, they cause us pain; when instead of aiding others, we become chargeable to them. Death is then a blessing from God; we ourselves often prefer a partial death to a continued pain; it is thus that we consent to the amputation of a limb, when it cannot be restored to life. On quitting our bodies, we are delivered from all kinds of pain. Our friend and we are invited to a party of pleasure which will endure eternally: he has gone first; why should we regret it, since we are so soon to follow, and we know where we are to meet?"

Appendix to the preceding Chapter, written in December, 1790.

FRANKLIN has enjoyed, this year, the blessing of death, for which he waited so long a time. I will here repeat the reflections which I printed in my Gazette of the 13th of June last, on this event, and on the decree of the National Assembly on this occasion.

I will introduce them with the discourse of M. Mirabeau in that assembly.

"Gentlemen,

Franklin is dead—he has returned to the bosom of God—the genius who has liberated America, and shed over Europe the torrents of his light!

"The sage of two worlds—the man for whom the history of sciences and the history of empires contend, should doubtless hold an elevated rank in the human race.

"Too long have political cabinets been accustomed to notify the death of those who are great only in their funeral pomp; too long has the etiquette of courts proclaimed hypocritical mourning. Nations ought to mourn only for their benefactors; the representatives

of nations ought to recommend to their homage, none but the heroes of humanity.

"The Congress have ordained a mourning of two months for the death of Franklin; and America, at this moment, is rendering this tribute of veneration to one of the fathers of her constitution.

"Would it not be worthy of you, gentlemen, to join them in this truly religious act, to participate in this homage rendered in the face of the universe to the rights of men, to the philosopher, who has contributed the most to extend their empire over the face of the earth?

"Antiquity would have raised altars to that powerful genius, who, for the benefit of men, embracing heaven and earth, could have curbed the thunders of the one, and the tyrants of the other. Europe, enlightened and free, owes at least a testimony of gratitude to the greatest man that ever adorned philosophy and liberty!

"I propose that it be decreed, that the National Assembly go into mourning three days for Benjamin Franklin."

The Assembly received with acclammation, and decreed with unanimity, the proposal of M. Mirabeau.

The honour thus done to the memory of Franklin, will reflect glory on the National Assembly. It will give an idea of the immense difference between this legislature and other political bodies; for, how many prejudices must have been vanquished, before France could bring her homage to the tomb of a man, who, from the station of a journey printer, had raised himself to the rank of legislator, and contributed to place his country on a footing among the great powers of the earth.

This sublime decree was pronounced, not only without hesitation, but with that enthusiasm which is inspired by the name of a great man, by the regrets of having lost him, by the duty of doing honour to his ashes, and by the hope, that rendering this honor may give rise to like virtues and like talents in others.

And, O, may this Assembly, penetrated with the greatness of the homage which she has rendered to genius, to virtue, to the pure love of liberty and humanity; may she never tarnish this homage, by yielding to the solicitations of men who may wish to obtain the same honours for the manes of ambitious individuals, who, mistaking art for genius, obscure conception for profound ideas, the desire of abasing tyrants for the love of humanity, the applause of a volatile people for the veneration of an enlightened world, may think proper to aspire to the honor of a national mourning.

This hope should doubtless inspire the man of genius, the man of worth; but ye who sincerely indulge the wish to place yourself by the side of Franklin, examine his life, and have the courage to imitate him. Franklin had genius; but he had virtues; he was good, simple, and modest; he had not that proud asperity in dispute, which repulses with disdain the ideas of others; he listened—he had the art of listening—he answered to the ideas of others, and not to his own.

I have seen him attending patiently to young people who, full of frivolity and pride, were eager to make a parade before him, of some superficial knowledge of their own. He knew how to estimate them; but he would not humiliate them, even by a parade of goodness. Placing himself at once on a level with them, he would answer without having the air of instructing them. He knew that instruction in its pompous apparel, was forbidding. Franklin had knowledge, but it was for the people; he was always grieved at their ignorance, and made it his constant duty to enlighten them. He studied for ever to lessen the price of books, in order to multiply them. In a word, genius, simplicity, goodness, tolerance, indefatigable labour, and love for the people—these form the character of Franklin; and these you must unite, if you wish for a name like his.

LETTER XIV.

Steam-Boat—Reflections on the Character of the Americans and the English.

Sept. 1, 1788.

I BREAKFASTED with Samuel Ameland, one of the richest and most beneficent of the Society of Friends. He is a pupil of Anthony Benezet; he speaks of him with enthusiasm, and treads in his steps. He takes an active part in every useful institution, and rejoices in the occasion of doing good; he loves the French nation, and speaks their language. He treats me with the greatest friendship; offers me his house, his horses, and his carriage. On leaving him, I went to see an experiment, near the Delaware, on a boat, the object of which is to ascend rivers against the current. The inventor was Mr. Fitch, who had found a company to support the expence. One of the most zealous associates is Mr. Thornton, of whom I have spoken. This invention was disputed between Mr. Fitch and M. Rumsey of Virginia.* However it be, the machine which I saw, appears well executed, and well adapted to the design. The steam-engine gives motion to three

* *Since writing this letter, I have seen Mr. Rumsey in England. He is a man of great ingenuity; and, by the explanation which he has given me, it appears that his discovery, though founded on a similar principle with that of Mr. Fitch, is very different from it, and far more simple in its execution. M. Rumsey proposed then (Feb.* 1789) *to build a vessel which should go to America by the help only of the steam-engine, and without sails. It was to make the passage in fifteen days. I perceive with pain that he has not yet executed his project; which, when executed, will introduce into commerce as great a change as the discovery of the cape of Good Hope.* AUTHOR.

The translator is informed, that M. Rumsey is pursuing his operations with greater vigour, and more extensive applications than ever.

large oars of considerable force, which were to give sixty strokes per minute.

I doubt not but, physically speaking, this machine may produce part of the effects which are expected from it: but I doubt its utility in commerce; for, notwithstanding the assurances of the undertakers, it must require many men to manage it, and much expence in repairing the damages occasioned by the violence and multiplicity of the friction. Yet I will allow, that if the movements can be simplified, and the expence lessened, the invention may be useful in a country where labour is dear, and where the borders of rivers are not accessible, like those in France, by horses to draw the boats. This idea was consoling to Dr. Thornton, whom I saw assailed by railleries on account of the *steam-boat*. These railleries appear to me very ill placed. The obstacles to be conquered by genius are every where so considerable, the encouragement so feeble, and the necessity of supplying the want of hand-labour in America so evident, that I cannot, without indignation, see the Americans discouraging, by their sarcasms, the generous efforts of one of their fellow-citizens.

When will men be reasonable enough to encourage each other by their mutual aid, and increase the general stock of public good, by mutual mildness and benevolence? It is for republics to set the example: you see more of it in America than elsewhere; it is visibly taking root, and extending itself there. You do not find among the Americans that concealed pride which acquits a benefit, and dispenses with gratitude; that selfish rudeness which makes of the English a nation by themselves, and enemies to all others. You will however, find sometimes vestiges of their indifference for other people, and their contempt of strangers who travel among them. For example, a stranger in a society of Americans, if he has the misfortune not to speak their language, is sometimes left alone; no person takes notice of him. This is a breach of humanity, and a neglect of their own interest; of humanity, because consolation is due to a man distant from his

friends, and his ordinary means of amusement; of their own interest, because strangers, disgusted with this treatment, haste to quit the country, and to prejudice others against it.

I say that this inattention to strangers is above all remarkable in the English. I do not think that I am deceived; I have lived long among them, and am generally accused of too much partiality for them. This same fault is observable in the English islands. I have remarked it in many of them; and I fear that the vices in general of the inhabitants of the islands will corrupt the Americans, who appear to be remarkably fond of extending their connections with them. I heard one of them put the following question to several Americans, at a review of the volunteers of Philadelphia: "Can you tell me whether these brave officers are barbers or coblers?" This vulgar pleasantry discovers the man of prejudice, the insolent and base European, the valet of a despot. Such railleries tend to destroy that idea of equality which is the basis of republics.

But why do not men of sense, who are witnesses of these follies, refute them with vigour? Why that cowardly suppleness which is decorated with the name of politeness? Is it not evident that it hardens the corrupted man, and suffers to grow up in feeble minds, prejudices which one vigorous attack would destroy?

LETTER XV.

The Society of Agriculture—The Library.

Sept. 2, 1788.

I WAS present at a meeting of the Agricultural Society. It is not of long standing, but it is numerous, and possesses a considerable fund. If such a society ought to receive encouragement in any country, it is in this. Agriculture is the first pillar of this State; and though you find many good farmers here, yet the great mass of them want information; and this infor-

mation can only be procured by the union of men well verſed in theory and practice.

The ſubject of this meeting was an important one. The papillon, or worm, called *The Heſſian Fly*, had, for ſeveral years, ravaged the wheat in many parts of the United States. The king of England, fearing that this inſect might paſs into his iſland, had juſt prohibited the importation of the American wheat. The Supreme Executive Council of Pennſylvania, in order to counteract the effects of this prohibition, by gaining information on the ſubject, applied to the Society of Agriculture; they deſired to know if this inſect attacked the grain, and whether it was poſſible to prevent its ravages.

Many farmers preſent at this meeting, from their own experience, and that of their neighbours and correſpondents, declared, that the inſect depoſited its eggs, not in the ear, but in the ſtalk; ſo that they were well convinced, that, on threſhing the wheat, there could be nothing to fear that the eggs would mix with the grain; and conſequently they could not be communicated with the grain.

Mr. Powell, and Mr. Griffiths, preſident and ſecretary of this ſociety, do equal honor to it; the one by the neatneſs of his compoſition, and the elegance of his ſtyle; the other by his indefatigable zeal.

Among the uſeful inſtitutions which do honor to Philadelphia, you diſtinguiſh the public library; the origin of which is owing to the celebrated Franklin. It is ſupported by ſubſcription. The price of entrance into this ſociety is ten pounds. Any perſon has the privilege of borrowing books. Half of the library is generally in the hands of readers; and I obſerved with pleaſure, that the books were much worn by uſe.

At the ſide of this library is a cabinet of natural hiſtory. I obſerved nothing curious in it, but an enormous thigh-bone, and ſome teeth as enormous, found near the Ohio, in a maſs of prodigious bones, which nature ſeems to have thrown together in thoſe ages whoſe events are covered from the eye of hiſtory by an impenetrable veil.

LETTER XVI.

On the Market of Philadelphia.

Sept. 3, 1788.

IF there exists, says Franklin, an Atheist in the universe, he would be converted on seeing Philadelphia—on contemplating a town where every thing is so well arranged. If an idle man should come into existence here, on having constantly before his eyes the three amiable sisters, Wealth, Science, and Virtue, the children of Industry and Temperance, he would soon find himself in love with them, and endeavor to obtain them from their parents.

Such are the ideas offered to the mind on a market-day at Philadelphia. It is, without contradiction, one of the finest in the universe. Variety and abundance in the articles, order in the distribution, good faith and tranquility in the trader, are all here united. One of the essential beauties of a market, is cleanliness in the provisions, and in those who sell them. Cleanliness is conspicuous here in every thing; even meat, whose aspect is more or less disgusting in other markets, here strikes your eyes agreeably. The spectator is not tormented with the sight of little streams of blood, which infect the air, and foul the streets. The women who bring the produce of the country, are dressed with decency; their vegetables and fruits are neatly arranged in handsome, well-made baskets. Every thing is assembled here, the produce of the country, and the works of industry; flesh, fish, fruits, garden-seeds, pottery, iron-ware, shoes, trays, buckets extremely well made, &c. The stranger is never wearied in contemplating this multitude of men and women moving and crossing in every direction, without tumult or injury. You would say, that it was a market of brothers, that it was a rendezvous of philosophers, of the pupils of the silent Pythagoras; for silence reigns without interruption: you hear none of those piercing cries, so common elsewhere; each one sells, bargains, and buys in silence. The carts and horses which have

brought in the supplies, are peaceably arranged in the next street, in the order in which they arrive; when disengaged, they move off in silence: no quarrels among the carmen and the porters. You see none of our fools and macaronies galloping with loose reins in the streets. These are the astonishing effects of habit; a habit inspired by the Quakers, who planted morals in this country; a habit of doing every thing with tranquility and with reason; a habit of injuring no person, and of having no need of the interposition of magistrates.

To maintain order in such a market in France, would require four Judges and a dozen soldiers. Here, the law has no need of muskets; education and morals have done every thing. Two clerks of the police walk in the market. If they suspect a pound of butter of being light, they weigh it: if light, it is seized for the use of the hospital.

You see, here, the fathers of families go to market. It was formerly so in France: their wives succeeded to them; thinking themselves dishonored by the task, they have resigned it to the servants. Neither economy nor morals have gained any thing by this change.

The price of bread is from one penny to two pence the pound, beef and mutton from two pence to four pence, veal from one penny to two pence; hay from twenty to thirty shillings the ton; butter from four pence to six pence the pound; wood from seven pence to eight pence the cord. Vegetables are in abundance, and cheap. Wines of Europe, particularly those of France, are cheaper here than any where else. I have drank the wine of Provence, said to be made by M. Bergasse, at nine pence the bottle; but the taverns are extremely dear. Articles of luxury are expensive: an hair-dresser costs you eighteen pence a day, or twelve shillings the month. I hired a one-horse chaise three days; it cost me three louis d'ors.

LETTER XVII.

General Assembly of Pennsylvania.—A Farm owned by a Frenchman.

Sept. 6, 1788.

I HAD made an acquaintance at New-York with General Mifflin, who was then Speaker of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania. I met him again at Philadelphia. His character was well drawn by M. de Chastellux. He is an amiable, obliging man; full of activity, and very popular. He fills his place with dignity and firmness; an enemy to artifice and disguise; he is frank, brave, disinterested, and warmly attached to democratic principles. He is no longer a Quaker: having taken arms, he was forced to quit the Society; but he still professes a great esteem for that sect, to which his wife has always remained faithful. The General had the complaisance to conduct me one day to the General Assembly. I saw nothing remarkable in it: the building is far from that magnificence attributed to it by the Abbe Raynal: it is certainly a fine building, when compared with the other edifices of Philadelphia; but it cannot be put in competition with those public buildings which we call fine in Europe.

There were about fifty members present, seated on chairs inclosed by a balustrade. Behind the balustrade, is the gallery for spectators. A *Petit Maitre*, who should fall suddenly from Paris into this Assembly, would undoubtedly find it ridiculous. He would scoff at the simplicity of their cloth coats, and, in some cases, at the negligence of their toilettes; but every man who thinks, will desire that this simplicity may for ever remain, and become universal. They pointed out to me, under one of these plain coats, a farmer by the name of Findley, whose eloquence displays the greatest talents.

The eſtate of General Miflin, where we went to dine, is five miles from town, by the falls of the Skuylkill. Theſe falls are formed by a conſiderable bed of rocks; they are not perceivable when the water of the river is high. The General's houſe enjoys a moſt romantic proſpect. This route preſents the veſtiges of many houſes burnt by the Engliſh, who had likewiſe deſtroyed all the trees, and left the country naked.

I ſaw at General Miflin's, an old Quaker, who ſhook me by my hand with the more pleaſure, as he ſaid he found in my air a reſemblance of Anthony Benezet. Other Quakers told me the ſame thing. There is no great vanity in citing this fact, when I recollect what M. de Chaſtellux ſays of his figure; but he had eyes of goodneſs and humanity.

Springmill, where I went to ſleep, is a hamlet eight miles up the Skuylkill. The beſt houſe in it is occupied by Mr. L. a Frenchman. It enjoys the moſt ſublime proſpect that you can imagine. It is ſituated on a hill. On the ſouth-eaſt, the Skuylkill flows at its feet through a magnificent channel between two mountains covered with wood. On the banks you perceive ſome ſcattering houſes and cultivated fields.

The ſoil is here compoſed of a great quantity of talc, granit, and a yellow gravel; in ſome places a very black earth. In the neighbourhood are quarries of marble of a middling fineneſs, of which many chimney-pieces are made.

I ſhall give you ſome details reſpecting this Frenchman's farm; they will ſhew you the manner of living among cultivators here, and they may be uſeful to any of our friends who may wiſh to eſtabliſh themſelves in this country. Obſervations on the manner of extending eaſe and happineſs among men, are, in the eyes of the philoſopher, as valuable as thoſe which teach the art of aſſaſſinating them. The houſe of Mr. L.

is very well built in stone, two stories high, with five or six fine chambers in each story. From the two gardens, formed like an amphitheatre, you enjoy that fine prospect above mentioned. These gardens are well cultivated, and contain a great quantity of *bee-hives*.

An highway separates the house from the farm. He keeps about twenty horned cattle, and ten or twelve horses. The situation of things on this farm, proves how little is to be feared from theft and robbery in this country; every thing is left open, or inclosed without locks. His farm consists of two hundred and fifty acres; of which the greater part is in wood; the rest is in wheat, Indian-corn, buck-wheat, and meadow. He shewed me about an acre of meadow, from which he has already taken this year, eight tons of hay: he calculates, that, including the third cutting, this acre will produce him this year ten pounds. His other meadows are less manured, and less productive.

Mr. L. recounted to me some of his past misfortunes—I knew them before—He was the victim of the perfidy of an intendant of Guadaloupe, who, to suppress the proofs of his own accomplicity in a clandestine commerce, tried to destroy him by imprisonment, by assassination, and by poison. Escaped from these persecutions, Mr. L. enjoys safety at Springmill! but he does not enjoy happiness. He is alone; and what is a farmer without his wife and family?

He pays from five to six pounds taxes for all his property, consisting of an hundred and twenty acres of wood land, eighty acres of arable, twenty-five acres of meadow, three acres of garden, a great house, seven small houses for his servants, his barns, and his cattle. By this fact, you may judge of the exaggerations of the detractors of the United States on the subject of taxes. Compare this with what would be paid in

France for a like property. Mr. L. has attempted to cultivate the vine: he has planted a vineyard near his house, on the south-east exposure, and it succeeds very well.

It is a remark to be made at every step in America, that vegetation is rapid and strong. The peach-tree, for example, grows fast, and produces fruit in great quantities. Within one month after you have cut your wheat, you would not know your field; it is covered with grass, very high, and very thick.

It will be a long time, however, before the vine can be cultivated to profit in America: First, because labour is dear, and the vine requires vast labour:* Secondly, because the wines of Europe will be for a long time cheap in America. Mr. L. furnished me with the proof of this. He gave me some very good Roussillon, which cost him by the single bottle, only eighteen pence; and I know that this same wine, at first hand, cost fivepence or sixpence.

We ought to regard the birds as a great discouragement to the culture of the vine in America. You often see immense clouds of black-birds, which, settling on a vineyard, would destroy it in an instant.

I have already mentioned, that the pastures and fields in America are inclosed with barriers of wood, or fences. These, when made of rails supported by posts, as above described, are expensive, especially in the neighbourhood of great towns,

* *In Orleannois, the whole operation of cultivating the vine, and making the vintage, costs to the proprietor thirty livres, twenty-five shillings sterling, an acre. A man cannot perform the labour of more than five acres a year; so that he gets six pounds, five shillings a year, and supports himself. Compare this with the price of labour in America, and that with the price of French wines.*

where wood is dear. Mr. L. thinks it beſt to replace them by ditches ſix feet deep, of which he throws the earth upon his meadows, and borders the ſides with hedges; and thus renders the paſſage impracticable to the cattle. This is an agricultural operation, which cannot be too much recommended to the Americans.

The country here is full of ſprings; we ſaw ſome very fine ones. Mr. L. told us of one which carries a mill night and day, and ſerves to water his meadows when occaſion requires.

I aſked him where he purchaſed his meat: He ſays, when a farmer kills beef, mutton, or veal, he adverti ſes his neighbours, who take what they chooſe, and he ſells the remainder. As he is here without his family, he has no ſpinning at his houſe; makes no cheeſe, keeps no poultry. Theſe parts of rural economy, which are exerciſed by women, are loſt to him; and it is a conſiderable loſs. He ſows no oats, but feeds his horſes with Indian corn and buck-wheat, ground. I ſaw his vaſt cornfields covered with pumpkins, which are profitable for cattle. He has a joiner's ſhop, and a turning-lathe. He makes great quantities of lime on his farm, which he ſells very well at Philadelphia. He has obtained leave from the State to erect a ferry on the Skuylkill, which he ſays will produce him a profit of forty pounds a year. He is about to build a ſaw-mill.

The lands newly cleared, produce much more than the lands of France. He had bad wheat this year, though it had promiſed well: having grown to a prodigious height, the grain was ſhrivelled and meagre. He ſays, the *mildew* has diminiſhed his crop by more than three hundred buſhels. The cauſe of the mildew is ſuppoſed to be this: That when the ſeaſon advances, it is ſometimes attended by fogs, and very heavy dews: the ſun burſting through the fog, evaporates the drops on the ſtalk; and the ſudden change from

cold and wet, to warm and dry, enfeebles and withers the plant. The mildew is an evil very general in Pennsylvania.

Mr. L. told me, that there was no other remedy but to sow early, that the plant may be more vigorous at the season of the mildew.

This farm had cost him two thousand pounds; and he assured me that allowing nothing for some losses occasioned by his ignorance of the country, and of the language on his first arrival, and for the improvements he had made, his land produces more than the interest of his money. He told me, that the house alone had cost more than he paid for the whole: and this is very probable. Persons in general who desire to make good bargains, ought to purchase lands already built upon; for, though the buildings have cost much, they are counted for little in the sale.

Though distant from society, and struggling against many disadvantages, he assured me that he was happy; and that he should not fail to be completely so, were he surrounded by his family, which he had left in France.

He is attentive to the subject of meteorology; it is he that furnishes the meterologic tables published every month in the Columbian Magazine: they are certainly the most exact that have appeared on this continent. He thinks there is no great difference between the climate here and that of Paris: that here, the cold weather is more dry; that the snow and ice remain but a short time; that there never passes a week without some fair days; that there falls more rain here than in France, but that it rarely rains two days successively; that the heat is sometimes more intense, that it provokes more to sweat and to heaviness; finally, that the variations are here more frequent and more rapid.

The following is the result of the observations of this Frenchman for four years:——The great-

eſt cold in this part of Pennſylvania, is commonly from ten to twelve degrees below the freezing point of Reaumur's thermometer: the greateſt heats are from twenty-ſix to twenty-eight degrees above: the mean term of his obſervations for four years, on the temperature, is nine degrees and ſix tenths; the mean height of the barometer is twenty-nine inches ten lines and one tenth, Engliſh meaſure; the prevailing wind is north-north-weſt. In the year there are fifteen days of thunder, ſeventy-ſix days of rain, twelve days of ſnow, five days of tempeſt with rain; theſe eighty-one days of rain, with thoſe of ſnow, give thirty-five inches of water, French meaſure. The ſky is never obſcured three days together. The country is very healthy, and extremely vegetative. Wheat harveſt is from the 8th to the 12th of July. No predominant ſickneſs has been remarked during theſe four years.

LETTER XVIII.

Journey of two Frenchmen to the Ohio.

Sept. 10, 1788.

I HAVE had the good fortune to meet here a Frenchman, who is travelling in this country, not in purſuit of wealth, but to gain information. It is Mr. Saugrain, from Paris: he is an ardent naturaliſt: ſome circumſtances firſt attached him to the king of Spain, who ſent him to Spaniſh America to make diſcoveries in minerals and natural hiſtory. After the death of his protector, Don Galves, he returned to France. In 1787, he formed the project with Mr. Piguet, who had ſome knowledge in botany, to viſit Kentuckey and the Ohio.

They arrived at Philadelphia, and paſſed imme-

diately to Pittſburg. There the winter overtook them, and the Ohio froze over, which rarely happens. They lodged themſelves a few miles from Pittſburg, in an open houſe, where they ſuffered much from the cold. The thermometer of Reaumur deſcended to 32 degrees, while at Philadelphia it was only at 16. During their ſtay here, they made many experiments. Mr. Saugrain weighed ſeveral kinds of wood in an hydroſtatic balance which he carried with him. He diſcovered, likewiſe, which ſpecies would yield the greateſt quantity, and the beſt quality of potaſh. Many experiments convinced him, that the ſtalks of Indian corn yield a greater quantity than wood, in proportion to the quantity of matter. He examined the different mines of the country. He found ſome of iron, of lead, of copper, and of ſilver. He was told of a rich iron-mine belonging to Mr. Murray; but he was not ſuffered to ſee it.

On the opening of the Spring, they deſcended the Ohio, having been joined by another Frenchman, Mr. Ragué, and a Virginian. They landed at Muſkinquam, where they ſaw General Harmer, and ſome people who were beginning a ſettlement there.

At ſome diſtance below this place, they fell in with a party of ſavages. M. Piguet was killed, and M. Saugrain wounded and taken priſoner; he fortunately made his eſcape, rejoined the Virginian, and found the means of returning to Pittſburg, having loſt his money and all his effects. He then returned to Philadelphia, where I have met him, on his way to Europe.

He has communicated to me many obſervations on the weſtern country. The immenſe valley waſhed by the Ohio, appears to him the moſt fertile that he has ever ſeen. The ſtrength and rapidity of vegetation in that country are incredible, the ſize of the trees enormous, and their

variety infinite. The inhabitants are obliged to exhauſt the firſt fatneſs of the land in hemp and tobacco, in order to prepare it for the production of wheat. The crops of Indian corn are prodigious; the cattle acquire an extraordinary ſize, and keep fat the whole year in the open fields.

The facility of producing grain, rearing cattle, making whiſkey, beer, and cyder, with a thouſand other advantages, attract to this country great numbers of emigrants from other parts of America. A man in that country, ſcarcely works two hours in a day, for the ſupport of himſelf and family; he paſſes moſt of his time in idleneſs, hunting, or drinking. The women ſpin, and make cloaths for their huſbands and families. Mr. Saugrain ſaw very good woollens and linens made there. They have very little money; every thing is done by barter.

The active genius of the Americans is always puſhing them forward. Mr. Saugrain has no doubt but ſooner or later the Spaniards will be forced to quit the Miſſiſippi, and that the Americans will paſs it, and eſtabliſh themſelves in Louiſiana, which he has ſeen, and conſiders as one of the fineſt countries in the univerſe.

Mr. Saugrain came from Pittſburg to Philadelphia in ſeven days, on horſeback. He could have come in a chaiſe; but it would have taken him a longer time. It is a poſt road, with good taverns eſtabliſhed the whole way.*

---

* *Mr. Saugrain is ſo enchanted with the independent life of the inhabitants of the weſtern country, that he returned again in the year* 1790, *to ſettle at Scioto.*

LETTER XIX.

On the School for the Blacks at Philadelphia, and the principal American Authors who have written in their favor.

THERE exists, then, a country where the Negroes are allowed to have souls, and to be endowed with understanding capable of being formed to virtue and useful knowledge; where they are not regarded as beasts of burden, in order that we may have the privilege of treating them as such. There exists a country, where the Blacks, by their virtues and their industry, belye the calumnies which their tyrants elsewhere lavish against them; where no difference is perceived between the memory of a black head whose hair is craped by nature, and that of a white one craped by art. I have had a proof of this to-day. I have seen, heard, and examined these black children. They read well, repeat from memory, and calculate with rapidity. I have seen a picture painted by a young negro, who never had a master: it was surprisingly well done.

I saw in this school, a mulatto, one-eighth negro; it is impossible to distinguish him from a white boy. His eyes discovered an extraordinary vivacity; and this is a general characteristic of people of that origin.

The black girls, besides reading, writing, and the principles of religion, are taught spinning, needle-work, &c.; and their mistresses assure me, that they discover much ingenuity. They have the appearance of decency, attention, and submission. It is a nursery of good servants and virtuous house-keepers. How criminal are the planters of the islands, who form but to debauchery and ignominy, creatures so capable of being fashioned to virtue!

It is to Benezet that humanity owes this use-

ful eſtabliſhment—to that Benezet whom Chaſtellux has not bluſhed to ridicule, for the ſake of gaining the infamous applauſes of the paraſites of deſpotiſm.

The life of this extraordinary man merits to be known to ſuch men as dare to think, who eſteem more the benefactors of their fellow-creatures, than their oppreſſors, ſo baſely idolized during their life.

Anthony Benezet was born at St. Quintin, in Picardy, in 1712. Fanaticiſm, under the protection of a bigot king, directed by an infamous confeſſor, and an infamous woman, ſpread at that time its ravages in France. The parents of Benezet were warm Calvaniſts; they fled to England, and he embraced the doctrines of the Quakers. He went to America in 1731, and eſtabliſhed himſelf at Philadelphia in commerce, the buſineſs to which he had been educated. But the rigidity of his principles and his taſte not agreeing with the ſpirit of commerce, he quitted that buſineſs in 1736, and accepted a place in the academy of that ſociety. From that time all his moments were conſecrated to public inſtruction, the relief of the poor, and the defence of the unhappy negroes. Benezet poſſeſſed a univerſal philanthropy, which was not common at that time; he regarded, as his brothers, all men, of all countries, and of all colours; he compoſed many works, in which he collected all the authorities from Scripture, and from other writings, to diſcourage and condemn the ſlave trade and ſlavery. His works had much influence in determining the Quakers to emancipate their ſlaves.

It was not enough to ſet at liberty the unhappy Blacks; it was neceſſary to inſtruct them—to find them ſchool-maſters. And where ſhould he find men willing to devote themſelves to a taſk which prejudice had rendered painful and diſguſting? No obſtacle could arreſt the zeal of Benezet;

he set the first example himself; he consecrated his little fortune to the foundation of this school; his brethren lent some assistance; and by the help of the donations of the society of London, the school for Blacks at Philadelphia enjoys a revenue of 200l. sterling.

He consecrated his fortune and his talents to their instruction; and in 1784, death removed him from this holy occupation, to receive his reward. The tears of the Blacks, which watered his tomb, the sighs of his fraternity, and of every friend of humanity which attended his departed spirit, must be a prize more consoling than the laurels of a conqueror.

Benezet carried always in his pocket a copy of his works on the Slavery of the Blacks, which he gave and recommended to every one he met, who had not seen them. It is a method generally followed by the Society of Friends. They extend the works of utility; and it is the true way of gaining proselytes.

This philanthropic Quaker was preceded in the same career, by many others, whom I ought to mention. The celebrated George Fox, founder of this sect, went from England to Barbadoes in 1671, not to preach against slavery, but to instruct the blacks in the knowledge of God, and to engage masters to treat them with mildness.

The minds of men were not yet ripe for this reform; neither were they when William Burling, of Long-Island, in 1718, published a treatise against slavery. He was a respectable Quaker: he preached, but in vain; the hour was not yet come.

Ought not this circumstance to encourage the friends of the Blacks in France? Sixty years of combat were necessary to conquer the prejudice of avarice in America. One year is scarcely passed since the foundation of the society at Paris; and some apostates already appear, because success has not crowned their first endeavors.

Burling was followed by Judge Sewall, a presbyterian of Maſſachuſetts. He preſented to the General Aſſembly, a treatiſe intitled *Joſeph ſold by his brethren*. He diſcovers the pureſt principles, and completely overturns the hackneyed arguments of the traders, reſpecting the pretended wars of the African princes.

It is often ſaid againſt the writings of the friends of the Blacks, that they have not been witneſſes of the ſufferings which they deſcribe. This reproach cannot be made againſt Benjamin Lay, an Engliſhman, who, brought up in the African trade, afterwards a planter at Barbadoes, abandoned his plantation, on account of the horror inſpired by the frightful terrors of ſlavery endured by the Negroes. He retired to Philadelphia, became a Quaker, and ceaſed not the remainder of his life to preach and write for the abolition of ſlavery. His principal treatiſe on this ſubject appeared in 1737. He was thought to have too much zeal, and to have exaggerated his deſcriptions. But theſe defects were expiated by a life without a ſtain, by an indefatigable zeal for humanity, and by profound meditations. Lay was ſimple in his dreſs, and animated in his ſpeech; he was all on fire when he ſpoke on ſlavery. He died in 1760, in the 80th year of his age.

One of the men moſt diſtinguiſhed in this career of humanity, was a Quaker named John Woolman. He was born in 1720. Early formed to meditation, he was judged by the Friends worthy of being a miniſter at the age of twenty-two. He travelled much to extend the doctrines of the ſect; but was always on foot, and without money or proviſions, becauſe he would imitate the apoſtles, and be in a ſituation to be more uſeful to the poor people and to the Blacks. He abhorred ſlavery ſo much, that he would not taſte any food that was produced by the

labour of slaves. The last discourse that he pronounced was on this subject. In 1772, he undertook a voyage to England, to concert measures with the Friends there, on the same subject; where he died with the small-pox. He left several useful works, one of which has been through many editions, intitled *Considerations on the Slavery of the Blacks.*

I thought it my duty, my friend, to give you some account of these holy personages, before describing to you the situation of the Blacks in this immense country.

LETTER XX.

The Means used to abolish the Slave Trade, and Slavery in the United States.

WOOLMAN and Benezet had in vain employed all their efforts to effect the abolition of this traffic under the English government. The mistaken interest of the mother country caused all the petitions to be rejected in the year 1772; yet the minds of men were prepared in some of the colonies; and scarcely was independence declared, when a general cry arose against this commerce. It appeared absurd for men defending their own liberty, to deny liberty to others. A pamphlet was printed, in which the principles on which slavery is founded, were held up in contrast with those which laid the foundation of the new constitution.

This palpable method of stating the subject, was attended with an happy success; and the Congress, in 1774, declared the slavery of the Blacks to be incompatible with the basis of republican governments. Different legislatures hastened to consecrate this principle of Congress.

Three diſtinct epochs mark the conduct of the Americans in this buſineſs—the prohibition of the importation of ſlaves—their manumiſſion—and the proviſion made for their inſtruction. All the different States are not equally advanced in theſe three objects.

In the Northern and Middle States, they have proſcribed for ever the importation of ſlaves; in others, this prohibition is limited to a certain time. In South-Carolina, where it was limited to three years, it has lately been extended to three years more. Georgia is the only State that continues to receive tranſported ſlaves. Yet, when General Oglethorpe laid the foundation of this colony, he ordained that neither rum nor ſlaves ſhould ever be imported into it. This law, in both its articles, was very ſoon violated.

We muſt acknowledge, however, that the Americans, more than any other people, are convinced that all men are born free and equal: we muſt acknowledge, that they direct themſelves generally by this principle of equality; that the Quakers, who have begun, who have propagated, and who ſtill propagate this revolution of ſentiment, have been guided by a principle of religion, and that they have ſacrificed to it their perſonal intereſt.

Unhappily, their opinion on this ſubject has not yet become univerſal; intereſt ſtill combats it with ſome ſucceſs in the Southern States. A numerous party ſtill argue the impoſſibility of cultivating their ſoil without the hands of ſlaves, and the impoſſibility of augmenting their number without recruiting them in Africa. It is to the influence of this party, in the late general convention, that is to be attributed the only article which tarniſhes that glorious monument of human reaſon, the new federal ſyſtem of the United States. It was this party that propoſed to bind the hands of the new Congreſs, and to put it out of their power for twenty years to

prohibit the importation of slaves. It was said to this august assembly, *Sign this article, or we will withdraw from the union.* To avoid the evils, which without ameliorating the fate of the Blacks, would attend a political schism, the convention were forced to wander from the grand principle of universal liberty, and the preceding declaration of Congress. They thought it their duty to imitate Solon, to make, not the best law possible, but the best that circumstances would bear.

But, though this article has surprised the friends of liberty in Europe, where the secret causes of it were not known; though it has grieved the society in England, who are ready to accuse the new legislators of a cowardly defection from their own principles; yet we may regard the general and irrevocable proscription of the slave trade in the United States, as very near at hand. This conclusion results from the nature of things, and even from the article itself of the new constitution now cited. Indeed, nine States have already done it: the Blacks, which there abound, are considered as free. There are then nine asylums for those to escape to from Georgia, not to speak of the neighbourhood of the Floridas, where the slaves from Georgia take refuge, in hopes to find better treatment from the Spaniards; and not to speak of those vast forests and inaccessible mountains which make part of the Southern States, and where the persecuted Negro may easily find a retreat from slavery. The communications with the back country are so easy, that it is impossible to stop the fugitives; and the expence of reclaiming is disproportioned to their value. And though the free States do not in appearance oppose those reclamations, yet the people there hold slavery in such horror, that the master who runs after his human property, meets little respect, and finds little assistance. Thus the possibility of flight creates a new discouragement

to the importation, as it muſt leſſen the value of the ſlave, induce to a milder treatment, and finally tend, with the concurrence of other circumſtances, to convince the Georgian planter, that it is more ſimple, more reaſonable, and leſs expenſive, to cultivate by the hands of freemen. We are right then in ſaying, that the nature of things in America is againſt the importation of ſlaves.

Beſides, the Congreſs will be authoriſed in twenty years to pronounce definitively on this article. By that time, the ſentiments of humanity, and the calculations of reaſon, will prevail; they will no longer be forced to ſacrifice equity to convenience, or have any thing to fear from oppoſition or ſchiſm.

LETTER XXI.

Laws of the different States, for the Manumiſſion of Slaves.

SLAVERY, my friend, has never polluted every part of the United States. There was never any law in New-Hampſhire, or Maſſachuſetts, which authoriſed it. When, therefore, thoſe States proſcribed it, they only declared the law as it exiſted before. There was very little of it in Connecticut; the puritanic auſterity which predominated in that colony, could ſcarcely reconcile itſelf with ſlavery. Agriculture was better performed there by the hands of freemen; and every thing concurred to engage the people to give liberty to the ſlaves:—ſo that almoſt every one has freed them; and the children of ſuch as are not yet free, are to have their liberty at twenty-five years of age.

The caſe of the Blacks in New-York is nearly the ſame; yet the ſlaves there are more numerous. It is becauſe the baſis of the population there is Dutch; that is to ſay, people leſs diſpoſed

than any other to part with their property. But liberty is assured there to all the children of the slaves, at a certain age.

The State of Rhode-Island formerly made a great business of the slave trade. It is now totally and for ever prohibited.

In New-Jersey the bulk of the population is Dutch. You find there, traces of that same Dutch spirit which I have described. Yet the Western part of the State are disposed to free their Negroes; but the Eastern part are opposed to it.

It is probable that their obstinacy will be overcome; at least it is the opinion of the respectable Mr. Livingston, celebrated for the part he has acted in the late revolution: he has declared this opinion in a letter written to the Society at Philadelphia. He has himself freed all his slaves, which are very numerous. He is one of the most ardent apostles of humanity; and, knowing the character of his countrymen, he reasons, temporises with their interest, and doubts not of being able to vanquish their prejudices. The Quakers have been more fortunate in Pennsylvania. In the year 1758, they voted, in their general meeting, to excommunicate every member of the Society who should persist in keeping slaves. In 1780, at their request, seconded by a great number of persons from other sects, the General Assembly abolished slavery for ever, forced the owners of slaves to cause them to be enregistered, declared their children free at the age of twenty-eight years, placed them, while under that age, on a footing of hired servants, assured to them the benefit of trial by jury, &c. But this act did not provide against all the abuses that avarice could afterwards invent. It was evaded in many points. A foreign commerce of slaves was carried on by speculators; and some barbarous masters sold their Blacks, to be carried into

foreign countries; others sent the negro children into neighbouring States, that they might there be sold, and deprived of the benefit of the law of Pennsylvania, when they should come of age; others sent their black pregnant women into another State, that the offspring might be slaves; and others stole free Negroes, and carried them to the islands for sale. The Society, shocked at these abuses, applied again to the Assembly, who passed a new act in March last, effectually to prevent them. It ordained, that no black could be sent into a neighbouring State without his consent; confiscated all vessels and cargoes employed in the slave trade; condemned to the public works the stealers of Negroes, &c.

Doubtless we cannot bestow too much praise on the indefatigable zeal of the Society in Pennsylvania, which solicited these laws, nor on the spirit of equity and humanity displayed by the legislature in passing them; but some regret must mingle itself with our applause. Why did not this respectable body go farther? Why did it not extend at least the hopes of freedom to those who were slaves at the time of passing the first act? They are a property, it is said; and all property is sacred. But what is a property founded on robbery and plunder? What is a property which violates laws human and divine? But let this property merit some regard. Why not limit it to a certain number of years, in order to give at least the cheap consolation of hope? Why not grant to the slave, the right of purchasing his freedom? What! the child of the negro slave shall one day enjoy his liberty; and the unhappy father, though ready to leap with joy on beholding the fortune of his son, must roll back his eyes with aggravated anguish on his own irrevocable bondage! The son has never felt, like him, the torture of being torn from his country, from his family, from all that is dear

to man; the son has not experienced that severity of treatment so common in this country before this revolution of sentiment; yet the son is favoured, and the father consigned to despair. But this injustice cannot long sully the law of a country where reason and humanity prevail. We may hope that a capitulation will be made with avarice; by which these slaves will be drawn from its hands.

Again—Why, in the act of March, 1780, is it declared that a slave cannot be a witness against a freeman? You either suppose him less true than the freeman, or you suppose him differently organised. The last supposition is absurd; the other, if true, is against yourselves; for, why are they less conscientious, more corrupted, and more wicked?—It is because they are slaves. The crime falls on the head of the master; and the slave is thus degraded and punished for the vice of the master.

Finally, why do you ordain that the master shall be reimbursed from the public treasury, the price of the slave who may suffer death for crimes? If, as is easy to prove, the crimes of slaves are almost universally the fruit of their slavery, and are in proportion to the severity of their treatment, is it not absurd to recompense the master for his tyranny? When we recollect that these masters have hitherto been accustomed to consider their slaves as a species of cattle, and that the laws make the master responsible for the damages done by his cattle, does it not appear contradictory to reverse the law relative to these black cattle, when they do a mischief, for which society thinks it necessary to extirpate them? In this case, the real author of the crime, instead of paying damages, receives a reward.

No, my friend, we will not doubt but these stains will soon disappear from the code of Pennsylvania. Reason is too predominant to suffer them long to continue.

The little State of Delaware has followed the example of Pennsylvania. It is mostly peopled by Quakers—instances of giving freedom are therefore numerous. In this State, famous for the wisdom of its laws, for its good faith and federal patriotism, resides that angel of peace, Warner Mifflin. Like Benezet, he occupies his time in extending the opinions of his Society relative to the freedom of the Blacks, and in the care of providing for their existence and their instruction. It is in part to this zeal that is owing the formation of a Society in that state, after the model of the one at Philadelphia, for the abolition of slavery.

With the State of Delaware finishes the system of protection to the Blacks. Yet there are few Negroes freed in Maryland, because there are some Quakers there; and you perceive it very readily, on comparing the fields of tobacco or of Indian corn belonging to these people, with those of others; you see how much superior the hand of a freeman is to that of a slave, in the operations of industry.

When you run over Maryland and Virginia, you conceive yourself in a different world; and you are convinced of it, when you converse with the inhabitants. They speak not here of projects for freeing the Negroes; they praise not the societies of London and America; they read not the works of Clarkson—No, the indolent masters behold with uneasiness, the efforts that are making to render freedom universal. The Virginians are persuaded of the impossibility of cultivating tobacco without slavery; they fear, that if the Blacks become free, they will cause trouble; on rendering them free, they know not what rank to assign them in society; whether they shall establish them in a separate district, or send them out of the country. These are the objections which you will hear repeated every where against the idea of freeing them.

The strongest objection lies in the character, the manners and habits of the Virginians. They seem to enjoy the sweat of slaves. They are fond of hunting; they love the display of luxury, and disdain the idea of labour. This order of things will change when slavery shall be no more. It is not, that the work of a slave is more profitable than that of a freeman; but it is in multiplying the slaves, condemning them to a miserable nourishment, in depriving them of clothes, and in running over a large quantity of land with a negligent culture, that they supply the necessity of honest industry.

LETTER XXII.

On the general State, Manners, and Character of the Blacks in the United States.

THE free Blacks in the Eastern States, are either hired servants, or they keep little shops, or they cultivate the land. You will see some of them on board of coasting vessels. They dare not venture themselves on long voyages, for fear of being transported and sold in the islands. As to their physical character, the Blacks are vigorous, of a strong constitution,* capable of the most painful labour, and generally active. As servants, they are sober and faithful. Those who keep shops, live moderately, and never augment their affairs beyond a certain point.

The reason is obvious; the Whites, though

* *The married Blacks have at least as many children as the Whites; but it is observed, that more of them die. This is owing less to Nature, than to the events of fortune, and of the care of physicians and surgeons.*

they treat them with humanity, like not to give them credit to enable them to undertake any extensive commerce, nor even to give them the means of a common education, by receiving them into their counting-houses. If, then, the Blacks are confined to the retails of trade, let us not accuse their capacity, but the prejudices of the Whites, which lay obstacles in their way.

The same causes hinders the Blacks who live in the country, from having large plantations. Their little fields are generally well cultivated; their log-houses full of children decently clad, attract the eye of the philosopher, who rejoices to see, that, in these habitations, no tears attest the rod of tyranny.

In this situation the Blacks are indeed happy; but let us have the courage to avow, that neither this happiness, nor their talents, have yet attained their perfection. There exists still too great an interval between them and the Whites, especially in the public opinion. This humiliating difference prevents those efforts which they might make to raise themselves. Black children are admitted to the public schools; but you never see them within the walls of a college. Though free, they are always accustomed to consider themselves as beneath the Whites.

We may conclude from this, that it is unfair to measure the extent of their capacity by the examples already given by the free Blacks of the North.

But when we compare them to the slaves of the South, what a difference we find!—In the South, the Blacks are in a state of abjection difficult to describe; many of them are naked, ill fed, lodged in miserable huts, on straw. They receive no education, no instruction in any kind of religion; they are not married, but coupled. Thus are they brutalized, lazy, without ideas, and without energy. They give themselves no trouble

to procure clothes, or to have better food; they paſs their Sunday, which is their day of reſt, in total inaction. Inaction is their ſupreme happineſs; they therefore perform little labour, and that in a careleſs manner.

We muſt do juſtice to the truth. The Americans of the Southern States treat their ſlaves with mildneſs; it is one of the effects of the general extenſion of the ideas of liberty. The ſlave labours leſs; but this is all the alteration made in his circumſtances, and he is not the better for it, either in his nouriſhment, his clothing, his morals, or his ideas. So that the maſter loſes; but the ſlave does not gain. If they would follow the example of the Northern States, both Whites and Blacks would be gainers by the change.

When we deſcribe the ſlaves of the South, we ought to diſtinguiſh thoſe that are employed as houſe-ſervants, from thoſe that work and live in the field. The picture which I have given, belongs to the latter; the former are better clad, more active, and leſs ignorant.

It has been generally thought, and even written by ſome authors of note, that the Blacks are inferior to the Whites in mental capacity. This opinion begins to diſappear; the Northern States furniſh examples to the contrary. I ſhall cite two, which are ſtriking ones: the firſt proves, that, by inſtruction, a Black may be rendered capable of any of the profeſſions: the ſecond, that the head of a Negro may be organiſed for the moſt aſtoniſhing calculations, and conſequently for all the ſciences.

I ſaw at Philadelphia a black phyſician, named James Derham. The following hiſtory of him was atteſted to me by many phyſicians:

He was brought up a ſlave in a family of Philadelphia, where he learned to read and write, and was inſtructed in the principles of religion.

When young, he was ſold to Dr. John Kearſley, jun. who employed him in compounding medicines, and in adminiſtering them in ſome caſes to the ſick. At the death of Dr. Kearſley he paſſed through different hands, and came to be the property of George Weſt, ſurgeon of the Britiſh army, under whom, during the war in America, he performed the lower functions in phyſic.

At the cloſe of the war he was purchaſed by Dr. Robert Dove of New-Orleans, who employed him as his aſſiſtant. He gained the Doctor's good opinion and friendſhip to ſuch a degree, that he ſoon gave him his freedom on moderate conditions. Derham was, by this time, ſo well inſtructed, that he immediately began to practice, with ſucceſs, at New-Orleans: he is about twenty-ſix years of age, married, but has no children. His practice brings him three thouſand livres a year. Doctor Wiſtar told me, that he converſed with him particularly on the acute diſeaſes of the country where he lives, and found him well verſed in the ſimple methods now in practice of treating thoſe diſeaſes. I thought, ſaid the Doctor, to have indicated to him ſome new remedies; but he indicated new ones to me.

He is modeſt, and has engaging manners; he ſpeaks French with facility, and has ſome knowledge of Spaniſh.

The other inſtance has been cited by Dr. Ruſh, a celebrated phyſician and writer of Philadelphia. It is Thomas Fuller, born in Africa, a ſlave, near ſeventy years of age, near Alexandria. He can neither read nor write, and has had no inſtruction of any kind; but he calculates with ſurpriſing facility, and will anſwer any queſtion in arithmetic, with a promptitude that has no example.

Theſe inſtances prove, without doubt, that the capacity of the Negroes may be extended to any thing; that they have only need of inſtruction and liberty. The difference between thoſe who

bre free and inſtructed, and thoſe who are not, is ſtill more viſible in their induſtry. The lands inhabited by the Whites and free Blacks, are better cultivated, produce more abundantly, and offer every where the image of eaſe and happineſs. Such, for example, is the aſpect of Connecticut, and of Pennſylvania.

Paſs into Maryland and Virginia, and, as I ſaid before, you are in another world;—you find not there thoſe cultivated plains, thoſe neat country-houſes, barns well diſtributed, and numerous herds of cattle, fat and vigorous. No: every thing in Maryland and Virginia wears the print of ſlavery: a ſtarved ſoil, bad cultivation, houſes falling to ruin, cattle ſmall and few, and black walking ſkeletons; in a word, you ſee real miſery, and apparent luxury, inſulting each other.

They begin to perceive, even in the Southern States, that, to nouriſh a ſlave ill, is a miſtaken economy; and that money employed in their purchaſe, does not render its intereſt. It is perhaps more owing to this conſideration than to humanity, that you ſee free labour introduced in a part of Virginia, in that part bordered by the beautiful river Shenadore. In travelling here, you will think yourſelf in Pennſylvania.

Such will be the face of all Virginia, when ſlavery ſhall be at an end. They think ſlaves neceſſary only for the cultivation of tobacco: this culture declines, and muſt decline in Virginia. The tobacco of the Ohio and the Miſſiſippi is more abundant, of a better quality, and requires leſs labour. When this tobacco ſhall open its way to Europe, the Virginians will be obliged to ceaſe from this culture, and aſk of the earth, wheat, corn, and potatoes; they will make meadows, and rear cattle. The wiſe Virginians anticipate this revolution, and begin the culture of wheat. At their head may be reckoned that aſtoniſhing man, who though an adored

General, had the courage to be a ſincere republican; who alone ſeems ignorant of his own glory; whoſe ſingular deſtiny it will be to have twice ſaved his country, to have opened to her the road to proſperity, after having conducted her to liberty. At preſent, wholly occupied in ameliorating his lands, in varying their produce, in opening roads and canals, he gives his countrymen an uſeful example, which doubtleſs will be followed.

He has nevertheleſs (muſt I ſay it?) a numerous crowd of ſlaves; but they are treated with the greateſt humanity: well fed, well clothed, and kept to moderate labour; they bleſs God without ceaſing, for having given them ſo good a maſter. It is a taſk worthy of a ſoul ſo elevated, ſo pure, and ſo diſintereſted, to begin the revolution in Virginia, to prepare the way for the emancipation of the Negroes. This great man declared to me, that he rejoiced at what was doing in other States on this ſubject; that he ſincerely deſired the extenſion of it in his own country: but he did not diſſemble, that there were ſtill many obſtacles to overcome; that it was dangerous to ſtrike too vigorouſly at a prejudice which had begun to diminiſh; that time, patience, and information, would not fail to vanquiſh it. Almoſt all the Virginians, added he, believe that the liberty of the Blacks cannot ſoon become general. This is the reaſon why they wiſh not to form a ſociety, which may give dangerous ideas to their ſlaves. There is another obſtacle—the great plantations of which the State is compoſed, render it neceſſary for men to live ſo diſperſed, that frequent meetings of a ſociety would be difficult.

I replied, that the Virginians were in an error, that evidently ſooner or later the Negroes would obtain their liberty every where. It is then for the intereſt of your countrymen to prepare the way to ſuch a revolution, by endeavouring to

reconcile the reſtitution of the rights of the Blacks with the intereſt of the Whites. The means neceſſary to be taken to this effect, can only be the work of a ſociety; and it is worthy the ſaviour of America to put himſelf at their head, and to open the door of liberty to three hundred thouſand unhappy beings of his own State. He told me, that he deſired the formation of a ſociety, and that he would ſecond it; but that he did not think the moment favourable.——Doubtleſs more elevated views abſorbed his attention, and filled his ſoul. The deſtiny of America was juſt ready to be placed a ſecond time in his hands.

It is certainly a misfortune that ſuch a ſociety does not exiſt in Virginia and Maryland; for it is to the perſevering zeal of thoſe of Philadelphia and New-York, that we owe the progreſs of this revolution in America, and the formation of the ſociety in London.

Why am I unable to paint to you the impreſſions I received in attending the meetings of theſe different ſocieties? What ſerenity in the countenances of the members! What ſimplicity in their diſcourſes, candor in their diſcuſſions, beneficence and energy in their deciſions! Each ſeemed eager to ſpeak, not to ſhew his brilliance, but to be uſeful.

With what joy they learned that a like ſociety was formed at Paris, in that capital ſo renowned for its opulence and luxury, for its influence over a vaſt kingdom, and through moſt of the ſtates of Europe! They haſtened to publiſh it in all the gazettes, as likewiſe the tranſlation of the firſt diſcourſe pronounced in that ſociety. They ſaw with joy, in the liſt of the members, the name of La Fayette, and that of other perſons known for their energy and patriotiſm.

They did not doubt, if this ſociety ſhould brave the firſt obſtacles that attend it, and

should unite itself with that of London, but that the information which they might give on the slave trade, and its unprofitable infamy, would enlighten the governments of Europe, and determine them to suppress it.

It is doubtless to this effusion of joy, and to the flattering recommendations which I carried from Europe, rather than to my feeble efforts, that I owe the honor of being received a member of these societies. They did not confine themselves to this; they appointed committees to assist me in my labours, and their archives were opened to me.

These beneficent societies are at present contemplating new projects for the completion of their work of justice and humanity. They are endeavouring to form similar institutions in other States, and they have succeeded in the State of Delaware. The business of these societies is not only to extend light and information to legislatures, and to the people at large,* on the objects they have in view, and to form the Blacks by early instruction in the duties of citizens; but they extend gratuitous protection to them in all cases of individual oppression, and make it their duty to watch over the execution of the laws which have been obtained in their favour. Mr. Myers Fisher, one of the first lawyers of Philadelphia, is always ready to lend them his assistance, which he generally does with success, and always without reward. These societies have committees in different parts of the country, to take notice of any infractions of these laws of liberty, and to propose to the legislature, such amendments as experience may require.

* *In 1787, the Society of New-York offered a gold medal for the best discourse, at the public commencement at the College, on the injustice and cruelty of the slave trade, and the fatal effects of slavery.*

Appendix to the preceding letter, written in 1791.

MY wishes have not been disappointed. The progress of these societies is rapid in the United States: there is one already formed even in Virginia;* even there, men have dared to publish that truth which has so often made avarice to tremble—that truth which formerly would have been stifled in a Bastilie: *God has created men of all nations, of all languages, of all colours, equally free: Slavery, in all its forms, in all its degrees, is a violation of the Divine laws, and a degradation of human nature.*

Believe it, my dear friend, these truths, conveyed in all the public papers, will complete the extirpation of that odious slavery, which the nature of things in that country is destroying with great rapidity. For you may well imagine, that, in the rage of emigration to the western territory,† the Negroes find it easy to fly from slavery, and that they are well received wherever they go.

The solemn examples given by great men, will contribute much to this revolution of principle. What proprietor of human beings does not blush for himself, on seeing the celebrated General Gates assemble his numerous slaves, and, in the midst of their caresses and tears of gratitude, restore them all to liberty; and in such a manner as to prevent any fatal consequences that might result to them from the sudden enjoyment of so great a benefit.

The society of Philadelphia, which may be regarded as the father of these holy institutions, has lately taken more effectual measures, both to in-

---

* *A similar society is lately formed in the State of Connecticut, probably not known to M. de Warville.* TRANSLATOR.

† *In all the constitutions of the new States forming in the western territory, it is declared, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude.*

ſtruct the Blacks, and to form them to different employments. "The wretch," ſay they, in their addreſs to the public, "who has long been treated as a beaſt of burthen, is often degraded ſo far as to appear of a ſpecies inferior to that of other men; the chains which bind his body, curb likewiſe his intellectual faculties, and enfeeble the ſocial affections of his heart."

To inſtruct and counſel thoſe who are free, and render them capable of enjoying civil liberty; to excite them to induſtry; to furniſh them with occupations ſuitable to their age, ſex, talents, and other circumſtances; and to procure to their children an education ſuitable to their ſtation, are the principal objects of this ſociety.

For this end they have appointed four committees: firſt, a committee of inſpection, to watch over the morals and general conduct of the free Blacks; ſecond, a committee of guardians, whoſe buſineſs it is to place the children with honeſt tradeſmen and others, to acquire trades; third, a committee of education, to overſee the ſchools; fourth, a committee of employ, who find employment for thoſe who are in a ſituation to work. What friend of humanity does not leap with joy at the view of an object ſo pious and ſublime? Who does not perceive it is dictated by that ſpirit of perſeverance, which animates men of dignity, habituated to good actions, not from oſtentation, but from a conſciouſneſs of duty? Such are they who compoſe theſe American ſocieties. They will never abandon this good work, until they have carried it to its laſt degree of perfection; that is to ſay, until, by gentle and equitable means, they ſhall have placed the Blacks in every reſpect on a footing with the Whites. Yet theſe are the celeſtial ſocieties which infamous avarice bluſhes not to calumniate.

The perſeverance with which theſe ſocieties have extended their principles in their writings,

brought forward, last year, a debate in Congress on the subject of procuring a revocation of that article in the constitution, which suspends the power of Congress for twenty years on the subject of the slave trade.

I ought to have mentioned to you, in my letter, an eloquent address to the general convention of 1787, from the society of Pennsylvania. I will cite to you the close of it:

"We conjure you," say they, "by the attributes of the Divinity, insulted by this inhuman traffic; by the union of all the human race in our common father, and by all the obligations resulting from this union; by the fear of the just vengeance of God in national judgments; by the certainty of the great and terrible day of the distribution of rewards and punishments, by the efficacy of the prayers of good men, who would insult the Majesty of Heaven, if they were to offer them in favour of our country, as long as the iniquity we now practise continues its ravages among us; by the sacred name of Christians; by the pleasures of domestic connections, and the anguish of their dissolution; by the sufferings of our American brethren, groaning in captivity at Algiers, which Providence seems to have ordained to awaken us to a sentiment of the injustice and cruelty of which we are guilty towards the wretched Africans; by the respect due to consistency in the principles and conduct of true republicans; by our great and intense desire of extending happiness to the millions of intelligent beings who are doubtless one day to people this immense continent; finally, by all other considerations, which religion, reason, policy, and humanity can suggest; we conjure the Convention of the United States, to make the suppression of the slave trade a subject of serious deliberation."

Addresses from all parts of the United States, signed by the most respectable men, have been

preſented to the new Congreſs. Never was a ſubject more warmly debated; and, what never happened before in America, it gave occaſion to the moſt atrocious invectives from the adverſaries of humanity. You will not doubt that theſe adverſaries were the deputies from the South. I except, however, the virtuous Madiſon, and eſpecially Mr. Vining, brother of that reſpectable woman ſo unjuſtly outraged by Mr. Castellux. He defended, with real eloquence, the cauſe of the Blacks.

I muſt not forget to name among the advocates of humanity, Meſſ. Scott, Gerry, and Boudinot. You will be aſtoniſhed to find among their adverſaries the firſt denunciator of the Cincinnati, Mr. Burke; he who unfolded, with ſo much energy, the fatal conſequences of the inequality which this order would introduce among the citizens; and the ſame man could ſupport the much more horrible inequality eſtabliſhed between the Whites and Blacks.

You will be ſtill more aſtoniſhed to learn, that he uniformly employed the language of invective. This is the weapon that the partizans of ſlavery always uſe in America, in England, and in France.

One of the moſt ardent petitioners to Congreſs in this cauſe, was the reſpectable Warner Mifflin. His zeal was rewarded with attrocious calumnies, which he always anſwered with mildneſs, forgiveneſs, and argument.

LETTER XXIII.

On replacing the Sugar of the Cane by the Sugar of Maple.

ON this continent, my friend, ſo polluted and tormented with ſlavery, Providence has placed two powerful and infallible means of deſtroy-

ing this evil. The means are, the ſocieties of which we have been ſpeaking, and the ſugar-maple.

Of all vegetables containing ſugar, this maple, after the ſugar-cane, contains the greateſt quantity. It grows naturally in the United States, and may be propagated with great facility. All America ſeems covered with it, from Canada to Virginia; it becomes more rare at the ſouthward, on the eaſt of the mountains; but it is found in abundance in the back country.

Such is the beneficent tree which has, for a long time, recompenſed the happy coloniſts, whoſe poſition deprived them of the delicate ſugar of our iſlands.

They have till lately contented themſelves with beſtowing very little labour on the manufacture, only bringing it to a ſtate of common coarſe ſugar; but ſince the Quakers have diſcerned in this production, the means of deſtroying ſlavery, they have felt the neceſſity of carrying it to perfection; and ſucceſs has crowned their endeavors.

You know, my friend, all the difficulties attending the cultivation of the cane. It is a tender plant; it has many enemies, and requires conſtant care and labour to defend it from numerous accidents: add to theſe, the painful efforts that the preparation and manufacture coſts to the wretched Africans; and, on comparing theſe to the advantages of the maple, you will be convinced, by a new argument, that much pains are often taken to commit unprofitable crimes. The maple is produced by nature; the ſap to be extracted, requires no preparatory labour; it runs in February and March, a ſeaſon unſuitable for other rural operations. Each tree, without injury to itſelf, gives twelve or fifteen gallons, which will produce at leaſt five pounds of ſugar. A man aided by four children, may eaſily, during

four weeks running of the sap, make fifteen hundred pounds of sugar.*

Advantages, like these, have not failed to excite the attention of the friends of humanity; so that, besides the societies formed for the abolition of slavery, another is formed, whose express object is to perfect this valuable production.

Mr. Drinker † of Philadelphia, made, last year, sixty barrels of maple sugar on his estate on the Delaware; and he has published a pamphlet on the best method of proceeding in this manufacture.

Edward Pennington, of Philadelphia, formerly a refiner in the West-Indies, has declared this sugar equal to that of the Islands, in grain, color and taste.

The cultivators in the State of New-York perceive, in an equal degree, the advantages of this production; they have made, this year, a great quantity of sugar, and brought it to great perfection.

Whenever there shall form from North to South a firm coalition, an ardent emulation to multiply

---

* *M. Lanthenas, one of the most enlightened defenders of the Blacks in France, has made some calculations on this subject, which cannot be too often repeated. Supposing, says he, that a family will produce in a season,* 1500lb. *of sugar,* 80,000 *families will produce, and that with very little trouble, a quantity equal to what is exported from St. Domingo in the most plentiful year, which is reckoned at one hundred and twenty millions. This supposes twenty millions of trees, rendering five pounds each, estimating the acre of the United States at* 38,476 *square feet of France; and supposing the trees planted at seven feet distance, about* 30,000 *acres appropriated to this use, would suffice for the above quantity of sugar.*

† *Some of the following facts took place in* 1789 *and* 1790, *as my friends have written me from Philadelphia. I thought proper to insert them in this letter, to which they belong.*

the produce of this divine tree, and especially when it shall be deemed an impiety to destroy it,* not only America may supply herself, but she may fill the markets of Europe with sugar, the low price of which will ruin the sale of that of the islands—a produce washed with the tears and the blood of slaves.

What an astonishing effect it would produce, to naturalize this tree through all Europe! In France we might plant them at twenty feet distance, in a kind of orchard, which would at the same time produce pasture, fruits, and other vegetables. In this manner an acre would contain 220 trees, which, even when young, would produce three pounds of sugar a year. This would give 420lb the acre, which, at three pence sterling the pound, and deducting one half for the labour, would yield annually 5l. 5s. sterling, clear profit; besides other productions, which these trees would not impede. This calculation might be reasonably carried much higher; but I chose to keep it as low as possible.†

---

* *A farmer has published, that no less than three millions of the maple-trees are destroyed annually in clearing the lands in the single State of New-York. It is certainly worthy the care of every Legislature in the Union, to prevent the destruction of so useful a tree, which seems to have been planted by the hand of Heaven for the consolation of man.*

† *The author ought to have carried the idea further. The sugar maple for fuel is equal to the beech; for cabinet work, and many similar uses, it is superior to most of the species of wood used in Europe; as a tree of ornament and pleasure, it is at least equal to the elm or poplar. How many millions of young trees, for the above uses, are planted every year in all parts of Europe, to renew and perpetuate the forests, the public walks, the public and private gardens and parks, to border the great roads, &c! for all these*

This we should obtain a profitable production in Europe, and diminish so many strokes of the whip, which our luxury draws upon the Blacks. Why is it, that in our capital, where the delicacy of sentiment is sometimes equal to that of sensation, no societies are formed, whose object should be to sweeten their coffee with a sugar not embittered by the idea of the excessive tears, cruelties, and crimes, without which the productions have not been hitherto procured? An idea which cannot fail to present itself to the imagination of every humane and enlightened man. Our devotees, our ignorant and inhuman priests, who never fail to be great lovers of coffee and sugar, would, by these means, be saved from the horrible part which they take in the most enormous crime on which the sun ever shone. In consuming these articles, do they not encourage those whose guilt is more direct in the operation of producing them! And, yet, with what coldness, with what culpable indifference, do these pious men look upon our Society of the Friends of the Blacks!

LETTER XXIV.

On a Plan for the Re-emigration of the Blacks of the United States, to Africa.

I HAVE already, my friend, given you a sketch of the ideas of Dr. Thornton on this subject. This ardent friend of the Blacks is persuaded, that we cannot hope to see a sincere union

---

purpose the sugar maple might be planted, and the juice to be drawn from it might be reckoned a clear profit to the world. The experiment of M. Noailles, in his garden at St. Germains, proves that this American tree would succeed well in Europe.

TRANSLATOR.

between them and the Whites, as long as they differ so much in colour, and in their rights as citizens. He attributes to no other cause, the apathy perceivable in many Blacks, even in Maſſachuſetts, where they are free. Deprived of the hope of electing or being elected representatives, or of riſing to any places of honor and truſt, the Negroes ſeem condemned to drag out their days in a ſtate of ſervility, or to languiſh in ſhops of retail. The Whites reproach them with a want of cleanlineſs, indolence, and inattention. But how can they be induſtrious, and active, while an inſurmountable barrier ſeparates them from other citizens?

Even on admitting them to all the rights of citizens, I know not whether it would be poſſible to effect a laſting and ſincere union; we are ſo ſtrongly inclined to love our likeneſs, that there would be unceaſing ſuſpicions, jealouſies, and partialities, between the Whites and Blacks. We muſt then recur to the project of Mr. Thornton—a project firſt imagined by that great apoſtle of philanthropy, Dr. Fothergill!——a project executed by the Society at London, or rather by the beneficent Grenville Sharp!——a project for reſtoring the Negroes to their country, to eſtabliſh them there, and encourage them in the cultivation of coffee, ſugar, cotton, &c. to carry on manufactures, and to open a commerce with Europe. Mr. Thornton has occupied himſelf with this conſoling idea. He propoſed himſelf to be the conductor of the American Negroes who ſhould repair to Africa. He propoſed to unite them to the new colony at Sierra Leona. He had ſent, at his own expence, into Africa, a well inſtructed man, who had ſpent ſeveral years in obſerving the productions of the country, the manufactures moſt ſuitable to it, the place moſt convenient, and the meaſures neceſſary to be taken to ſecure the colony from inſults, and every

thing was prepared. He had communicated his plan to ſome Members of the Legiſlature of Maſſachuſetts, who did not at firſt reliſh it. They liked better to give lands to their Negroes, and encourage them in the cultivation. But, ſays the Doctor, what can they do with their land, unaccuſtomed to war, and ſurrounded by ſavages? Suppoſing them to ſucceed, will you admit their repreſentatives to ſit in your Aſſemblies, to preſide over you?—No. Reſtore them then to their native country.

The Doctor was perſuaded, that when his deſign ſhould be known, thouſands of the Negroes would follow him. He had remarked, as well as I, the injuſtice of reproaching them with the ſpirit of idleneſs. If they are lazy, ſays he, why ſo much expence to go and ſteal them from their country for the ſake of their labour?

His reaſoning begins to convince men of reflexion, and his plan gives a ſolution to the problem of Mr. Jefferſon.—*See Notes on Virginia.*

The State of Maſſachuſetts has ſince received a requeſt from the Negroes, for the execution of the project. They have promiſed to give aid to it, as ſoon as they ſhall be aſſured of a ſituation in Africa proper for a good eſtabliſhment: they have even promiſed to furniſh veſſels, inſtruments, proviſions, &c.

What advantage would reſult to Africa, to Europe, and even to America, from the execution of this plan! For the Blacks of Africa would gradually civilize by the aſſiſtance of thoſe from America; and the Whites, whom they ought to execrate, would never mingle with them. By this civilization, Europe would open a vaſt market to her manufactures, and obtain, at a cheap rate, and without the effuſion of blood, thoſe productions which coſt her at the iſlands ſo much

money and so many crimes. God grant that this idea may soon be realized!*

A Society is formed in England, whose object is to follow the establishment of Sierra-Leona, and open a trade there for the productions of the country. This settlement is on land belonging to the English, and dependent on the English Government.

Another society is formed, whose object is partly the same, but who wish to render this establishment independent of every European Government. They have lately published their plan, under the following title: *Plan of a free community on the Coast of Africa, formed under the protection of Great Britain, but entirely independent of all European Government and Laws; with an invitation, under certain conditions, to those who may desire to partake of the advantages of this undertaking.*

In this plan, of which every friend to humanity must wish the success, it is declared, that the Society is founded on the principle of universal philanthropy, and not simply for the necessities of commerce:—advantages too much prized; as if the happiness of all the human race consisted in the acquisition of wealth.

LETTER XXV.

On Philadelphia, its Buildings, Police, &c.

IN considering the vices which tarnish Old Europe, and the mild fraternity which unites the

---

* *To perceive the advantages, read the work intitled* L'Amiral refuté par lui-meme; *and see the efforts made in England, to establish colonies in Africa, and to civilize the Blacks.*

Quakers. Voltaire sometimes flew off in imagination beyond the seas, and longed to go and finish his days in the City of Brothers. What would he have said, had he been able to have realized his dream, and to have been a witness of the peace which reigns in this town? I am wrong: Voltaire would have hastened to return to Europe: he burned with the love of glory; he lived upon incense, and he would have received but little here. The gravity of the Quakers would have appeared to him a gloomy pedantry: he would have yawned in their assemblies, and been mortified to see his epigrams pass without applause: he would have sighed for the sparkling wit of his amiable fops of Paris.

Philadelphia may be considered as the metropolis of the United States. It is certainly the finest town, and best built; it is the most wealthy, though not the most luxurious. You find here more men of information, more political and literary knowledge, and more learned societies. Many towns in America are more ancient; but Philadelphia has surpassed her elders.

The Swedes were first established on the spot where this town has been since built. The Swedish church on the banks of the Delaware is more than one hundred years old. It is the oldest church in the town, at present under the care of Dr. Collins, a Swedish minister of great learning and merit. He writes very well in English, and has composed many works in that language; among which is the *Foreign Spectator*, in which he unfolds the soundest principles of republican policy. He is a fervent apostle of liberty.

Penn brought into his new colony a government truly fraternal. Brothers who live together have no need of soldiers, nor forts, nor police, nor that formidable apparatus which makes of European towns garrisons of war.

At ten o'clock in the evening all is tranquil

in the streets; the profound silence which reigns there is only interrupted by the voice of the watchmen, who are in small numbers, and who form the only patrole. The streets are lighted by lamps, placed like those of London.

On the side of the streets are footways of brick, and gutters constructed of brick or wood. Strong posts are placed to prevent carriages from passing on the footways. All the streets are furnished with public pumps, in great numbers. At the door of each house are placed two benches, where the family sit at evening to take the fresh air, and amuse themselves in looking at the passengers. It is certainly a bad custom, as the evening air is unhealthful, and the exercise is not sufficient to correct this evil, for they never walk here: they supply the want of walking, by riding out into the country. They have few coaches at Philadelphia. You see many handsome waggons, which are used to carry the family into the country; they are a kind of long carriage, light, and open, and would contain twelve persons. They have many chairs and [illegible] on all sides; the former may carry two persons, the latter only one.

The horses used in these carriages are neither handsome nor strong; but they travel very well. I have not yet met with those fine horses of which M. de Crevecœur speaks, and which I thought were equal to the enormous breed of Flanders. I suspect the Americans of not taking sufficient care of their horses, and of nourishing them ill: they give them no straw in the stable: on returning from long and fatiguing courses, they are sent to pasture.

Philadelphia is built on a regular plan; long and large streets cross each other at right angles: this regularity, which is a real ornament, is at first embarrassing to a stranger; he has much difficulty in finding himself, especially as the

ſtreets are not inſcribed, and the doors not numbered. It is ſtrange that the Quakers, who are ſo fond of order, have not adopted theſe two conveniences; that they have not borrowed them from the Engliſh, of whom they have borrowed ſo many things. This double defect is a torment to ſtrangers. The ſhops, which adorn the principal ſtreets, are remarkable for their neatneſs.

The State Houſe, where the Legiſlature aſſembles, is an handſome building: by its ſide they are building a magnificent houſe of juſtice.

Mr. Raynal has exaggerated every thing; the buildings, the library, the ſtreets: he ſpeaks of ſtreets 100 feet wide; there is none of this width, except Market-ſtreet; they are generally from 50 to 60 feet wide. He ſpeaks of wharves of 200 feet: there is none ſuch here; the wharves in general are ſmall and niggardly. He ſays they have every where followed the plan laid down by Mr. Penn in building their houſes. They have violated it in building Water-ſtreet, where he had projected elegant wharves. Raynal ſpeaks likewiſe of houſes covered with ſlate, and of marble monuments in the churches, and in the halls of the State Houſe. I have ſeen nothing of all this.

Behind the State Houſe is a public garden; it is the only one that exiſts in Philadelphia. It is not large; but it is agreeable, and one may breathe in it. It is compoſed of a number of verdant ſquares, interſected by alleys.

All the ſpace from Front-ſtreet on the Delaware to Front-ſtreet on the Skuylkill, is already diſtributed into ſquares for ſtreets and houſes: they build here, but not ſo briſkly as at New-York. The inhabitants wiſh for the aggrandizement of their city: they are wrong; Philadelphia is already too conſiderable. When towns acquire this degree of population, you muſt have hoſpitals, priſons, ſoldiers, police, ſpies, and all the

ſweeping train of luxury; that luxury which Penn wiſhed to avoid. It already appears: they have carpets, elegant carpets; it is a favourite taſte with the Americans; they receive it from the intereſted avarice of their old maſters, the Engliſh.

A carpet in ſummer is an abſurdity; yet they ſpread them in this ſeaſon, and from vanity: this vanity excuſes itſelf by ſaying that the carpet is an ornament; that is to ſay, they ſacrifice reaſon and utility to ſhow.

The Quakers have likewiſe carpets; but the rigorous ones blame this practice. They mentioned to me an inſtance of a Quaker from Carolina, who, going to dine with one of the moſt opulent at Philadelphia, was offended at finding the paſſage from the door to the ſtaircaſe covered with a carpet, and would not enter the houſe; he ſaid that he never dined in a houſe where there was luxury; and that it was better to clothe the poor, than to clothe the earth.

If this man juſtly cenſured the prodigality of carpets, how much more ſeverely ought he to cenſure the women of Philadelphia? I ſpeak not here of the Quaker women; I refer my obſervations on them to the chapter which I reſerve for that ſociety. But the women of the other ſects wear hats and caps almoſt as varied as thoſe of Paris. They beſtow immenſe expences on their toilet and head-dreſs, and diſplay pretenſions too affected to be pleaſing.

It is a great misfortune that, in republics, women ſhould ſacrifice ſo much time to trifles; and that men ſhould likewiſe hold this taſte in ſome eſtimation.

A very ingenious woman in this town is reproached with having contributed more than all others to introduce this taſte for luxury. I really regret to ſee her huſband, who appears to be well informed, and of an amiable character, affect, in his buildings and furniture, a pomp which

ought for ever to have been a ſtranger to Philadelphia; and why? To draw around him the gaudy prigs and paraſites of Europe. And what does he gain by it? Jealouſy; the reproach of his fellow-citizens, and the ridicule of ſtrangers. When a man enjoys pecuniary advantages, and at the ſame time poſſeſſes genius, knowledge, reflection, and the love of doing good, how eaſy it is to make himſelf beloved and eſteemed, by employing his fortune, and perhaps increaſing it, in enterpriſes uſeful to the public!

Notwithſtanding the fatal effects that might be expected here from luxury, we may ſay with truth, that there is no town where morals are more reſpected. Adultery is not known here: there is no inſtance of a wife of any ſect, who has failed in her duty.

This, I am told, is owing to what may be called the civil ſtate of women. They marry without dower; they bring to their huſbands only the furniture of their houſes; and they wait the death of their parents, before they come to the poſſeſſion of their property.

I have been informed, however, of a Mrs. Livingſton, daughter of Doct. Shippen, who lives ſeparated from her huſband. This ſeparation was made by mutual agreement. This young woman married Mr. Livingſton only in obedience to the father; obedience of this kind is very rare in this country. The father promiſed to take her again, if ſhe ſhould not be pleaſed with her huſband: ſhe was not pleaſed with him; the father received her, and ſhe lives at preſent virtuous and reſpected.

You would not have ſo good an idea of the morals of this country, if you were to read a ſatire lately publiſhed, intitled *The Times*. The author is Mr. Markoe. He diſcovers a remarkable talent for poetry; a talent ſimilar to that of our ſatyriſt Gilbert, who lately died in an hoſ-

pital; but, like him, he paints with too high colours; and, like all poets, he often ſubſtitutes fable for truth. Mr. Markoe inſpires the leſs confidence, as he diſhonors his writings by an intemperate life. A ſatyriſt, to be believed, and to be uſeful, ought to exhibit the moſt unexceptionable morals.

The celebrated Paine, author of Common Senſe, ſo much venerated by the French, is moſt cruelly treated in this ſatire. This is not the firſt that has been publiſhed againſt him; I have ſeen another, very ſevere, by an inhabitant of North-Carolina.

Mr. Paine has enjoyed great ſucceſs here; it is not therefore ſurpriſing, that ſatires ſhould be written againſt him. Whatever may be the cauſe of it, it cannot be denied, that his writings had a great effect on the American revolution; and this circumſtance ought to place him in the rank of the benefactors of America.

I have ſeen another author at Philadelphia, who has imagination and wit; it is Mr. Crawford. He has publiſhed ſeveral poems; as likewiſe obſervations on the ſlavery of the Negroes, full of good ſenſe and humanity. He has publiſhed an addreſs of the famous George Fox to the Jews. Mr. Crawford has a turn for myſtical ideas; this, aided by great application to ſtudy, and an inflammable imagination, has led him to turns of inſanity. He was formerly a deiſt, and has been converted by the celebrated Doct. Jebb.

There is no town on the continent where there is ſo much printing done as at Philadelphia. Gazettes and book-ſtores are numerous in the town, and paper-mills in the State.

Among the printers and bookſellers of this town, I remarked Mr. Carey, an Iriſh printer, who, for having publiſhed, in his journal of the *Volunteers of Ireland*, an article which wounded ſome people in place, particularly Mr. Foſter

was perfecuted, and obliged to fly to America. Being deſtitute of money, M. de la Fayette gave him aſſiſtance, and enabled him to eſtabliſh a preſs, on condition that this act of generoſity ſhould remain a ſecret. Mr. Carey kept his word; but, having a violent quarrel two years afterwards with another printer, Mr. Oſwald, who quarrels with all the world, and who called in queſtion the origin of Mr. Carey's fortune, he was obliged to reveal the ſecret.

This printer, who unites great induſtry with great information, publiſhes a monthly collection called *The American Muſeum*, which is equal to the beſt periodical publication in Europe. It contains every thing the moſt important that America produces in the arts, in the ſciences, and in politics. The part which concerns agriculture, is attended to with great care.

There are at preſent very few French merchants at Philadelphia. The failure of thoſe who firſt came, diſcouraged others, and has put the Americans on their guard. I have endeavoured to diſcover the cauſe of theſe failures; and have found that the greater part of theſe French merchants had either begun with little property, or had made imprudent purchaſes, or given themſelves up to extravagant expences. Moſt of them were ignorant of the language, cuſtoms, and laws of the country; moſt of them were ſeduced by the high price which they received for their goods, in paper money: imagining that this paper would ſoon riſe to par, they amaſſed as much as poſſible of it, calculating on enormous profits; and thus fed the hopes of their correſpondents in Europe. Theſe hopes were diſappointed. Some knowledge of buſineſs, of men, of politics, of revolutions, and of the country, would have taught them, that many years muſt elapſe before the public debt could be paid. It became neceſſary to break the illuſion, to ſpi-

this paper at a loſs, in order to meet their engagements. But they had ſet up their equipages; they were in the habit of great expences, which they thought it neceſſary to continue for fear of loſing their credit, for they meaſured Philadelphia on the ſcale of Paris. They fooliſhly imagined, that reaſonable and enlightened men would ſuffer themſelves, like ſlaves, to be duped by the glitter of parade; their profits ceaſed, their expences multiplied, and the moment of bankruptcy arrived: they muſt juſtify themſelves in the eyes of their correſpondents, and of France: they accuſed the Americans of diſhoneſty, of perfidy, and of raſcality. Theſe calumniators ought to have accuſed their own ignorance, their folly, and their extravagant luxury.

Some Frenchmen paraded themſelves here publicly with their miſtreſſes, who diſplayed thoſe light and wanton airs which they had practiſed at Paris.* You may judge of the offence which this indecent ſpectacle would give in a country where women are ſo reſerved, and where the manners are ſo pure. Contempt was the conſequence; want of credit followed the contempt; and what is a merchant without credit?

Since the peace, the Quakers have returned to their commerce with great activity. The capitals which diffidence had for a long time locked up in their coffers, are now drawn out to give a ſpring to induſtry, and encourage commercial ſpeculations. The Delaware ſees floating the flags of all nations; and enterpriſes are there formed for all parts of the world. Manufactories are

* *One of theſe gentlemen had the impudence to preſent in ſome of the beſt families his miſtreſs, not as his wife, but as his partner in trade. This woman was afterwards publicly kept by the ambaſſador. He had not reſpect enough for the morals of the country, to induce him to conceal his turpitude.*

rising in the town and in the country; and industry and emulation increase with great rapidity. Notwithstanding the astonishing growth of Baltimore which has drawn part of the commerce from Philadelphia, yet the energy of the ancient capitals of this town, the universal estimation in which the Quaker merchants are held, and the augmentation of agriculture and population, supply this deficiency.

You will now be able to judge of the causes of the prosperity of this town. Its situation on a river navigable for the greatest ships, renders it one of the principal places of foreign commerce, and at the same time the great magazine of all the productions of the fertile lands of Pennsylvania, and of those of some of the neighbouring States. The vast rivers, which by their numerous branches communicate to all parts of the State, give a value to the lands, and attract inhabitants. The climate, less cold than that of the Northern States, and less warm than that of the South, forms another very considerable attraction.

But I firmly believe that it is not simply to those physical advantages that Pennsylvania owes her prosperity. It is to the manners of the inhabitants; it is to the universal tolerance which reigned there from the beginning; it is to the simplicity, economy, industry, and perseverance of the Quakers, which, centering in two points, agriculture and commerce, have carried them to a greater perfection than they have attained among other sects. The cabin of a simple cultivator gives birth to more children than a gilded palace; and less of them perish in infancy.

And since the table of population of a country appears to you always the most exact measure of its prosperity, compare, at four different epochs, the number of inhabitants paying capitation in Pennsylvania.

1760	1770	1779	1786
31,667	39,765	45,683	66,925

You see that population has more than doubled in twenty-five years, notwithstanding the horrible depopulation of a war of eight years. Observe in this stating, that the Blacks are not included, which form about one-fifth of the population of the State. Observe, that by the calculation of the general convention in 1787, the number of Whites in this State was carried to 360,000; which supposes very nearly a wife and four children for every taxable head.

The public spirit which the Quakers manifest in every thing, has given rise to several useful institutions in Philadelphia, which I have not yet mentioned. One of them is the *Dispensary*, which distributes medicines *gratis* to the sick who are not in a situation to purchase them.

See how easy and cheap it is to do good. Let those men blush, then, who dissipate their fortunes in luxury and in idleness! One thousand six hundred and forty-seven persons were treated by this establishment during the year 1787. By calculation this treatment cost to the establishment five shillings and nine pence for each patient. Thus, for two hundred pounds sterling, sixteen hundred and forty-seven persons are rendered happy.

To this public spirit, so ingenious in varying its benefits, is owing the *Benevolent Institution*, whose object it is to succour, in their own houses, poor women in childbed.

Another Society has for its object to alleviate the situation of prisoners.

The Philadelphians confine not their attention to their brethren; they extend it to strangers; they have formed a Society for the assistance of emigrants who arrive from Germany. A similar one is formed at New-York, called the Hibernian Society, for the succour of emigrants from Ire-

and. Theſe ſocieties inform themſelves, on the arrival of a ſhip, of the ſituation of the emigrants, and procure them immediate employ.

Here is a company for inſurance againſt fire. The houſes are conſtructed of wood and brick, and conſequently expoſed to the ravages of fire. The inſurers are the inſured, a method which prevents the abuſes to which your company at Paris is expoſed.

In the midſt of all theſe things which excite my admiration and my tender regard, one trait of injuſtice gives me much pain, becauſe it ſeems to tarniſh the glory of Pennſylvania. Penn left to his family an immenſe property here. In the laſt war his deſcendants took part with the Engliſh government, and retired to England. The legiſlature of Pennſylvania paſſed a law, taking from them all their lands and their rents, and voted to give them for the whole, one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. This ſum was to have been paid in paper-money, which ſuffered then a conſiderable depreciation. The firſt term only has been paid.

It cannot be denied, that there was a great injuſtice in the eſtimation—in the mode of payment—and in the delay. The State of Pennſylvania has too much reſpect for property, and too much attachment to juſtice, not to repair its wrongs one day to the family of Penn, which ſubſiſts at preſent only at the expence of the Engliſh nation.

LETTER XXVI.

Progreſs of Cultivation in Pennſylvania.

HITHERTO, my friend, we have ſpoken only of farms in good culture, and in the neighbourhood of towns. We muſt now penetrate farther, deſcend into the midſt of the wilderneſs,

and observe the man, detached from society, with his axe in his hand, felling the venerable oak, that had been respected by the savage, and supplying its place by the humble spire of corn. We must follow this man in his progress, and observe the changes that his cabin undergo, when it becomes the centre of twenty other cabins which rise successively round it. An American farmer has communicated to me the principal traits of the rural picture which I am going to lay before you. The first planter,* or he who begins a settlement in the woods, is generally a man who has lost his fortune and his credit in the cultivated part of the State. He emigrates in the month of April. His first work is to build a little cabin for himself and family; the roof is of rough hewn wood, the floor of earth. It is lighted by the door, or sometimes by a little window with oiled paper. A more wretched building adjoining it gives shelter to a cow and two miserable horses. This done, he attacks the trees that surround his cabin. To extirpate them by the root would require too much labour. He contents himself by cutting them at two or three feet from the ground. The space thus cleared is then plowed, and planted with Indian corn. The soil, being new, requires little culture; in the month of October it yields a harvest

* *As the translator recollects to have seen this fanciful description many times published in America, he was less anxious in re-translating it, to flatter the original author, by retailing all his ideas, than he was to save the credit of M. de Warville, by abridging the piece. Credulity is indeed a less fault in a traveller than prejudice; but it ought, however, to be corrected. Accounts like this put one in mind of Dr. Franklin's romance of* Mary Baker, *so religiously believed and copied by the Abbé Raynal, in his History of the Two Indies.*

of forty or fifty bushels the acre. Even from the month of September, this corn furnishes a plentiful and agreeable nourishment to his family. Hunting and fishing, with a little grain, suffice, during the winter, for the subsistence of his family; while the cow and horses of our planter feed on the poor wild grass, or the buds of trees. During the first year he suffers much from cold and hunger; but he endures it without repining. Being near the savages, he adopts their manners; his fatigue is violent, but it is suspended by long intervals of repose: his pleasures consist in fishing and hunting; he loves spirituous liquors; he eats, drinks, and sleeps in the filth of his little cabin.

Thus roll away the first three years of our planter in laziness, independence, the variation of pleasure, and of labour. But population augments in his neighbourhood, and then his troubles begin. His cattle could before run at large; but now his neighbours force him to retain them within his little farm. Formerly the wild beasts gave subsistence to his family; they now fly a country which begins to be peopled by men, and consequently by enemies. An increasing society brings regulations, taxes, and the parade of laws; and nothing is so terrible to our independent planter as all these shackles. He will not consent to sacrifice a single natural right for all the benefits of government; he abandons then his little establishment, and goes to seek a second retreat in the wilderness, where he can recommence his labours, and prepare a farm for cultivation. Such are the charms of independence, that many men have begun the clearing of farms four times in different parts of this State.

It has been remarked, that the preaching of the Gospel always drives off men of this class. And it is not surprising if we consider how much its precepts are opposed to the licentiousness of

their manner of life. But the labour beſtowed by the firſt planter gives ſome value to the farm, which now comes to be occupied by a man of the ſecond claſs of planters. He begins by adding to his cabin an houſe. A ſaw mill in the neighbouring ſettlement furniſhes him with boards. His houſe is covered with ſhingles, and is two ſtories high. He makes a little meadow, plants an orchard of two or three hundred apple-trees. His ſtable is enlarged; he builds a ſpacious barn of wood, and covers it with rye-ſtraw. Inſtead of planting only Indian corn, he cultivates wheat and rye; the laſt is deſtined to make whiſky. But this planter manages ill; his fields are badly plowed, never manured, and give but ſmall crops. His cattle break through his fences, deſtroy his crops, and often cut off the hopes of the year. His horſes are ill fed, and feeble; his cattle often die with hunger in the Spring; his houſe and his farm give equal proofs of the want of induſtry; the glaſs of his windows has given place to old hats and rags. This man is fond of company; he drinks to exceſs; paſſes much of his time in diſputing about politics. Thus he contracts debts, and is forced, after ſome years, to ſell his plantation to a planter of the third and laſt claſs.

This is ordinarily a man of property, and of a cultivated mind. His firſt object is to convert into meadow all his land, on which he can conduct water. He then builds a barn of ſtone, ſometimes an hundred feet in length, and forty in breadth. This defends his cattle from cold, and they eat leſs when kept warm, than when expoſed to the froſt. To ſpare the conſumption of fuel, he makes uſe of economical ſtoves, and by this he ſaves immenſe labour in cutting and carting wood. He multiplies the objects of culture; beſides corn, wheat, and rye, he cultivates oats & buck-wheat. Near his houſe he forms a garden

of one or two acres, which gives him quantities of cabbage, potatoes, and turnips. Near the ſpring which furniſhes him with water, he builds a dairy-houſe. He augments the number, and improves the quality of his fruit-trees. His ſons are always at work by his ſide; his wife and daughter quit their wheels for the labour of the harveſt. The laſt object of induſtry is to build an houſe for his own uſe. This building is generally of ſtone; it is vaſt, well diſtributed, and well furniſhed. His horſes and cattle, by their good appearance, their ſtrength, and fecundity, prove that they are well fed, and well attended. His table abounds with delicate and various diſhes. His kitchen flows with milk and honey. The ordinary drink of his family, is beer, cyder, and wine; his wife and daughters manufacture their cloathing. In proportion as he grows rich, he perceives the value of the protection of the laws; he pays his taxes with punctuality; he contributes to the ſupport of churches and ſchools, as the only means of inſuring order and tranquillity.

Two-thirds of the farmers of Pennſylvania belong to this third claſs. It is to them that the State owes its ancient reputation and importance. If they have leſs of cunning than their neighbours of the South, who cultivate their lands by ſlaves, they have more of the republican virtues. It was from their farms that the American and French armies were principally ſupplied during the laſt war; it was from their produce that came thoſe millions of dollars brought from the Havanna after the year 1780—millions which laid the foundation of the bank of North-America, and ſupported the American army till peace.

This is a feeble ſketch of the happineſs of a Pennſylvania farmer; a happineſs to which this State calls men of all countries and of all religions. It offers not the pleaſures of the Arcadia

of the poets, or thoſe of the great towns of Europe; but it promiſes you independence, plenty, and happineſs—in return for patience, induſtry, and labour. The moderate price of lands, the credit that may be obtained, and the perfect ſecurity that the courts of juſtice give to every ſpecies of property, place theſe advantages within the reach of every condition of men.

I do not pretend here to give the hiſtory of all the ſettlements of Pennſylvania. It often happens, that the ſame man, or the ſame family, holds the place of the firſt and ſecond, and ſometimes of the third claſs of planters above deſcribed. In the counties near Philadelphia, you ſee vaſt houſes of brick, and farms well cultivated, in the poſſeſſion of the deſcendants, in the ſecond or third degree, of the companions of William Penn.

This paſſion for emigration, of which I have ſpoken, will appear to you unaccountable: that a man ſhould voluntarily abandon the country that gave him birth, the church where he was conſecrated to God, the tombs of his anceſtors, the companions and friends of his youth, and all the pleaſures of poliſhed ſociety—to expoſe himſelf to the dangers and difficulties of conquering ſavage nature, is, in the eyes of an European philoſopher, a phenomenon which contradicts the ordinary progreſs and principles of the actions of men. But ſuch is the fact; and this paſſion contributes to increaſe the population of America, not only in the new ſettlements, but in the old States; for, when the number of farmers is augmented in any canton beyond the number of convenient farms, the population languiſhes, the price of lands riſe to ſuch a degree as to diminiſh the profits of agriculture, encourage idleneſs, or turn the attention to leſs honourable purſuits. The beſt preventative of theſe evils is the emigration of part of the inhabitants.

This part generally conſiſts of the moſt idle and diſſipated, who neceſſarily become induſtrious in their new ſettlement; while the departure augments the means of ſubſiſtence and population to thoſe left behind; as pruning increaſes the ſize of the tree, and the quantity of its fruit.

The third claſs of cultivators which I have deſcribed, is chiefly compoſed of Germans. They make a great part of the population of Pennſylvania. It is more than a century ſince the firſt Germans were eſtabliſhed here. They are regarded as the moſt honeſt, the moſt induſtrious and economical of the farmers. They never contract debts; they are, of all the Americans, the leaſt attached to the uſe of rum and other ardent ſpirits. Thus their families are the moſt numerous. It is very common to ſee them have twelve or fourteen children.* It is ſaid, they have not ſo much information as the other Americans; and information is the ſoul of a Republican Government: but yet you find many men reſpectable for their knowledge and underſtanding among them, ſuch as Rittenhouſe, Kuhn, Muſhenberg, &c.

A principal cauſe of emigration in the back parts of Pennſylvania, is the hope of eſcaping taxes; yet the land-tax is very light, as it does not exceed a penny in the pound of the eſtimation; and the eſtimation is much under the value of the lands.

There is much irregularity in the land-tax, as likewiſe in the capitation or poll-tax; but I ſee with pleaſure that bachelors pay more than married men.

---

* *According to M. Moheau, one family of 25,000 in France has thirteen children; two have twelve.*

LETTER XXVII.

Climate and Diſeaſes of Pennſylvania.

I HAVE already ſpoken to you, my friend, of the climate of this happy town. The reſpectable Doctor Ruſh has juſt communicated to me ſome new and curious details, which I will communicate.

This enlightened obſerver, in one energetic phraſe, has pictured to me the variations incident to Philadelphia. We have, ſaid he, the humidity of Great Britain in the Spring, the heat of Africa in Summer, the temperance of Italy in June, the ſky of Egypt in Autumn, the ſnows of Norway and the ice of Holland during the Winter; the tempeſts, to a certain degree, of the Weſt-Indies in each ſeaſon, and the variable winds of Great Britain in every month of the year.

Notwithſtanding all theſe changes, the Doctor thinks, that the climate of Philadelphia is one of the moſt healthful in the world.

In dry weather, the air has a peculiar elaſticity, which renders heat or cold leſs inſupportable than they are in places more humid. The air never becomes heavy and fatiguing, but when the rains are not followed by the beneficent North-weſt. During the three weeks that I have paſſed here (in Auguſt and September) I have felt nothing of the languor of body, and depreſſion of ſpirits, which I expected: though the heat has been very great, I found it ſupportable; nearly like that of Paris, but it cauſed a greater perſpiration.

Doctor Ruſh has obſerved, as have many phyſicians of Europe, that the ſtate of mind influences much on the health. He cited to me two ſtriking examples of it. The Engliſh ſeamen wounded in the famous naval battle of the 12th of April 1782, were cured with the greateſt fa-

cility. The joy of victory gave to their bodies the force of youth. He had made the same observation on the American soldiers wounded at the battle of Trenton.

Variability is the characteristic of the climate of Pennsylvania. It has changed by the clearing of lands, and the diminution of waters, which formerly abounded in this part of America. Many creeks, and even rivers, have disappeared by degrees; and this is to be expected in a country where forests give place to cultivated fields.

These changes have produced happy effects on the health of the people. An old man of this country has observed to me, that the health of the Pennsylvanians augments in proportion to the cultivation of the country; that their visages are less pale than they were thirty or forty years past; that for some time the number of centenaries has increased, and that the septuagenaries are very numerous.

In 1782, there was such an extraordinary drought, that the Indian corn did not come to perfection, the meadows failed, and the soil became so inflammable, that in some places it caught fire, and the surface was burnt.—This year it has been excessively rainy. On the 18th and 19th of August, there fell at Philadelphia seven inches of water. Wheat has suffered much this year from the rains.

Happily all parts of the country are not subject to the same variations of the atmosphere; so that a general scarcity is never known. If the harvest fails here, at fifty miles distance it abounds. You see that the heat here is about the same as at Paris, and that it is never so great as at Rome, since at the latter place the thermometer of Reaumur rises to thirty degrees. You see, that the Winter here is not much colder than at Paris, as it rarely descends more than to twelve degrees below the freezing point.

There falls much more rain here than at Paris. The common quantity here is twenty inches in the year. and it has not been known but once in ſixty years to riſe to twenty-five, while the common quantity at Philadelphia is thirty-five inches. By comparing the climate of Philadelphia with that of Pekin, nearly in the ſame latitude, you will find, from the tables of Kirwan, that the Winters are much colder, and the Summers much warmer, in that part of China, than at Philadelphia. Doctor Ruſh attributes the difference to this circumſtance, that Pennſylvania is bordered with a vaſt extent of foreſt, and that the country about Pekin is generally highly cultivated.

My Friend Myers Fiſher, who endeavors to explain the characters of men from the phyſical circumſtances that ſurround them, has communicated to me an obſervation which he has made in that reſpect; it is, that the activity of the inhabitants of a country may be meaſured by the rapidity of its rivers, and the variations in its atmoſphere.

He could ſee the dullneſs and indeciſion of the Virginians in the ſlow movement of the Potomac; while the rapid current of the rivers of the North painted to him the activity of the people of New-England.

He told me, likewiſe, that the health of the people might very well conſiſt with the variations of the air, provided that wiſe precautions were taken. This, as he aſſured me, was a part of the diſcipline of the Quakers. Thus, according to him, you may meaſure the longevity of the People of Pennſylvania by the ſect to which they belong. That of the Quakers ought to be placed at the head of this table of longevity; that of the Moravians next; the Preſbyterians next, &c.

Doctor Ruſh, whoſe obſervations in this reſpect are numerous, has told me, that ſudden variations cauſed more diſeaſes and deaths than either heat

or cold conſtantly ſucceſſive. He inſtanced the rigorous winter of 1780, the burning ſummer of 1782, and the rainy ſummer of 1788. There were then few or no diſeaſes; and thoſe which happened were occaſioned by imprudence, ſuch as cold water drank in heat, or ſpirituous liquors in cold. Pleuriſies and inflammatory diſorders are much diminiſhed within fifty years. The months of May and June are conſidered as the moſt ſalubrious, and the valetudinarians are obſerved to be better in Summer than in Winter.

LETTER XXVIII.

Diſeaſes the moſt common in the United States. Longevity.

AMONG the diſeaſes of the United States the conſumption doubtleſs makes the greateſt ravages. It was unknown to the original inhabitants of the country; it is then the reſult of European habits of life tranſported to this new Continent. It is more common in the towns than in the country; it deſtroys more women than men; it is a languid diſorder, which drags, by ſlow ſteps, its victim to the tomb; each day plunges the dagger deeper in his breaſt, and renders more viſible the incurable wound. Death, without ceaſing, ſtares him in the face, and throws a funeral ſhrowd over the remainder of his days. The world and its pleaſures diſappear; the ties of friendſhip are the only ones that are ſtrengthened and endeared, and which double the bitterneſs of his approaching diſſolution. The conſumption, in a word, is a long continued agony, a ſlow tormenting death.

The phyſicians of this country attribute it to different cauſes; to the exceſſive uſe of hot

drinks, such as tea and coffee; to the habit of remaining too long in bed, and the use of feather-beds, for they know not the use of matrasses; to the custom of eating too much meat, and of drinking too much spirituous liquors. Women are more subject to it than men; because, independently of the above causes, they take but little exercise, which is the only powerful remedy against the stagnation of humours, the great principle of the marasma: they taste but little the pleasures of walking; a movement which, varying the spectacle of nature, gives a refreshment to the senses, a new spring to the blood, and a new vigour to the soul.

A particular cause of consumptions among the Quaker women is doubtless the habit of gravity and immobility which they contract in early life, and which they preserve for hours together in their silent meetings. The women of the other sects are equally attacked by consumptions, but it is attributed to different causes; they are fond of excessive dancing; heated with this, they drink cold water, eat cold unripe fruits, drink boiling tea, go thinly clad in winter, and give no attention to the sudden changes of weather. The Quakers are more reasonable in these respects; but they balance these advantages by a fatal neglect of exercise. To preserve good health, a female should have the gaiety of a woman of fashion, with the prudence and precaution of a Quaker.

A moral or political cause may likewise aid us in explaining why women are more subject to consumptions than men. It is the want of a will, or a civil existence. The submission, to which women are habituated, has the effect of chains, which compress the limbs, cause obstructions, deaden the vital principle, and impede the circulation. The depression of the mind has a tendency to enfeeble the body. This submission to

fathers and husbands is more remarkable among the Quakers, than among the other sects. The time will doubtless come, when we shall be convinced that physical health, as well as political happiness, may be greatly promoted by equality and independence of opinions among all the members of society.

Consumptions, however, are not so numerous in America as is generally imagined. This name is ignorantly given to many other disorders, which reduce the body to the same meagre state which follows a decay of the lungs. This appearance deceives, and may easily deceive the attendants of the sick, who give information to those who keep the bills of mortality.

Another disease very common here is the sore-throat; when putrid, it is mortal. It generally proceeds from excessive heats, cold drinks, and carelessness in cloathing.

When we reflect that Europe was formerly subject to these epidemical diseases, and that they have disappeared in proportion to the progress of cultivation, we are tempted to believe that they belong to new countries in the infancy of cultivation.

The disease known in Europe by the name of influenza, is likewise common in America: it made great ravages in 1789. It began in Canada, passed through New-York, and very soon infected Pennsylvania and the Southern States. Its symptoms are lassitude, feebleness, chills, heats, and the head-ach. It respects no age or sex, and especially precipitates to the tomb those who were attacked by the consumption.

The fever and ague may be ranked in the class of these cruel epidemics; but it is more terrible, as its returns are annual. It not only visits the marshy countries and the sea-coasts, but it is seen even in the healthy region of Albany. It is combated by the Peruvian bark; but the

moſt ſucceſsful remedy is a journey among the mountains, or into the Northern States. This fever, more humane than men, ſubjects not to its empire the black ſlaves. This exemption is attributed to a cuſtom they preſerve with obſtinacy, of keeping fires always in their cabins, even in the hotteſt ſeaſon. The negroes are accuſtomed to conſider exceſſive heat as a guarantee of health; and you will ſee a negreſs, while ſhe labours in the field, in the ardour of a burning ſun, expoſe her infant to its fires, rather than lay it under the refreſhing ſhade of a tree. This negreſs has not heard of the curious experiments of Dr. Inginhouſe on the fatal effects of ſhades and the night air, but you ſee that ſhe knows their effects.

Among the maladies common in the United States, muſt be reckoned the pleuriſy and the peripneumony, though they are leſs frequent than formerly. The ſmall-pox, which formerly made ſuch havock in the United States, is leſs formidable ſince the general practice of inoculation.

There are many phyſicians at Philadelphia, and you will perhaps aſſign this as the cauſe of ſo many diſeaſes. You will be wrong. They are ſaid to be ſkilful; they are generally ſtrangers to quackery. I know ſome of them who are highly reſpectable; as well for their virtues, as for their knowledge; ſuch as Ruſh, Griffiths, Wiſneer; the two laſt are Quakers.

The greateſt part of theſe phyſicians are, at the ſame time apothecaries. They continue to unite theſe two ſciences, out of reſpect to the people, who wiſh that the man who orders the medicine ſhould likewiſe prepare it. There are, however, other apothecaries, of whom the phyſicians purchaſe their drugs.

The practice of this country is the Engliſh practice; that is, they are much in the uſe of violent remedies. Laxatives are little in uſe.

Almoſt all the phyſicians of this country are formed at the ſchool of Edinburgh, and this is the cauſe of their predilection for the Engliſh practice.

I know a Dr. Baily of this country, a man of good abilities, but perhaps too inflammable and too cauſtic, who, much irritated at the preference given by his countrymen to the Engliſh practice, was reſolved to open a communication between this country and the ſchools of France. This reſolution did him the more honor, as he was known in politics for an Anglican, and a decided royaliſt.

LETTER XXIX.

Longevity and Calculations on the Probabilities of Life in the United States.

YOU may think, perhaps after the account that I have given you of the maladies which afflict America, that human life is ſhorter here than in Europe. It is a prejudice; and as it has been accredited by many writers, and by ſome even who have travelled in America, it becomes a duty to deſtroy it.

The Abbé Robin, one of theſe travellers, has declared, that after the age of twenty-five, the American women appear old; that children die here in greater proportion than in Europe; that there are very few old people, &c. &c. M. Paw, I believe, had uttered theſe fables before him. Nothing is more falſe. I have obſerved with care the women between thirty and fifty years of age: they have generally a good appearance, good health, and are even agreeable. I have ſeen them of fifty, with ſuch an air of freſhneſs, that they would not have been taken by an European for

more than forty. I have ſeen women of ſixty and ſeventy, ſparkling with health. I ſpeak here eſpecially of the women of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, and Connecticut.

In Pennſylvania you do not ſee the ſame tints adorning the intereſting viſages of the daughters and wives of the Quakers; they are generally pale.

I have paid attention to their teeth. I have ſeen thoſe that are fine; and where they are otherwiſe, it is, as in England, more owing to hot drinks than to the climate.

Not only the number of aged perſons are more conſiderable here than in Europe, as I am going to prove to you; but they preſerve generally their faculties, intellectual and phyſical.

I was told of a Miniſter at Ipſwich in Maſſachuſetts, who preached very well at ninety years of age; another, of the ſame age, walked on foot to church on Sunday twenty miles. A Mr. Temple died at the age of an hundred in 1765, and left four daughters and four ſons of the following ages, 86—85—83—81—79—77—75—73.

But I will not confine myſelf to ſuch light obſervations. I will give you ſome tables of mortality, and of the probabilities of life, in this country. This is the only method of conveying to you certain information.

Tables of longevity may be every where conſidered as the touchſtone of Governments; the ſcale on which may be meaſured their excellencies and their defects, the perfection or degradation of the human ſpecies.

The general cauſes of longevity are,

First. The ſalubrity of the atmoſphere and of the country.

Second. The abundance and goodneſs of the aliments.

Third. A life regular, active, and happy.

We muſt, then, conſider the exterior circumſtances as relative to the occupations of men,

to their morals, to their religion, and their government.

Wherever property is centered in a few hands, where employment is precarious and dependent, life is not so long; it is cut off by grief and care, which abridge more the principle of life than even want itself. Wherever the Government is arbitrary, and tyranny descends in divisions from rank to rank, and falls heavy on the lower classes, life must be short among the people, because they are slaves; and a miserable slave, trampled on at every moment, can enjoy neither that ease, nor that regularity, nor that interior satisfaction, which sustains the principles of life. The excesses and mortifications attending on ambition, abridge, in an equal degree, the life of the class which tyrannizes.

On applying these moral and political considerations to the United States, you may conclude, that there can be no country where the life of man is of longer duration; for, to all the advantages of nature, they unite that of a liberty, which has no equal on the Old Continent; and this liberty, let us not cease to repeat it, is the principle of health.

If any Government should wish to revive the speculation of life annuities on selected heads, I should advise to select them in the North of the United States.

It is difficult here to obtain regular tables of births and deaths. There are some sects who do not baptise their children, and whose registers are not carefully kept; others who baptise only their adults. Some of the sick have no physicians or surgeons, and their attendants who give the information are not exact. The constant fluctuations occasioned by emigrations and re-emigrations, still increase the difficulty. Yet we may approach near the truth, by taking for examples such sea-ports as are more occupied in the coasting trade

than in long voyages; it is for this reason that I have chosen the towns of Salem and Ipswich in Massachusetts. I take these tables from the Memoirs of the Academy of Boston—Memoirs little known in France.

Doctor Halley, for the standard of his tables of mortality, chose Breslaw in Germany, on account of its interior situation and the regular employment of its inhabitants. By the calculations of these political arithmeticians, five persons in twelve die at Breslaw before the age of five years.

At Ipswich, a village at the Northward of Boston, six only in thirty-three die within that age. At Breslaw, one in thirty attains the age of eighty years; at Ipswich, one in eight. This disproportion is enormous; and this longevity is found in many other parts of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.

At Woodstock, in Connecticut, one hundred and thirteen persons have died in eleven years; of these twenty-one were seventy years old and upwards, and thirteen were eighty and upwards. This gives something more than the proportion of an octogenary in nine. These facts are taken from authentic registers.

The Minister of Andover in New-Hampshire, a respectable and well informed man, has assured me, that more than one in eight males and females in his neighbourhood, pass the age of seventy years; and that this observation is the result of long experience in that and the neighbouring parishes.

Compare these facts to those stated by M. Moheau.* He says, that in the Island of Oleron, of 14,000 inhabitants, there are but five or six octogenaries, and but one for forty-two in the

* *See* Recherches et Considerations sur la Population de la France, *page* 192.

liſt of deaths in the iſle of Rhe, which is reckoned remarkably healthful.

The miniſter of Andover made to me another obſervation, which tends to confirm a ſyſtem advanced by an author whoſe name I forget. It is, that men of letters enjoy the greateſt longevity. He told me, that the oldeſt men were generally found among the Miniſters. This fact will explain ſome of the cauſes of longevity; ſuch as regularity of morals, information, independence of ſpirit, and eaſy circumſtances.

But you will be better able to judge of the longevity in the United States, by the Table of the Probabilities of Life given to me by the reſpectable Doctor Wiggleſworth, of the Univerſity of Cambridge. It contains a compariſon of theſe probabilities in New-England, in England, in Sweden, in Germany, in Holland, and in France.

The firſt column gives the ages; the following one gives, by years, and decimal parts of a year, the probabilities of life among the inhabitants of the different places mentioned. You will ſee in this table, that the probabilities of life in this part of the United States, ſurpaſs thoſe of England and Sweden, even thoſe of the annuitants whoſe lives ſerved for the baſis to the tables of Kerſboom; and that they almoſt equal thoſe of the annuitants which ſerved as the baſis to the calculations of M. de Parcieux, for the eſtabliſhment of life annuities.*

The ſecond column is appropriated to the graduates of the Univerſity of Cambridge, the nurſery of miniſters and ſtateſmen for that part of the country. The probabilities in this column are calculated on the whole liſt of graduates, received ſince the year 1711.

* *We readily conceive that the probabilities of common life in France and Holland, are much inferior to theſe tables of annuitants.*

A Comparative Table of the Probabilities of Life in New-England and in Europe

To face page 202.

	NEW-ENGLAND.			ENGLAND.					SWEDEN.				GERMANY.		HOLLAND.	FRANCE
						CHESTER.			STOCKHOLM.		In the Kingdom.					
Ages.	Graduates of Harvard College.	Hingham, in Massachusetts.	Dover, in New-Hampshire.	London, Simpson's Tables.	Norwich.	Northampton.	Males.	Females.	Holy Cross, near Shrewsbury.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Breslaw.	Brandenburg.	Kersboom's Tables of Annuities.	M. De Parcieux's Table of Annuitants.
25	36.07	35.46	37.89	26.1	31.50	30.85	32.00	34.78	35.58	21.40	26.80	33.63	35.58	30.88	31.76	33.27	37.01
30	33.49	33.81	34.97	23.6	28.93	28.27	29.25	32.27	32.66	19.42	23.98	30.34	32.17	27.80	28.70	30.92	33.96
35	30.70	30.83	31.89	21.5	26.05	25.68	25.97	29.26	29.43	17.58	21.62	27.09	29.03	24.92	25.56	28.36	30.73
40	26.45	28.28	28.74	19.6	23.18	23.08	22.92	26.37	26.40	15.61	19.21	23.75	25.21	22.13	22.65	25.49	27.30
45	22. 9	25.11	25.80	17.8	20.78	20.52	20.20	23.50	23.35	13.78	17.17	20.71	22.57	19.56	19.65	22.34	23.77
50	19.86	22.08	22.79	16.0	17.55	17.39	17.64	20.62	20.49	11.95	15.12	17.72	19.26	17.07	16.55	19.41	20.24
55	17.75	18.47	19.22	14.2	14.87	15.58	15.14	17.52	17.47	10.36	12.89	14.98	16.15	14.77	13.53	16.72	16.83
60	12.63	15.20	15.49	12.4	12.36	13.21	12.36	14.20	14.86	8.69	10.45	12.24	13.08	12.30	11.28	14.10	13.86
65	11.21	12.29	12.98	10.5	10.05	10.88	10.79	11.94	12.30	7.39	8.39	9.78	10.49	9.86	9.15	11.56	11.07
70	10.01	9.68	10.46	8.8	8.12	8.60	8.05	8.81	10.00	5.81	6.16	7.60	7.91	7.45	7.48	9.15	8.34
75	8.39	7.63	8.40	7.2	6.44	6.54	7.00	7.14	7.87	4.09	4.39	5.89	6.09	5.51	6.17	6.81	5.79
80	6.06	6.03	6.87	5.0	5.14	4.75	5.43	5.20	5.75			4.27	4.47	4.08	5.06	4.6	4.7
85	5.06	5.02	4.96		3.50	3.37	4.25	4.81				3.16	3.40	2.86	4.18	3.38	3.43

EXPLANATION.

The first column gives the ages; the following ones give, by years and decimal parts of a year, the probabilities of life among the inhabitants of the different places mentioned. The second column regards the Graduates of Harvard College, at Cambridge, near Boston: Hingham, which forms the third, is in Massachusetts; and Dover, which forms the fourth, is in New-Hampshire. The other columns are taken from the work of Dr. Price.

Hingham, which forms the third column, is at the South-East of Boston. The occupations and manners of life in this place, are much the same as in the rest of Massachusetts. The probabilities in this column are taken from the list of deaths, made with great care for fifty years, by Doctor Gay.

The column for Dover, situated on the river Piscataay, twelve miles from the sea, in New-Hampshire, is formed from the list of deaths kept for ten years, by Doctor Belknap, Minister of that place.

The other columns, which regard the countries in Europe, are taken from the work of Dr. Price.

This comparative table will fix your ideas on the subject of longevity in the United States. And it is to be hoped that from the care of Doctor Wigglesworth of the academy of Boston, and that of the members of the other academies in the several States, we may soon have regular and complete tables for the thirteen States.

To satisfy your curiosity more completely, I will now give you a list of births, marriages, and deaths in a particular town; that you may see the proportion between the births and deaths, and the ages of the deceased. I will take Salem, which is considered as a very unhealthful town. It is a sea-port, in the forty-second degree of latitude, five leagues North-East of Boston, situated between two rivers, on a flat piece of land, elevated but twenty feet above the level of the sea at high water: two little hills in the neighbourhood; soil light, dry, and sandy, without marshes; the inhabitants not subject to epidemical diseases. They complain at present of some nervous and hysterical disorders, which were formerly unknown to them.

Mr. Holyoke sent to the Academy of Boston the two following tables for this town of Salem.

TABLE for 1781.

Deaths,	175
Births,	317
Baptisms,	152
Marriages,	70
Taxable polls; that is, males above the age of sixteen, and residing in the town,	897
Transient persons,	200

AGES of the DECEASED.

In being born,	6
Within the first month,	6
Between one month and one year,	30
——— one and two years	20
——— two and five,	2
——— five and ten,	7
——— ten and fifteen,	3
——— fifteen and twenty	6
——— twenty and twenty five,	5
——— twenty-five and thirty,	7
——— thirty and forty,	24
——— forty and fifty,	10
——— fifty and sixty,	7
——— sixty and seventy,	2
——— seventy and eighty,	7
——— eighty and ninety,	6
Ages unknown,	27

TABLE for 1782.

Deaths,	189
Births, about	385
Baptisms,	158
Marriages, about	84
Taxable polls,	1000
Number of inhabitants, about	9000

AGES of the DECEASED.

In being born,	14
In the firſt month,	11
Between one month and one year,	27
Between one and two years,	29
——— two and five,	28
——— five and ten,	12
——— ten and fifteen	5
——— fifteen and twenty,	2
——— twenty and twenty-five,	8
——— twenty-five and thirty,	8
——— thirty and forty,	9
——— forty and fifty,	8
——— fifty and ſixty,	7
——— ſixty and ſeventy,	6
——— ſeventy and eighty,	6
——— eighty and ninety,	2
Ages unknown,	9*

You will recollect that Salem is one of the moſt unhealthful towns in America. You do not find in the above two liſts the proportion of great ages that I have mentioned in other places.

The year 1781 gives 175 deaths. If you look for the population of Salem by the general rule of thirty living for one dead, the number of inhabitants would appear to be 5250—whereas it was 9000. You muſt then count for Salem fifty living for one deceaſed. In London there dies one for twenty-three; and in the country in England, one in forty; in Paris, one in thirty; in the country, one in twenty-four.

---

* *In the American journals they give the liſt of deaths. The following is one that I took at hazard in the American Muſeum for May*, 1790:—*Deaths, Newhampſhire, one at 70 years. Maſſachuſetts, many at 71—one at 106—one at 92—one at 87. Connecticut, one at 98—one at 91. New-York, one at 104. New-Jerſey, one at 80. Pennſylvania, one at 84—ſeveral at 76.*

In 1781, at Salem, the births are as one to twenty-seven of the inhabitants. In common years in France it is as one to twenty-six.

As to marriages, M. Moheau reckons for the country in France one for 121, and for Paris one for 160. In Salem, you must count for 1781, only one for 128. But this is far from being the proportion for the country in America. We have no exact table for this purpose. We must wait.

I cannot terminate this long article on longevity without giving you the table of births and deaths in the Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia for fourteen years, from 1774 to 1788. The proportion is curious.

	Births.	Deaths.
From 1774 to 1775	379	156
1775 — 1776	338	175
1776 — 1777	389	124
1777 — 1778	298	169
1778 — 1779	303	178
1779 — 1780	348	186
1780 — 1781	320	158
1 81 — 1782	323	162
1782 — 1783	398	219
1783 — 1784	389	215
1784 — 1785	426	153
1785 — 1786	420	157
1786 — 1787	419	150
1787 — 1788	425	178
	5175	2369

You will observe, that in years of the war the births were less numerous. This is a natural reflection, which ought always to be made by any one who makes calculations on the population of America.

Finally, my friend, to give you a further idea of the rapidity of population in America, take

the tables of Rhode-Island and New-Jersey, and compare them with the one I gave you on Pennsylvania.

Population of Rhode-Island.

Years.	Whites.	Blacks.
1730	15,312	2,603
1742	09,755	4,375
1761	35,939	4,697
1774	54,435	5,243
1783	48,538	3,361

NEW-JERSEY.

1738	43,388	3,981
1745	56,797	4,606
1784	139,934	10,501

You observe by these tables, that the population of Rhode-Island, which had almost doubled in twelve years, from thirty to forty-two, has diminished during the war. But with what pleasure do you see the population in New-Jersey more than tripled in forty years, notwithstanding the obstructions occasioned by the same bloody war! And with what pleasure do you, who are the defender of Blacks, observe that their number has more than doubled in the same space of time in New-Jersey: though the importation of them was prohibited in 1775, though the war cost the lives of a great number of Negroes, and though many of them were stolen by the English and sold in their islands!

From all the facts and all the tables which I have given you, it must be concluded that the life of man is much longer in the United States of America, than in the most lulubrious countries of Europe.

LETTER XXX.

The Prison of Philadelphia, and Prisons in general.

AND Philadelphia likewise has its prison! I love to believe, that for the first thirty or forty years, when the Quakers were the magistrates, or rather when there was no need of magistrates, I love to indulge the belief that there was no prison. But since the English, to deliver themselves from the banditti that infested their island, have practised letting them loose upon the colonies—since great numbers of foreign adventurers have overspread the country, especially since the last war, which has augmented their number, reduced many to misery, and habituated others to crimes—it has been necessary to restrain them by prisons. One fact does honor to this State; which is, that among the prisoners of Philadelphia, not one in ten is a native of the country. During my stay in this town, one robbery only has been committed; and this was by a French sailor.

Almost all the other prisoners are either Irishmen or Frenchmen.

This prison is a kind of house of correction. The prisoners are obliged to work; and each enjoys the profit of his own labour. This is the best method of ameliorating men; and it is a method used by the Quakers.

Those who govern the house of correction in New-York, on consenting to take charge of criminals condemned by the law, have obtained leave to substitute to whips and mutilation their humane method of correction; and they daily succeed in leading back to industry and reason these deluded men.

One of these Quakers was asked, by what means it was possible to correct men who dishonor human nature, and who will not work: "We have two powerful instruments (replied the Quaker) hunger and hope."

By the ſmall number of Pennſylvanians contained in the priſon of Philadelphia, we may conclude, that, were it not for the ſtrangers, the government of this town, like that of Nantucket, might have a priſon with open doors, of which honor and repentance are the only keepers.

But, after all, what is the uſe of priſons? Why thoſe tombs for living men? The Indians have them not; and they are not the worſe for it. If there exiſts a country where it is poſſible, and where it is a duty to change this ſyſtem, it is America; it is therefore to the Americans that I addreſs the following reflections:

Priſons are fatal to the health, liberty, and morals of men. To preſerve health, a man has need of a pure air, frequent exerciſe, and wholeſome food. In a priſon, the air is infected, there is no ſpace for exerciſe, and the food is often deteſtable.

A man is not in health, but when he is with beings who love him, and by whom he is beloved. In priſon, he is with ſtrangers and with criminals. There can exiſt no ſociety between them; or, if there does, he muſt either be obliged to ſtruggle without ceaſing againſt the horrid principles of theſe wicked men, which is a torment to him; or he adopts their principles and becomes like them. A man by living conſtantly with fools, becomes a fool himſelf; every thing in life is contagion and correſpondence.

By impriſonment, you ſnatch a man from his wife, his children, his friends; you deprive him of their ſuccour and conſolation; you plunge him into grief and mortification; you cut him off from all thoſe connections which render his exiſtence of any importance. He is like a plant torn up by the roots and ſevered from its nourifhing ſoil; and how will you expect it to exiſt?

The man who has for a long time vegetated in priſon, who has experienced frequent convul-

sions of rage and despair, is no longer the same being, on quitting this abode, that he was when he entered it. He returns to his family, from whom he has been long sequestered; he no more meets from them, or experiences in himself, the same attachment and the same tenderness.

In putting a man in prison, you subject him to the power of the gaoler, of the turnkey, and of the commissary of the prison. Before these men he is obliged to abase himself, to disguise his sensations, to constrain his passions, in order that his misery may not be increased. This state of humiliation and constraint is horrible to him; and besides, it renders his masters imperious, unjust, vexatious, and wicked.

To oblige a freeman to use supplication to obtain justice, is to do him a lasting injury. The tree that is once bent from its natural form never acquires it again.

The laws which ordain the *habeas corpus* are wise and natural. But they do not ordain it in all cases. A prisoner for debt, who cannot obtain surety, must remain a prisoner. A man accused of a capital offence, who will probably be acquitted on trial, cannot enjoy the benefit of this law. These are abuses.

Is it not much more simple to imitate the Indians, to grant every man the privilege of his own house for a prison, though you are obliged to put a sentinel at his door? And for those who have no house of their own, establish a public house, where they can pursue their occupations.

If such regulations are necessary for any society, it is surely for the one which has good morals, and wishes to preserve them: if they are any where practicable, it is among a people where great crimes are rare. Recollect, my friend, that but within a few years before the last war, no capital punishment had ever been inflicted in Connecticut.

I am surprised then that the penalty of death is not totally abolished in this country. Manners here are so pure, the means of living so abundant, and misery so rare, that there can be no need of such horrid pains to prevent the commission of crimes.

Doctor Rush has just given force to all these arguments in favour of the abolition of the punishment of death. He has not yet succeeded; but it is to be hoped that the State of Pennsylvania, and even all the States, disengaging themselves from their ancient superstition for the English laws, will soon dare to give to Europe a great example of justice, humanity and policy. Any objections that may be made against this reform in Europe will not apply to this country.

LETTER XXXI.

The Quakers. Their private Morals, their Manners, &c.

I HAVE promised you, my friend, a particular article on this respectable society. I this day perform my promise.

You remember with what insulting levity M. de Chastellux has treated them in the very superficial journal which he has published. You recollect the energetic censure * which I passed on his errors, his falshoods, and his calumnies. You have not forgot the stupid persecution that this censure brought on me, and the manœuvres employed to stifle my work by that same witty Marquis, and by other academicians, who wished to tyrannize public opinion, and monopolize reputation.

---

* See *Examen critique des Voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale de M. le Marquis des Chastellux.*

And now, my friend, I have been able to compare the portrait which I had made of them with the original; and I am convinced that it is very nearly juſt. At leaſt the portrait does not flatter them. I endeavoured to guard myſelf from the prejudices which their flattering reception of me might have occaſioned. The way was prepared for this reception by the Apology which I had publiſhed in their favour; it was tranſlated into Engliſh even here, by ſome reſpectable members of the ſociety, and diſtributed every where with profuſion; and I find to my ſatisfaction, that it has contributed to diſſipate the unhappy prejudices which the indiſcretions, boaſts and ſarcaſms of our frivolous academician had excited againſt the French nation.

Simplicity, candour, and good faith, characterize the actions as well as the diſcourſes of the Quakers. They are not affected, but they are ſincere; they are not poliſhed, but they are humane; they have not that wit, that ſparkling wit—without which a man is nothing in France, and with which he is every thing; but they have good ſenſe, a ſound judgment, an upright heart, and an obliging temper of mind. If I wiſhed to live in ſociety, it would be with the Quakers: if I wiſhed to amuſe myſelf, it would be with my countrymen. And their women—you aſk, what are they? They are what they ſhould be, faithful to their huſbands, tender to their children, vigilant and economical in their houſhold, and ſimple in their ornaments. Their principal characteriſtic is, that they are not eager to pleaſe all the world: neglectful of the exterior, they reſerve all their accompliſhments for the mind. Let us ſay it, let us not ceaſe to repeat it, it is among manners like theſe that we are to look for good houſholds, happy families, and public virtues. But we, miſerable wretches! gangrened with our own civilization and polite-

neſs, we have abjured theſe manners. And who among us is happy? Unleſs you can find a man who has the courage to content himſelf with a life of nature, and to live like people of former ages. *If you conform to nature*, ſays Seneca, *you will never be poor; if to opinion, you will never be rich.*

I will not recall to your mind all that M. Crevecœur has ſaid of the Quakers: I only wiſh to ſay to you what he has not ſaid.

Simplicity is a favorite virtue with the Quakers; and the men ſtill follow, with ſome exactneſs, the counſel of Penn: "Let thy garments be plain and ſimple; attend to convenience and decency, but not to vanity. If thou art clean and warm, thy end is accompliſhed; to do more, is to rob the poor.*"

I have ſeen James Pemberton, one of the moſt wealthy Quakers, and one whoſe virtues have placed him among the moſt reſpectable of their chiefs; I have ſeen him wear a thread-bare coat, but it was neat. He likes better to clothe the poor, and to expend money in the cauſe of the Blacks, than to change often his coats.

You know the dreſs of the Quakers—a round hat, generally white; cloth coat; cotton or woollen ſtockings; no powder on their hair, which is cut ſhort and hangs round. They commonly carry in their pocket a little comb in a caſe; and on entering a houſe, if the hair is diſordered, they comb it without ceremony before the firſt mirror that they meet.

---

* *See* Fruits of Solitude, &c. *by William Penn. In theſe inſtance of re-tranſlation, it is ſcarcely poſſible to preſerve ſtrictly the expreſſions of the original author. Any deviations of this ſort are therefore to be imputed not to a deſire of changing his phraſeology, but to the misfortune of not having at hand the original work.*

The white hat which they prefer, has become very common here, since Franklin has proved the advantages which it poſſeſſes, and the inconveniencies of the black.

The Quakers in the country generally wear cloth made in their own houſes. And at their general meeting here, in September this year, which conſiſted of more than fifteen hundred, nine-tenths of the number were clothed in American cloth. This is an example for the other ſects.

There are ſome Quakers who dreſs more like other ſects; who wear powder, ſilver buckles, and ruffles. They are called *Wet Quakers*. The others regard them as a kind of ſchiſmatics, or feeble men. They are admitted, indeed, into their churches on Sunday, but never to their monthly or quarterly meetings.

It is not more than fifteen years ſince it was a kind of crime in all ſects in America to wear powder. In general, manners have changed ſince the war, by the intercourſe of European armies. But to the honor of the Quakers, theirs have not changed. This is to be attributed to the rigor of their diſcipline, and to their diſcarding thoſe who violate it.

They put on woollen ſtockings the 15th of September; it is an article of their diſcipline, which extends to their cloathing; and to this is to be attributed their remarkable longevity. Among the few companions of William Penn in 1693, ſix are now alive—Edward Drinker, born in 1680, has been dead but two years. It is from the intimate conviction of the advantages of their maxims, that they perſevere in them with ſingular conſtancy. Their ſingularities are the effect of reaſon and long experience.

The Quaker women dreſs more comfortably than thoſe of the other ſects; and this renders them leſs ſubject to ſickneſs. Age and fortune,

however, cauſe much greater diſtinctions in their dreſs than in that of the men. The matrons wear the graveſt colours, little black bonnets, and the hair ſimply turned back. The young women curl their hair with great care and anxiety; which coſts them as much time as the moſt exquiſite toilette. They wear little hats covered with ſilk or ſattin. Theſe obſervations gave me pain. Theſe young Quakereſſes, whom nature has ſo well endowed, whoſe charms have ſo little need of the borrowed hand of art, are remarkable for their choice of the fineſt linens, muſlins, and ſilks. Elegant fans play between their fingers. Oriental luxury itſelf would not diſdain the linen they wear. Is this agreeable to the doctrine of Penn? "Modeſty and mildneſs," ſays he, "are the richeſt and fineſt ornaments of the ſoul. The more ſimple the dreſs, the more will beauty and theſe qualities appear."

I ſay it with freedom, and I ought to ſay it to my friends the Quakers (for I am ſure they will read me; and I would not flatter my friends; a hint of good advice is always well received by them) that if any thing can diſcredit their principles abroad, it is the relaxation inſenſibly introduced into their manners and cuſtoms. Their taſte in linens and ſilks is regarded by others as a hypocritical luxury, ill-diſguiſed; which is abſurd, at leaſt among men ſo apparently devoted to ſimplicity and auſterity.

Luxury begins where utility ends. Now, where is the utility to the body in the uſe of the fineſt of linen? And how uſefully might the money be employed, which is now applied to this luxury! There are ſo many good actions to be done! ſo many perſons in want!

Luxury diſplayed in ſimple things announces more vanity than when diſplayed in an ordinary manner; for it ſeems to be conſidered as the meaſure of wealth, of which they affect to deſpiſe the oſtentation. Indeed it announces a mind

not truly penetrated with the great principles of morality—a mind that places its happineſs, not in virtue, but in appearance.

And what an ill example is thus given to the other Americans by the Quakers, who have been to them the models of ſimplicity? Their country does not, and will not for a long time, manufacture theſe fine linens, theſe delicate muſlins, of which the texture is ſcarcely perceptible. They muſt be purchaſed in foreign countries, to which they have recourſe for ſo many articles of neceſſity. Thus, this luxury drains from their country the money ſo much wanted for the extenſion of agriculture and other uſeful enterpriſes. Let the Quakers who read this article, meditate upon it; let them reflect, that the uſe of rum, againſt which they raiſe their voice with great energy and juſtice, cannot make more ravages in America than the introduction of luxury into their ſociety. I made the ſame remark on the houſehold furniture of thoſe who are rich among them. It has the appearance of ſimplicity; but in many inſtances it is certainly expenſive.

Happily, this luxury has not yet found its way to the tables of the Quakers. Their dinners are ſolid, ſimple, and elegant, enlivened by ſerene and ſenſible converſation, and endeared by hoſpitality. They drink beer, Philadelphia porter, cider, and finiſh with a glaſs of wine. None of thoſe fatiguing toaſts, which are rather provocatives to intoxication than accents of patriotiſm.

Thoſe who reproach the Quakers with ſadneſs and moroſeneſs, are unacquainted with their true character, and have never lived with them. I, who have been received by them as a child, and domeſticated as a friend, judge them very differently. I have found among them moments of gaiety, of effuſions of the heart, of ſprightly and agreeable converſation. They are not buffoons, but they are ſerene; they are happy, and, if

gaiety consists in the expression of heart-felt happiness, they are gay.

We Frenchmen have the reputation of being gay, of laughing at every thing, of balancing a misfortune by a pun. This is a folly. To laugh is the sign of gaiety, and gaiety is the sign of agreeable sensations. To be gay, therefore, in the depth of misery is a falsehood, or a folly; to be serene and unmoved, is wisdom. We ought not to be depressed by misfortunes; neither ought we to laugh at them: the one is a weakness of mind, the other is a madness or stupidity.

The calmness which characterizes the Quakers in their joy, accompanies them likewise in their grief, in their discussions, and in all their affairs. They owe it to their education; they are early taught to curb their passions, especially that of anger; to render themselves, as they call it, *immoveable*; that is, inaccessible to sudden emotions: it results from this, that on all occasions, they preserve an empire over themselves; and this gives them a great advantage in discussion over those who do not preserve the same temper. "The greatest service," says Penn, "that thou canst render to reason, is to clothe her in calmness; and he that defends truth with too much heat, does her more injury than her adversaries." I saw an example of the effects of this coolness in debate, in my friend Myers Fisher, who is a learned and virtuous practitioner of the law. I heard him before the legislature defend the cause of the Pilots, against a bill, the object of which was, to reduce their pay. Clearness, close reasoning, and deep erudition, distinguished his discourse; which was followed by success. He preserved constantly his calmness of temper, amidst the frequent attacks and sudden interruptions on the part of the members of the Assembly.

The Quakers carry to the borders of the tomb this same tranquility of mind; and it even fe-

ſakes not the women at this diſtreſſing moment. This is the fruit of their religious principles, and of a regular virtuous life. They conſider Heaven as their country; and they cannot conceive why death which conducts to it, ſhould be a misfortune.

This habitual ſerenity does not diminiſh their ſenſibility. The reſpectable Pemberton recounted to me the death of a beloved daughter, which happened the day before. I could ſee the tear ſteal down his cheek, which a moment's reflexion cauſed to diſappear. He loved to ſpeak to me of her virtues and her reſignation during her long agony. "She was an angel, (ſays he) and ſhe is now in her place."

This good father did not exaggerate. You will find in this Society many of theſe celeſtial images, clothed in ſerenity, the ſymbol of internal peace and conſcious virtue.

I cannot explain to you the fact; but it is true, that I feel an expanſion of ſoul in their ſociety. I meet a man of a pure mind—I am at once at my eaſe—we are like intimate and old acquaintance—we underſtand each other without ſpeaking. A corrupted man, a ſharper, a man of the world, produces on me a contrary impreſſion. My ſoul contracts and recoils upon itſelf, like the ſenſitive plant.

The portrait which I have given you of the Quakers, is not only the reſult of my own obſervations, but what has been told me by enlightened men of the other ſects.

I aſked one day, in company, the following queſtion: "Is there a greater purity of morals, more ſimplicity, more integrity, more honeſty among the Quakers, than any other ſects?" A man diſtinguiſhed for his information and his attachment to the new conſtitution, anſwered me: "I am a Preſbyterian; but I muſt declare, that the Quakers excel all ſects in the qualities you mention." It is not that they are all pure and

irreproachable; it is not, that there are not some sharpers among them. The reputation of the sect, and the advantage that may be made of it, have naturally brought into it some hypocritical proselytes and rascals. A man would counterfeit a guinea rather than a halfpenny; but the Quakers are very strict in expelling from their society those who are found guilty, I do not say of crimes, but of those breaches of delicacy and probity, which the laws do not punish. The public is often ignorant of this excommunication; because the excommunicated member continues to go to their public meetings on Sunday. He cannot be hindered from this; but he is never admitted to their monthly or quarterly meetings.

LETTER XXXII.

On the Reproaches made against the Quakers by different Writers.

THE spectacle of virtue gives pain to the wicked; and they avenge themselves by decrying it. You must not then be surprised that writers have endeavoured to injure this sanctified body. One of those who attempted it with the most bitterness, is the author of *Recherches sur les Etats Unis*, published the beginning of this year. He has dilated, in a long chapter, all the calumnies which he had before uttered in a letter under the name of one of his countrymen, printed in the Paris Journal of the sixteenth of November, 1786.

This author is Mr. Mazzei, an Italian, who resided some years in Virginia, and has since settled in France. He might naturally, among the planters in Virginia contract prejudices against

the Quakers. Friends of diſſipation, of luxury, of luxury, of pleaſure, and of oſtentation, regard with an evil eye, a ſociety who preach and practice economy and ſimplicity. Mr Mazzei is, beſides, unacquainted with the Quakers, having never lived in their intimacy: his teſtimony then ought to have little weigh. He cites as his authority, the Virginians and the French military officers.

The French, and eſpecially the French officers, cannot in general be good judges in this matter; ſome of them ſacrifice too much to the rage of ridicule; others have principles too different from the Quakers; and almoſt all of them are ſuperficial obſervers.

Yet I muſt ſay, in praiſe of the French army, that they always reſpected the Quakers. The commander in chief had made of their meeting-houſe at Newport, a magazine of arms. He gave it up to them on their requeſt. An Engliſh General would have conducted very differently.

In another inſtance, a French officer had quartered ſome ſoldiers at the houſe of a Quaker; out of reſpect to their principles, he did not ſuffer them to depoſit their arms in the houſe.

M. de Chaſtellux was far from theſe principles. The cauſe of his prejudice was, that at the time when he travelled in America, the Quakers were not treated with reſpect, becauſe they refuſed to take part in the war. He caught the general contagion of diſlike, without ever hearing or ſeeing any of them: And it was to pleaſe the pretty graceful women of Paris, that he ridiculed the interior grace of the Quakers.

Among the writers in their favor, are Voltaire, Raynal, M'Auley, Crevecœur. What names on this ſubject can be placed in oppoſition to them?

In abuſing the Quakers, he is obliged to confeſs that their ſingular ideas have raiſed them in certain points much above other men.

He pretends, likewise, that they have deceits; and where have I denied it? *Ubi homines, ibi crimina vitia*, says Tacitus. And the Quakers are men. But I say their principles guard them more from vice than those of other men.

Mr. Mazzei confesses, that for economy and application to business, their conduct is truly *extraordinary and worthy of praise*. It is from these two sources that flow all the private and civil virtues; for a man, who by principle is economical and attentive to his business, has nothing to fear from a numerous family. If he has many children, he loves them; for he sees the means of providing for them with ease. Such a man is neither a gambler nor a debauchee. Such a man is a good husband; for, placing all his happiness in domestic life, he is forced to be good, in order to be beloved; and he cannot be happy, but by rendering those happy who are round him. Why did not this critic see the consequences that must follow from the truth which he admits? Why did he not see that it effaced all the ill that he says afterwards of the Quakers? Why did he not see that it raised them above every other sect? For, with others, example, habit, or other variable circumstances, may render men economical and vigilant in business; while every Quaker is so, from a principle in his religion; a principle from which he cannot deviate, without ceasing to be a Quaker. Economy and industry are with them an essential part of their religion; how much stronger is such a motive than all those which produce these in other men!

Mr. Mazzei acknowledges, that in hospitality and beneficence they are not inferior to other men. He ought to have said they were superior; for charity and hospitality flow from economy and easy circumstances. The man who has more means, less real wants, and no fantastical ones, and who really loves his fellow creatures, is li-

neſſarily beneficent and hoſpitable; and ſuch is the ſituation and ſuch the character of the Quakers.

But the great reproach that Mr. Mazzei brings upon them is, that they are ſuperior in *hypocriſy*. To judge of this accuſation, let us ſee in what hypocriſy conſiſts.

For a man to pretend to ſentiments which he does not poſſeſs, to virtues which he does not practice—or, in a word, to appear what he is not, is what is meant by hypocriſy.

Now, are not the Quakers what they appear to be? This is the point to be proved. To convict them of *religious hypocriſy*, you muſt prove that they do not believe in the Holy Spirit, and in the Goſpel; you muſt prove them to be Infidels or Atheiſts under the maſk of Chriſtianity.

If *moral* hypocriſy is intended, you muſt prove that they conceal libertiniſm, diſſipation, and cruelty to their families, under the veil of auſterity, economy, and apparent tenderneſs. Is it *political* hypocriſy? You muſt then prove that they wiſh ſecretly for places and dignities, which they have renounced; that they long to maſſacre their fellow-creatures, while they profeſs a horror for the effuſion of human blood; that they are really ſelfiſh, under the maſk of friends and benefactors to the human race; that they are proud and haughty, under the appearance of ſimplicity.

In a word, hypocriſy is a vague term; and as long as it is not applied to facts, it ſignifies nothing. It does not ſuffice for its juſtification, to ſay, that the Quakers are *Proteſtant Jeſuits*.

This is but a new calumny, as vague as the other. I aſk for facts. If the Quakers reſemble the Jeſuits in mildneſs, indulgence, tolerance, and the art of perſuaſion, it is to reſemble them on the virtuous ſide. M. Mazzei ſays, they do not reſemble them in every thing, and he thus effaces what M. de Chaſtellux had wantonly advanced on this charge.

I am not aſtoniſhed that the Quakers have the art of perſuaſion. They have poſſeſſed it for an hundred and fifty years; which is a proof, that they merit the public confidence; they muſt have loſt it had they been charletans or hypocrites.

The cry of hypocriſy is generally ſet up againſt the moſt grave and religious ſects, and by thoſe men who are ſeeking to juſtify their own corruption. It ſeems, that having renounced all virtues, they like not to take the trouble to feign them; or perhaps to get rid of the weight of eſteem which is due to virtue, they calculate, that it is eaſier to deny its exiſtence.

M. Mazzei accuſes the Quakers of want of *punctuality* and *equity* in their commerce; he adds, that it is their *national character*. Obſerve, my friend, that neither Mazzei nor Chaſtellux adduce a ſingle fact, nor a ſingle authority for this aſſertion. It muſt then be a pure calumny. If this were the character of the Quakers, would facts be wanting to prove it?

I have too often heard repeated this accuſation of knavery againſt them; I have, with the greateſt care, conſulted Engliſh and Americans of all ſects, and French merchants who have dealings with them; and I have not been able to hear of a ſingle fact as an inſtance of diſhoneſty. The worſt that has been told me, is, that they are cunning, ſtrict, and inflexible; that they have no reſpect for perſons or ſects. I was told too, as M. Mazzei has printed, that they underſtand very well how to ſell, that they ſell dear. I have ſhowed in my anſwer to Chaſtellux, the abſurdity of any reproach like this. To underſtand the art of ſelling, does not ſuppoſe a want of probity; it is the ſpirit of commerce; I will ſay more, it is the general character of the Americans; they are artful; I will explain the cauſe of it hereafter.

Mr. Bingham, one of the moſt opulent citizens

of Philadelphia, and one who, from his oſtentation and luxury, cannot be very favourable to the Quakers, ſpoke of them to me in the higheſt praiſe. He ſaid, that they were extremely punctual in fulfilling their engagements, and that they never live beyond their income.

And this will explain the common ſaying that you ſo often hear repeated at Philadelphia, that the Quakers are ſo cunning that the Jews themſelves cannot live among them. Uſurious Jews can never live among economical men, who have no need of borrowing money at enormous intereſt; for a ſimilar reaſon a ſeller of pork cannot live among Jews.

M. Mazzei accuſes the Quakers of a *deſire of gain*; though he is not ſo formal in this accuſation as M. de Chaſtellux. I will take this opportunity to make a remark on this common reproach, with which it is ſo faſhionable to revile, not only the Quakers but commercial people in general.

The author of *Philoſophical Travels in England* ſays, "We are luckily exempted in France, from that ſpirit of avarice, that deſire of gain; and we owe this exemption to the pride of a numerous body of nobles." More luckily, however, we are at preſent exempted from this very uſeful body. But I would aſk this noble traveller, with what ſpirit theſe honorable nobles beg and fawn for lucrative places and penſions? With what ſpirit do they engage, under borrowed names in all ſpeculations and ſtock-jobbing? With what ſpirit do they require large gratifications for their patronage, ſecret bribes from the Farmers-General, and a covered intereſt in every enterprize that is carried on in the kingdom? Is this the ſame ſpirit; or is it better or worſe than the deſire of gain which appears to them ſo vile in a merchant? In two reſpects theſe men are infinitely below the merchant; in the hypocriſy of pre-

tending to deſpiſe a metal which they burn to poſſeſs, and in the uſe which they make of it. Money gained in commerce, is generally employed in extending commerce and uſeful ſpeculations; money gained by a noble, is ſpent in luxury, vanity, debauchery, and creating new poiſons in ſociety.

The deſire of gain in a merchant, conſiſts in amaſſing wealth, in preſerving it, and in watching over his affairs with a conſtant attention. Such then is the crime of the Quakers. But in reproaching them with it, we ought to conſider attentively the circumſtances of that ſociety: their religious principles exclude them from all ambitious views, from all places and employments; they muſt then attend wholly to their induſtry, to the ſupport and eſtabliſhment of their children. They have, therefore, more need of amaſſing property than other citizens, who may find the means of placing their children in public offices, in the army, the navy, or the church.

Finally, the Quakers, having renounced the occupations of intrigue, of amuſements, and even of literature and the ſciences, muſt be occupied wholly in buſineſs, and conſequently appear more vigilant, that is, in the language of lazy nobility, *more avaricious.*

M. Mazzei agrees, that the Quakers are virtuous; but does not allow them to rank in this reſpect above other ſects. He believes, that other ſects have produced men as perfect as this. I believe it as well as he: the image of Fenelon gives me as agreeable an impreſſion as that of Fothergill or Benezet. But I maintain—Firſt, that the ſect of the Quakers, in proportion to their number, has produced more of theſe prodigies. Second, That no ſect preſents to us a totality ſo perfect and harmonious, and an aſſemblage of men ſo pure and virtuous, or ſo conſtant a ſeries of great and good actions. To prove this laſt

aſſertion, I will only call to your mind the emancipation of ſlaves, executed by them with unanimity, with the ſame ſpirit, and followed by numerous efforts to aboliſh ſlavery, and to meliorate and educate the Blacks. Let any one cite to me in all other ſects a ſimilar inſtance of diſintereſtedneſs and humanity. Let a ſect be mentioned, which, like this, has made it a law never to take any part either in privateering,* or in contraband trade, even in a foreign country; for they will not tempt a foreigner to violate the laws of his own country.

During the laſt war, the Quakers paſſed a reſolution, that whoever of their ſociety ſhould pay a debt in paper-money (then depreciated) ſhould be excommunicated; while, at that time, it was a crime to doubt of the goodneſs of this paper; and the Quakers, like all other citizens, were obliged to receive it from their debtors at the nominal value.

LETTER XXXIII.

The Extent of the Society of Quakers, their religious Principles, &c.

A SOCIETY, ſimple in its manners, economical, and devoted principally to agriculture and commerce, muſt neceſſarily increaſe with great rapidity. Pennſylvania may be conſidered as the mother country of the Quakers, who form a majority of its population. They are numer-

---

* *I ought to mention the conduct of a Quaker, who in the laſt war reſtored to the original owner, his part of a prize accidentally taken by a merchant-ſhip, in which he was intereſted.*

ous in the States of New-York, New-Jersey, Maryland, and Rhode-Island; some in New-Hampshire and Massachusetts. Many of the Quakers have planted their tabernacles in that delightful valley which is washed by the Shenadore beyond the first chain of mountains. They have no slaves; they employ Negroes as hired servants, and have renounced the culture of tobacco: and this valley is observed as the best cultivated part of Virginia.

They have pushed their settlements likewise into the two Carolinas and Georgia. They are beginning establishments near the Ohio, and have a considerable one already at Redstone, on the Monongahela.

It is to be wished, for the happiness of the Indians, and the peace of America, that all the planters of the frontiers possessed the pacific principles of the Quakers: a lasting union would soon be formed between them; and blood would no longer stain the furrows which American industry traces in the forests.

The religion of the Quakers is the simplest imaginable. It consists in the voice of conscience, the internal sentiment, the divine instinct, which, in their opinion, God has imparted to every one. This instinct, this light, this grace, which every person brings into the world with him, appears to them the only guide necessary for the conduct of life. But to understand this guide, it is necessary to know it; to be known, it should often be interrogated. Hence the necessity of frequent meditations; hence the nullity of all formal worship, and the ministration of priests: for they consider forms as so many obstacles, which turn the attention from the voice within; and priests possessing no more of the Divine Spirit than other men, cannot supply the want of meditation.

I have shown in my Critique on the Travels

of Chaſtellux, how much this meditative worſhip of the Deity is ſuperior to the mechanical worſhip of other ſects. I have proved that the man who adores his Creator by meditating on his own duties, will neceſſarily become good, tolerant, juſt, and beneficent. You have here the key both of the moral character of the Quakers, and of its extraordinary duration. Their virtue is an habit, a ſecond nature.

The Quakers have been much ridiculed for their belief in this interior principle. For their calumniators, ſome of whom have called themſelves philoſophers, are ignorant that this belief is not peculiar to the Quakers. We find it in a great number of ſages, who have merited the homage of mankind. With Pythagoras, it was *the Eternal Word, the Great Light*—with Anaxagoras *the Divine Soul*—with Socrates, *the Good Spirit, or Demon*—with Timeus, *the Uncreated Principle*—with Hieron, *the Author of Delight, the God within the Man*—with Plato, *the eternal, ineffable and perfect Principle of Truth*—with Zeno, *the Creator and Father of all*—and with Plotinus, *the Root of the Soul*. When theſe philoſophers endeavored to characteriſe the influence of this principle within us, they uſed correſpondent expreſſions. Hieron called it a *domeſtic God*, an *internal God*.—Socrates and Timeus, *the Genius*, or *Angel*—Plotinus, the *Divine Principle in Man*—and Plato, *the Rule of the Soul, the Internal Guide; the Foundation of Virtue.*

I do not pretend to explain to you all the religious principles of the Quakers; this would lead me too far; not that their dogmas are very numerous, for their doctrine is more ſimple and more conciſe than their morals. But this article, as well as their hiſtory, ought to be treated at large. I can aſſure you, that all the French authors who have written on them, without excepting Voltaire, have been ignorant of the true ſources of information. They have contented

themselves with seizing the objects to which they could give a cast of ridicule, and have thrown aside every thing that could render this society respectable.

One inviolable practice of theirs, for instance, is, never to dispute about dogmas. They have cut off an endless chain of disputations, by not admitting the authority either of the Old or New Testament to be superior to that of the internal principle, and by not hiring a class of men for the sole purpose of disputing and examining, under the pretext of instructing. What torrents of blood would have been spared, if the Catholics and Protestants had adopted a rule of conduct so wise; if instead of quarrelling about unintelligible words, about writings that may be changed, about the authority of the Church and the Pope, they had believed in the internal Spirit, which for each individual may be the secret guide! this guide has little concern with dogmas, and much with morals.

Among the political principles of the Quakers, the most remarkable are, never to take an oath, and never to take arms. I shall speak of the latter in an article by itself; as to their refusing to take an oath, it may be said, that an oath adds no weight to the declaration of an honest man; and perjury has no terrors for a knave.

Their discipline is as simple as their doctrine. In their marriages, their births, and interments, they use only the forms necessary to verify the existence of the fact.

A Quaker cannot marry a person of another sect; I asked the reason of this; as it appeared to me a sign of intolerance. "The preservation of our society," (replied a Quaker) depends on the preservation of the customs which distinguish us from other men. This singularity forces us to be more honest; and if we should unite our families with strangers, who are not of our sect-

ety, individuals would swerve from our usages, and confound them with others. A Quaker woman who should marry a Presbyterian, submits herself to the authority of a man over whom we have no influence; and the society subsists only by this domestic, voluntary, and reciprocal influence."

This influence is directed by their different assemblies. The monthly assemblies are in general composed of several neighbouring congregations. Their functions are to provide for the subsistence of the poor, and the education of their children; to examine the new converts, and prove their morals; to sustain the zeal and the religion of others; to hear and judge their faults by means of superintendants appointed for this purpose; to decide and settle any dispute that may arise either between Quakers, or between a Quaker and a stranger, provided the latter will submit to their arbitrament. This last object is one of the most important; it prevents that cruel scourge so ravaging in other countries, the scourge of lawyers, the source of so much corruption, and the cause of such scandalous divisions. This custom must be of great advantage to strangers who live in the neighbourhood of Quakers. The society excommunicates a member who will not submit to this arbitration.

Appeals are sometimes carried from the monthly to the quarterly assemblies; the principal business of the latter is to superintend the operations of the former.

But the superintendance of the whole society belongs to the annual assemblies. These receive reports from the inferior bodies respecting the state of all parts of the society, give their advice, make regulations, judge definitively on the appeals from the lower assemblies, and write letters to each other, in order to maintain a fraternal correspondence.

There are seven annual assemblies. One at London, to which the Quakers in Ireland send deputies; one in New-England, one at New-York, one for Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, one in Maryland, one in Virginia, one for the two Carolinas and Georgia.

As the Quakers believe that women may be called to the ministry as well as men, and as there are certain articles of discipline which only concern the women, and the observance of which can be superintended only by them, they have likewise their monthly, quarterly, and annual meetings. But they have not the right to make regulations. This method is much more proper to maintain morals among women, than that of our Catholic confessors; which subjects the feeble sex to the artifice, the fancies, and the empire of particular men; which opens the door to the most scandalous scenes, and often carries inquisition and dissension into the bosom of families.

The Quakers have no salaried priests; their ministers are such men as are the most remarkable for their zeal; they speak the most frequently in their meetings; but all persons, male and female, have an equal right to speak whenever they feel an inclination.

These ministers, with some approved elders, hold monthly meetings, by themselves, for their own instruction. In these meetings they revise, and order to be printed, such works as they choose to have distributed; and they never fail to take such measures, as that useful works should be sold at a low price.

In all these assemblies, some of which are very numerous, they have no president, and no person who has the least authority. Yet the greatest order and harmony are always observed. You never hear two persons speak at once in any of their most interesting deliberations.

But what will surprize you more is, that in

their numerous aſſemblies, nothing is decided but by unanimity. Each member has a kind of ſuſpenſive negative. He has only to ſay, *I have not clearneſs*; the queſtion is then adjourned, and not decided till every member is agreed.

This uſage appears to me highly honorable to the ſociety; it proves a wonderful union among this band of brothers; it proves that the ſame ſpirit animates them, the ſpirit of reaſon, of truth, and of the public good. Deliberative aſſemblies in general, would not be ſubject to ſuch long and violent diſcuſſions, if, like the Quakers, they were diſengaged from all perſonal ambition, and if, to reſolve doubts, the members addreſſed themſelves only to the conſciences of men.

You will, perhaps, conclude from this, that this ſociety can do but little buſineſs. This will be a miſtake; no ſociety does more for the public good. It is owing to them, that Philadelphia has hitherto been preſerved from the danger of theatres. Their petition this year, to prevent permiſſion being obtained to erect one, has been ſucceſsful.

A thorough knowledge of the Quakers, my friend, is not to be obtained by going, like Chaſtellux, for an hour into one of their churches. Enter into their houſes; you will find them the abodes of peace, harmony, gentleneſs, and frugality; tenderneſs to children, humanity to ſervants. Go into their hoſpitals; you will there ſee the more touching effects of charity, in their unexampled cleanlineſs, in their aliments, in their beds, and in their ſcrupulous attentions. Viſit the aſylums of old age and decrepitude; you will find the cloth and linen of the poor as decent as that of their benefactors. Each one has his chamber, and enjoys not only the neceſſaries, but many of the agreeables of life.

If you would quit the town, and run over the farms of the Quakers, you will diſcover a greater

degree of neatness, order, and care, among these cultivators, than among any other. If you examine the interior organization of the society, you will find, in every church, a treasury for charity, containing more or less money, according to the wealth of the congregation. This is employed in assisting young tradesmen, in succouring those who have failed in business through misfortune, those who have suffered by fire and other accidents. You will find many rich persons among them, who make it a constant rule to give to this treasury one-tenth of their revenue.

I am persuaded, my friend, that, after having well examined this society under all these details, you would cry out, If to-morrow I were reduced to poverty, and to be destitute of the succour of my friends, God grant that I might finish my days in a Quaker hospital; if to-morrow I were to become a farmer, let me have members of this society for my neighbours; they would instruct me by their example and advice, and they would never vex me with law-suits.

LETTER XXXIV.

The Refusal of Quakers to take any part in War.

THESE wise men have seen that the great basis of universal happiness must be universal peace; and that to open the way to that peace, we must pronounce an anathema against the art of war. Sacred writings have taught us to believe, that the time will come when nation will no more lift the sword against nation; and to lead to the accomplishment of so consoling a prophecy, this people believe that example is more powerful than words; that kings will always find the secret of perpetuating wars, as long as they

learn how to murder each other; and that it is their duty as a society, to resolve never to take arms, or contribute to the expences of any war. They have been tormented, robbed, imprisoned, and martyred; they have suffered every thing; till tyranny itself, wearied with their perseverance, has exempted them from military service, and has been driven to indirect measures to force contributions from their hands.

What then would become of our heroes and our conquerors, our Fredericks and our Potemkins, if all religious sects had adopted the same pacific spirit, and no man could be found, who would consent to be trained like an automaton to the infernal art of killing his fellow-creatures.

If we wish for the happiness of mankind, let us pray, that this society may cover the whole globe; or let us endeavour, at least, that their humane principles be adopted by all men. Then would be realized that universal peace, which the Quakers have already realized in countries where they have borne the sway.

In Pennsylvania, they found the secret of defending themselves from the scourge of military slaughter, till the war of 1755, between France and England. Though mingled with the Indians, never any quarrels rose among them, which led to the spilling of blood.

The government of England, with all its manœuvres, could never engage the Quakers to give any assistance in this war. They not only refused this, but they resigned all the places which they had held in the government of the colony; for it was before almost entirely in their hands; and such was their economy, that the produce of the custom-house, and a small excise, were always sufficient to defray the public expences; so that no other tax was known in the colony.

The war of 1755 changed this order of things, and occasioned heavy expences, which the colo-

nies were obliged to pay. The Quakers were subjected to them, as well as others; but they not only refused, as a society, to pay taxes, of which war was the object, but they excommunicated those who paid them. They persevered in this practice in the last war.

At this time an animosity was kindled against them, which is not yet extinguished. Faithful to their principles, they declared, that they would take no part in this war, and they excommunicated all such as joined either the American or British army.

I am well convinced of the sacred and divine principle which authorises resistance to oppressions; and I am well convinced, that oppression was here manifest; I must therefore blame the neutrality of the Quakers on this occasion, when their brethren were fighting for independence. But I believe, likewise, that it was wrong to persecute them so violently for their pacific neutrality.

If this instance of refusal had been the first of the kind, or if it had been dictated by a secret attachment to the British cause, certainly they would have been guilty, and this persecution would perhaps have been legitimate. But this neutrality was commanded by their religious opinions, constantly professed and practised by the society from its origin.

No person has spoken to me with more impartiality respecting the Quakers than General Washington, that celebrated man, whose spirit of justice is remarkable in every thing. He declared to me, that in the course of the war, he had entertained an ill opinion of this society; he knew but little of them; as at that time there were but few of that sect in Virginia; and he had attributed to their political sentiments, the effect of their religious principles. He told me, that having since known them better, he acquired an

eſteem for them; and that conſidering the ſimplicity of their manners, the purity of their morals, their exemplary economy, and their attachment to the conſtitution, he conſidered this ſociety as one of the beſt ſupports of the new government, which requires a great moderation, and a total baniſhment of luxury.

It was not under this point of view that they were regarded by the Congreſs, which laid the foundation of American Independence. This Congreſs joined their perſecutors, and baniſhed ſome of their moſt noted leaders to Staunton, in Virginia, two hundred miles from their families. My friend, Myers Fiſher, was of the number. M. Mazzei quotes the violent Addreſs publiſhed by Paine againſt them, but takes care not to quote the anſwer made to it by Fiſher. But ſuch is the logic of this calumniater of the Quakers. Since the peace, they have been ſubjected to another kind of vexation. Each citizen, from ſixteen to fifty-five years of age, is obliged by law to ſerve in the militia, or to pay a fine. The Quakers will not ſerve nor pay the fine. The collector, whoſe duty it is to levy it, enters their houſes, takes their furniture, and ſells it; and the Quakers peaceably ſubmit.

This method gives great encouragement to knavery. Collectors have been known to take goods to the amount of ſix times the fine, to ſell for a ſhilling what was worth a pound, never to return the ſurplus, nor even to pay the State, but afterwards become bankrupts. Their ſucceſſors would then come and demand the fine already paid; but the Quakers have complained of theſe abuſes to the legiſlature, and an act is paſſed ſuſpending theſe collections till Sept. 1789.

It would be very eaſy to reconcile the wants of the State, and the duty of the citizen, with the religious principles of the Quakers. You might ſubject them only to pacific taxes, and

require them to pay a larger proportion of the it. This is already done in Virginia, in abolishing, with respect to them, the militia service.

With this view of their character, you will agree with me, my friend, that our government ought to hasten to naturalize this purity in France. Their example might serve to regenerate our manners; without which we cannot certainly preserve our liberty, for a long time, though we should be able to acquire it. The Catholic religion, which predominates in France, can be no objection to it; for the Quakers hate no sect, but are friendly to all. They have ever lived in particular harmony with the Catholics of Pennsylvania and Maryland. James Pemberton told me, that in the war of 1740, he knew a mob of fanatical Presbyterians, with axes in their hands, going to destroy a Catholic chapel. Ten or twelve Quakers stopped them, exhorted them, and they dispersed without effecting their design.

Living in harmony with all other sects, they preserve no resentment against the apostates from their own, notwithstanding the troubles which they experienced from them. Reason is the only weapon which they use.

Postscript written in 1790.

IF the old government had an interest in inviting Quakers to France, this interest is doubled since the Revolution. The spirit of this society agrees with the spirit of French liberty in the following particulars:

That Society has made great establishments without effusion of blood; the National Assembly has renounced the idea of conquest, which is almost universally the cause of war. That Society practises universal tolerance; the Assembly ordains it. The Society observes simplicity of worship; the Assembly leads to it. The Society pro-

tiſes good morals, which are the ſtrongeſt ſupports of a free government; the political regeneration of France, which the Aſſembly is about to conſummate, conducts neceſſarily to a regeneration of morals.

If the French are armed from North to South, it is for liberty, it is for the terror of deſpotiſm, it is to obey the commands of God; for God has willed that man ſhould be free, ſince he has endowed him with reaſon; he has willed that he ſhould uſe all efforts to defend himſelf from that tyranny which defaces the only image of the Deity in man, his virtues and his talents.

But notwithſtanding this ardor in the French to arm themſelves in ſo holy a cauſe; they do not leſs reſpect the religious opinions of the Quakers, which forbid them to ſpill the blood of their enemies. This error of their humanity is ſo charming, that it is almoſt as good as a truth. We are all ſtriving for the ſame object, univerſal fraternity; the Quakers by gentleneſs, we by reſiſtance. Their means are thoſe of a ſociety, ours thoſe of a powerful nation.

LETTER XXXV.

Journey to Mount Vernon, in Virginia.

ON the 15th of November, 1788, I ſet out from Philadelphia for Wilmington, diſtance twenty-eight miles, and road tolerably good. The town of Cheſter, fifteen miles from Philadelphia, is a place where ſtrangers like to reſt. It ſtands on a creek, which falls into the Delaware. It enjoys ſome commerce, and the taverns here are good.

Wilmington is much more conſiderable; it [illegible] the Delaware;

the basis of its commerce is the exportation of flour. One mile above Wilmington, you pass the town of Brandywine; the name of which will call to your mind a famous battle gained by the English over the Americans, eight miles from this town, on a river of the same name. This town is famous for its fine mills; the most considerable of which is a paper-mill belonging to Mr. Gilpin and Myers Fisher, that worthy orator and man of science, whom I have often mentioned. Their process in making paper, especially in grinding the rags, is much more simple than ours. I have seen specimens of their paper, both for writing and printing, equal to the finest made in France.

Wilmington is a handsome town, well built, and principally inhabited by Quakers. I have seen many respectable persons among them, particularly Doctor Way. The celebrated Mr. Dickinson, who resides here, was, unfortunately for me, out of town.

I passed two evenings in company with Miss Vining, that amiable woman, whom the licentious pen of Chastellux has calumniated, as having too much taste for gallantry. If we believe the testimony of all her acquaintance, this trait which he has given her is an inexcusable libel. The Quakers themselves, to whom her gaiety cannot be pleasing, declare that her conduct has been uniformly irreproachable. But I believe, that this malicious and cowardly shaft, hurled in security from the other side of the Atlantic, has essentially injured her.

At nine miles from Wilmington, I past Christine-Bridge, a place of some commerce. From thence to the head of Elk, you see but few plantations, you run through eight miles of woods, only meeting with a few log-houses; then you arrive at Henderson[illegible]n, a very good inn, about in the middle of the road. It is twenty-

two miles from thence to the ferry of the Susquehannah. The town here is called Havre-de-Grace, a name given it by a Frenchman who laid the foundation of the town. It is at present an irregular mass of about 150 houses; but there is no doubt, when the entrance of the river shall be rendered navigable, but this will be an interesting situation, and a populous town. Here is a charming garden belonging to the proprietor of the ferry, from which I had a delicious prospect of that magnificent river; which in this place is more than a mile and a half wide, interspersed with islands. From thence to Baltimore are reckoned sixty miles. The road in general is frightful, it is over a clay soil, full of deep ruts, always in the midst of forests; frequently obstructed by trees overset by the wind, which obliged us to seek a new passage among the woods. I cannot conceive why the stage does not often overset. Both the drivers and their horses discover great skill and dexterity, being accustomed to these roads.

But why are they not repaired? Overseers of the roads are indeed appointed, and fines are sometimes pronounced on delinquencies of this kind; but they are ill collected. Every thing here is degraded; it is one of the effects of slavery. The slave works as little as possible; and the master, eager of vile enjoyments, finds other occupations than sending his negroes to repair the roads.

Some vast fields of Indian corn, but bad cultivation; pale faces worn by the fever and ague; naked Negroes, and miserable huts, are the most striking images offered to the eye of the traveller in Maryland.

We arrived at Baltimore in the night; but I viewed this town on my return. It contains near two thousand houses; and fourteen thousand inhabitants. It is irregularly built, and on

land but little elevated above the ſurface of Patapſco Bay, on the North of which it forms a creſcent. The bay is not ſufficiently deep to receive the largeſt ſhips; they anchor near Fell's Point, two miles from the centre of the town. There are ſtill ſtagnant waters in the town; few of the ſtreets are paved; and the great quantities of mud after rain, announce that the air muſt be unhealthful; but aſk the inhabitants, and and they will tell you, no. You may ſay here, like the Swiſs, in the heat of a battle, "If you believe theſe people, nobody can die here!"

Baltimore was but a village before the war; but during that period, a conſiderable portion of the commerce of Philadelphia was removed to this place. The greateſt ſhips come as far as here, and can go no farther; vaſt quantities of proviſions deſcend the Suſquehannah, and when that river ſhall be navigable, Baltimore muſt be a very conſiderable port.

The quarrel about federaliſm divided the town at the time I was in it; and the two parties almoſt came to blows on the election of their repreſentatives.

We left Baltimore for Alexandria at four in the morning; diſtant about ſixty miles, bad roads, a rude waggon, excellent horſes, ſkilful conductors, poor cultivation, miſerable huts, and miſerable Negroes.

They ſhowed me a plantation belonging to a Quaker; there were no ſlaves upon it. I ſaw Bruſhtown, a new village that the State of Maryland has pointed out for the ſeat of a college. This edifice is nearly completed; it is on an eminence, and enjoys a good air. We breakfaſted in this village, and dined at Bladenſbury, ſixteen miles from Alexandria. It is ſituated on a little river, which diſcharges into the Potowmack, and which admits Bateaus of twenty or thirty tons. We could find nothing to drink, but brandy or

rum mixed with water. In countries cultivated by ſlaves, there is no induſtry and no domeſtic economy. The people know not the advantage of making beer or cyder on their farms.

Georgetown terminates the State of Maryland: it overlooks the Potowmack, has an agreeable ſituation, and a conſiderable commerce. Regulations and impoſts, inconſiderately laid on commerce by the State of Virginia, have baniſhed to Georgetown a conſiderable part of the commerce of Alexandria.

This place is eight miles below Georgetown, on the oppoſite ſide of the Potowmack. Alexandria has grown from nothing to its preſent ſize within theſe forty years. It is not ſo conſiderable as Baltimore, which it ought to ſurpaſs. It is almoſt as irregular and as deſtitute of pavements. You ſee here a greater parade of luxury; but it is a miſerable luxury; ſervants with ſilk ſtockings in boots; women elegantly dreſſed, and their heads adorned with feathers.

The inhabitants, at the cloſe of the war, imagined that every natural circumſtance conſpired to render it a great commercial town—the ſalubrity of the air, the profundity of the river admitting the largeſt ſhips to anchor near the quay; an immenſe extent of back country, fertile and abounding in proviſions. They have therefore built on every ſide commodious ſtore-houſes, and elegant wharves; but commerce ſtill languiſhes on account of the reſtraints above-mentioned.

I haſtened to arrive at Mount Vernon, the ſeat of General Waſhington, ten miles below Alexandria on the ſame river. On this rout you traverſe a conſiderable wood, and after having paſſed over two hills, you diſcover a country houſe of an elegant and majeſtic ſimplicity. It is preceded by graſs plats; on one ſide of the avenue are the ſtables, on the other a green-houſe, and

houſes for a number of negro mechanics. In a ſpacious back yard are turkies, geeſe, and other poultry. This houſe overlooks the Potowmack, enjoys an extenſive proſpect, has a vaſt and elevated portico on the front next the river, and a convenient diſtribution of the apartments within. The General came home in the evening, fatigued with having been to lay out a new road in ſome part of his plantations. You have often heard him compared to Cincinnatus: the compariſon is doubtleſs juſt. This celebrated General is nothing more at preſent than a good farmer, conſtantly occupied in the care of his farm and the improvements of cultivation. He has lately built a barn, one hundred feet in length, and conſiderably more in breadth, deſtined to receive the productions of his farm, and to ſhelter his cattle, horſes, aſſes, and mules. It is built on a plan ſent him by that famous Engliſh farmer Arthur Young. But the General has much improved the plan. This building is in brick, it coſt but three hundred pounds; I am ſure in France it would have coſt three thouſand. He planted this year eleven hundred buſhels of potatoes. All this is new in Virginia, where they know not the uſe of barns, and where they lay up no proviſions for their cattle. His three hundred Negroes are diſtributed in different log houſes, in different parts of his plantation, which in this neighbourhood conſiſts of ten thouſand acres. Colonel Humphreys, that poet of whom I have ſpoken, aſſured me that the General poſſeſſes, in different parts of the country, more than two hundred thouſand acres.

Every thing has an air of ſimplicity in his houſe: his table is good, but not oſtentatious; and no deviation is ſeen from regularity and domeſtic economy. Mrs. Waſhington ſuperintends the whole, and joins to the qualities of an excellent houſe-wife, the ſimple dignity which ought

to characterize a woman, whose husband has acted the greatest part on the theatre of human affairs; while she possesses that amity, and manifests that attention to strangers, which render hospitality so charming. The same virtues are conspicuous in her interesting niece; but unhappily she appears not to enjoy good health.

M. de Chastellux has mingled too much of the brilliant in his portrait of General Washington. His eye bespeaks great goodness of heart; manly sense marks all his answers, and he sometimes animates in conversation, but he has no characteristic features; which renders it difficult to seize him. He announces a profound discretion, and a great diffidence in himself; but at the same time, an unshaken firmness of character, when once he has made his decision. His modesty is astonishing to a Frenchman; he speaks of the American war, and of his victories, as of things in which he had no direction.

He spoke to me of M. de la Fayette with the greatest tenderness. He regarded him as his child; and foresaw, with a joy mixed with inquietude, the part that this pupil was going to act in the approaching revolution of France. He could not predict, with clearness, the event of this revolution. If, on the one side, he acknowledges the ardor and enthusiasm of the French character; on the other, he saw an astonishing veneration for their ancient government, and for those monarchs whose inviolability appeared to him a strange idea.

After passing three days in the house of this celebrated man, who loaded me with kindness, and gave me much information relative to the late war, and the present situation of the United States, I returned to Alexandria.

LETTER XXXVI.

General Observations on Maryland and Virginia.

THE Bay of Chesapeak divides Maryland into two parts, nearly equal. The western division is the most peopled. Numerous bays and navigable rivers render this State singularly commodious for commerce. It would soon become extremely flourishing if slavery were banished from it, if a more advantageous culture were substituted to that of tobacco, and if the spirit of the Catholic religion had not adulterated the taste for order, regularity, and severity of manners, which characterize the other sects, and which have so great an influence in civil and political economy. The people of this sect were well attached to the late Revolution.

Cotton is cultivated in Maryland, as in Virginia; but little care is taken to perfect either its culture or its manufacture. You see excellent lands in these two States; but they have very few good meadows, though these might be made in abundance. For want of attention and labour, the inhabitants make but little hay; and what they have is not good. They likewise neglect the cultivation of potatoes, carrots, and turnips for their cattle, of which their neighbours of the north make great use. Their cattle are left without shelter in winter, and nourished with the tops of Indian corn. Of consequence many of them die with cold and hunger; and those that survive the winter, are miserably meagre.

They have much perfected in this country the English method of inoculation for the small-pox. In the manner practised here, it is very little dangerous. General Washington assured me, that he makes it a practice to have all his Negroes inoculated, and that he never lost one in the operation. Whoever inoculates in Virginia, is

obliged, by law, to give information to his neighbours within the space of two miles.

The population augments every where in these States, notwithstanding the great emigration to the Ohio. The horses of Virginia are, without contradiction, the finest in the country; but they bear double the price of those in the northern States. The practice of races, borrowed from the English by the Virginians, is fallen into disuse. The places renowned for this business are all abandoned; and it is not a misfortune; they are places of gambling, drunkenness, and quarrels.

The General informed me that he could perceive a great reformation in his countrymen in this respect; that they are less given to intoxication, that it is no longer fashionable for a man to force his guests to drink, and to make it an honor to send them home drunk; that you hear no longer the taverns resounding with those noisy parties formerly so frequent; that the sessions of the courts of justice were no longer the theatres of gambling, inebriation, and blood; and that the distinction of classes begins to disappear.

The towns in Virginia are but small; this may be said even of Richmond with its *capitol*. This capitol turns the heads of the Virginians; they imagine, that from this, like the old Romans, they shall one day give law to the whole north.

There is a glass manufactory forty miles from Alexandria, which exported last year to the amount of ten thousand pounds in glass: and notwithstanding the general character of indolence in this State, the famous canal of the Potowmac advances with rapidity. Crimes are more frequent in Virginia than in the northern States. This results from the unequal division of property, and from slavery.

Wherever you find luxury, and especially a miserable luxury, there provisions, even of the

first necessity, will be dear. I experienced this in Virginia. At a tavern there I paid a dollar for a supper, which in Pennsylvania would have cost me two shillings, in Connecticut one. Porter, wine, and every article, bear an excessive price here. Yet this dearness is owing in part to other causes hereafter to be explained.

LETTER XXXVII.

The Tobacco of Virginia, and the Tobacco Notes.

I HAVE found, with pleasure, that your excellent article on the tobacco, inserted in our work *de la France, et des Etats Unis*, is nearly exact in all its details. It is true that tobacco requires a strong fertile soil, and an uninterrupted care in the transplanting, weeding, defending from insects, cutting, curing, rolling, and packing.

Nothing but a great crop, and the total abnegation of every comfort, to which the Negroes are condemned, can compensate the expences attending this production before it arrives at the market. Thus in proportion as the good lands are exhausted, and by the propagating of the principles of humanity, less hard labour is required of the slaves, this culture must decline. And thus you see already in Virginia fields enclosed, and meadows succeed to tobacco. Such is the system of the proprietors who best understand their interest; among whom I place General Washington, who has lately renounced the culture of this plant.

If the Virginians knew our wants, and what articles would be most profitable to them, they would pay great attention to the culture of cotton; the consumption of which augments so prodigiously in Europe. I will not enlarge here on the sub-

ject of tobacco, which many authors have explained; but I will give you some ideas on that kind of paper-currency called tobacco-money; the use of which proves, that nations need not give themselves so much inquietude as they usually do on the absence of specie. In a free and fertile country, the constant produce of the land may give a fixed value to any kind of representative of property.

This State has public magazines, where the tobacco is deposited. Inspectors are appointed to take charge of these magazines, and inspect the quality of the tobacco; which, if merchantable, is received, and the proprietor is furnished with a note for the quantity by him deposited. This note circulates freely in the State, according to the known value of the tobacco. The price is different, according to the place where it is inspected. The following places are ranked according to the rigidity of the inspection: Hanover-Court, Pittsburg, Richmond, Cabin-Point. When the tobacco is worth sixteen shillings at Richmond, it is worth twenty-one at Hanover-Court. The tobacco travels to one place or the other, according to its quality; and if it is refused at all places, it is exported by contraband to the islands, or consumed in the country. There are two cuttings in a year of this crop; the first only is presented for inspection, the second is consumed in the country or smuggled to the islands.

As Virginia produces about eight thousand hogsheads, there circulates in the State about eight hundred thousand pounds in these notes; this is the reason why the Virginians have not need of a great quantity of circulating specie, nor of copper coin. The rapid circulation of this tobacco-money supplies their place.

This scarcity, however, of small money subjects the people to great inconveniencies, and has given rise to a pernicious practice of cutting

pieces of silver coin into halves and quarters; a source of many little knaveries. A person cuts a dollar into three pieces, keeps the middle piece, and passes the other two for half dollars. The person who receives these without weighing, loses the difference, and the one who takes them by weight, makes a fraudulent profit by giving them again at their pretended value; and so the cheat goes round.

But notwithstanding this pitiful resource of cutting the silver, society suffers a real injury for want of a plentiful copper coin; it is calculated, that in the towns the small expences of a family are doubled, on account of the impossibility of finding small change. It shews a striking want of order in the government, and increases the misery of the poor. Though tobacco exhausts the land to a prodigious degree, the proprietors take no pains to restore its vigour; they take what the soil will give, and abandon it when it gives no longer. They like better to clear new lands, than to regenerate the old. Yet these abandoned lands would still be fertile, if they were properly manured and cultivated. The Virginians take no tobacco in substance, either in the nose or mouth; some of them smoke, but this practice is not so general among them as in the Carolinas.

The Americans wish for the free commerce of tobacco with France; and they complain much of the monopoly of the Farmers-General. If this monopoly were removed, and the tobacco subjected only to a small duty on importation into France, there is no doubt but that the Americans would make our country the store-house of those immense quantities with which they inundate Europe. You know that they are now carried chiefly to England; where about the tenth part is consumed, and the rest is exported. England pays the whole in her own merchandize. Judge then of the profit she must draw from this exchange; then

add the commiſſion, the money expended in England by a great number of Americans whom this commerce leads thither, and the profits of other branches of buſineſs that are the conſequence of this.

Such are the advantages which it is in the power of France to acquire over England; but we muſt abolish the farms, and content ourſelves with a ſmall duty on the importation. The high duty paid in England on tobacco, will prevent the Americans from giving the preference to that country. It amounts to fifteen pence ſterling on the pound. Though England conſumes little tobacco, ſhe draws from it a revenue of 6000,000 pounds ſterling. The ſtate of the finances of that iſland, will not admit of her diminiſhing this duty in order to rival France. Continue then, my friend, to preach your doctrine.

The great conſumption of tobacco in all countries, and the prohibitive regulations of almoſt all governments, may engage the Americans to continue this culture; for as they can furniſh it at a low price, as they navigate at ſmall expenſe, as no people equals them in enterprize and induſtry, they may undertake to furniſh the whole earth.

Spain, for inſtance, will doubtleſs become a market for them. The author of the *Nouveau Voyage en Eſpagne* makes the revenue which the king draws from this article, amount to twenty millions of livres (£833,333⅓ ſterling.) The greater part of this tobacco is brought from Braſil, by the Portugueſe, ſold to the king at five pence ſterling the pound, and then ſold by him at eight ſhillings and four-pence. At the expiration of the preſent contract, ſays the ſame author, the Americans will offer a more advantageous one, and it is ſaid they will have the preference.

This high price encourages a conſiderable contraband in Spain, though interdicted by the pains of death. The law is too rigid to be executed.

The tobacco of the Miſſiſippi and the Ohio will, doubtleſs, one day furniſh the greater part of the conſumption of Spain as well as of France; which, if the ſyſtem of liberty ſhould be adopted, will become immenſe. For it is proved, by thoſe who know the ſecrets of the farm, that the conſumption of the latter amounts to more than thirty millions of pounds annually, inſtead of fifteen, as we have been commanded to believe.

LETTER XXXVIII.

The Valley of Shenadore in Virginia.

I PROPOSED, my friend, on quitting Alexandria, to viſit that charming valley, waſhed by the Shenadore, of which Jefferſon and Crevecœur have given us ſo ſeducing a deſcription. From thence I intended to return by the vale of Lancaſter, and pay my reſpects to the virtuous Moravians. But the approaching Revolution in France haſtening my return, I am obliged to content myſelf with giving you ſome idea of that country where we have been invited to fix our tabernacles; and to borrow the obſervations of different travellers, who have this year obſerved, with great attention, the lands ſituated between the different chains of mountains, which ſeparate Virginia from the weſtern territory.

The Valley of Shenadore, which lies between the South mountain and the North, or endleſs mountain, is from thirty to forty miles wide, chalky bottom, a fertile ſoil, and a good air. This ſituation offers almoſt all the advantages of the weſtern country, without its inconveniencies. It is almoſt in the centre of the United States, and has nothing to fear from foreign enemies. It lies between two conſiderable rivers, which

fall into the Chesapeak; and though the navigation of these rivers is interrupted for the present, yet there is no doubt, from the progress of the works on the Potowmack, that this inconvenience will soon be removed.

The price of lands here, as elsewhere, varies according to their quality; you may purchase at any price, from one to five guineas the acre, land of the same quality as in Pennsylvania from four to twenty guineas.

The average distance of these lands from commercial towns is as follows: fifty miles from George-town, about fifty miles from Alexandria, eighty or an hundred from Richmond and from Baltimore. But this part of the country is still more inviting for its future prospects. Of all the rivers that discharge into the Atlantic, the Powtowmack offers the most direct communication with the rivers of the west. This circumstance will make it one day the great channel of intercourse for almost all the United States; and its situation renders it secure against being interrupted by war.

But to realize the advantages which the situation of this country seems to promise, requires a reformation of manners, and the banishment of luxury, which is more considerable here than in Pennsylvania. You must banish idleness and the love of the chace, which are deeply rooted in the soul of the Virginians; and, above all things, you must banish slavery; which infallibly produces those great scourges of society, laziness and vice, in one class of men; uninduſtrious labour and degrading misery in another. The view of this deforming wound of humanity, will discourage foreigners of sensibility from coming to this State; while they have not to dread this disgusting spectacle in Pennsylvania.

But it is in a country life in America, that true happiness is to be found by him who is wise

enough to make it consist in tranquility of soul, in the enjoyment of himself, and of nature. What is the fatiguing agitation of our great cities, compared to this delicious calmness? The trees, my friend, do not calumniate; they revile not their benefactors; men of the greatest merit cannot always say this of their fellow-creatures.

LETTER XXXIX.

Journey from Boston to Portsmouth.

October, 1788.

I LEFT Boston the 2d of October, after dinner, with my worthy friend Mr. Barrett;* to whom I cannot pay too sincere a tribute of praise for his amiable qualities, or of gratitude for the readiness he has manifested on all occasions in procuring me information on the objects of my research. We slept at Salem, fifteen miles from Boston; an excellent gravelly road, bordered with woods and meadows. This road passes the fine bridge of Malden, which I mentioned before, and the town of Lynn remarkable for the manufacture of women's shoes. It is calculated that more than an hundred thousand pairs are annually exported from this town. At Reading, not far from Lynn, is a similar manufacture of men's shoes.

Salem, like all other towns in America, has a printing press and a gazette. I read in this gazette the discourse pronounced by M. D'Epreminil, when he was arrested in full parliament in Paris. What an admirable invention is the press! it brings all nations acquainted with each other,

* *He is of a respectable family in Boston. He is lately named Consul of the United States in France.*

and electrizes all men by the recital of good actions, which thus become common to all. This diſcourſe tranſported the daughters of my hoſteſs: D'Epreminil appeared to them a Brutus.*

It was cold, and we had a fire in a Franklin ſtove. Theſe are common here, and thoſe chimneys which have them not, are built as deſcribed by M. de Crevecœur: they rarely ſmoke. The miſtreſs of the tavern (Robinſon) was taking tea with her daughters; they invited us to partake with them. I repeat it, we have nothing like this in France. It is a general remark thro' all the United States: a tavern-keeper muſt be a reſpectable man, his daughters are well dreſt, and have an air of decency and civility. We had good proviſions, good beds, attentive ſervants; neither the ſervants nor the coachman aſk any money. It is an excellent practice; for this tax with us not only becomes inſupportable on account of the perſecutions which it occaſions, but it gives men an air of baſeneſs, and accuſtoms to the ſervility of avarice. Salem has a conſiderable commerce to the iſlands, and a great activity of buſineſs by the cod fiſhery.

In paſſing to Beverly, we croſſed another excellent wooden bridge. The conſtruction of this bridge, and the celerity with which it was built, gives a lively idea of the activity and induſtry of Maſſachuſetts. It coſt but three thouſand pounds; the toll for an horſe and carriage is eight pence; the opening in the middle for the paſſage of veſſels, is of a ſimpler mechaniſm than that of Charleſtown. On the road to Beverly I ſaw a flouriſhing manufacture of cotton.

At Londonderry, a town chiefly inhabited by Iriſh, is a conſiderable manufacture of linen. We dined at Newbury with Mr. Tracy, who formerly enjoyed a great fortune, and has ſince

* *Heu! quantum ætatus ab illo!*

been reduced by the failure of different enterprizes, particularly by a contract to furnish masts for the marine of France. The miscarriage of this undertaking, was owing to his having employed agents in procuring the first cargo who deceived him, and sent a parcel of refuse masts that were fit only for fire-wood. Though the manner in which Mr. Tracy had been deceived was sufficiently proved; yet, for the clerks of the marine at Versailles, whose interest it was to decry the American timber, this fact was sufficient to enable them to cause it ever after to be rejected. And Mr. Tracy's first cargo was condemned and sold at Havre for 250l. He lives retired; and with the consolation of his respectable wife, supports his misfortunes with dignity and firmness.

Newbury would be one of the best ports in the United States, were it not for a dangerous bar at the entrance. The business of ship-building has much declined here. In the year 1772 ninety vessels were built here, in 1788 only three. This town stands at the mouth of the fine river Merrimack, abounding in fish of different kinds.

Twenty-four miles of fine road brings you from Newbury to Portsmouth, the capital of New-Hampshire. There is little appearance of activity in this town. A thin population, many houses in ruins, women and children in rags; every thing announces decline. Yet there are elegant houses and some commerce. Portsmouth is on the Piscataqua, a rapid and deep river which never freezes till four miles above the town. This was formerly one of the greatest markets for ship-timber. Col. Wentworth, one of the most intelligent and esteemed citizens, was the agent of the English government and of the East-India Company for that article. This company is now renewing its demands for this timber. Every thing in this town is commerce and ship-building.

President Langdon himself is a merchant; he is extremely well informed in every thing that concerns his country. You may recollect, that at the time of the invasion of Burgoyne, he was the first to mount his horse and lead off his fellow-citizens to fight him. He appears to be well persuaded, as well as Colonel Wentworth, that the surest road to the prosperity of their country, is the adoption of the new federal government.

We left Portsmouth on Sunday, and came to dine at Mr. Dalton's, five miles from Newbury, on the Merrimac: this is one of the finest situations that can be imagined. It presents an agreeable prospect of seven leagues. This farm is extremely well arranged; I saw on it thirty cows, numbers of sheep, &c. and a well furnished garden. Mr. Dalton occupies himself much in gardening, a thing generally neglected in America. He has fine grapes, apples, and pears; but he complains that children steal them; an offence readily pardoned in a free country. A proprietor here, who, to prevent these little thefts, should make use of those infernal mantraps, invented by the English, would justly be execrated by his fellow creatures.

Mr. Dalton received me with that frankness which bespeaks a man of worth and talents; with that hospitality which is more general in Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, than in the other States.

The Americans are not accustomed to what we call grand feasts; they treat strangers as they treat themselves every day, and they live well. They say they are not anxious to starve themselves the week, in order to gormandize on Sunday. This trait will paint to you a people at their ease, who wish not to torment themselves for show.

Mr. Dalton's house presented me with the image of a true patriarchial family, and of great

domeſtic felicity; it is compoſed of four or five handſome young women, dreſt with decent ſimplicity, his amiable wife, and his venerable father of eighty years. This reſpectable old man preſerves a good memory, a good appetite, and takes habitual exerciſe. He has no wrinkles in his face, which ſeems to be a characteriſtic of American old age; at leaſt I have obſerved it.

From Mr. Dalton's we came to Andover, where my companion preſented me to the reſpectable paſtor of the pariſh, Dr. Symmes, in whom I ſaw a true model of a miniſter of religion, purity of morals, ſimplicity in his manner of life, and gentleneſs of character. He cheers his ſolitude with a reſpectable wife, by whom he has had many children. And the cultivation of his farm occupies thoſe moments which are not neceſſarily devoted to ſtudy, and to the care of the ſouls committed to his charge.

LETTER XL.

Debt of the United States.

YOU have ſeen, my friend, in the Encyclopedia, a ſtate of the American debt brought down to the year 1784. This article, which I believe was furniſhed to the compilers by the learned Mr. Jefferſon, contains ſome few errors. You may, however, draw from it ſome juſt ideas relative to the origin of the continental debt. There is no work which treats of the changes made in it ſince 1784, which is the principal object of my preſent letter.*

* *Since writing this ſketch, I have incorporated into it the operations of the new Congreſs on Mr. Hamilton's report of September, 1789.*

You who are so versed in finance, will doubtless be struck with the errors committed by the Congress in laying the foundation of this debt, and with the sterility of their plans to remedy the want of money. But your surprize will vanish, when you examine the critical circumstances of that body of men to whom America owes her independence.

They must be supposed ignorant of the principles of finance; a science which their former situation had happily rendered unnecessary. They were pressed by the imperious necessity of a formidable invasion, to submission, or to combat; and they must pay those who should fight their battles.

The idea of paper money was the first, and perhaps the only one that could strike them. Its object was so sublime, and patriotism so fervent, that every thing was to be expected from it. The Congress believed in it; and in multiplying this paper, even in the midst of a rapid depreciation, they are not to be accused of ill faith; for they expected to redeem the whole.

The people manifested the same confidence. But the unexpected accumulation of the quantity, the consequent depreciation, and the gradual disappearance of danger, were the natural and united causes of a revolution of sentiment. To believe that this paper would not be redeemed at its nominal value, was in 1777 a crime. To say that it ought to be so redeemed, was in 1784 another crime.

Since the establishment of the new federal system, the opinion, with respect to the debt, has undergone a third revolution. Among a free people, it is impossible but truth and honor should sooner or later predominate. Almost all the Americans are at present convinced, that to arrive at the high degree of prosperity to which the nature of things invites them, and to acquire

the credit neceſſary for this purpoſe, they muſt fulfill, with the moſt ſcrupulous punctuality, all their engagements. And this conviction has determined the new Congreſs to make the finance the firſt great object of their attention.

The debt of the United States is divided into two claſſes, *foreign* and *domeſtic*. The foreign debt is compoſed, in capital, of a loan made in France of 24,000,000* of livres at 5 *per cent.* another made in Holland under the guarantee of France, of 10,000,000 at 4 *per cent.* both amounting in dollars to 6,296,296; another in Spain at 5 *per cent.* 174,011 dollars.

---

* *If the ſecret hiſtory of this debt contracted in France were publiſhed, it would diſcover the origin of many fortunes which have aſtoniſhed us. It is certain, for inſtance, that M. de Vergennes diſpoſed of theſe loans at pleaſure, cauſed military ſtores and merchandize to be furniſhed by perſons attached to him, and ſuffered not their accounts to be diſputed. It is a fact, that in his accounts with Congreſs, there was one million of livres that he never accounted for, after all the demands that were made to him. It is likewiſe a fact, that out of the forty ſeven millions pretended to be furniſhed in the above articles by France to Congreſs, the employment of twenty one millions is without vouchers. Many fortunes may be made from twenty one millions.*

M. Beaumarchais, in a memoir publiſhed two years ago, pretends to be the creditor of Congreſs for millions. I have, in my hands, a report made to Congreſs by two reſpectable members, in which they prove, that he now owes Congreſs 742,413 livres, and a million more, if the wandering million above-mentioned, has fallen into his hands. Theſe reporters make a ſtriking picture of the manœuvres practiſed to deceive the Americans.

Will not the National Aſſembly cauſe ſome accounts to be rendered of the ſums ſquandered in our part of

In Holland, in four different loans	3,600,000
Total capital	10,070,307 doll.
Interest to *Dec.* 31, 1789,	1,651,257
Total, capital and interest,	11,721,564
Domestic debt liquidated, capital and interest to the 31st *Dec.* 1790,	40,414,085
Not liquidated, estimated at	2,000,000
Total, foreign and domestic,	54,135,649 doll.

In the prosecution of the war, each individual State had occasion to contract a debt of its own, which, for a variety of reasons, it was thought best that the Congress should assume and add to the general mass of the United States.

The sums thus assumed, which are supposed to absorb nearly the whole of all the State debts, amount in the whole to 25,000,000 doll.

So that the total amount of the present debt of the United States is	79,124,464 doll.
Annual interest of this sum, as stipulated	4,587,444

the American war? Or rather the sums which, instead of going to succour those brave strugglers for liberty, went to adorn the bed-chambers of an actress? Adeline did more mischief to the Americans, than a regiment of Hessians. Where are the accounts of her favourite Veyenerange? Why has not M. Necker drawn the impenetrable veil which screens them from the public? And he himself, has he nothing to answer for the choice he made of corrupted, weak, and wicked agents, and the facility with which he ratified their accounts?

Mr. Morris and Dr. Franklin have been censured in the American papers on account of these robberies. I am far from joining in the accusations against the latter; but I could wish he had given positive answers to the writer under the signature of Centinel.

To complete the list of what is annually to be paid, we must add the annual expenses of the federal government. The following is the amount of the year 1790:

Civil list	254,892
Department of war	155,537
Military pensions	96,979
	507,408

You see, my friend, from these details, that the expenses of government among a free people, are far from that extravagance and pomp which are pretended to be necessary in other governments to delude the people, and which tend but to render them vicious and miserable.

You see, that with one hundred and ten thousand sterling, a government is well administered for four millions of people, inhabiting an extent of country greater than Germany, Flanders, Holland, and Switzerland united.* And finally, you see that the Americans pay less than a million sterling a year for having maintained their liberty; while the English pay more than four millions sterling additional annual expense, for having attempted to rob them of it.

By the measures taken by the new government, the Americans are in a fair way not only to pay their interest, but to sink the principal of their debt; and that without direct taxation.

---

* *I speak only of the settled parts of the United States.*

LETTER XLI.

Importations into the United States.

IF you doubt, my friend, of the abilities of the United States to pay their debt, and the expenses of their government, your doubts will be diſſipated on caſting your eye over the tables of their annual exportations.

Many publications give, as an inconteſtible maxim, "*A nation muſt import as little as poſſible, and export as much as poſſible.*" If they mean by this that ſhe ought to produce as much as poſſible at home, it is true; but if they underſtand that a nation is neceſſarily poor when ſhe imports much, it is falſe. For if ſhe imports, ſhe either conſumes, and of conſequence has wherewith to pay, or ſhe re-exports, and conſequently makes a profit. This maxim, like moſt of the dogmas of commerce, ſo confidently preached by the ignorant, is either trivial or falſe. The importations into the United States have much increaſed ſince the peace, as you will ſee by the following account of them, compared with the tables of Lord Sheffield, which repreſent periods antecedent to the war.

The following is the ſtatement of the principal articles:

Rum, brandy, and other ſpirits	4,000,000 gall.
Wine - - - - - -	1,000,000
Hyſon tea - - - - -	125,000 lb.
Sugar - - - - -	20,000,000
Coffee, cocoa, and chocolate	1,500,000
Molaſſes - - - - -	3,000,000
Salt - - - - - -	1,000,000 bbl.

Beſides the above articles, the importations of dry goods amount to more than twenty millions of dollars annually.

This general eſtimate is calculated from the

cuſtom-houſe books at New-York for three years. Taking for baſis that New-York makes one-fifth of the general importations of the United States, it is believed that moſt of theſe articles are eſtimated much too low; and this idea is ſupported by the amount of duties collected ſince the new federal ſyſtem has begun its operations.

A great proportion of theſe articles, you will be convinced, might be better imported from France than from any other country; and they will be, whenever we ſhall underſtand our intereſt. Mr. Swan ſays, that a million and a half of gallons of brandy might be brought annually from France; that it is cheaper than the rum of Jamaica, and altogether preferred by the Americans to the rum of our iſlands. He is likewiſe of opinion, that French wines might be introduced in abundance; but he recommends to our merchants, to obſerve good faith in this particular, as they have inundated the United States with bad Bourdeaux wine, which has reflected general diſcredit on all the wines of France. He gives the preference to the white wines of *Grave, Pontac, St. Briſe:* and then to the *Sauterne, Pregnac, Barſac:* among the red wines, he prefers the *Chateau Margou*, the *Segur*, the *Haut Heiſs*, the *La Fite*, &c. I drank excellent Champagne at Boſton and New-York; and Burgundy at Philadelphia; which is a proof that theſe wines will bear the ſea. The quantity of twenty millions of imported ſugar, is thought to be five millions below the reality: we may add to this, five millions of maple ſugar made in the United States. What a difference between this conſumption and ours! According to a calculation on the comparative number of inhabitants, France ought to conſume two hundred millions; whereas our conſumption is but eighty millions. By this fact, you may judge of the difference between the inhabitants of the two continents. In America, even ſervants

uſe ſugar in abundance. In France, the artiſans and peaſants cannot enjoy this neceſſary article; which is conſequently regarded as a ſuperfluity. This circumſtance will lead you to another obſervation, very important: this twenty millions of ſugar is brought from our iſlands; from whence the exportation is rigidly prohibited. For what purpoſe then theſe prohibitions for two neighbouring people, who have reciprocal wants? Is not this an invitation to governments to remove barriers which are ſo eaſily broken over?

LETTER XLII.

Exportations and Manufactures.

IF any thing can give an idea of the high degree of proſperity, to which theſe confederated republics are making rapid ſtrides, it is the contemplation of theſe two ſubjects. It is impoſſible to enumerate all the articles to which they have turned their attention; almoſt one-half of which were unknown before the war. Among the principal ones are ſhip-building, flour, rice, tobacco, manufactures in woollen, linen, hemp, and cotton; the fiſheries, oils, forges, and the different articles in iron and ſteel; inſtruments of agriculture, nails, leather, and the numerous objects in which they are employed; paper, paſteboard, parchment, printing, pot-aſh, pearl-aſh, hats of all qualities, ſhip-timber, and the other wood of conſtruction; cabinet work, cordage, cables, carriages; works in braſs, copper and lead; glaſs of different kinds; gunpowder, cheeſe, butter, callicoes, printed linen, indigo, furrs, &c. Ship-building is one of the moſt profitable branches of buſineſs in America. They built ſhips here before the war; but they were not permitted to

manufacture the articles neceſſary to equip them; every article is now made in the country. A fine ſhip, called the *Maſſachuſetts*, of eight hundred tons, belonging to Mr. Shaw, had its ſails and cordage wholly from the manufacture at Boſton; this ſingle eſtabliſhment gives already two thouſand yards of ſail-cloth a week.

Breweries augment every where, and take place of the fatal diſtilleries. There are no leſs than fourteen good breweries in Philadelphia. The infant woollen manufactory at Hartford, from September 1788, to September 1789, gave about five thouſand yards of cloth, ſome of which ſells at five dollars a yard; another at Watertown, in Maſſachuſetts, promiſes equal ſucceſs, and engages the farmers to multiply their ſheep.

Cotton ſucceeds equally well. The ſpinning machines of Arkwright are well known here, and are made in the country.

We have juſt remarked in our work on the United States, that nature invites the Americans to the labour of the forge, by the profuſe manner in which ſhe has covered their ſoil with wood, and interſperſed it with metal and coals. Pennſylvania, New-Jerſey, and Delaware, make annually three hundred and fifty tons of ſteel, and ſix hundred tons of nails, and nail rods. Theſe articles are already exported from America; as are machines for carding wool and cotton, particularly common cards, which are cheaper than the Engliſh, and of a ſuperior quality. In theſe three States are ſixty-three paper-mills, which manufacture annually to the amount of 250,000 dollars. The State of Connecticut laſt year made five thouſand reams, which might be worth nine thouſand dollars.

The prodigious conſumption of all kinds of glaſs, multiplies the eſtabliſhment of glaſs works. The one on the Powtowmack employs five hundred perſons. They have begun with ſucceſs, at

Philadelphia, the printing of callicoes, cotton, and linen. Sugar refiners are increasing every where. In Pennsylvania are twenty-one powder-mills, which are supposed to produce 625 tons of gun-powder, ann.

Among the principal articles of exportation are wheat and flour. To form an idea of the augmentation of exports in the article of flour, take the following facts: Philadelphia exported in the year 1786 - 150,000 barrels.

1787 - 202,000
1788 - 220,000
1789 - 360,000

Many well informed men in America, have written different pamphlets on the augmentation of the commerce and manufactures in the United States, which deserve attention; such as, "*Enquiries into the Principles of a Commercial System. By Tench Coxe.*" "*Letter on the Work of Lord Sheffield. By Mr. Bingham.*" "*National Arithmetic. By Mr. Swan,*" author of the work cited in my last letter.

LETTER XLIII.

American Trade to the East-Indies.

IN this commerce, my friend, you may see displayed the enterprising spirit of the Americans; the first motive to it, was the hope of economizing in the prices of East-India goods, which they formerly imported from England, and this economy must be immense, if we judge of it by the great consumption of tea in America, and the high price it bears in England. In the year 1761, the English American colonies sent to England 85,000l. sterling in Spanish dollars for this single article, and since that time the consumption of it has at least tripled.

Another motive which encouraged them to push this commerce, was the hope of being able to supply South-America, the Spanish and other islands, and even the markets of Europe, with the goods of the East; and to obtain every where the preference, by the low price at which they might be afforded. And this project is not without foundation. The nature of things invites the Americans to become the first carriers in the world. They build ships at two-thirds of the expence that they are built in Europe: they navigate with less seamen, and at less expence, although they nourish their seamen better: they navigate with more safety, with more cleanliness, and with more intelligence, because the spirit of equality, which reigns at home, attends them likewise at sea. Nothing stimulates men to be good sailors like the hope of becoming captains.

The productions of their country are more favourable to this commerce than those of Europe. They carry ginseng to China; plank, shipti nber, and flour, salted provisions to the Cape of Good Hope, and to the isles of France and Bourbon. They are not, therefore, obliged to export so great a proportion of specie a the Europeans, who have establishments in the East. They are not obliged like them, to maintain, at an enormous expence, troops, forts, ships of war, governors, intendants, secretaries, clerks, and all the tools of despotism, as useless as they are expensive; of which the price must be added to that of the articles of this commerce.

No sea is impenetrable to the navigating genius of the Americans. You see their flag every where displayed; you see them exploring all islands, studying their wants, and returning to supply them.

Our languishing colony of Cayenne, would have perished ten times with famine, if it depended on the regular promised supplies of the mother

country! But it is provisioned by the Americans; who remedy thus the murderous calculations of European Masters.

A sloop from Albany, of sixty tons and eleven men had the courage to go to China. The Chinese, on seeing her arrive, took her for the cutter of some large vessel, and asked where was the great ship: We are the great ship; answered they to the Chinese, stupified at their hardiness.

Our public papers vaunt the magnificence of the European nations, who make discoveries and voyages round the world: the Americans do the same thing; but they boast not of their exploits with so much emphasis. In September, 1790, the ship *Columbia*, Captain Gray, sailed to discover the north-west of this continent; this is his second voyage round the world: the brig Hope has sailed for the same object. Our papers have resounded with the quarrels of the English and Spaniards for the commerce of Nootka Sound. The Americans make *no* quarrels; but they have already made a considerable commerce on the same coast in furrs and peltry. They were there trading in the year 1789, in good intelligence with both parties. In the same year, no less than forty-four vessels were sent from the single town of Boston to the north-west of America, to India, and to China. They bound not their hopes here: they expect, one day, to open a communication more direct to Nootka Sound. It is probable that this place is not far from the head waters of the Mississippi; which the Americans will soon navigate to its source, when they shall begin to people Louisiana and the interior of New-Mexico.

This will be a fortunate epoch to the human race, when there shall be a third great change in the routes of maritime commerce. The Cape of Good Hope will then lose its reputation, and its afflux of commerce, as the Mediterranean had lost it before. The passage which the free Ame-

ricans are called upon to open, which is ſtill unknown, which however, is eaſy to eſtabliſh, and which will place the two oceans, the Atlantic and Pacific, in communication, is by the paſſage by the lake of *Nicaragua*.* Nature ſo much favours this communication, which is deſtined to ſhorten the route to the Eaſt-Indies, that the obſtinacy of the nation which now poſſeſſes the country, cannot long withſtand its being opened. The Spaniards wiſh to monopolize every thing. The free Americans, on the contrary, ſeek the advantages of the great family of the human race.

LETTER XLIV.

The Weſtern Territory.

I HAVE not the time, my friend, to deſcribe to you the new country of the Weſt; which, though at preſent unknown to the Europeans, muſt from the nature of things, very ſoon merit the attention of every commercial and manufacturing nation. I ſhall lay before you at preſent only a general view of theſe aſtoniſhing ſettlements, and refer to another time the details which a ſpeculative philoſopher may be able to draw from them. At the foot of the Alleganies, whoſe ſummits, however, do not threaten the heavens, like thoſe of the Andes and the Alps, begins an immenſe plain, interſected with hills of a gentle aſcent, and watered every where with ſtreams of all ſizes; the ſoil is from three to ſeven feet deep, and of an aſtoniſhing fertility: it is proper

* *This project exiſts; its length prevents my giving it here. The Americans expect one day to open this paſſage.*

for every kind of culture, and it multiplies cattle almoſt without the care of man.

It is there that thoſe eſtabliſhments are formed, whoſe proſperity attracts ſo many emigrants; ſuch as Kentucky, Frankland, Cumberland, Holſton, Muſkingum, and Scioto.

The oldeſt and moſt flouriſhing of theſe is Kentucky, which began in 1775, had eight thouſand inhabitants in 1782; fifty thouſand, in 1787, and ſeventy thouſand in 1790.* It will ſoon be a State.

Cumberland, ſituated in the neighbourhood of Kentucky, contains 8000 inhabitants; Holſton 5000; and Frankland 25,000.

On beholding the multiplication and happineſs of the human ſpecies in theſe rapid and proſperous ſettlements, and comparing them with the languor and debility of colonies formed by deſpots, how auguſt and venerable does the aſpect of liberty appear! her power is equal to her will: ſhe commands, and foreſts are overturned, mountains ſink to cultivated plains, and nature prepares an aſylum for numerous generations; while the proud city of Palmyra periſhes with its haughty founder, and its ruins atteſt to the world that nothing is durable, but what is founded and foſtered by freedom. It appears that Kentucky will preſerve its advantage over the other ſettlements on the ſouth; its territory is more extenſive, its ſoil more fertile, and its inhabitants more numerous: it is ſituated on the Ohio, navigable at almoſt all ſeaſons; this laſt advantage is equally enjoyed by the two ſettlements of which I am going to ſpeak. The eſtabliſhment at the Muſk-

* *By a letter from Colonel Fowler, a repreſentative in the legiſlature of Virginia from Kentucky, of the 16th of December, 1790, which the tranſlator has ſeen, it appears, that the inhabitants of Kentucky at that time amounted to one hundred and ſeventy three thouſand.*

ingum was formed in 1788, by a number of emigrants from New-England, belonging to the Ohio company. The Muſkingum is a river which falls into the Ohio from the Weſt. This people have an excellent ſoil, and every proſpect of ſucceſs.

From theſe proprietors is formed another aſſociation, whoſe name is more known in France; it is that of the Scioto Company,* a name

---

* *This company has been much calumniated. It has been accuſed of ſelling lands which it does not poſſeſs, of giving exaggerated accounts of its fertility, of deceiving the emigrants, of robbing France of her inhabitants, and of ſending them to be butchered by the ſavages. But the title of this aſſociation is inconteſtible; the proprietors are reputable men; the deſcription which they have given of the lands is taken from the public and authentic reports of Mr. Hutchins, Geographer to Congreſs. No perſon can diſpute their prodigious fertility.*

Certainly the ariſtocrats of France, who may emigrate thither under the fooliſh idea of forming a monarchy, would be fatally deceived in their expectations. They would fly from the French government, becauſe it eſtabliſh the equality of rights, and they would fall into a ſociety where this equality is conſecrated even by the nature of things; where every man is ſolicited to independence by every circumſtance that ſurrounds him, and eſpecially by the facility of ſupplying his wants; they would fly to preſerve their titles, their honors, their privileges; and they would fall into a new ſociety, where the titles of pride and chance are deſpiſed, and even unknown.

This enterprize is ſuitable to the poor of Europe, who have neither property nor employment, and who have ſtrength to labour. They would find at Scioto the means of ſupplying their wants; the ſoil would give them its treaſures, at the expence of a ſlight cultivation; the beaſts of the foreſt would cover their

taken from a river, which after having traverſed the two millions of acres which they poſſeſs, falls into the Ohio.

This ſettlement would ſoon riſe to a high degree of proſperity, if the proper cautions were taken in the embarkation and the neceſſary means employed to ſolace them, and to prepare them for a kind of life ſo different from that to which they are accuſtomed.

The revolution in the American government, will, doubtleſs, be beneficial to the ſavages; for the government tends eſſentially to peace. But as a rapid increaſe of population muſt neceſſarily be the conſequence of its operations, the ſavages muſt either blend with the Americans, or a thouſand cauſes will ſpeedily annihilate that race of men.

---

tables, until they could rear cattle on their farms. It would be then rendering a ſervice to the unfortunate people, who are deprived of the means of ſubſiſtence by the Revolution, to open to them this aſylum, where they could obtain a property.

But, ſay the oppoſers, the poor may find theſe advantages in France. We have great quantities of uncultivated land; yes; but will the proprietors ſell it for almoſt nothing? Will it produce equally with that of Sciato? Are proviſions as cheap here as there? No; why then declaim ſo much againſt an emigration, uſeful at the ſame time to France, to the individuals and to the United States? The man who without much expence, and in a manner that ſhould make it voluntary, could find the means of tranſporting to the foreſts of America the thirty thouſand mendicants, whom fear as well as humanity obliges us to ſupport in idleneſs in the neighbourhood of Paris, that man would merit a ſtatue. For he would at once cure the capital of a leproſy, and render thirty thouſand people to happineſs and good morals.

There is nothing to fear, that the danger from the ſavages will ever arreſt the ardor of the Americans for extending their ſettlements. They all expect that the navigation of the Miſſiſippi becoming free, will ſoon open to them the markets of the iſlands, and the Spaniſh colonies for the productions with which their country overflows. But the queſtion to be ſolved is, whether the Spaniards will open this navigation willingly,* or whether the Americans will force it. A kind of negociation has been carried on, without effect for four years; and it is ſuppoſed, that certain States, fearing to loſe their inhabitants by emigration to the Weſt, have, in concert with the Spaniſh miniſter, oppoſed it; and that this concert gave riſe to a propoſition, that Spain ſhould ſhut up the navigation for twenty-five years, on condition that the Americans ſhould have a free commerce with Spain. Virginia and Maryland, though they had more to fear from this emigration than the other States, were oppoſed to this propoſition, as derogatory to the honor of the United States; and a majority of Congreſs adopted the ſentiment.

A degree of diffidence, which the inhabitants of the Weſt have ſhewn relative to the ſecret deſigns of Congreſs, has induced many people to believe, that the union would not exiſt a long time between the old and new States; and this probability of a rupture they ſay, is ſtrengthened by ſome endeavors of the Engliſh in Canada to attach the Weſtern ſettlers to the Engliſh government.

But a number of reaſons determine me to believe, that the preſent union will for ever ſubſiſt. A great part of the property of the Weſtern land belongs to people of the Eaſt; the unceaſing emigrations ſerve perpetually to ſtrengthen their connexions; and as it is for the intereſt both

* *They have done it. It is now open,* 1797.

of the East and the West, to open an extensive commerce with South-America, and to overleap the Missisippi; they must, and will, remain united for the accomplishment of this object.

The Western inhabitants are convinced that this navigation cannot remain a long time closed. They are determined to open it by good will or by force; and it would not be in the power of Congress to moderate their ardour. Men who have shook off the yoke of Great-Britain, and who are masters of the Ohio and the Missisippi, cannot conceive that the insolence of a handful of Spaniards can think of shutting rivers and seas against an hundred thousand free Americans. The slightest quarrel will be sufficient to throw them into a flame; and if ever the Americans should march towards New-Orleans, it will infallibly fall into their hand. The Spaniards fear this moment; and it can ot be far off. If they had the policy to open the Missisippi, the port of New Orleans would become the centre of a lucrative commerce. But her narrow and superstitious policy will oppose it; for she fears, above all things, the communication of those principles of independence, which the Americans preach wherever they go; and to which their own success gives an additional weight.

In order to avert the effects of this enterprizing character of the free Americans, the Spanish government has adopted the pitiful project of attracting them to a settlement on the west of the Missisippi;* by granting to those who shall establish themselves there, the exclusive right of trading to New-Orleans. This colony is the first foundation of the conquest of Louisiana, and of the civilization of Mexico and Peru.

How desirable it is for the happiness of the human race, that this communication should ex-

* *Col. Morgan is at the head of this settlement.*

tend! for cultivation and population here, will augment the prosperity of the manufacturing nations of Europe. The French and Spaniards settled at the Natches, on the most fertile soil, have not, for a century, cultivated a single acre; while the Americans, who have lately made a settlement there, have at present three thousand farms of four hundred acres each; which furnish the greater part of the provisions for New Orleans. O Liberty! how great is thy empire; thou createst industry, which vivifies the dead.

I transport myself sometimes in imagination to the succeeding century. I see this whole extent of continent, from Canada to Quito, covered with cultivated fields, little villages, and country houses.* I see Happiness and Industry, smiling side by side; Beauty adorning the daughter of Nature; Liberty and Morals rendering almost useless the coercion of Government and Laws; and gentle Tolerance taking place of the ferocious Inquisition. I see Mexicans, Peruvians, men of the United States, Frenchmen, and Canadians, embracing each other, cursing tyrants, and blessing the reign of Liberty, which leads to universal harmony. But the mines, the slaves, what is to become of them? The mines will be closed, and the slaves will become the brothers of their masters. As to gold, it is degrading to a free country to dig for it, unless it can be done without slaves: and a free people cannot want for signs to serve as a medium in exchanging their commodities. Gold has always served more the cause of despotism than that of liberty; and lib-

* *America will never have enormous cities like London and Paris; which would absorb the means of industry, and vitiate morals. Hence it will result, that property will be more equally divided, population greater, manners less corrupted, and industry and happiness more universal.*

erty will always find less dangerous agents to serve in its place.

Our speculators in Europe are far from imagining that two revolutions are preparing on this continent, which will totally overturn the ideas and the commerce of the old: the opening a canal of communication between the two oceans, and abandoning the mines of Peru. Let the imagination of the philosopher contemplate the consequences. They cannot but be happy for the human race.

Finis.