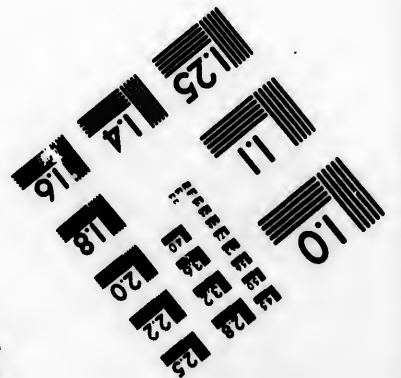
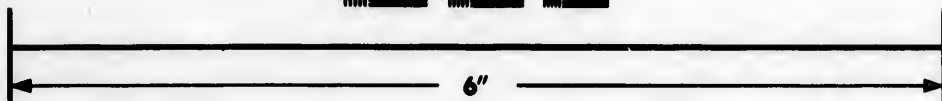
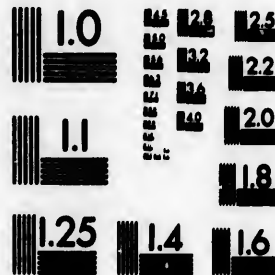


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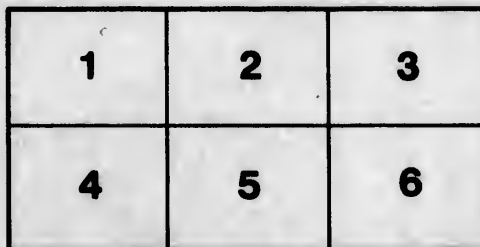
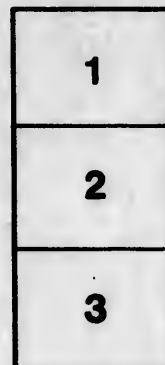
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Number 1

The Doge of Venice marrying the Adriatic

Published Decr 1. 1787. by B. Newbery, corner of S^t Pauls.

p. 6.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE MOST CELEBRATED
VOYAGES,
TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES,
FROM THE
TIME OF COLUMBUS
TO THE
PRESENT PERIOD.

"Non opis inde tulle cetero sedula feras." Ovid.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.

VOL. XIX.

LONDON.

PRINTED FOR R. NEWBERRY,
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1797.

the Admiralty
p. 6.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE VOYAGES

AND DISCOVERIES

IN THE NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN

BY

JOHN W. COLEMAN

TO

THE PRESIDENT

OF THE

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

AND

BY WILLIAM H. HALL

NEW YORK

1855

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VIEW OF
SOCIETY AND MANNERS,

IN

ITALY,

BY

JOHN MOORE, M.D.

IN our last volume, we took leave of our very agreeable traveller at Vienna, after passing through France, Switzeiland, and Germany. We now resume his narrative, and present our readers with his most striking remarks on Italy.

Having quitted Vienna, they proceeded through the duchies of Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, to Venice. Mountainous as these countries are, the roads are remarkably good, and formed of the most durable materials. Wood prevails on the mountains; and many valleys and fields are fit for pasturage, or the produce of grain.

The bowels of the earth are replete with metals and minerals. Stirian steel is in high repute; and the little town of Idra, in Carniola, is famous for the mines of quicksilver in its vicinity.

The inns are as bad as the roads are good; for which reason they travelled five days and nights

REVIEW OF SOCIETY

successively, without stopping at any of them longer than was necessary to change horses.

This mode of travelling was little favourable for giving Dr. Moore an opportunity of describing the country or the manners of the inhabitants; accordingly, he does not attempt it.

Among other curiosities, which their expeditious movements prevented them from observing, was the town of Gratz, the capital of Stiria, which they passed in the night. Our author says, he regretted this the more, as here is the shrine of St. Allan, an Englishman, formerly a Dominican monk, in a convent of this town, and in high favour with the Virgin Mary, of which she gave some extraordinary proofs.

Among other marks of her regard, it is said she used to comfort him with milk from her breasts; and strange as this legend may appear, they are not ashamed to record it in an inscription under a portrait of the saint, which is carefully preserved in the Dominican convent.

They pursued their journey with the full resolution of reaching Venice before they indulged in any other bed save the post chaise. However, they were unexpectedly detained at the small town of Wipach, in Carniola, for want of horses.

It seems the archduke and his duchess, on their return to Milan, had left Vienna eight days before our travellers; but by making a diversion to Trieste, all the post horses had been assembled for their use; and our travellers, who thought themselves clear from this interruption, were involved in its consequences to a very unpleasant degree.

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It began to grow dark as they arrived, and the post-master was smoking his pipe at the door. As soon as the chaise stopped, they called out to him to get ready the horses, without loss of time, as they could not stay a moment. To this he coolly replied, that since they were in such a great hurry, he did not wish to detain them, but that he had no horses for their use. On being questioned when they could be procured, he replied, when they returned from attending the archduke; but when that would happen, he knew not.

Finding it impossible to get on, they resolved to make a virtue of necessity, and stepping out of the carriage, ordered the post-master to get ready beds, a good supper, and some of his best wine. Instead of receiving these orders with respect, he answered, that he had no wine but for his own drinking; that he never gave suppers to any but his own family; and that he had no bed except for himself, his wife, and his child, and which could not easily hold more than three at a time.

They now perceived that this cavalier gentleman did not keep an inn, and with some slight apology for the mistake, begged he would direct them to one. He pointed with his pipe to a small house opposite, where they found every room so full, that it was impossible to receive more company, and all the victuals consumed.

In this dilemma they returned to the post-master, informing him of their bad success, and begging to know how they were to dispose of themselves for the night. He replied, with stoical composure, that was more than he could tell; and

and as the evening was cold, and it began to rain, he took his leave, and shut the door upon them.

In this forlorn condition, an Italian servant of the Duke of Hamilton's, who seldom wanted a resource in times of difficulty, shrugging up his shoulders, and repeating the Italian proverb, "A hundred hours of vexation will not pay one farthing of debt," led our author to a convent of monks, and having obtained admission to the superior, told him in a few words how they were situated.

The veperable father heard him with an air of benevolence; and, after some expressions of concern for the treatment they had met with, conducted them to a poor house, occupied by a widow and her children. The widow immediately offered the best entertainment in her power; and furnished them with a comfortable supper of four kroust and sallad. Her wine was good, and the beds excellent; in a word, they were perfectly reconciled to the widow's hovel and homely fare, and found that hardship or difficulty is sometimes necessary to give a zest to enjoyment.

In the morning they understood that the poor woman had sat up all night with her children, that they might be accommodated with beds. However, she had no reason to repent her hospitality; and gratitude making her loud in her praises of our countrymen's generosity, the tale came to the ears of the post-master, and induced him to make an effort to drag the chaises as far as Goritia.

This business was performed by three cart-horses, some oxen, and occasionally buffaloes. Of the latter they have a hardy, docile breed in this country, which are thought preferable to

horses or oxen, for various purposes of agriculture.

When they arrived at Goritia, they found the inhabitants all in their holliday dresses, waiting with impatience for a sight of the grand duke and duchess. Here their difficulties were renewed; but when their highnesses arrived, they had the politeness to order that the Duke of Hamilton should have what post horses he wanted.

Their next post was within the confines of the Venetian state, where they found orders to the same effect as in other places they had lately passed. The Italian servant, thinking it would save time to assume a new character, ordered horses in the name of the grand duke, and was instantly obeyed; but his highness's butler and cook arriving soon after, told a different tale.

In consequence couriers were dispatched, one of whom overtook them, and charging them with imposture, in the name of the magistrates, ordered the postillions to drive back. Some *strong* arguments, however, silenced the courier, and forced the postillions to proceed.

They passed that night at Mestre, five miles from Venice. Next morning they hired a boat, and soon landed in the middle of that delightful city. They took up their lodgings at an inn, on the side of the great canal*.

A few days after their arrival at Venice, they met the archduke and duchess at the house of the

* The late revolution in the republic of Venice has, perhaps, wholly altered the face of affairs there; nevertheless, a short account of the history, government, and manners, of a state which subsisted for fourteen centuries, can never be uninteresting to the learned and inquisitive.

imperial ambassador, and entertained them with the adventure in which their cook and butler had a share. The company consisted entirely of foreigners; none of the Venetian nobility ever visiting the ministers of other courts.

Next day the Duke of Hamilton, accompanied by the archduke and duchess, several Venetian ladies of the first distinction, and a deputation from the senate, visited the arsenal. This fortification is between two and three miles in circumference, and has many little watch-towers on the ramparts, where sentinels are stationed.

Here the Venetians build their ships, cast their cannon, and make their cables. The arms are arranged in large rooms, divided into narrow walks by long walls of muskets, pikes, and halberds.

After seeing a cannon cast, the company were conducted on board the Bucentaur, or state vessel, in which the doge is carried to espouse the Adriatic. It is finely gilt and ornamented within, and loaded on the outside with emblematic figures in sculpture.

The ceremony of marrying the Adriatic is performed every ascension day. The morning is ushered in by ringing of bells and firing of cannon. About noon, the doge, attended by a numerous party of the senate and the clergy, goes on board the Bucentaur, round which a number of splendid yachts and gondolas row, with bands of music, to St. Lido, a small island about two miles from Venice. Prayers are then said, after which the doge drops a ring into the sea, with these words, "Desponsamus te, Mare, in signum veri, perpetui que dominii."

The sea, like a modest bride, of course assents by silence, and the marriage is deemed valid and secure, to all intents and purposes.

After a view of every thing in the arsenal, the company were invited on board some boats, prepared for their reception. They were then rowed to that part of the lake which commands the most advantageous prospect of Venice, accompanied by music. In fine, the amusements of this day had all the advantage of novelty to strangers, and every additional charm which attention and politeness could give.

Though this was not the season of any of the public solemnities, which draw strangers to Venice, yet the presence of the archduke and duchess attracted numbers of the nobility to Venice, and gave our travellers an opportunity of seeing several things to the best advantage.

They next visited the isle of Murano, about a mile from Venice. This was once a very flourishing place, and still boasts some palaces, which bear the marks of their former magnificence.

The great manufactories of glass, however, are the only inducement which strangers have to visit this place. They saw a very fine plate for a mirror blown in their presence; and were astonished at the dexterity of the workmen, and the success of their practice.

This manufactory formerly served all Europe with looking-glasses; and the quantity made here is still very considerable, though the French and English have become powerful rivals, and withdrawn much of the original trade in this article from the Venetians.

They have not yet adopted the mode of casting, which seems a much easier process: the Murano mirrors are all blown like glass bottles.

Besides large plates, an infinite quantity of glass trinkets, of all shapes and colours, are made here. Women of inferior rank wear them as ornaments and for rosaries; and various articles of decoration are moulded in glass for houses and churches.

After the departure of the archduke and duchess, they spent their time principally at the houses of the foreign ambassadors. They were once present at a conversation, at the Spanish ambassador's, which might have passed for a pantomime. The ambassador, his lady, and daughters, spoke no language but Spanish, and none of the company understood that tongue, except a son of the Duke of Berwick.

Hearing that the celebrated Edward Wortley Montague, Esq. resided at Venice, they had the curiosity to wait upon him. He met them at the head of the stairs, and led them through some apartments, furnished in the Venetian style, into an inner room in the Turkish taste.

Having desired his visitors to seat themselves on a sofa, he placed himself on a cushion on the floor, with his legs crossed. A black slave sat by him, and a venerable man, with a long beard, served them with coffee.

After this collation, some aromatic gums were brought in, and burnt in a little silver vessel. Mr. Montague held his nose over it for some minutes, and snuffed up the perfume with peculiar delight; after which he endeavoured to collect the smoke with his hands, spreading and rubbing it

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it over his beard, which hung in hoary ringlets to his girdle.

They had much conversation with this eccentric man, whom they found to the last degree acute, communicative, and entertaining; blending the vivacity of a Frenchman with the gravity of a Turk.

His predilection for Turkish characters and manners was extreme. He described the Turks in general as people of great sense and integrity, the most hospitable, generous, and happiest of mankind. He talked of returning, as soon as possible to Egypt, which he painted as a perfect paradise.

Though Mr. Montague seldom stirred abroad, he had the politeness to return the Duke of Hamilton's visit, and as they were not furnished with a cushion, he placed himself cross-legged on the sofa. This posture, by long habit, was become most agreeable to him; and indeed, he seemed to cherish the same opinion with regard to all the customs which prevail among the Turks. He defended the practice of polygamy, and maintained, that not one Turk in a thousand would go to the Christian heaven, if he had it in his choice.

If the situation of Venice, wholly surrounded by water, renders it a curious object, it certainly does not add to the pleasure of living in it. Here there are neither green fields to walk or ride in, the fragrance of herbs, nor the melody of birds; but when a person wishes to take the air, he must submit to be paddled about in a boat, along dirty canals, or confine himself to walk in St. Mark's Place.

The lake, or shallow of the sea, on which Venice stands, is a kind of small inner gulph, separated

rated from a larger one by some islands at a few miles distance. These islands, in a great measure, break the force of the Adriatic storms, before they reach the Laguna; yet still, in very high winds, the navigation is dangerous to gondolas, and sometimes the gondoleers do not trust themselves even on the canals in the city.

The number of inhabitants is computed at one hundred and fifty thousand. The streets in general are narrow; so are the canals, except the grand one, which serpentinizes through the middle of the city.

Several hundred bridges are to be seen in Venice; but, in general, they consist of single arches, and are mean enough. The Rialto, however, is of immense span, and is constructed of marble. This celebrated arch is ninety feet wide on the level of the canal, and twenty-four high. Its beauty is impaired by two rows of booths, or shops, which divide its upper surface into three narrow streets.

The view from the Rialto is equally lively and magnificent, including the grand canal, covered with boats and gondolas, and flanked on each side with magnificent palaces, churches and spires.

As the only agreeable view in Venice, is from the grand canal; so the only tolerable walking-place is the Piazza di St. Marco. This is a kind of irregular quadrangle, formed by a number of buildings, all singular in their kind, and very different from each other.

Among these, the ducal palace, the church of St. Mark, that of St. Geminiano, the museum, the public library, and several other edifices, all constructed of marble, claim particular notice.

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There is an opening from St. Mark's place to the sea, on which stand two lofty pillars of granite. Criminals, condemned to public punishment, suffer between these pillars; on the top of one of which is a lion with wings, and on the other, a saint.

At one corner of St. Mark's church, contiguous to the palace, are two statues of Adam and Eve. Near a range of buildings, called the New Procuratie, stands the steeple of St. Mark, a quadrangular tower, about three hundred feet in height. It seems, this state of disunion between the church and steeple is not uncommon in Italy, though some think they should be as inseparable as a man and his wife.

A few paces from the church are three tall poles, on which ensigns are raised on days of public rejoicing. These standards are in memory of the three kingdoms of Cyprus, Candia, and Negropont, which once belonged to the republic, the three crowns of which are still kept in the ducal palace.

At the bottom of the tower of St. Mark is a small neat marble building, called the Loggia, where some of the procurators of St. Mark constantly attend to do business.

The patriarchal church of St. Mark is of mixed architecture, though principally Gothic. It is, unquestionably, one of the richest and most expensive in the world; yet our author says it does not much strike the eye at first. The pillars are all of marble, and the outside, inside, ceiling, and paving, are all of the same costly material. The whole is crowned by five domes; and the front has five brass gates, with historical bas-reliefs. Over the grand gate are placed the four famous bronze

There

bronze horses, said to be the workmanship of Lycippus. They were given to the emperor Nero by Tiridates, king of Armenia. Nero placed them on the triumphal arch consecrated to him; they were afterwards removed to the Hippodrome of Constantinople, and when that city was taken by the French and Venetians, in the thirteenth century, they were brought to Venice, and placed in their present situation.

The treasury of St. Mark is extremely rich in jewels and relics. Among other articles, it contains eight pillars from Solomon's temple, a piece of the Virgin Mary's veil, some of her hair and milk; the knife used by our Saviour at the last supper, one of the nails of his cross, and a few drops of his blood.

After these, it would be impertinent to enumerate the bones, and other relics of saints and martyrs, of which there is a plentiful show; and still more so, to make out an inventory of the temporal jewels kept here. One singular curiosity, however, deserves mention: it is a picture of the Virgin by St. Luke, which proves that the evangelist was but a miserable dauber, and that the pious Catholics sometimes defame those they mean to honour, by ascribing such silly performances to them.

The ducal palace is an immense building, wholly of marble. Besides the apartments of the doge, it contains halls and chambers for the senate, and all the different councils and tribunals.

The principal stair-case is called the Giant's Stair, from two colossal statues of Mars and Neptune, placed atop. They are of white marble, and sculptured by Sansovino, on purpose to represent the naval and military powers of this state.

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Under the porticos, which lead to this staircase, are the gaping mouths of lions, to receive anonymous letters and accusations.

The ducal apartments are ornamented by the pencils of Titian, Paul Veronese, Tintoret, Palma, the Bassans, and other painters. The Rape of Europa, and the Storming of Zara, by Paul Veronese, are highly esteemed. Many of the subjects are taken from the history of Venice. Within the palace is a small arsenal, which communicates with the hall of the great council. Here a great number of muskets are kept, ready charged, with which the nobles may arm themselves, on any sudden emergency.

The lower gallery, or the piazza under the palace, is called the Broglio. In this the noble Venetians walk and converse, and it is only here, or at council, that they associate, lest they should give umbrage to the state inquisitors. Persons of inferior rank seldom remain on the Broglio, when the place is occupied by the nobility.

Though St. Mark's place is the only morning lounge in this city, yet it is chiefly in the evening that it is filled. At that season, in fine weather, there is an immense jumble of all ranks, professions and nations assembled here; some in masks, and some impudent enough to seek no disguise.

When the piazza is illuminated, and the shops in the adjacent streets lighted up, the whole has a brilliant effect; and as it is the custom for the ladies, as well as the gentlemen, to frequent the casinos and coffee-houses round, the place of St. Mark answers all the purposes of our Vauxhall, or Ranelagh.

Venice claims no importance from ancient history: it boasts no connection with the Roman empire, and whatever its annals offer worthy of the attention of mankind, is independent of the prejudice which scholars feel for the Roman name.

The independence of Venice was founded on the first law of human nature, and the undoubted rights of man. About the middle of the fifth century, when Europe exhibited one continued scene of violence and bloodshed, a hatred of tyranny and a love of liberty prompted the Venetians, and some few of their neighbours, to seek an asylum from the fury of Attila, among the little islands and marshes at the bottom of the Adriatic gulph.

Before this time, a few fishermen had erected their huts on one of these islands; called the Rialto. The city of Padua, with a view to draw commercial advantages from the establishment, encouraged some of her inhabitants to settle there; and when Attila had taken and destroyed Aquileia, great numbers fled to Rialto, whose size being augmented, assumed the name of Venice, from the district that was the native place of the earliest refugees.

Such was the beginning of this celebrated republic, and though Padua at first seems to have claimed some jurisdiction over it, the Venetians speedily threw off all dependence on this neighbouring state.

The irruption of the Lombards into Italy, drove many new settlers to Venice; and the conquerors thought proper to leave this little state at liberty, and even entered into treaties with it.

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When Charlemagne overturned the dominion of the Lombards, and sent their king a prisoner to France, the Venetian state cultivated the friendship of that great monarch, and obtained a confirmation of all their treaties with the Lombards, by which, among other things, the limits between the two states were ascertained.

In the wars with the eastern empire, and in those of more modern date, between France and Austria, the constant object of the Venetians was to avoid embroiling themselves with either party; and when at length they began to excite the jealousy of the other states of Europe, they had acquired strength and revenues sufficient to resist, or political influence to divert the storm.

The republic of Venice, says Dr. Moore, in its various periods of increase, of meridian splendor, and of declension, has already existed for a longer time than any other of which history makes mention. The Venetians themselves assert, that this duration is owing to the excellent materials of which their government has been composed, by which, they imagine, it has been brought to the greatest possible degree of perfection.

At first it was purely democratical; but after the state became in some measure rich and populous, a more vigorous constitution was found necessary, and Paul Luc Anafeste was elected duke, or doge, in 697. This office has been continued to the present time, with partial interruptions and modifications. Several tribunals, however, have been added to balance his power; and such is the jealousy of this government, that all private intercourse is of necessity suspended, and one acts as a spy on another. The people do not even possess the shadow of power; a tyrannical aristocracy has

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has usurped the whole authority, and exercise it in a manner, which is more inimical to their own happiness than that of the people.

No government, says Dr. Moore, was ever more punctual and impartial, than that of Venice, in the execution of the laws. This was thought essential to the very existence of the state; and to this consideration, all respect for individuals, and all private feelings are sacrificed. To execute law with all the rigour of justice, is considered as the chief virtue of a judge; and as there are cases in which the sternest heart may relent, the Venetians have taken care to appoint certain magistrates, whose sole business it is to see that others perform their duty.

The punctual execution of the laws, certainly ought to be an object in every government; but cases may occur in which some mitigation may be found consistent with policy, as well as justice and humanity. The stern, the inflexible rigour of the Venetian laws, rather freeze with horror than excite admiration.

In the year 1400, when Antonio Venier was doge, his son having committed an offence, which evidently sprung from mere juvenile levity, was condemned in a fine of one hundred ducats, and ordered to be imprisoned for a certain period.

While the youth was under his sentence in prison, he fell sick, and petitioned to be removed to a purer air. The doge rejected his request, declaring that the sentence must be literally executed, and that his son must take the fortune of others. He was much beloved, and many applications were made in his favour. The father, however, was inexorable, and the son died in prison. This man may gain the praise of justice,

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justice, but he loses the far higher distinction of humanity: in short, we can neither love the magistrate nor the man who could lead to such a catastrophe.

Carlo Zeno was accused by the council of ten, of having received a sum of money from the son of the seignior of Padua, contrary to an express law, which forbids all subjects of Venice from accepting any salary, pension, or gratification from a foreign prince or state.

This accusation was grounded on a vague statement, found in a written document; when Padua was taken by the Venetians, Carlo Zeno maintained, in his defence, that when he was governor of the Milanese, he had visited the person, with whom he was said to be connected, in prison, and finding him in want of common necessities, had advanced four hundred ducats for his relief, which he admitted had been afterwards repaid.

Zeno was a man of unimpeached veracity, and of the highest reputation: he had commanded the fleets and armies of the state, with the most brilliant success; but no consideration could divert the court from its usual severity. They owned, that, from Zeno's usual integrity, there was no reason to doubt the truth of his declaration; but that the assertions of an accused person were not sufficient to efface the force of the presumptive evidence that appeared against him; and that it was of more importance to the state, to intimidate, even from the appearance of such a crime, than to suffer a person, against whom a presumption of guilt remained, to escape, however innocent.

The merits, the services of Zeno were forgot: he was removed from all his offices, and sentenced to an imprisonment of two years.

Numerous other instances, and some still more affecting, of the odious inflexibility of the Venetian courts, might be produced. Mercy, indeed, is little known here. The story of Foscarei, son of the doge of that name, harrows up the very soul. He was taken up on suspicion of having assassinated one of the council of ten. As it was impossible for him to prove that he had no concern in the murder, or for his accusers to substantiate his guilt, he was condemned to banishment in Candia. The soul of Foscarei was formed for friendship, and the reciprocal endearments of social life; he importuned his family and friends, for five years, to intercede for his return to his country. At last, despairing of their interposition, he addressed a letter to the Duke of Milan, requesting his powerful assistance, well knowing that the bearer would carry it to the council of ten, and that the consequence would be a recal to a new trial.

By a law of Venice, every subject is forbid claiming the protection of foreign princes, in any thing relative to the government of Venice. Foscarei, when put upon his trial, avowed that he had long been languishing for a fight of his relations; and that he had taken this step, solely with a view of obtaining that happiness.

His judges made no allowance for his feelings, or those of his family. He was condemned to be carried back to Candia, to be imprisoned for a year, and to remain banished to that island for life. Before he was sent again on ship board, his wretched father and mother had an interview with

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with him in the ducal palace. The father had held the office of doge above thirty years, and was in extreme old age. When conjured by his son, by every tie on heaven or earth, to use his influence with the council to procure a mitigation of his sentence, that he might not die the most cruel of all deaths, under the slow tortures of a broken heart, at a distance from all he loved; the father had courage to reply, "My son, submit to the laws of your country, and do not ask of me what is not in my power to obtain." He could support himself no longer. He tore himself from his son, and fell into insensibility. What his mother felt has never been described, because no words can paint the anguish of such a separation.

The accumulated misery of those unhappy parents, touched the hearts of some of the most powerful senators; and young Foscarei was on the point of obtaining a plenary pardon, when the melancholy news of his having died in prison, soon after his return, reached his native city.

Some years after, a noble Venetian, in the agonies of death, confessed that he had committed the murder for which the unhappy family of Foscarei had suffered so much. The doge soon after breathed his last; but he had the satisfaction to leave the world with the pleasing idea that the innocence of his son was made manifest to the world.

"The ways of heaven," says Dr. Moore, "never appeared more dark and intricate than in the incidents and catastrophe of this mournful story. To reconcile the permission of such events to our ideas of infinite power and goodness, however difficult, is a natural attempt in the human mind, and has exercised the ingenuity of philosophers in

all ages; while in the eyes of the true Christian, those seeming perplexities afford an additional proof, that there will be a future state, in which the ways of God to man will be fully justified."

Considering the size of Venice, it seems extraordinary that there should be eight or nine theatres, including the opera houses. A small sum is paid at the door, which entitles one to go into the pit, where he may look about and determine what part of the house he chuses to sit in.

There are rows of chairs placed in the front of the pit, with seats locked up to the back. Those who chuse to occupy them, pay a trifle more, and they are immediately unlocked. The back part of the pit is filled with footmen and gondoliers, in their common dresses.

The nobility and principal citizens have boxes retained by the year; but strangers are never at a loss. The price of admittance varies according to the season of the year, and the piece to be performed.

Many of the boxes are so dark, that the faces of the company can hardly be distinguished in them at a little distance, even when they do not wear masks. The stage, however, is so well illuminated, that people in the boxes can see perfectly every thing transacted there. Between the acts, the company walk about, particularly the ladies with their Cavalieri Serventes. As they are masked, they do not scruple to reconnoitre the company with their spying glasses.

The music of the opera is here reckoned very fine. The dramatic and poetical parts of those pieces are little regarded; and the poet is no farther valued than as he makes his words a vehicle for the music. The celebrated Metastasio, how-

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ever, has disdained to sink himself so low. He has preserved the alliance which ought always to subsist between sense and sound.

"The music of the serious opera," says our traveller, "is infinitely too fine for my ear: to my shame, I must confess that it requires a considerable effort for me to sit till the end.

"It is surely happy for a man to have a real sensibility for fine music, because he has a source of delight which many do not possess. It is, however, silly and absurd to affect a pleasure in things which nature has not framed us to enjoy; yet, how often do we see people doing painful penance, and expressing raptures, while they cannot conceal their yawnings. This is taking trouble to render one's self ridiculous; and it is matter of real curiosity to observe, in how many various shapes affectation shews itself among mankind."

At the comic opera, our author informs us, that he has frequently seen the action alone excite the highest applause, independent of either poetry or music. He saw a duo performed by an old man and a young woman, supposed to be his daughter, in such a humorous manner, as drew an universal encore from the spectators. The merit of the musical part of the composition was very small; and as for the sentiment, it was as trite as possible; but expressed in a manner that rendered it highly ludicrous.

The dancing is an essential part of the opera every where; and there is certainly a greater proportion of mankind deaf to the charms of fine music, than blind to the beauties of fine dancing. During the singing and the recitative part of the performance, the singers are often allowed to warble for a considerable time without attracting

notice; but no sooner does the ballet begin, than the eyes of all the spectators are fixed on the stage.

Dr. Moore says he had been long taught to consider the Italian comedy as the most despicable stuff in the world, which could neither amuse nor draw a smile from any person of taste, being destitute of true humour, full of ribaldry, and only fit for the lowest vulgar. Impressed with these sentiments, and eager to give the Duke of Hamilton a proof of their justice, they went, early after their arrival, to one of the play-houses at Venice.

The piece was a comedy, and the most entertaining character was a stutterer. Disgusted at such a pitiful substitution for wit and humour, he expressed a contempt for an audience which could be entertained by such buffoonery, and who could take pleasure in seeing a natural infirmity ridiculed.

While they were thus indulging sentiments of self approbation, at the refinement and superiority of their own taste, the stutterer was giving a piece of information to Harlequin, which greatly interested him, and to which he listened with the most attentive eagerness. This unfortunate speaker had arrived at the most important part of his narrative, which was to acquaint the patient listener where his mistress was concealed, when he unluckily stumbled on a sesquipedalian word, which completely obstructed the progress of his narration. He attempted it again and again without success. Harlequin presented his friend with a dozen words which might have expressed his meaning; but the stammerer rejected them with disdain. At length, making a desperate effort, he seemed quite choked: he gaped, he panted,

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panted and croaked; his face flushed, and his eyes seemed ready to burst from his head.

Harlequin unbuttoned his friend's waistcoat and the neck of his shirt, fanned his face with his cap, and applied a smelling bottle to his nose. At length, fearing his patient would expire before he could give the wished-for intelligence, in a fit of despair, he pitched his head full in the dying man's stomach, and the word bolted out of his mouth, to the most distant parts of the house.

This was performed with such humorous absurdity, that our author, as well as his companions, could refrain no longer. An excessive fit of laughter shook the play-house; and the Duke of Hamilton asked his mentor, if he was as much convinced as ever, that a man must be perfectly devoid of taste, who would condescend to laugh at an Italian comedy?

To superficial politicians it may appear matter of surprise, that a government, so very jealous of power as that of Venice, should have no military establishment, within the walls, to support the executive, and repress any popular commotion; but, upon due reflection, it is evident, that this very jealousy prevents the establishment of a military garrison. The doge would not be trusted with the command; the state inquisitors are too frequently changing, to be able to gain the affections of the soldiery; and, perhaps, it might not be difficult for a few rich and powerful nobles to corrupt the soldiery, and throw the state into confusion.

But though there is no formal garrison in military uniform, there is a real effective force, sufficient to suppress any popular commotion, at the command of the senate and the council of ten.

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This force, exclusive of the *sbirri*, consists of a number of stout fellows, who, without any distinguishing dress, are kept in the pay of government. There is also the whole band of gondoliers, the most hardy and daring race of men in the state. This body is much attached to the nobility, from whom they have most of their employment; many are in the service of particular nobles, and, it is probable, they would side with their masters, on any emergency that required their services.

There is, unquestionably, much finesse and contrivance in the formation of the political constitution of Venice*; but our author thinks, it would have been more admirable, if the council of ten and the state inquisitors had never formed any part of it. In some respects, this system is worse than the fixed and permanent tyranny of one person; for that person's character and maxims would be known, and by endeavouring to conform to his way of thinking, people might have some chance of living unmolested; whereas, according to this plan, they have a freethinker for their tyrant to-day, and a bigot to-morrow. Thus an universal fear and jealousy must prevail; and precautions will be used to avoid the suspicions of government, unknown in any other country.

The Venetians neither associate with foreign ambassadors, nor with foreigners of any kind. It is even dangerous for a man of rank to possess too much the love and confidence of his own coun-

* These speculations are now become obsolete; for, whatever Venice may become, there is little reason to apprehend it will return to its former government.

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trymen. This would infallibly exclude him from any share in the government, at least, from the high offices appertaining to it. Even ecclesiastics are excluded from any place in the senate, or from holding any civil office; nor are they permitted to meddle directly, or indirectly, in state affairs. Most of the benefices are filled up by the doge and senate.

Notwithstanding the despotism of the various courts, the citizens live in comfort, and have frequently the means of procuring independence. Private property is no where better secured than at Venice; and her commerce is still very considerable, though the defalcations in this respect are immense.

The manufactories here employ all the industrious poor, and prevent that squalid beggary and dishonesty, so common in other states of Europe. The subjects on the Terra Firma are by no means oppressed, nor are the podestas allowed to abuse their delegated powers.

But, says Dr. Moore, though jealousy is still the predominant principle in the state, that gloomy demon is now entirely banished from the bosoms of individuals. Instead of the confinement in which women were formerly kept at Venice, they now enjoy a degree of freedom unknown at Paris.

The husbands seem, at last, to have adopted the wise maxim, that the chastity of their wives is safest under their own guardianship; and that when a woman thinks her honour not worth her own regard, it is still more unworthy of his. This advantage, as well as many others, must arise from the present system; that when a husband believes his wife faithfully adheres to her conjugal engagement,

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engagement, he has the additional satisfaction of knowing that she acts from personal love, or the love of virtue; whereas, formerly, a Venetian could not be certain but that his wife's chastity was owing to spies, bolts, and padlocks.

The wretched plan of distrust and confinement has a strong tendency to debase the minds of both husband and wife; and of all the humble employments that ever the wretched sons of Adam submitted to, surely that of watching each other is the most perfectly humiliating.

Along with jealousy, poison and the stiletto have been banished from Venetian gallantry, and the mask is substituted in their place. This, it seems, is a more innocent disguise than is generally imagined. It is more frequently used as an apology for an undress, than with any intention to conceal the person who wears it. With a mask stuck in his hat, and a kind of black mantle, trimmed with lace of the same colour; over the shoulders, a man is sufficiently dressed for any assembly in Venice.

Those who walk the streets with masks, actually covering their faces, are either engaged in some amour, or wish to have it so believed; for, it seems, there is an affectation even in this respect.

The little apartments, near St. Mark's Place, called Cassino's, have long had the misfortune to labour under a bad reputation, and many tales of the profligacy of Venetian manners have been devised, from the appearances which are here exhibited; but our author thinks, that there is more invention than truth in what is reported respecting these places of fashionable resort, and
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he is certain, that the Venetians themselves do not credit the stories which foreigners propagate to their prejudice.

The opening before St. Mark's church, being the only place where a great number of people can assemble, it is the fashion to walk here a great part of the evening, to enjoy the music and other amusements; and though there are public coffee-houses, and the Venetian manners permit ladies, as well as gentlemen, to frequent them, it is natural to conclude, that the noble and more wealthy prefer little apartments of their own, where, being less exposed to intrusion, they may enjoy the pleasures of conversation, and entertain a few persons in a more easy and unceremonious manner than they could at their own houses. Instead, therefore, of going home to a formal supper, and afterwards returning to this scene of amusement, they order refreshments to be carried to the Casino.

Some writers, who assert that the Venetians are more profligate than other nations, at the same time maintain, that government encourages this profligacy, to relax and dissipate the minds of the people, in order to prevent them from concerning themselves about the affairs of state. This, if true, would be an extraordinary piece of refinement; but it is probably only imaginary. That the Venetians are more sensual than the inhabitants of several other capitals, would, perhaps, be difficult to prove; but as the state inquisitors never concern themselves with affairs of gallantry, and the ecclesiastical are not allowed to interfere; as the people often wear masks, and an immense concourse of strangers, are here assembled twice or thrice a year, the idea of concealment

cealment and intrigue has contributed greatly to give some people an impression of Venetian impurity.

"Were I to form an idea of the Venetians from what I have seen," says Dr. Moore, "I should paint them as a lively, ingenious people, extravagantly fond of public amusements, with an uncommon relish for humour; and yet more attached to the real enjoyments of life than to those which depend on ostentation, and proceed from vanity.

"The common people display some qualities which do them honour: they are remarkably sober, obliging to strangers, and gentle in their intercourse with each other. They are generally tall and well made, though less corpulent than the Germans. Their complexions are of a ruddy brown, with dark eyes. The women possess a fine style of countenance, with expressive features, and a skin of rich carnation. They dress their hair in a fanciful and becoming manner. In their address they are easy, and have no aversion to cultivate an acquaintance with those strangers who have been properly recommended to them.

"In fact, strangers seem to be under less restraint here than the natives; and many, who have tried all the capitals of Europe, have given the preference to Venice, on account of the variety of amusements, the gentle manners of the inhabitants, and the perfect freedom allowed in every thing, unconnected with the measures of government. When a stranger is guilty of any imprudence of this kind, he receives a message to quit the territories of the state, or one of the *sbirri* is sent to conduct him into the dominions of some neighbouring potentate.

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“The houses here seem well adapted to the Italian climate. The floors are of a kind of red plaster, with a brilliant glossy surface, much more beautiful than wood, and far preferable, in case of fire. The principal apartments are on the second floor. The first is generally devoted to lumber, as being liable to damp from the canals; and besides, the second is better lighted, and more cheerful, which renders it the most desirable for residence.”

Our travellers were detained longer at Venice than they intended, by excessive falls of rain, which rendered the road to Verona impassable. Relinquishing, therefore, the thoughts of visiting that city for the present, they determined to proceed to Ferrara by water.

Having crossed the Lagune, they entered the Brenta, but could pursue their route no farther by water than the village of Doglio, on account of a bridge which would not admit the barge. They, therefore, got into open chaises, and continued their journey along the banks of the Brenta to Padua.

Both sides of this river display gay, luxuriant scenes of magnificence and fertility, being ornamented with a variety of beautiful villas, the designs of Palladio and his disciples. The Venetian nobility, when at their country seats, it is said, entertain their friends with more freedom than at their palaces in town. It is, therefore, natural to suppose that they find themselves more happy, as being more remote from suspicion; and that they embrace, with pleasure, every opportunity of enjoying the charms of the country, and the sweets of liberty.

As one principal object of their journey to Padua, was to pay their respects to the Duke of Gloucester, they waited on that prince soon after their arrival. His highness had been very ill at Venice; but had removed here for the benefit of the air, and felt its good effects.

Padua exhibits many symptoms of decay. The greatest part of the circuit, within the walls, is unbuilt, and the population is so thin, that grass, in many places, fills up the interstices of the pavement. The houses are built on porticos, which, in their original destination, may have had an air of magnificence; but now only increase the deepness of the gloom.

The Franciscan church, dedicated to St. Antonio, the great patron of the city, contains the body of that holy person, inclosed in a sarcophagus, under an altar, in the middle of the chapel. It is said to emit a most agreeable flavour; but the heretics assert, that the cunning ecclesiastics rub the marble every morning with certain balsams, before the votaries come to pay their devotions.

Our author sarcastically remarks, "that if this sweet odour really proceeds from the holy Franciscan, he emits a different smell from any of the brethren of that order, whom I had ever an opportunity of approaching."

The walls of this church are covered with votive offerings, consisting of representations of almost every part of the human body, in gold or silver, in token of cures performed by the saint.

At a small distance from the church is the school of St. Antonio, in which many of his actions are painted in fresco; some of them by Titian. Many extraordinary miracles are recorded

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of this saint, One in particular, Dr. Moore thinks, if often repeated, might endanger the peace of families. The saint thought proper to endow a new-born child with the faculty of speech, when, with infantine impudence, it declared, in an audible voice, before a large company, who was its *real* father.

In short, the miracles attributed to this celebrated saint exceed in number and belief. On one occasion, when an impious Turk had placed fireworks under the chapel, with an intention to blow it up, they affirm, that St. Anthony hallooed three times from his marble coffin, which terrified the infidel, and discovered the plot. This miracle is the more miraculous, as the saint's tongue was cut out, and is actually preserved in a crystal vase, and shewn as a precious relic.

From the tower of the Franciscan church, they had a delightful view of the environs of Padua. All the distant objects seemed charming and flourishing; while every thing under their eyes, indicated wretchedness and decay.

The church of St. Justina, after the design of Palladio, is a most beautiful fabric. It is said to have been built on the spot where that saint suffered martyrdom. In front of the church is a wide area, called the Prato della Valle, where booths and shops are erected for all kinds of merchandise during the fair. Part of this space is never allowed to be profaned by traders, because it is believed, that many Christian martyrs suffered on the spot.

The ornaments of the church of St. Justina consist of Mosaic work of marble, of various colours, and of pictures. In relics it is peculiarly rich; and the Benedictines, to whom it belongs,

assert, that they are in possession of the bodies of the two evangelists, St. Matthew and St. Luke. The Franciscans, belonging to a convent at Venice, contest the second of these two great prizes, and the decision of the dispute has been submitted to the pope; but his holiness, notwithstanding his infallibility, has not been able to make either side withdraw their pretensions.

The hall of the town-house of Padua is very large. Its length is about three hundred feet, and breadth one hundred. It is ornamented with busts and statues of eminent persons. The cenotaph of Livy, who was a native of Padua, is erected here.

The university, once so celebrated, is like every thing else in Padua, much on the decline. The theatre for anatomy is very large, but little frequented. The licentious spirit of the students, which formerly rendered it dangerous to walk in the streets at night, is now entirely extinct. Their numbers being diminished, excesses could no longer be committed without detection; besides, most of the present students are designed for the priesthood.

A cloth manufactory is established in this city, and succeeds very well; but the immense number of beggars with which the place swarms, is a strong proof, that trade and manufactures, in general, are by no means in a flourishing condition.

"In the whole course of my life," says Dr. Moore, "I never saw such a number of beggars, at one time, as assailed us at the church of St. Antonio. The Duke of Hamilton gave all the money he had in his pocket to the clamorous multitude that surrounded him, on condition that they would hold their tongues and depart; but

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but, on the contrary, they became more numerous and vociferous than before. Strangers, who visit Padua, will do well, therefore, to observe the gospel injunction, and perform their charities in secret."

The natives of Padua are extremely fond of tracing the origin of their city to Antenor; and, accordingly, an old sarcophagus, with an unintelligible inscription on it, being dug up in 1283, they declared it to be the tomb of that illustrious Trojan, and placed it in one of the streets, surrounded with a balustrade, and a Latin inscription, to identify their hypothesis.

After a few days stay, they returned to Doglio, and visited some of the villas on the banks of the Brenta. The apartments were gay and spacious, and well adapted for summer; but none of them seemed calculated even for an Italian winter.

Having embarked in their little vessel, which they had left at Doglio, they entered a canal which communicates with the Po, and were drawn along at a pretty good rate by two horses. The banks of this famous river are luxuriantly fertile, and they frequently amused themselves with walking on this classical ground, keeping pace with their vessel.

"It is not surprising, says Dr. Moore, that the Po is so much celebrated by the Roman poets, since it is unquestionably the finest river in Italy,

Where every stream in heavenly numbers flows.

It seems to have been the favourite river of Virgil, and he frequently alludes to it in his immortal verse. Mr. Addison too, at sight of this stream, is inspired with a degree of enthusiasm, which does not always animate his poetry.

Fir'd with a thousand raptures, I survey
 Eridanus through flow'ry meadows stray:
 The king of floods! that, rolling o'er the plains,
 The tow'ring Alps of half their moisture drains,
 And proudly swoln, with a whole winter's snows,
 Distributes wealth and plenty where he flows.

Notwithstanding all that the Latin poets, and, in imitation of them, those of other nations, have sung of the Po, I am convinced, says Dr. Moore, that no river in the world has been sung so well as the Thames.

Thou too, great father of the British floods!
 With joyful pride survey'st our lofty woods;
 Where towering oaks their growing honours rear,
 And future navies on thy shores appear;
 Not Neptune's self from all her streams receives
 A wealthier tribute than to thine he gives.
 No seas so rich, so gay no banks appear,
 No lake so gentle, and no spring so clear:
 Not Po so swells the fabling poet's lays,
 While led along the skies his current strays,
 As thine, which visits Windsor's famed abodes. POPE.

Denham too, and various other poets of eminence, have paid their tribute of praise to the noblest of British rivers, and to the richest river in the universe.

The magnificence of the streets, and the number of fine buildings, shew that Ferrara has once been a flourishing and opulent city. The present inhabitants, however, bear every mark of poverty, and their number is small in proportion to the extent of the town.

The duchy of Ferrara was formerly governed by its own dukes, and falling under a succession of wise and benevolent princes, it became one of the happiest and most flourishing spots in Italy.

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In the year 1597, it was annexed to the papal see, and ever since has been gradually sinking into poverty and decay. Nothing, however, but some essential error in government could render a place, which enjoys so many local advantages as this, either poor or pitiable.

The citizens still retain an old privilege of wearing swords by their sides. This right extends to the lowest mechanics, who strut about with great dignity; and as swords are so much in fashion, so fencing is, by a natural consequence, in high repute here.

Ferrara was formerly famous for a manufactory of sword blades. The Scotch Highlanders, who were much attached to this weapon, and endeavoured to procure it in the utmost perfection, used to deal with a celebrated maker, named Andrew di Ferrara, and hence true tempered blades have obtained the general appellation among them of Andrew Ferraras.

In the Benedictine church here, Ariosto lies buried: The degree of importance, says Dr. Moore, in which men are held by their cotemporaries, and by posterity, is very different. This fine fanciful bard has done more honour to modern Italy, than one in fifty of the popes and princes, to which she has given birth; and while those, who were the gaze of the multitude during their lives, are now entirely forgotten, his fame increases with the lapse of time. In his life time, he probably derived importance, in the eyes of his countrymen, from the patronage of the house of Este; now he reflects a lustre, in the eyes of all Europe, on the illustrious names of his patrons, and the country where he was born.

The emperor, and two of his brothers, had lately lodged at the same inn where our travellers put up. The landlord was so vain of this honour, that he could not be brought to converse on any other subject; and he entertained them with a thousand anecdotes of his royal visitors. If asked what they could have for supper, the landlord would reply, that they should sup in the same room in which his imperial majesty dined. If they enquired when supper would be ready, he would answer, that the emperor preferred a fowl plain roasted, and that the archduke was fond of fricassée.

To perpetuate the memory of this event, of the emperor and his brothers having dined at his house, the half-frantic landlord had put up a pompous inscription over the door of his inn; and had, as far as was in his power, given a kind of immortality to those illustrious personages, out of the profits of a dinner and a night's lodging.

They left Ferrara with six horses to each chaise, on account of the badness of the roads. As they approached Bologna, the country gradually improved in cultivation, and, at last, became one continued garden.

The vineyards are not divided by hedges, but by rows of elms and mulberry trees, from which the vines hang in the most picturesque and beautiful manner. The soil is immensely rich and fertile, and hence has justly acquired the name of Bologna the Fat.

The town is well built and populous; the number of inhabitants amounting to seventy thousand and upwards. The houses in general have lofty porticoes, a luxury in this warm climate.

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The duchy of Bologna, which still retains the name of a republic, and sends an ambassador to the papal court, had several privileges granted to it, on submitting to the holy see. The civil government and police of the town are allowed to remain in the hands of the magistrates, who are chosen by the senate, originally consisting of forty persons; but since the republic came under the protection of the pope, of fifty.

The president of the senate is called the Gonfalonier, from his carrying the standard. He has guards to attend him during the two months he is in office, when another senator succeeds him, and so on in rotation.

In the midst of this affectation of independence, a cardinal legate, from Rome, governs Bologna, and the senate is a mere engine in his hands. His power continues for three years; and this is reckoned the most considerable dignity in the disposal of the pope.

This ecclesiastical viceroy lives in great magnificence, and has numerous attendants and guards. Though his superiority may be mortifying to the senators and nobles, yet the people have every appearance of living under a mild and beneficent government.

The inhabitants of Bologna carry on a considerable trade in silks and velvets. The country produces immense quantities of oil, wine, flax, and many rich hortulane productions. The common wine of the country is white and light, with an agreeable flavour.

Bologna contains many palaces, of which the Public is by far the most spacious, though not the most elegant. In this the cardinal legate is lodged. There are also apartments for the gonfalonier,

The

nier, and halls or chambers for some of the courts of justice. In this edifice are some celebrated productions of the pencil, particularly the Virgin and Infant, seated on a rainbow; and Sampson refreshing himself with the water which issues from the jaw-bone, with which he had just defeated the Philistines, both by Guido.

One of the most superb objects, however, in this town, is a noble marble fountain, in the area before the Palazzo Publico. The principal figure is a statue of Neptune, eleven feet high, with one hand stretched out, and the other holding the trident. Round this are figures of boys, dolphins, and syrens, all in bronze, and of the most masterly execution. The whole is the workmanship of Giovanni di Bologna, and is highly esteemed.

The university of Bologna is one of the most ancient and most celebrated seats of literature in Europe; and the academy for the arts and sciences, founded by Count Marsigli, is, of itself, sufficient to draw strangers to this place. Over the gate of this magnificent edifice is the subsequent liberal inscription:

BONONIENSE SCIENTIARUM ATQUE ARTIUM INSTITUTUM AD PUBLICUM TOTIUS ORBIS USUM*.

The library is large and valuable; and here, any person may study four hours daily. There are also apartments for the students of sculpture, painting, architecture, chymistry, anatomy, astronomy, and every branch of natural philosophy, with professors, who regularly read their lectures.

* The Bononian Academy of Arts and Sciences, for the general Use of the whole World.

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Honorary premiums are distributed every year among the most successful artists in painting, sculpture, and architecture.

The anatomical theatre is adorned with statues of celebrated physicians; and in the museum are abundance of anatomical preparations, and a complete suit of figures in wax. Our author, however, thinks the whole infinitely inferior to the noble museum of Dr. Hunter.

The church of St. Petronius is the largest in Bologna. On its pavement Cassini drew his meridian line, and within the walls of this same edifice Charles V. was crowned. A pious Catholic, however, values it more on account of the miracle performed here. A soldier being at play, and in danger of losing his money, offered up a very fervent prayer to the Virgin for better luck; but as her ladyship was not in a humour to listen to the supplications of a gambler, this furious wretch drew his sword, and wounded both the Virgin and the child. He instantly fell motionless to the ground, and in this state was carried to prison, where he was speedily condemned to an ignominious death. The sincerity of his repentance softened the Virgin, and she restored him to the use of his limbs, on which the judges took the hint, and granted him a full pardon. As a confirmation of this memorable event, they shew the identical sword with which the assault was made.

A Dominican convent, situated on the top of a hill, about three miles from this city, is in possession of a portrait of the Virgin by St. Luke, which is said to have wrought many miracles. How they came by this picture is little known, and it looks like heresy to be asking questions.

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A curious gallery, open to the south, and closed by a wall to the north, is built all the way from this city to the convent. On the open side it is supported by a long row of pillars, and was erected by voluntary contribution, in honour of the Virgin, and for the conveniency of pilgrims. Along this colonnade, the holy picture is brought once a year to visit the city, attended by an immense concourse of people, carrying wax tapers, bells ringing, and cannon firing.

The palaces of the Bolognese nobility are furnished in a magnificent taste, and contain paintings of great value. The galleries and apartments are spacious and fine; but in exactness in finishing are far inferior to many English houses.

Next to Rome itself, perhaps no city in the world is so rich in paintings as Bologna. The churches and palaces, besides many admired pieces by other masters, are full of the works of the eminent painters who were natives of this place.

"It requires no knowledge in the art of painting, no connoisseurship," says Dr. Moore, "to discover the beauties of Guido: all who have eyes and a heart, must see and feel them. The most admired picture of this master is in the Sampieri palace, and is distinguished by a silk curtain hanging before it. The subject is the Repentance of St. Peter, and consists of two figures, that of the saint, who weeps, and a young apostle, who endeavours to comfort him."

The only picture at Bologna, which can dispute celebrity with this, is that of St. Cecilia, in the church of St. Georgio in Monte. This is highly praised by Addison, and is reckoned one of Raphael's capital performances. Dr. Moore, however, candidly confesses, that he could not discover

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ver its superlative merit, and therefore excuses himself from expatiating on an art in which he does not pretend to judgment.

In their way to Ancona, they passed through Ravenna, an unpleasant town, though, at one time dignified with the seat of empire; for, when Attila left Italy, Valentinian preferred it to Rome for his residence, that he might be ready to repel the first inroads of the Huns, and other barbarians, who poured down the banks of the Danube.

For the same reason, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, kept his court here. The ruins of his palace and tomb now form part of the antiquities of Ravenna.

In their way they passed the river of Pisatello, the famous Rubicon, which lies between this town and Rimini, and was the ancient boundary between Italy and Cisalpine Gaul. No Roman could pass this in arms, without being deemed an enemy to his country. It is well known, however, that Cæsar passed it, and thus laid the foundation of the civil wars, which terminated in the destruction of the liberty of Rome.

Though Rimini is in a state of great decay, there are some monuments of antiquity in it worthy of attention. It is the ancient Arminium, the first town that Cæsar took possession of after passing the Rubicon. In the market-place is a kind of stone pedestal, with an inscription, indicating, that on it Cæsar stood and harangued his army; but history gives no confirmation of this.

They next passed through Pesaro, a pleasant town, with a handsome fountain in the market-place, and a statue of Pope Urban VIII. in a sitting posture.

In the churches of this town are some valuable paintings of Baroccio, who lived about the middle of the sixteenth century, and whose colours seem improved by age,

This road along the Adriatic is very agreeable. The next place they came to was Fanum, the ancient Fanum Fortunæ. However religious the Italian towns may be, they are all proud of some connection with the heathen divinities. An image of the goddess Fortune is erected on the fountain in the market-place, and the inhabitants shew some ruins, which they pretend belonged to the temple of that deity.

Here are also the remains of a triumphal arch, erected in white marble, in honour of Augustus.

The churches of this town are adorned with some excellent pictures. The marriage of Joseph, by Guercino, is peculiarly admired.

A few miles beyond Fano, they crossed the river Metro, where Claudius Nero defeated Asdrubal. This was, perhaps, the most important victory ever gained by a Roman general, as it prevented a junction between Asdrubal and his brother, and perhaps prevented a termination being put to the Roman state.

They next came to Senegallia, another seaport town on this coast. It contains little remarkable, except during the time of the annual fair, when it is much resorted to by merchants from Venice, and all the towns on both sides the Adriatic, from Sicily and the Archipelago. England, likewise carries on a very profitable trade with all the towns of Romagnia, from which our merchants purchase large quantities of raw silk, and afterwards sell it, when manufactured, to the inhabit-

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ants. They provide them also with a variety of cotton and linen cloths.

From Senegallia to Ancona is about fifteen miles. They travelled the greatest part of this way in the dark, much against the advice of their Italian servants, who assured them that this road was infested with robbers from the coast of Dalmatia, who land from their boats, and carry off what booty they can procure. In their progress they were overtaken by some fellow's in sailor's dresses, who attempted to cut off their trunks from behind the chaises; but finding the company too large to be attacked, they desisted from their designs.

Ancona is said to have been founded by the Syracusans, who fled from the tyranny of Dionysius. The town was originally built on a hill, but the houses have gradually been continued down the slope towards the sea. The cathedral has a very elevated situation, and from it there is a very advantageous view of the town, the sea, and the environs. This church is supposed to have been built on the site of a temple dedicated to Venus.

The inequalities of the ground, on which the town stands, prevent it from appearing elegant; but it seems to be advancing in opulence. Some of the nobility have the resolution and good sense to despise the ancient prejudice against commerce, and avowedly engage in it.

Our travellers met with several English traders on the Change, which was crowded with seafaring men and merchants, from various quarters. There are also numerous Jews established in this city; and whether they contribute to the prosperity of a place or not, may admit of doubt; but

it is a certain fact, that they seldom settle but in thriving situations.

The commerce of Ancona has rapidly increased of late years, since it was made a free port, and encouragement given to manufactures. The mole, built to render the harbour more secure, is a noble work. It was begun by Clement XII. and carried on with redoubled spirit by Benedict XIV.

This mole was founded in the ruins of the ancient one, erected by Trajan. The stone of Istria was used at first, till the exportation of it was prohibited by the republic of Venice, which was naturally inimical to a work, that was likely to be the means of diminishing its commerce. A quarry of excellent stone was afterwards found in the vicinity; and a kind of sand, which, when mixed with lime, forms a composition as hard as stone, is brought from the neighbourhood of Rome.

This building is two thousand feet in length, one hundred in breadth, and about sixty in depth from the surface of the sea. In fine, it appears in its stupendous extent, more analagous to the revenues of ancient than of modern Rome.

Near to this stands the Triumphal Arch of Trajan; erected in gratitude to that emperor, for the improvements he made in this harbour at his own expence. Next to the Maison Quarrée at Nismes, it is the most beautiful and perfect monument of Roman taste and magnificence out of the capital. The fluted Corinthian pillars on the two sides, are of the finest proportions; and the Parian marble, of which they are composed, is preserved by the sea vapour, as white and shining as when it was first polished from the rock.

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"I viewed," says Dr. Moore, "this charming piece of antiquity with sentiments of pleasure and admiration, which sprang from the elegant taste of the artist who planned it, and the humane, amiable virtues of the great man to whose honour it was raised, and the grandeur and policy of the people, who, by such rewards, prompted their princes to wise and beneficent undertakings."

From Ancona to Loretto, the road runs through a fine country, composed of a number of beautiful hills and intervening vales. Loretto itself is a small town, standing on an eminence about three miles from the sea. The accommodations are very indifferent indeed, considering the great resort of pilgrims to visit the Holy Chapel. It is well known that this was originally a small house in Nazareth, inhabited by the Virgin Mary. It was held in great veneration by all believers in Jesus, and at length was consecrated into a chapel, and dedicated to the Virgin, on which occasion, it is pretended St. Luke made that identical image, which is now dignified by the name of our Lady of Loretto.

This sanctified edifice was allowed to sojourn in Galilee as long as the Christians could keep possession of it; but when infidels got possession of the country, a band of angels, to save it from pollution, took it up in their arms, and conveyed it from Nazareth to a castle in Dalmatia. A blaze of celestial light and a concert of divine music accompanied it during its journey, according to the legend; and when the angels rested themselves in a wood, the trees bowed their heads to the ground.

Dalmatia being probably thought still too near to the infidels, the same angels gave it another

list; and placed it in a field belonging to a noble lady, called Lauretta, from whom the chapel takes its name. This field, however, being much infested by banditti, the angels removed it to the top of a hill belonging to two brothers, who, equally enamoured of their new visiter, became jealous, fought, and fell by mutual wounds.

These ill-chosen stations in some measure seem to impeach the judgment of the angels who had the conduct of the business; but at last they fixed the chapel where it now stands; and for the space of four hundred years and upwards, it has lost all disposition to rambling.

Before they visited the Santa Casa, as it is called, one of their Italian servants seriously advised them not to attempt to break off any pieces of the stone, as he knew a Venetian who was guilty of this sacrilege, in hopes that such a precious relic might bring him better luck, and whose breeches pocket was burnt through, as if it had been by aquafortis, and his thighs miserably scorched. This belief has probably saved the holy chapel from being carried away by the devot.

This edifice stands due east and west, at the farther end of a large church which has been built round it. This may be considered as the external covering, or great coat, of the Santa Casa, which has an internal covering, or case of the choicest marble, after a plan of San Savino's, and ornamented with bas-reliefs in the finest style of the age of Leo X.

The real house is only thirty-two feet long, fourteen wide, and eighteen high at the sides. The centre of the roof is four or five feet higher than the eaves. The walls are composed of a reddish

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reddish substance, of an oblong square form, resembling Italian bricks, and it is probable, they are nothing else; though it is pretended there is not a single particle of brick in their whole composition.

There is a small interval between the walls of the ancient house and the marble case, round which the pilgrims crawl on their knees, kissing the ground, and saying their prayers with great fervour. Dr. Moore says, "they discovered some degree of eagerness to be nearest the wall; not, I am persuaded, with a view of saving their own labour, by contracting the circumference of their circuit; but, from an idea, that the evolutions they were performing, would be more beneficial to their souls, the nearer they were to the sacred house."

It is divided within into two unequal portions, by a kind of grate-work of silver. The division towards the west is about three-fourths of the whole: that to the east is called the Sanctuary. In the larger division, the walls are left bare, to shew the true original construction of Nazareth stone. At the lower or western end is a window, the same through which the angel Gabriel entered at the annunciation. The architraves of this window are covered with silver. Numerous gold and silver lamps decorate the chapel, the gifts of royal bigotry, and of individual superstition. Some of the silver lamps weigh one hundred and twenty pounds: one of gold, a present from the republic of Venice, weighs thirty-seven pounds.

In the sanctuary stands the famous image, surrounded with gold and silver angels, of considerable size. The walls of this part are plated with silver,

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ver, and adorned with crucifixes, precious stones, and votive gifts of various kinds.

The figure of the Virgin herself by no means corresponds with the furniture of her house. She is a little woman, about four feet high, with the features and complexion of a negro. "Of all the sculptors that ever existed, assuredly," says Dr. Moore, "St. Luke, by whom this figure is reported to have been made, was the least of a flatterer."

The figure of the infant Jesus, by the same artist, is of a piece with that of the Virgin: he holds a large golden globe in one hand, and the other is extended in the act of blessing. Both figures have crowns on their heads, enriched with diamonds.

The Virgin is richly habited, but in a bad taste; which our author thinks is not to be wondered at, when she has only priests for her tire-women.

In a small place behind the sanctuary, is kept some of the furniture belonging to the Virgin, particularly a little earthen pottinger, out of which the infant used to eat. The pilgrims bring rosaries, little crucifixes, and Agnus Dei's, which the obliging priest shakes for half a minute in this dish, after which they acquire the virtue of curing various diseases.

Above a hundred masses are daily said in this chapel, and in the church in which it stands. The music is remarkably fine, as a certain number of the chaplains are, in effect, eunuchs.

The jewels and riches in the treasury are of immense value; they are the accumulated testimonies of human folly, of royal, noble, and rich bigotry, and of that false religion, which teaches

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men to compound with God for the pardon of sins, by any other means than by faith, repentance, and amendment of life.

“It has been said,” observes our author, “that those gifts are occasionally melted down for the benefit of the state, and also, that the most precious of the jewels are picked out, and false stones substituted in their room. This is an affair entirely between the Virgin and the pope: if she does not, I knew no other person who has a right to complain.”

Though Loretto is still the object of adoration, pilgrimages to it from distant countries are not so frequent as formerly, and are now generally performed by the poorer and more ignorant class of the people. They sing their matins and evening hymns aloud, and then depart; so that there is a constant succession of visitors to the Santa Casa.

The only trade of Loretto consists of rosaries, crucifixes, Madonnas, Agnus Dei's, and medals, which are manufactured here, and sold to pilgrims. The evident poverty, however, of those manufacturers and traders, and of the town in general, sufficiently prove, that the reputation of our Lady of Loretta is greatly on the decline.

In the great church, which contains the holy chapel, are confessionals, where the penitents, from every country of Europe, may be confessed in their own language, priests being always in waiting for that purpose, furnished with long white rods, with which they touch the heads of the absolved, who, after the ceremony, immediately retire.

In the spacious area, before the church, is an elegant marble fountain, supplied with water
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from an adjoining hill by an aqueduct. These public ornaments are very common in Italy, and at once please the eye and refresh the air. In this space also stands a statue of Sextus V. and over the portal of the church is a statue of the Virgin.

The gates of the church are of bronze, embellished with basso relievos of excellent workmanship; the subjects taken from the scriptures.

Neither the sculpture, the paintings, the treasure or jewels, interested Dr. Moore so much as the iron grates before the chapels in the great church. When he was told that they were made of the fetters and chains of the Christian slaves, who were freed from bondage by the glorious victory of Lepanto, they commanded his attention more than all the ornaments and riches of the holy chapel.

The ideas that rush into the mind on hearing a circumstance of this kind, are inexpressibly affecting. To think of four thousand of our fellow creatures, torn from the endearments of friendship, and the sweets of society, chained to the oar, and subjected to every ill and indignity, at one blessed moment freed from slavery, restored to the embraces of their friends, and enjoying with them all the raptures of victory, is a scene on which the imagination fixes with rapture.

On leaving Loretto, they proceeded through a beautiful country to Macerata, a small town, situated on a hill. From thence they continued their journey to Tolentino, where they passed the night at the worst inn they had yet seen in Italy, though the best in the place.

“The poor people, however,” says Dr. Moore, “shewed the utmost desire to please; and *they* must

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must have unfortunate tempers indeed, who, observing this, could have shocked them by fretfulness, or an air of dissatisfaction."

Next morning they encountered the Apennines, and found the fatigue of the journey compensated for by the beauty and variety of the views among these mountains. On the face of one of the highest of them, they observed the habitation of an old infirm hermit, and wondered how he could scramble up and down, to procure the necessaries of life; but were informed, that his reputation for sanctity was so great, that he was amply supplied with provisions, in return for the benefit of his prayers.

There are mountains and precipices among the Apennines, which do not appear contemptible even in the eyes of those who have travelled among the Alps; while, on the other hand, those delightful plains, contained within the bosom of the former, are infinitely superior in beauty and fertility, to the valleys among the latter.

They now entered the rich province of Umbria, and soon after arrived at Foligno. This is a thriving town, and contains several manufactories. In a convent of nuns is a famous picture by Raphael, generally visited by travellers.

The situation of Foligno is peculiarly happy. It stands in a charming valley, highly cultivated, and watered by the Clitumnus. The change of climate, on descending from the Apennines to this, is as sudden as it is agreeable.

Their next stage was Vene, in which is a little building, adorned with six Corinthian columns. On one side is a crucifix in basso relievo, with vine branches curling round it. Some inscriptions on this building, mention the RESURRECTION,

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TION, whence it is conjectured that this was converted into a Christian chapel, at an early period; but the style of architecture is too fine to warrant the supposition that this was its original destination. Hence it has been supposed by some to be a temple in honour of the river god, Clitumnus.

This river was much celebrated by the poets, who all countenance the popular opinion with regard to the quality of its waters. The breed of white cattle, which gave its banks so much celebrity, still remains. Our travellers saw many of them as they passed; some milk white, but the greatest part of them greyish.

Spoletto, the capital of Umbria, is seated on a high rock. Its ancient importance is chiefly exhibited in the inscriptions which record its fame. One over the Porto di Fuga runs thus:

ANNIBAL

CÆSIS AD THRASYMENUM ROMANIS
URBEM ROMAM INFENSO AGMINE PETENS
SPOLETO MAGNA SUORUM CLADE REPULSUS,
INSIGNI FUGA PORTÆ NOMEN FECIT*.

This town is still supplied with water, by means of an ancient aqueduct, one of the most entire, and highest in Europe. In the centre is a double arcade, from whence the arches diminish in height towards the sloping sides of the two mountains, which this noble work unites.

Quitting Spoletto, they passed over the highest of the Apennines, and descended through a forest

* Hannibal, having defeated the Romans at Thrasymane, and marching his army to Rome, was repulsed at Spoletto with great slaughter. The memorable flight of the Carthaginians gave name to this gate.

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of olive trees, to the fruitful valley watered by the Nera. In this stands Ferni, the ancient Interamna. The emperor Tacitus and his brother Florianus were natives of this city; but it derives its chief honour from having produced the historian Tacitus.

Near this is a celebrated cataract, generally visited by strangers. Innumerable streams, from the heights of the Apennines, meeting in one channel, form the river Velnio, which flows some way with a gentle current, till the plain terminates, on a sudden, in a precipice three hundred feet high, over which the river dashes with tremendous violence.

The distance from Terni to Narni, is seven miles; the road uncommonly good and the country delightful. At Narni our author viewed the bridge of Augustus, a stately fabric, wholly of marble, and without any cement. One of the arches remains entire, and others appear in ruins.

This fabric is usually called Augustus's bridge, and is unquestionably alluded to by Martial. Some judicious travellers, however, imagine it to be the remains of an aqueduct, and not a bridge; but probably it may have served the purpose of both.

The town is very poor and thinly inhabited. It boasts, however, of being the birth-place of the emperor Nerva, and some other celebrated men.

From Narni to Otricoli, the road is rough and mountainous. This is a poor village, but advantageously situated on a rising ground. Between this and the Tiber are many loose fragments and vaults, supposed to be the ruins of the ancient Oriculum.

The only place of note between this and Rome is Civita Castellana, which is considered, by many antiquarians, as the Fescennium of the ancients. It stands on a high rock, and formerly must have been a place of some consequence, like most of the other towns on the Flaminian way.

"This, I am convinced," observes Dr. Moore, "is the only country in the world where the fields become more desolate as you approach the capital. After having traversed the cultivated and fertile valleys of Umbria, one is doubly affected at beholding the deplorable state of poor, neglected Latium. For several posts before you arrive at Rome, few villages, little cultivation, and scarcely any inhabitants, are to be seen. In the Campania of Rome, formerly the best cultivated and best peopled spot in the universe, no trees, no houses, no inclosures, nothing but the scattered ruins of temples and tombs, presenting the idea of a country depopulated by a pestilence. All is motionless, silent, and forlorn. In the midst of these deserted fields, the ancient mistress of the world rears her head in melancholy majesty."

On their arrival at Rome, their first care was to wait on the Prince Guistiniani, for whom they had letters from a relation of his at Vienna. Nothing could exceed the politeness which he and his princess shewed them. He immediately paid his respects to the Duke of Hamilton, and took them in his own carriage to every house of distinction. Two or three hours a day were spent in this ceremony at first; but after being once presented, no farther introduction or invitation was necessary.

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They generally spent their mornings in visiting the antiquities and paintings in the palaces. On those occasions they were accompanied by Mr. Byres, a gentleman of real taste and knowledge. Two or three hours every evening they passed at the converzationes; for it frequently happens, that several of the nobility have these assemblies at the same time; and almost all the company, of a certain rank, make it a point, if they go to any, to go to all. Thus, though there is a continual change of place, there is little change of company, or variation in amusement; but this circumstance alone is found an useful accomplice in the murder of a tedious evening. The company fly from one place to another in search of superior gratification, and are generally disappointed at last.

The converzationes are always held in the principal apartment of the palace, which is generally on the second, but sometimes on the third floor. On entering the hall where the footmen of the company are assembled, the name of the visiter is pronounced aloud by some servants of the family, and repeated by others in passing along. On reaching the apartment where the company is assembled, the master and mistress are ready to receive them, and after a short compliment, the new comers mix with the company, which is sometimes so large, that none but the ladies can fit down.

There is always a greater number of men than women; for no lady comes without a gentleman to hand her. This gentleman, who acts the part of a cavaliero servente, may be her relation in any degree, or her lover, or both. He may be

connected with her, in any way he pleases, says Dr. Moore, but one—he must *not* be her husband. A man must not be seen handing his wife in public in this city.

At Cardinal Berne's assembly, the company were served with coffee, lemonade, and iced confections of various kinds; but this custom is not universal. In short, at a *converzatione* there is an opportunity of seeing a number of well-dressed people, of speaking to acquaintances, bowing to the rest, and of being squeezed and pressed among the best company of Rome. Little conversation takes place at such meetings, so that their name appears misapplied.

The company breaks up about nine, except a small select party invited to supper. Convivial entertainments, indeed, are rare among the modern Romans. The magnificence of the nobility displays itself in other articles than in the luxuries of the table: they generally dine at home, and in a very private manner.

Strangers are seldom invited to dinner, except by foreign ambassadors. Our travellers, however, found the hospitality of Cardinal Berni make up for every deficiency of that nature. Nothing could exceed the elegant magnificence of his table, nor the splendid hospitality in which he lived. Years had not impaired his wit or vivacity; and no man could support the pretensions of the French nation to superior politeness, better than this gentleman, who was their ambassador at Rome.

The streets are not lighted; and were it not for the devotion of individuals, which induces them sometimes to place candles before the statues

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tues of the Virgin, Rome would be in utter darkness. The lackeys carry dark lanthorns behind the carriages of people of the first distinction. The cardinals and other ecclesiastics, it seems, do not chuse to have their coaches seen before the doors of every house they visit; and the inferior ranks of the citizens appear to have as little wish for light, which would only expose their amorous assignations,

The Italians in general have a remarkable air of gravity, which they preserve, even when the subject of conversation leads to gaiety. The Roman ladies have a languor in their countenances which promises sensibility, and without the talkativeness of the French, or the frankness of the Venetian women, they seem no way averse to form connections with strangers. The Duke of Hamilton was presented to a beautiful young lady at one of the assemblies, and happening to mention that he had heard she was lately married, "Yes," says she, "my lord; but my husband is an old man. O Holy Virgin," added she in a most affecting tone of voice, "how exceeding old he is!"

Authors are much divided about the population of ancient Rome, some making it amount to seven millions. It is probable, however, that this is an exaggeration; nor is it likely that its extent ever exceeded the wall built by Belisarius, which is about thirteen or fourteen miles in circumference, and is still standing.

The buildings, however, without the walls, were certainly of vast extent; and we are told that strangers, who viewed this immense plain covered with houses, imagined that they had al-

ready entered Rome, when they were thirty miles from the walls of that city*.

Some of the seven hills, on which Rome was built, appear now but gentle swellings, from the rubbish filling up the vales. Some are principally covered with gardens and vineyards; and about two-thirds of the surface within the walls, are either in this situation, or covered with ruins. The whole population is calculated at one hundred and seventy thousand; which, though greatly inferior to its ancient numbers, is certainly superior to what it has been at intermediate periods.

Some of the principal streets are perfectly straight. The Corso, as it is called, is most frequented. Here the nobility display their equipages during the carnival, and take an airing in fine evenings. It is indeed the great scene of Roman magnificence and amusement.

The shops on each side are three or four feet higher than the street, and there is a foot passage on a level with them. The palaces, of which there are several in this street, range in a line with the houses, without having courts before them, as in Paris; or being shut up, as some of the residences of the nobility in London.

The Strada Felice, in the higher part of the city, is about a mile and a half long, and runs in a straight line, but the view is broken by the fine church of St. Maria Maggiore. This street is crossed by another, called the Strada di Porta Pia, at one end of which is a magnificent gate, and at the other four colossal statues in white marble,

* Such an immense collection of buildings always contain within themselves the principle of decay. When a capital becomes overgrown, the state is generally verging to a dissolution.

of two horses led by two men, supposed to be representations of Alexander taming Bucephalus; or, according to others, of Castor and Pollux. They stand before the papal palace, on the Quirinal hill, and have a noble effect.

It would be difficult to convey an idea of the smaller streets; it may therefore be observed, in general, that Rome exhibits a strange mixture of magnificent and interesting, common and beggarly objects.

The church of St. Peter, in the opinion of many, surpasses, in size and magnificence, the finest monuments of ancient architecture. The Grecian and Roman temples were rather elegant than large. The Pantheon is the most entire antique temple in Rome. It is said that Michael Angelo made the dome of St. Peter's of the same diameter as the Pantheon, to shew his superiority over the ancient architects.

The approach to St. Peter's is very grand. A magnificent portico advances on each side from the front, forming two squares: the third is closed by the front of the church, and the fourth is open. A colonnade, four columns deep, commences at the extremities of the porticoes, and forms the most superb area perhaps ever seen before any building.

This colonnade is crowned with a balustrade, supporting a great number of statues; and consists of above three hundred large pillars, forming three separate walks. In the middle stands an Egyptian obelisk of granite; and to the right and left of this, two very beautiful fountains refresh the air with streams of clear water.

The length of St. Peter's, taken on the outside, is exactly seven hundred and thirty feet, and
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its breadth five hundred and twenty. The height, from the pavement to the top of the cross, is four hundred and fifty. The grand portico before the entrance is two hundred and sixteen feet long and forty wide.

It is impossible in this place to attempt a description of the statues, basso relievos, columns, pictures, and various ornaments of this church; such an account would fill volumes. The finest of all the ornaments have a probability of being longer preserved than could once have been imagined, by the astonishing improvements which have been lately made in the art of copying pictures in Mosaic. By this means the works of Raphael and other great painters will be transmitted to a late posterity, with little diminution of the beauty of the originals.

Our travellers were present at the procession of the Possesso, which is performed by every pope, soon after his election, and is equivalent to a coronation in England. On this occasion the pope goes to the Basilica of St. John Latuan, the most ancient, as it is said, of all the churches in Rome, and the mother of all the churches in christendom. From this he proceeds to the Capitol, and receives the keys of that fortress.

The Prince Guistiniani procured a place for them at the house of the senator in the Capitol. On their arrival, they were surpris'd to find the main body of the palace and the wings, all hung with crimson silk, laced with gold. The bases and capitals of the pillars, where the silk could not be accurately applied, were gilt in the most gaudy style.

In the balcony, where they were placed, they found a number of ladies, of the first distinction in Rome.



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The Pope receiving the Keys of the Capitol.

Published Dec: 1. 1797. by E. Stodary, corner of St. Pauls.

p. 60

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Rome. The men of rank have mostly some function in the procession.

His holiness's departure from the Vatican, was announced by a discharge of cannon from the castle of St. Angelo, on the top of which the standard of the church was flying. The officers of the pope's horse guards were dressed in a style equally rich and becoming, with a profusion of plumes in their hats. The Swiss guards were dressed in real coats of mail, with steel helmets, as if they had been to take the Capitol by storm. Their appearance was strongly contrasted with that of the Roman barons, who were on horseback, without boots, and in full dress. Each of them was preceded by four pages, their hair depending in ringlets to the middle of their backs; they were followed by a number of servants in rich liveries.

Bishops and other ecclesiastics succeeded the barons, and then came the cardinals in purple robes, which covered their horses, except the head. Last of all comes the pope himself, on a milk-white mule, distributing blessings with an unsparing hand among the multitude; who follow him with acclamations of *Viva il Santo Padre*, and prostrating themselves on the ground before his mule, beg his benediction. The holy father took particular care to wave his hand in the form of a cross, to give his blessing the greater efficacy. Two servants held the bridle of his mule, that he might be perfectly at liberty to distribute his favours.

At the entrance of the Capitol, the keys were delivered into the hands of his holiness by the senator; and after a blessing, they were again restored to him. Proceeding from the Capitol,
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a deputation of Jews meet the pope, headed by the chief rabbi, who presented him with a long scroll of parchment, on which was written the whole law of Moses. His holiness received the present in a very gracious manner; but gave the rabbi to understand, that he rejected his interpretation of the law, which was already fulfilled by the coming of the Messiah. The rabbi knew it was in vain to dispute; he bowed his head in silence, and retired. Meanwhile his holiness proceeded in triumph through the principal streets to the Vatican.

This procession is said to be one of the most showy and magnificent which ever takes place in Rome; yet our author says it did not afford him much satisfaction; nor could all their pomp and finery prevent an uneasy recollection, mixed with sentiments of contempt, from obtruding on his mind. To feel unmixed admiration, continues he, in beholding the pope and his cardinals marching in triumph to the Capitol, one must forget those who walked formerly to the same place—the immortal heroes and worthies of ancient Rome, compared with whom, popes and cardinals sink into insignificance.

Proceed we now to take a short review of some of the most celebrated antiquities. The Pantheon, though not the largest, is the most perfect of the Roman temples. In spite of the depredations sustained from the Goths, the Vandals, and the popes, it still remains a beautiful monument of Roman taste. The pavilion of the great altar, which stands under the cupola in St. Peter's, and the four wreathed pillars of Corinthian brass which support it, were formed out of the spoils of
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the Pantheon, which, after all, has a probability of outliving its proud rival.

From the round form of the Pantheon, it has obtained the name of Rotunda: its height is one hundred and fifty feet, and its breadth nearly the same. Within, it is divided into eight compartments, each of which is distinguished by two fluted Corinthian pillars, and as many pilasters of Giallo Antico. The wall is perpendicular for half the height of the temple; it then slopes forwards; as it ascends, the circumference gradually diminishing, till it terminates in an opening about twenty-five feet in diameter, which lights the whole with astonishing effect.

The portico was added by Marcus Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus. It is supported by sixteen pillars of granite, each five feet in diameter, and single blocks. On the frieze in the front is the following inscription:

M. AGRIPPA L. F. CONSUL. TERTIUM FECIT*.

The Pantheon itself is generally supposed to be much more ancient than the Augustan age; and that this addition, though very beautiful, is not in unison with the simplicity of the rest.

As the Pantheon is the most entire, the amphitheatre of Vespasian, called the Coliseum, is the most stupendous monument of antiquity in Rome. This vast structure was built of Tiburtine stone, which is remarkably durable; and had it met with no worse enemy than time, it might have been the admiration of the latest ages. The fury of barbarians, however, and the zeal and avarice

* Founded by Marcus Agrippa, the son of Lucius, during his third consulship.

of bigots, have done more than the slow corrosions of years, towards the demolition of this pile.

About one half the external circuit still remains, from which a pretty exact idea may be formed of the original structure. By a computation made by Mr. Byres, it was capable of containing eighty-five thousand spectators. Fourteen chapels are now erected within side, representing the stages of our Saviour's passion. This expedient of consecrating them into Christian chapels and churches, has saved some of the finest remains of heathen magnificence from utter destruction.

Our admiration, however, of the Romans is tempered with horror, when we reflect on the use formerly made of this immense building, and the dreadful scenes which passed on the arena; where not only criminals condemned to death, but also prisoners taken in war, were obliged to butcher each other for the entertainment of an inhuman populace. The combats of gladiators were first introduced at funerals only, where prisoners were obliged to assume that profession; but at last, it became customary to hire men, who had been bred to this horrid business, on days of public rejoicing; or when the great wished to entertain their friends; or to catch at popular applause, by gratifying the barbarous taste of the lower ranks.

As these combats formed the supreme pleasure of the people of Rome at one period, the most cruel of their emperors were sometimes the most popular, merely because they indulged the people without restraint in their favourite amusement. When Marcus Aurelius thought it necessary, for the public service, to recruit his army from the gladiators of Rome, it excited more discontent

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In the times of some of the emperors, the lower class of the Roman citizens were degraded by every vice and meanness; they subsisted on the largesses of the great, and passed their whole time in the circus and amphitheatres, where every sentiment of humanity was obliterated by the dreadful scenes they were habituated to see. That no occasion might be lost of giving a savage character to the populace, criminals were condemned to fight with wild beasts in the arena; and, at other times, they were blindfolded, and in that condition obliged to cut and slaughter each other.

But, while we express horror and indignation at this brutal taste of the Romans for the bloody combats of the amphitheatre, let us not consider this as proceeding from any peculiar cruelty of disposition inherent in that people; but from the ill examples of a few, and the want of some mild and humane principles to restrain the evil propensities of men. He who arms a gamecock with steel, who delights in a boxing match, would soon feel equal pleasure in seeing armed men opposed to each other, by way of amusement, did not the influence of a pure religion, and a brighter example now restrain him. As soon as the benevolent precepts of Christianity were received by the Romans as laws of the true God, the prisoners and slaves were treated with humanity, and the bloody exhibitions in the amphitheatres ceased.

The approach to the Capitol, or the modern Campidoglio, is worthy of the genius of Michael Angelo. The building itself is raised by that great artist on the ruins of the ancient Capitol,

and fronts St. Peter's church, with its back to the Forum and Old Rome.

The two sphynxes of basalt, the trophies erected in honour of Caius Marius, the colossal statues of Castor and Pollux; the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius; and the majestic female figure, said to be Roma Triumphans, all burst on the eye in quick succession, and fill the mind with wonder and reflection. Is there such another instance of the vicissitudes of human things, as the proud mistress of the world falling under the dominion of a priest.

In the two wings of the modern palace, called the Campidoglio, the conservators of the city, corresponding to the ancient ædiles, have their apartments. In the main body an Italian nobleman resides, with the title of Senator of Rome, the miserable representative of that senate which gave laws to the world.

The Forum Romanum exhibits a melancholy, but interesting, view of the devastation wrought by the united force of time, avarice, and bigotry. Near this are to be traced the remains of the temple of Jupiter Tonans, built by Augustus, in gratitude for having narrowly escaped death from a stroke of lightning; the remains of Jupiter Stator; the Temple of Concord; the Temples of Romulus and Remus, and of Antoninus and Faustina, both converted into churches; and the ruins of the magnificent Temple of Peace, built immediately after the taking of Jerusalem.

Of the various triumphal arches which formerly stood in Rome, there are only three remaining, all near the Capitol, and forming entries into the Forum; those of Titus, Septimus Severus, and Constantine. The last is by far the most magnificent;

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scent; owing to its borrowed ornaments from the Forum of Trajan.

The relievos of the arch of Titus represent the table of shew bread, the trumpets, and golden candlesticks, with seven branches, and other utensils brought from the Temple of Jerusalem. The quarter allotted to the Jews is not far from this arch; but they always cautiously avoid passing through it, though it is their nearest way to the Campo Vaccino. This instance of sensibility is extremely affecting; and shews, that the patriotism of the Jews is equal to their attachment to their original institutions. There are said to be about nine thousand of them in Rome; the lineal descendants of those brought captive by Titus from Jerusalem.

There are many other interesting ruins in and about this part of Rome, too numerous to be particularized. The Tarpeian Rock, so often mentioned in the classics as the scene of execution, is a continuation of that on which the Capitol was built, and is now about fifty-eight feet perpendicular, though it must once have been eighty. Criminals, precipitated from this rock, were literally thrown out of Old Rome into the Campus Martius, a large plain of a triangular shape; two sides of which were formed by the Tiber, and the base by the Capitol.

In this field assemblies of the people were held, military exercises performed, and elections made. The dead bodies of the most illustrious citizens were also burnt in this field, which was gradually adorned by statues and trophies; but every feature of its ancient appearance is now obliterated by the streets and buildings of modern Rome.

Trajan's pillar is one of the most admired antiquities of Rome. It is covered by basso relievos representing his victories over the Dacians, and is one hundred and twenty feet high, exclusive of the statue. The ashes of Trajan were deposited in an urn at the bottom, and his statue was placed at the top. Pope Sixtus V. however, erected a brass statue of St. Peter in his room, with what propriety we leave our readers to judge.

Our travellers, during their residence in Rome, were present at the ceremony of the beatification of a saint. He was of the order of St. Francis, and a great many brethren of that society were present, and in high spirits on the occasion. On the day of the solemnity, his holiness, and numerous ecclesiastical attendants, proceeded to St. Peter's church. Being assembled, a Franciscan friar made a long panegyric on the deceased, and did not forget to enumerate the miracles wrought by his bones. The Devil's Advocate, as he is called, then endeavoured to invalidate the testimony which had been given in favour of the expectant saint; but his labours were in vain: the devil lost his cause without the possibility of appeal; and St. Buonaventura obtained a place in the calendar.

It is, perhaps, difficult to trace the characters of nations from a short, or casual acquaintance with individuals. That the Italians have an uncommon share of natural sagacity and acuteness, is scarcely to be denied; but they are accused of being deceitful, perfidious, and revengeful; and the frequent assassinations and murders which happen in the great towns of Italy, are brought as proofs of this serious charge. Our author, however, thinks, that the murders which occasionally

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sionally happen, proceed from a deplorable want of police, and some impolitic customs, such as the use of sanctuary in churches, and convents in particular. Where the right of asylum has been taken away, as in the Grand Duke of Tuscany's dominions, instead of drawing a knife in their passion, the people fight with the same blunt weapons as in England. Amidst the paroxysms of rage, people always, in some measure, calculate on the future consequences; and when they feel that punishment is inevitable, though they indulge their thirst of revenge, they will soon learn to moderate its heat.

"My idea of the Italians," says Dr. Moore, "is, that they are an ingenious, sober people, with quick feelings, and therefore irritable; but when unprovoked, of a mild and obliging disposition, and less subject to avarice, envy, or repining at the narrowness of their circumstances, and the comparative wealth of others, than most other nations."

Thefts, and crimes which are not capital, are punished at Rome, and some other towns of Italy, by imprisonment, or what is called the Cord. This last is performed by tying the culprit's hands behind with a cord, which runs on a pulley, and then drawing him about twenty or thirty feet from the ground; and, if lenity be intended, letting him down again in a gentle, easy manner.

Breaking on the wheel is never used in Rome for any crime; but sometimes they put in practice another mode of execution, more shocking in appearance than cruel in reality. The criminal being seated on a scaffold, the executioner strikes him behind on the head with a hammer, which deprives him of all sensation; and then, with a

knife, cuts his throat from ear to ear, which last part of the ceremony is thought to have the most impression on the minds of the spectators.

Executions are not frequent at Rome. Our author only saw one; and this man certainly was not taken off till the measure of his iniquity was full—it was for his fifth murder; yet the decent and feeling behaviour of the populace shewed that they were not of a sanguinary disposition; and the manner in which the execution was conducted, was well calculated to impress the spectators with a sense of the enormity of violating the laws of their country. He was confessed and absolved; and then requesting the people to join in prayers for his soul, he walked with a hurried pace to the gallows, when he was speedily turned off, and two men pulling his legs, he must have been dead in an instant.

The multitude beheld the scene with silent awe and compassion. During the time appointed for the body to hang, all the members of the procession, with the whole apparatus of torches, crucifixes, and Capuchins, went into a neighbouring church, and remained there till a mass was said for the soul of the deceased. They then returned in procession to the gallows, with a coffin covered with black cloth.

The condemned having paid the forfeit due to his crimes, was no longer considered as an object of hatred. Two persons, in masks and black gowns, mounted the ladder and cut the rope, while others received the body, and carefully put it into the coffin. An old woman then exclaimed, "I hope his soul is in heaven!" a sentiment in which the surrounding multitude seemed fervently to join.

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The crimes of which this man had been guilty, must naturally have raised the indignation of the people; and being one of the *sbirri*, who are held in the most perfect detestation, his profession had a tendency to keep it up; yet, the moment they saw the object of their hatred in the character of a poor condemned man, all their animosity ceased, and not the least insult was offered that could disturb him in his dying moments. They viewed him with the eyes of pity and forgiveness, and joined with earnestness in prayers for his future welfare.

Those who possess a real antiquarian taste, generally spend about six weeks in visiting all the churches, palaces, and ruins worth seeing here. Our author, however, mentions one English gentleman who happened not to be so violently smitten with the charms of virtù, and who thought a month or six weeks too long to be thrown away on a pursuit in which he felt no pleasure, and saw little utility. The only advantage which, in his opinion, was reaped from this long tour was, that people could say they had seen a great many fine things. He was unwilling to allow any one this superiority; and, therefore, having procured a proper person to attend him, he ordered a post-chaise and four horses; and driving through churches, palaces, villas, and ruins, with all possible expedition, he fairly saw in two days, even to a single picture and the most mutilated remains of a statue, all that more deliberate connoisseurs could have visited in six weeks. "I do not intend," says Dr. Moore, "to propose this young gentleman's plan as the best possible; but I am certain, that he can give as good an account of the curiosities of Rome, as some of my acquaintances who viewed

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viewed them with *equal* sensibility, and at a great deal more leisure."

Besides churches, there are about thirty palaces in Rome, quite covered with paintings. The Borghese palace alone is said to contain about one thousand six hundred originals. There are also ten or twelve villas in the environs, usually visited by strangers.

The Hermaphrodite, in the Borghese palace, is accounted by many one of the finest pieces of sculpture in the world. The mattress on which this fine figure reclines, is the work of Bernini, and nothing can be more admirably executed. Some critics, indeed, say he has performed his task too well, as the admiration of the spectator is divided between the statue and the mattress.

Among the antiquities in this palace is a Centaur, in marble, with a Cupid mounted on his back. The latter has the cestus of Venus and the ivy crown of Bacchus, in allusion to beauty and wine: he beats the Centaur with his fist, and seems to kick with violence, to drive him along. The Centaur throws back his head and eyes with a look of remorse, as if he were unwilling, though forced, to proceed. The execution of this is admirable in itself; but it acquires additional merit, when considered as allegorical of men, who are hurried on by the violence of their passions, and lament their own weakness, while they find themselves unable to resist.

There is another figure, more valuable for its moral than its sculpture. It is a small statue of Venus Cloacina, trampling on an impregnated uterus, and tearing the wings of Cupid. The allegory indicates that prostitution is equally destructive of generation and love.

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The statue, called Zingara, or the Fortune-teller, has all the archness of expression in the countenance which belongs to those whose trade it is to impose on the credulity of the vulgar.

Seneca dying in the bath, in touchstone, stands in a basin of bluish marble, lined with porphyry. His knees seem to bend under him from weakness; and his whole features denote languor, faintness, and the approach of death.

The Faun, dandling an infant Bacchus, is one of the gayest figures that can be imagined.

In this villa, likewise, are some highly esteemed pieces by Bernini; among which are Æneas carrying his father Anchises; David slinging the stone at Goliath; and Apollo pursuing Daphne, generally reckoned a master-piece.

The celebrated sculptures of Laocoon, in the Vatican, and of Niobe, in the Villa de Medici, have been celebrated by every traveller. The ancients seem to have known how to express the passions in such a manner as to excite correspondent feelings; they are chaste in their designs; and when they wish to awaken pity, take care not to freeze with horror.

The Apollo of the Vatican, and the Fighting Gladiator, the Farnesian Hercules, and the Belvedere Antinous are celebrated all over Europe*.

Our author mentions an anecdote, which will give much insight into the manners of the modern Italians. One day, calling on an artist of his acquaintance, he met an old woman and a very fine girl coming out of his door. Having

* Some of the most admirable of these fine pieces of antiquity are no longer to be seen at Rome; they are removed to France, being extorted as the purchase of peace.

rallied the painter on his visitors, he was informed that the girl was hired on purpose to allow him to study the human proportions; and that, indelicate as this might appear, for aught he knew or believed, she was strictly virtuous; and that her mother constantly attended on this exhibition of her daughter's charms. "I have," said the artist, drawn her as Venus; but for any thing I know to the contrary, I should have approached nearer to her real character, had I painted her as Diana. She comes here merely in obedience to her parents, and gains her bread as innocently as if she were knitting purses in a convent, from morning to night, without seeing the face of a man. In different countries," continued he, "people think very differently on subjects of this kind. The parents of this girl, to my knowledge, have refused considerable offers, from men of fortune, to be allowed the privilege of visiting her. They are so very careful of preventing every thing of this nature, that she actually lies in the same bed with them both, which is another piece of indelicacy not uncommon among the lower order of the Italians. These poor people have the more merit in refusing such offers, as their acting otherwise would by no means be thought extraordinary; nor would it raise such scandal as in some other countries of Europe."

The present pope, says Dr. Moore, who has assumed the name of Pius VI. is a tall, well made man*; about sixty years of age, but retaining in his looks all the freshness of a much earlier period of life. He lays a greater stress on the ceremonious part of his religion than his pre-

* He was Cardinal Braschi before his election.

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decessor, Ganganelli, in whose reign a great relaxation of church discipline took place.

Ganganelli was a man of moderation, good sense, and great simplicity of manners; and could not go through all the ostentatious parade, which his station required, without reluctance and marks of disgust. He knew that the opinions of mankind had undergone a very great change since those ceremonies were first established; and that the most respectable of the spectators considered as frivolous, what had once been held sacred. He was an enemy to fraud and hypocrisy of every kind; but however remiss he was in keeping his subjects ignorant, every body acknowledges his diligence and zeal in promoting their prosperity. He did all in his power to revive trade and to encourage manufactures and industry. He built no churches; but he repaired roads, restrained the malevolence of bigots, removed ancient prejudices, and promoted sentiments of charity and good will to mankind, without excepting even heretics.

His enemies, the Jesuits, gave him the name of the Protestant Pope, and by this intended calumny, paid the highest compliment to the man and the Christian. Yet politicians, as well as bigots, lamented his indifference to forms; for, however frivolous they were in themselves, they were justly considered of importance in such a government as Rome.

The present pope, before he was raised to that dignity, was considered as a firm believer in all the tenets of the Romish church, and a strict and scrupulous observer of all its injunctions and ceremonies. This probably influenced the conclave to elect him: for, in point of family, fortune,

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tune, and connections, many had higher pretensions.

Under Ganganelli, Protestantism was regarded with diminished apprehension, and even Calvinists were treated with a degree of indulgence to which their inveterate enmity to the church of Rome gave them little title. Several instances of this are recorded; and the following extraordinary one among the rest.

A Scotch Presbyterian, having heated his brains by reading the book of Martyrs, the cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition, and similar publications, was seized with a dread that the same horrors were just about to be renewed. This terrible idea haunted his imagination day and night. He at last communicated his anxiety and distress of mind to a worthy, sensible clergyman, who lived in his neighbourhood; who did all in his power to convince him that his apprehensions were groundless. He likewise had the good sense to desire his relations to remove the volumes which had given rise to his phrensy, and to substitute others of a less gloomy cast, which was carefully done.

The poor man, however, could not be prevailed on to read the books which were put in his way; but confined himself wholly to the study of the Revelations, particularly the parts which referred to the whore of Babylon, or in other words to the pope of Rome. This increased his malady; and he at length conceived the idea of proceeding immediately Rome, and converting the pope to the Presbyterian religion.

Full of this grand scheme, he became more tranquil and cheerful; and while his relations were congratulating each other on this agreeable change

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change in his manner, the exulting visionary, without communicating his design to any mortal, set out for London, took his passage to Leghorn, and soon after found himself in Rome.

He applied to an ecclesiastic of his own country, telling him that he earnestly desired to have a conference with the pope, on a business which admitted of no delay. The good-natured priest, seeing the state of the man's mind, wished to amuse him, by putting off the conference to a distant day; but the visionary soon after happening to go to St. Peter's, while his holiness was performing some religious ceremony, he could no longer wait for the expected interview; but, bursting out with zealous indignation, he exclaimed, "O thou beast of nature, with seven heads and ten horns! Thou mother of harlots, arrayed in purple and scarlet, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls! throw away the golden cup of thy abominations, and the filthiness of thy fornication!"

Such an apostrophe, in such a place, may naturally be supposed to have excited some confusion: he was immediately seized, and carried to prison.

When it was known he was a Briton, he was asked, by such as understood his language, "what had brought him to Rome?" He answered, "to anoint the eyes of the scarlet whore with eye-salve, that she might see her wickedness." They asked "who he meant by the scarlet whore?" "Who else," said he, "but her who sitteth on seven mountains, who hath seduced the kings of the earth to commit fornication, and hath gotten drunk with the blood of martyrs and saints!"

Many other questions were asked, and replies equally provoking returned. His judges were for condemning him to the galleys; that he might be taught more sense and better manners; but when Ganganelli (Clement XIV.) heard their sentiments, he said, with much good humour, "That he never had heard of any body whose understanding or politeness had been improved at that school; and though the poor man's first address had been a little rough and abrupt, yet he could not help considering himself as obliged to him for his good intentions, and for his undertaking such a long journey with a view of doing good."

He afterwards gave orders to treat the visionary with gentleness, while he remained in confinement, and to put him on board the first ship bound from Civita Vecchia for England, defraying the expenses of his passage.

However humane and reasonable this conduct was; his holiness did not escape censure for his lenity; and many, who loved the easy, amiable disposition of the man, thought that the spirit of the times required a different character on the papal throne.

Pius VI. is of an opposite character. He performs all the religious functions of his office in the most solemn manner, even in the most common acts of devotion.

Dr. Moore saw him one day in St. Peter's church with only a few attendants, bowing, kneeling, and kissing the foot of St. Peter, and then rubbing his brow and his whole head, with every mark of humility and devotion, on the sacred stump; for it is no more, as one half of the foot has long been worn away by the kisses of

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the pious, and it is probable that the rest may soon follow, if his holiness's example is generally imitated.

This appearance of zeal in the pope is not ascribed to hypocrisy or policy by the common people; but it gives them a high opinion of the strength of his faith; and, as for his understanding, they are not capable of estimating it.

This being jubilee year, our travellers were present at the ceremony in St. Peter's on this occasion, which was attended by an immense number of pilgrims from different Popish countries. After mass, on Christmas day, the pope gave the benediction to the people, assembled in the grand court before St. Peter's. An immense multitude filled that spacious and magnificent area.

The pope, seated in an open portable chair, in all his insignia, was carried out of a large window, which opens on a balcony in front of the church. The silk hangings and gold trappings, with which the chair was covered, concealed the men who bore the chair from the spectators below; and his holiness seemed to sail forward from the window, self-balanced in the air.

The instant he appeared, the music struck up, the bells rung from every church, and the cannon reared from the castle of St. Angelo. During the intervals, the acclamations of the populace were heard from every side.

At length his holiness rose from his seat, and an instant and awful silence ensued. The multitude fell on their knees, with their hands and eyes raised towards the holy father, as to a benignant deity. After a solemn pause, he pronounced the benediction with great fervour, elevating

his outstretched arms, and then closing them together, and bringing them slowly towards his breast. Finally, he threw his arms open, waving them for some time, as if his intention was to scatter the benediction with impartiality among the people.

"No ceremony," says Dr. Moore, "can be better calculated for striking the senses, and imposing on the understanding, than this of the pontiff giving the blessing from the balcony of St. Peter's. Had I not, in my early youth, received impressions highly unfavourable to the chief actor in this magnificent interlude, I should have been in danger of paying him a respect, very inconsistent with the religion I professed."

The year of jubilee, indulgencies are to be had at an easier rate than any other time; and some who can afford it, carry off enough, sufficient not only to quit old scores, but to serve as an indemnifying fund for future transgressions.

There is one door into the church of St. Peter, called the Holy Door, which is always walled up, except on this distinguished year; and even then no one is permitted to enter it, but in the humblest posture. When the ceremonies are closed, the pope descends from his throne, with a golden trowel in his hand, and places the first brick in a little mortar; after which he returns to his seat, and the door is instantly closed by less hallowed workmen.

It is usual for travellers of distinction to be introduced to the pope before they leave Rome. Our author and friends accordingly set out under the auspices of an ecclesiastic, who usually attends the English on such occasions.

Their conductor naturally concluded, that it would be most agreeable to them to have the ceremony of kissing the slipper dispensed with; and that his holiness, indulgent to the prejudices of the British nation, did not insist on that part of the ceremonial.

The Duke of Hamilton, however, thought kissing the toe was the only amusing part of the ceremony; and if that was to be omitted, he would not be introduced at all; considering that, if the most ludicrous part of the farce was to be left out, no one would regard the remainder.

At last, having settled preliminaries, they were ushered into the presence of the sovereign pontiff. They all bowed to the ground; the supplest had the happiness to touch the sacred slipper with their lips, and the less agile were within a few inches of that honour.

This being more than was expected, his holiness seemed agreeably surpris'd; rais'd the duke with a smile, and conversed with him in an obliging manner, saying something to each of the company. In less than twenty minutes they took their leave.

Next day the pope sent his compliments to the duke, with a present of two medals, one of gold and the other of silver, on which the head of the pontiff was finely engraved.

The manner in which the generality of sovereign princes pass their time is far from being agreeable or amusing. Slaves to the tiresome routine of etiquette; martyrs to the oppressive fatigue of pomp, constrained every levee day to walk round the same dull circle, to gratify the vanity of silly people, by whispering something or nothing into the ears of each; obliged to wear

a smiling countenance, even when the heart is oppressed by sadness; besieged by the craving faces of those who are more displeased at what is withheld, than grateful for favours received; surrounded as he is, by adepts in the art of flattery, all professing the highest possible regard; how shall the puzzled monarch distinguish real from assumed attachment?

Add to all these inconveniences, being precluded from the delightful sensations that spring from disinterested friendship, sweet equality of condition, and the gay careless enjoyments of social life, and it must be acknowledged that all that is brilliant in sovereign power, is not sufficient to compensate for such restraints, such dangers, and such deprivations.

But if this is the common fate of sovereigns, how wretched must the pope of Rome be, who is subjected to all, without the pleasures to which temporal princes are admitted. No wife, no family, no fond endearments, even in the hours of retirement, help him to support the tedium of life. His court is dull and formal; if a hypocrite, he is under continual restraint: if a bigot, he is still less to be envied. He knows he is laughed at by one half of the Catholics, and all the Protestants, and totally disregarded by the rest of mankind. His throne may perhaps be filled by his greatest enemy; and his children—if he have any—must be left to the care of others, for he cannot own them. If this picture does not depress the ambition of wearing the tiara, it is impossible any thing can; and we must suppose that power has greater charms than all the other blessings of life united.

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The inhabitants of this country move with a slow, composed pace; and though not destitute of vivacity, there is a grave solemnity in their manner. In walking the streets of Rome, however, one sees features expressive of reflection, sense, and genius; and in the very lowest ranks there are countenances which announce minds fit for the highest and most important situations, had education and fortune brought their abilities into action.

Strangers, on their arrival at Rome, form no high idea of the beauty of the women, from the specimens they see in the fashionable circles, to which they are at first introduced.

There are some exceptions, however, but it is generally among the citizens and the lower classes that female beauty shines here.

Beauty, doubtless, is infinitely varied, and happily for mankind, their tastes and opinions are equally various. Notwithstanding this variety, however, a style of face is in some measure peculiar to every nation of Europe.

The prevailing character of the most admired female heads in Rome, is a great profusion of dark hair encroaching on the forehead; a nose generally aquiline, or continued in a straight line from the lower part of the brow; a full and short upper lip; the eyes large and of a sparkling black.

The complexion, for the most part, is of a clear brown, sometimes fair, but seldom florid, or of that bright fairness so common in England and Saxony. At an early period, the women, who have the most expressive features, are apt to acquire something of a masculine air; and the appearance of youth flies before its time.

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With countenances so favourable for the pencil, it might be supposed that portrait-painting was much encouraged in Rome; but this is by no means the case. In many capital collections there is perhaps only the coarse portrait of the reigning pope; and as soon as he dies, his very picture must give way to his successor.

But though the Italians themselves are not fond of multiplying faces, the artists of Rome, who adopt this branch, are sure to be encouraged by the English and other travellers; not because they are more eminent than their respective countrymen; but because it is not so easy for every one to shew a head by Pompeo Battoni, the best Italian painter of the age.

Except during the carnival, no theatrical entertainments are permitted in this city; but they are then attended with a degree of ardour, proportionate to the restraint. Every kind of amusement, indeed, in this gay season, is followed with the greatest eagerness. Towards the close of it, all is frolic and sport. The citizens appear in the streets, masked, in the characters of harlequins, pantaloons, punchinellos, and all the fantastic variety of a masquerade. The coachmen generally affect the dresses of women, and are painted and patched in the most extravagant manner. However dull these fellows may be in their natural dresses, no sooner do they appear in their adopted one, than they are considered as very pleasant fellows, and are sure to excite a laugh.

The Corso is the grand scene of these masquerades. It is crowded every night with people of all ranks, and in every style. A kind of civil war is carried on by the company in passing each other.

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other. The greatest mark of attention you can pay your friends is, to throw a handful of little white balls, resembling Tugar plumbs, full in their faces.

Sometimes two or three open carriages on a side draw up, and engage in this kind of warfare: even the ladies distribute this small shot with the most determined good will—not to do harm.

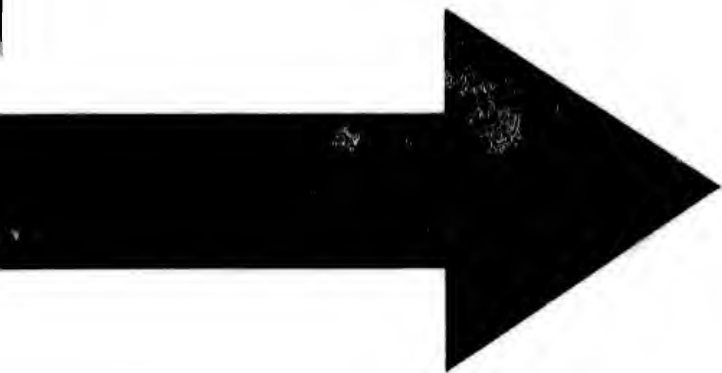
Masking and horse-racing are confined to the last eight days of the carnival, which is kept up for six weeks. The serious opera is most frequented during this period, by people of fashion, who seem to pay more attention to the performance than the *grandees* of Venice. Even the lower ranks preserve a perfect silence, which is only broken by bursts of applause, or murmurs of pleasure.

“At certain airs,” says our author, “silent enjoyment was expressed in every countenance: at others the hands were clasped together, the eyes half shut, and the breath drawn in with a prolonged sigh, as if the soul were expiring in a torrent of delight. One young woman in the pit cried out—“O God, where am I! what pleasure ravishes my soul!”

Though the serious opera is in the highest estimation, yet the opera buffas, or burlettas, are not entirely neglected by the great. Harlequin, pantaloon, and punchinello are only the amusements of children, or the very lowest rabble.

No female performers are allowed here, and their place is ill supplied by wretched castratos. Surely the horrid practice, which is encouraged by this manner of supplying the place of female singers, is a greater outrage on religion and morality





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rality, than could be produced by the evils intended to be prevented. Is it possible to believe that purity of sentiment will be preserved by producing eunuchs on the stage! It is more likely to have a different effect.

At last, having fully satisfied their curiosity for the present, our travellers left Rome, and proceeded through a silent, deserted, and unwholesome country to Marino, about twelve miles distant.

From Marino, the road runs, for several miles, over craggy mountains. In ascending Mons Albanus, they were charmed with a fine view of the country towards the sea, Ostia, Antium, and the lake Albano. This is evidently volcanic ground: the lake of Nemi seems, like that of Albano, to have been the cavity of a crater.

Their next stage was Veletri, an inconsiderable town, situated on a hill, where, according to some, Augustus was born, though Suetonius allows this honour to Rome. In the middle of the square of this town is a bronze statue of Urban VIII.

Descending from Veletri, by a rough road, bordered by vineyards and fruit trees, they traversed an insalubrious plain to Sermonetta, between which and Casa Nuova, are the ruins of the Three Taverns, mentioned by St. Paul, in the Acts.

Between Casa Nuova and Piperno, there is little to amuse, except what arises from the contemplation of ancient scenes, and historical incidents. Near Piperno is an abbey, called Fossa Nuova, situated on the ruins of the little town of Forum Appii, mentioned by Horace, in the account of his journey to Brundisium.

They next reached Terracina, formerly Auxur. The principal church was originally a temple of Jupiter,

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Jupitor, who had the epithet of Auxurus, from this place.

Near Terracina they again fell in with the Appian Way, and beheld with astonishment the depth of rock, that had been cut, to render it more commodious. This famous road was begun in 441 by Appius Claudius, the censor, and carried all the way from Rome to Capua, in a straight line, through every obstruction; but it is now impassable through the Pontine Marsh, on account of the noxious effluvia.

Terracina is the last town of the Ecclesiastical, and Fundi the first of the Neapolitan, dominions. This last town stands on a sheltered plain, which is seldom the case with Italian towns.

Continuing their route along the Appian Way, they came to Mola di Gaeta, a town built on the ruins of the ancient Formiæ. Cicero had a villa near this place; and it was on this coast where that illustrious orator was murdered in his litter, as he was endeavouring to escape into Greece.

The fortress of Gaeta is built on a promontory about three miles from Mola. Here they shew a chasm in a rock, which is said to have been miraculously split at the passion of our Saviour. A certain person having been told on what occasion the rent took place, struck the palm of his hand on the marble, declaring, he could no more believe that story, than that his hand would leave an impression on the rock; on which, to his terror and confusion, the stone yielded like wax, and retains the print to this day,

“Nothing,” our author justly observes, “is more injurious to the cause of truth, than to attempt to support it by fiction. Many evidences

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of the propriety of this remark occur in the course of a tour through Italy."

This rock is much resorted to by pilgrims; and the seamen on the coast frequently provide themselves with little bits of the marble, which they constantly wear in their pockets, as a preservative against drowning.

In the castle is shewn the skeleton of the famous Bourbon, constable of France, who was killed in the service of Charles V. as he scaled the walls of Rome.

From Mola they were conducted, by the Appian Way, over the fertile fields washed by the Liris, on the banks of which some ruins of the ancient Minturnæ are still to be seen. After Manlius Torquatus had offered up his son as a sacrifice to military discipline, and his colleague Decius had devoted himself to death, the broken army of the Latins assembled at Minturnæ, and were a second time defeated by Manlius.

In the morasses of Minturnæ, Caius Marius, in the seventieth year of his age, was taken, and brought a prisoner to that city. The magistrates ordered an assassin to put him to death; but the fierce veteran disarmed him with a look.

Leaving the Garilagno, or Liris, they passed the rising ground where the ancient Sinuessæ stood, the scene of meeting between Plotius, Virgil, and Horace, as described in one of the epistles of the latter.

New Capua is a small unimportant town. The ancient city lay two miles off. The ruins of the amphitheatre give some idea of the ancient grandeur of that city: indeed, at one time, it is said to have vied with Carthage and Rome.

The country between Capua and Naples displays a varied scene of lavish fertility, and, with great propriety, obtains the appellation of Campania Felix, if the richest and most generous soil, with the mildest and most agreeable climate, are sufficient to constitute the happiness of man.

The day after their arrival at Naples, they waited on Sir William Hamilton, the British minister, who had unfortunately gone on a hunting party with the king that morning; and as the laws of etiquette did not allow that they should delay making the usual round of visits, the Portuguese ambassador undertook, at Lady Hamilton's desire, to accompany our travellers on this important tour.

Naples was founded by the Greeks; and its situation is one proof, among thousands, of the fine taste of that ingenious people. The bay is thirty miles in circumference, and twelve in diameter. The town is built at the bottom of this bay, in the form of a vast amphitheatre, sloping from the hills to the sea. The views, on all sides, are the most beautiful that the eye can behold, or the fancy conceive.

Independent of its happy situation, Naples is certainly a very beautiful city. Though it cannot vie with Rome in the number of its palaces, or in the grandeur and magnificence of its churches, the private houses, in general, are better built, and more commodious, and the streets broader and better paved. The Strada di Toledo, at Naples, excels the Corso at Rome in beauty, as well as situation.

The houses in general are five or six stories high, and flat at the top, with a number of flower vases, which have a charming effect. The air is

soft and bland; and, in fact, this may be called the native country of the zephyrs.

The fortress of St. Elmo is built on a mountain of the same name; and commands the whole town. A little lower, is a convent of Carthusians, in one of the most enchanting spots imaginable; and much expence has been lavished, to render the building, the apartments, and the gardens, equal to the situation. To bestow large sums of money in adorning the retreat of men, who have abandoned the world, for the express purpose of passing the remainder of their lives in self-denial and mortification, seems, at least, to be ill-judged; and, perhaps, it might have been applied in a variety of ways, to much more beneficial and laudable purposes.

Though the situation of Naples is most propitious for commerce, and no kingdom produces the necessaries and luxuries of life in greater profusion, yet trade languishes, and it is indebted to France and England for the best silks and woolen cloths.

The chief manufactures here, are silk stockings, soap, snuff-boxes of tortoise-shell and lava, tables, and ornamental furniture of marble. The Neapolitan embroidery is preferred to that of France, and macaroni is here made in the greatest perfection. They also excel in liquors and confections, which are sold at a very high price. One, called Diabolonis, is of a very hot and stimulating nature; by no means necessary for a Neapolitan constitution.

The inhabitants of this city are computed at three hundred and fifty thousand. In London or Paris, the usual noise in the streets is that of carriages; but in Naples, where they talk with

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great vivacity, and where they have little else to do, the noise of carriages is completely drowned in the tumultuous clack of human voices. In the midst of all this idleness, few riots or outrages take place; which may be ascribed chiefly to the natural quiet temper and habitual sobriety of the Italians. Iced water and lemonade are among the luxuries of the lowest vulgar; and they are carried about and sold by the halfpenny-worth. The half-naked lazzarone is as often tempted to spend his small pittance on this bewitching beverage, as the most dissolute of the low people in London to throw away their wages on gin and brandy; so that the same extravagance, that cools the mob of one city, tends to inflame that of the other.

Considering the population, there is no city in the world with fewer productive hands; but the number of priests, monks, fiddlers, lawyers, nobility, footmen, and lazzarones, exceed all proportion: the last, alone, are computed at forty thousand. If these poor fellows are unemployed, it is not their fault, as they are continually running from one street to another, begging for work.

The Neapolitan nobility are excessively fond of splendor and show. This appears in the brilliancy of their equipages, the number of their attendants, the richness of their dress, and the grandeur of their titles.

It is said there are about one hundred Neapolitan princes, and still a greater number of dukes in this kingdom. Six or seven of these have estates, perhaps, from ten to twelve thousand pounds sterling a year; but the great majority have fortunes of about half that value, and the

annual income of many does not exceed one or two thousand.

With respect to the inferior orders of the nobility, they are very poor. Some counts and marquisses have not above three or four hundred pounds a year; and not a few enjoy a title without any estate whatever.

When the magnificence of their entertainments, and the splendor of their equipages are considered, it is astonishing that the richest of the Neapolitan nobility can support the expences.

Soon after their arrival, our travellers dined at the prince of Franca Villa's, where there were forty persons at table. It was meagre day, and the dinner consisted entirely of fish and vegetables; yet it was the most magnificent entertainment that could be conceived; the fish were dressed in a great variety of dishes, and the fruits and wines were in the greatest profusion, and of the choicest qualities.

They passed through a dozen large rooms, before they arrived at the dining room; and each person at table had one of the prince's domestics behind his chair; while numerous other servants were seen in the adjoining apartments.

No estate in England could support such a retinue, paid and fed as English servants are; but here wages are very moderate indeed, and the greater number of the men servants, belonging to the first families, give their attendance through the day only, and find their own lodging and provisions. It must likewise be remarked, that few of the nobles give entertainments, and that most of them live with a frugal economy, except in articles of show.

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When it is not the season of the opera, people of fashion generally pass part of the evening at the Corso on the sea-shore. This is the great scene of splendor and parade. The carriages are painted, gilt, varnished, and lined, in a richer and more beautiful manner than is usual in other countries; and they are often drawn by six, and sometimes by eight horses.

It is the mode here to have two running footmen before the carriage, and three or four servants, all very richly dressed in liveries, behind. The ladies and gentlemen within the coaches glitter in all the brilliancy of lace, embroidery, and jewels.

On gala days, there are particular carriages, with very large windows, that the spectators may enjoy a full view of the parties. On such occasions the harness and decorations of the horses are the most showy that can be imagined. In short, it would seem, says Dr. Moore, that the horses' heads, manes, and tails had been adorned by the same hands that dressed the ladies, and not by ordinary grooms.

"The king of Naples," says our traveller, "is about twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age. He is a prince of great activity of body, and a good constitution; and frequently indulges in hunting and other exercises; and as a proof of his natural talents, he always succeeds in whatever pursuit he applies himself to. He is very fond of reviewing his troops, and is perfectly master of the whole mystery of the manual exercise.

"As a shot, he is most excellent; and his uncommon success at this diversion, is thought to have roused the jealousy of his most Catholic majesty,

jefty, who also values himself much on his skill as a marksman.

"A gentleman, who came lately from Madrid, told me," says Dr. Moore, "that the king on some occasion had read a letter, which he had just received from his son at Naples, wherein he complained of his bad success on a shooting party, having killed no more than eighty birds in a day; and turning to his courtiers, observed how happy he would think himself if he could kill forty.

"Fortunate would it be for mankind, if the happiness of their princes could be purchased at so easy a rate! and thrice fortunate for the generous people of Spain, if the family connections of their monarch never seduce him into a more ruinous war, than that with the beasts of the field, or the fowls of the air."

His Neapolitan majesty possesses many accomplishments besides those which have been enumerated. No king in Europe is supposed to understand the game of billiards better. I had the pleasure, says Dr. Moore, of seeing him strike the most brilliant stroke that perhaps was ever struck by a crowned head.

The cabinet of this court is supposed to be entirely guided by that of Spain. In domestic life, the king of Naples is an amiable character. The queen is a most beautiful woman, and seems to possess the affability, good humour, and benevolence which characterize the Austrian family.

The feudal government of the nobles over their vassals, still subsists in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; consequently the peasants are poor and dispirited, and the landowners do not receive half the emolument from their estates that they might, by letting them to freemen. But the love
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of superiority rises above the prospects of interest ; and this ungenerous spirit still pervades too large a portion of Europe.

Though the Neapolitan nobility still retain the ancient feudal superiority over the peasants, yet their personal importance depends, in a great measure, on the favour of the king ; who, on mere pretence, can confine them to their own estates, or imprison them at pleasure ; and who, without any alleged offence, can mortify them in the most sensible manner, by not inviting them to the amusements of the court, or withholding his smiles, when they attend there on any ordinary occasion. Relying entirely on his standing army*, he has little to fear from the resentment of the nobles, even should they be generally united ; for as the nobles have lost the affections of the peasants, their opposition even to the most arbitrary measures, would only expose them to a double danger from the prince and the people.

Neither the civil nor military establishments in this country open any very tempting field for the ambition of the nobles, whose education is usually adapted to the parts of life they are likely to fill. Their fortunes and titles descend to them, independent of any effort of their own. Literary distinctions are beneath their regard ; it is therefore not thought expedient to cloud the playful innocence of their childhood, or the amiable gaiety of their youth, with severe studies.

In some other countries, a small portion of knowledge is thought becoming for a young man of rank, and they generally pick up a little by study,

* The late revolution in France has shown that standing armies are little to be depended on.

in conversation, or in travel. But the nobility of Naples seldom stir from home, and they have few opportunities of enlarging and improving their minds, from incidental avocation or particular pursuits.

The citizens of Naples form a society of their own, perfectly distinct from the nobility; and seem to divide their time between business and pleasure, in a very agreeable manner.

In the most respectable class of citizens, are comprehended the lawyers, of which there is a great number. The most eminent of this profession hold a kind of intermediate rank between the nobility and citizens; the rest are on a level with the physicians, the principal merchants, and the artists, none of whom can amass large fortunes; but they are satisfied to make the best of a moderate income. England is perhaps the only nation in Europe where some individuals of every profession, even of the lowest, find it possible to accumulate great fortunes; the effect of which is, that the son frequently despises the profession of his father, commences gentleman, and dissipates in a few years, what cost the labour of a life to accumulate. In the principal cities of Germany, however, we find that the ancestors of many of those citizens, who are most eminent in their particular professions, have transmitted the art to them through several generations, by which means it has received every possible improvement.

The number of priests, monks, and ecclesiastics, of various denominations, that swarm in this city, is prodigious, and the provision appropriated to their use is as ample. It is said that the clergy are in possession of more than one-third of the revenue

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The unproductive wealth, lodged in the churches and convents of this city, amounts to an amazing value. Though the churches of Naples are less splendid than those of Rome, they are reckoned vastly more rich in silver and golden crucifixes, vessels, and various other implements.

This wealth, however, is as useless, as if it still remained in the mines of Peru; and the greatest part of it, surely affords as little comfort to the clergy and monks, as to any other part of the community.

The ecclesiastics here live very much in society, both with the nobles and citizens. Self denial does not seem to be one of the virtues they aim at. All of them, the monks not excepted, attend the theatre, and seem to join most cordially in other diversions and amusements; and the common people are no ways offended at this.

It is said that a considerable diminution, in the number of monks, has taken place, since the suppression of the Jesuits, and since it was permitted to quit the cowl; but still, there seems no reason to complain of any deficiency in this order of men. The richest and most commodious convents in Europe, both for males and females, are in this city and its environs.

Some of the friars study physic and surgery, and practise these arts with great applause. Each convent has an apothecary's shop appertaining to it, where medicines are distributed gratis to the poor, and sold to those who can afford to pay for them.

For these reasons, the monks in general are in greater favour with the people than the secular clergy; but if half the stories circulated of them are true, they are the greatest profligates and debauchees in the world. Indeed it is very probable they are quite as sensual as they are devout.

The lazzaroni, or blackguards, have already been mentioned as forming a considerable part of the inhabitants of Naples; and on some occasions they have, for a short time, usurped the government. The greatest part of them have no dwelling-house; but lodge at night under porticoes, piazzas, or any shelter they can find.

Such of them as have wives and children, live in the suburbs of Naples, near Pansilippo, in huts, or in caverns, or chambers dug out of that mountain. Some gain a livelihood by fishing, others by carrying burdens, and many are employed on errands or other menial services.

As their employment is neither certain nor sufficiently productive to maintain them, the bread and soup, distributed at the doors of the convents, supply the deficiency. This unhappy race of men has been much stigmatized for idleness and other associated vices; but surely the greatest reflection lies on government, in not taking care to employ them in some regular, profitable way.

Dr. Moore says, that so far from being licentious and turbulent, as has been objected to them, he cannot help thinking them too tame and submissive. They bear the insolence of the nobility as passively as peasants fixed to the soil. A coxcomb of a Volanti, tricked out in his fantastical dress, or any of the liveried slaves of the great, make no ceremony of treating these poor fellows with all the insolence and insensibility, natural to their

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their masters; and for no visible reason, but to shew their superiority. Instead of calling to them to make way, a stroke across the shoulders with the cane of the running footman is the usual warning they receive. Nothing animates them to insurrection but a scarcity of bread: every thing else they bear as if it were their charter. In short, when we consider their destitution of almost every thing that renders life valuable, and the affluence or parade of others continually reminding them of their own abject state, we must be astonished at their patience.

“ Let the prince,” exclaims Dr. Moore, with feelings that do him honour, “ be distinguished by splendor and magnificence; let the rich and the great have their luxuries; but in the name of humanity, let the poor, who are willing to labour, have food in abundance to satisfy the cravings of nature, and raiment to defend them from the inclemencies of the weather!”

Our travellers made several visits to the museum at Portici, principally to view the antiquities dug out of Herculaneum and Pompeia.

All the paintings that have hitherto been found in these subterraneous recesses, were executed on the stucco which lined the walls. Many of them have been removed with great address, and are preserved in glass cases. The colours are very lively, and the subjects are easily made out by those who are acquainted with the Grecian history and mythology. Among the rest are a Chion teaching Achilles to play on the lyre, Ariadne Deserted, the Judgment of Paris, and Theseus's victory over the Minotaur.

It is not to be supposed that these are master-pieces of antient painting. The decorations of the

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the walls of houses, however fine, are seldom to be regarded as finished performances.

The elegant forms, the admirable workmanship of the ornamental furniture and domestic utensils, in silver and other metals, sufficiently attest the fertile imagination, and exquisite execution of the ancient artists.

Many of the manuscripts found at Herculaneum have been carried to Madrid; but still a greater number remain at Portici. Great pains and much ingenuity have been displayed in separating and unrolling the sheets without destroying the writing. This has succeeded to a certain degree; but, in spite of all their attention, many places are obliterated.

The manuscripts, hitherto unrolled and copied, are in the Greek language, and none of them are on very important subjects*.

Herculaneum and Pompeia were destroyed by the same eruption of Mount Vesuvius, about one thousand seven hundred years ago. The former was a town of much consequence, and by subsequent torrents of lava, is rendered infinitely more difficult to be cleared than the latter. It is, in fact, from seventy to one hundred feet below the surface of the earth, and a new city has actually been built on the lava of the last eruption; from whence the difficulty of obtaining the ancient treasures has been very considerably increased.

Though Pompeia was not discovered till many years after Herculaneum, yet it is only about twelve feet below the ground; and the earth, cinders, and pumice stones, with which it is covered, are so light and so little tenacious, that

* One of them, by Philodemus, on the subject of music, has lately been published.

one half of the lazzaroni of Naples, in our author's opinion, would be sufficient to lay the whole open within the space of a year.

Hitherto, however, only one street, and a few detached buildings, have been cleared. The street is well paved, and causeways are raised on each side for the conveniency of the foot passengers. The traces of wheels are to be seen on the pavement. The houses are small, and in a very different style from the modern; but they give an idea of neatness and conveniency. Most of them are built on an uniform plan, and have one small room from the passage, which is conjectured to have been a shop. The nature of the traffic carried on at one particular house is indicated by a figure in alto relievo, of a very expressive kind, placed over the door.

In one part of Pompeia is a rectangular building, with a colonnade towards the court, in the style of the Royal Exchange in London. This has every appearance of a barrack and guard-room. The pillars are of brick, covered with shining stucco, elegantly fluted. The scrawlings and drawings on the walls are such as might naturally be expected, where soldiers were the designers, and swords the engraving tools. Abundance of names are inscribed on various parts of the wall, according to the universal custom of the humblest candidates for fame in all ages and countries; and here they have outlived the proudest monuments of art.

At a considerable distance from the barrack, is a building known, by its inscription, for a temple of Isis. There is nothing very magnificent in its appearance; the pillars are of brick, stuccoed like the guard-room. The best paintings

hitherto found at Pompeia are those of this temple, which have been removed to Portici.

There is one villa without the walls on a much larger scale than the rest of the buildings. In a cellar belonging to this house, are a number of amphoræ, or earthen vessels, most of them filled with a kind of red substance, supposed to have been wine.

Some of the unfortunate family, it appears, took shelter in this place from the destructive shower which overwhelmed the town. Four skeletons of grown people, and as many of children, were found here. In one room the body of a man with an axe in his hand was discovered: he had probably been endeavouring to cut a passage into the air. Already he had broken and pierced the wall, but the superincumbent rubbish had arrested his progress.

Few skeletons are found in the streets, but a considerable number in the houses; from which it may be conjectured, that they had time to retire.

“It is impossible,” says Dr. Moore, “to view these skeletons, and reflect on the dreadful catastrophe without horror and compassion. We cannot think of the inhabitants of a whole town being destroyed at once, without imagining that their fate was uncommonly severe. But are not the inhabitants of all the towns, then existing, of whom we think without any emotion of pity, as completely dead as those of Pompeia? And could we take them one by one, and examine the nature of their deaths, and the circumstances attending each individual, it is probable the balance of sufferings would be found most light in this lamented place.

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At Naples our author met with a kind of street orators, who recited passages from Ariosto, for the entertainment of the populace, and acted the different sentiments with much expression, explaining difficult passages as they went along. This practice of rehearsing the verses of the poets, it seems, is much less in vogue than formerly.

At Venice, mountebanks frequently gain a livelihood, by amusing the rabble with wonderful and romantic tales in prose; and to arrest their attention, they generally fix on some legend or history, connected with their own country.

In Rome, those street orators sometimes entertain the audience with interesting passages of real history. "I remember," says Dr. Moore, "having heard one in particular give a full and true account, how the bloody heathen emperor, Nero set fire to the city of Rome, and sat at a window of his golden palace, playing on a harp, while the town was burning. After which the historian proceeded to relate how this unnatural monster murdered his own mother; and he concluded with a detail of the circumstances attending Nero's own end.

The business of street oratory, while it amuses the populace, and keeps them from less innocent pastimes, gives them, at the same time, some general ideas of history. Street orators, therefore, are not without their use; and perhaps are more serviceable than those who deal in extemporaneous verse, who are called *Improvvisatori*.

Some of these compositions, however, are truly admirable. The poetic, prompt effusions of Signora Corilla are admired by persons of real taste. It is said that the Italian language admits of a greater facility in versification than any other; but versification

fication is not poetry, and those who succeed in joining elegant sentiment with rhyme, must naturally be supposed to possess much genius, particularly when the strains are unpremeditated.

Naples is celebrated for the finest opera in Europe. When our traveller was here, it was not the season; but the common people enjoy *their* opera at all times. Little concerts of vocal and instrumental music are heard every evening in the principal streets; and young men and women are seen dancing to the music of ambulatory performers all along the bay.

To a mere spectator, the amusements of the common people afford more delight than those of the great; because the former seem to enjoy them the most. This is every where the case, except in France; where the high appear as happy as those of the middle ranks, and the rich are as merry as the poor.

In most countries, however, the people of rank and fortune flock to every species of entertainment, without seeming to enjoy it; while the poor, who are precluded from most, have cheap pleasures of their own, which they appear to enjoy with peculiar relish.

In England those, who wish to be thought of the ton, imitate the mawkish insipidity of their superiors in rank, and imagine it distinguishes them from the vulgar, to suppress all the natural expressions of pity, joy, or admiration, and to seem on all occasions in complete apathy.

It is not so at Naples, at least among the populace. A fellow with a mask on his face, and and a guitar in his hand, singing to his own wretched instrument, will attract crowds of all ages. "I have seen," says Dr. Moore, "the old

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old women listening with their distaffs, spinning a kind of coarse flax; their grandchildren sprawling at their feet; men and wives, youths and maids, sitting in a circle, with their eyes fixed on the musician, who kept them laughing for hours together at his merry stories, which he enlivened occasionally with tunes on the guitar.

Our travellers made two visits to Mount Vesuvius. Leaving the carriage at Herculaneum, they mounted mules, and were attended by three guides, who generally accompany strangers on this expedition.

Being arrived at the hermitage of Il Salvatore, they found the road so broken and rough, that they were glad to dismount, and to leave their mules at the hermitage. They then walked over various fields of lava, the produce of different eruptions, all which were distinguished by their guides.

The last eruption, though not very considerable, had happened about twelve months before. The lava was still smoking, and in some places appeared of a glowing red colour. In other places, notwithstanding it was become perfectly black and solid, it still retained such a degree of heat, that they could not stand on it for any length of time.

Advancing, they perceived a small stream of the same kind gliding from beneath the black crust on which they stood. The idea of this crust giving way, made them shift their ground with precipitation; on which one of their guides called out *Animo, Animo, Signori!* and immediately jumped on the incrustation, to shew its solidity. They afterwards threw large stones on the flowing lava, on the surface of which they floated

like cork, and on thrusting a stick into the stream, it required considerable exertion to make it enter.

Advancing to that part of the mountain which is almost perpendicular, they laid hold of the belts of their guides; but as the cinders, ashes, and other drossy materials are continually giving way, the foot sinks backwards more than half of every step, and the fatigue of ascending the hill is more than doubled.

Those, therefore, who set out briskly at first, and do not husband their strength, are wearied before they can reach the top: it is thus when youth waste their vigour in early excesses, and the remaining journey of life is spent in unavailing reflections on their imprudence.

To view Mount Vesuvius to the greatest advantage, it is necessary to set out in the evening; and the darker the succeeding night is, so much more noble is the spectacle. By the time our travellers reached the top of the volcano, there was hardly any other light than that which issued, by uninterrupted flashes, from the crater.

These appeared much more considerable than they had imagined, while at a greater distance. Each of them was preceded by a noise like thunder, within the mountain; a column of thick black smoke then issued out with great rapidity, followed by a blaze of light; and immediately after a shower of cinders and ashes, or red-hot stones were thrown into the sky. This was succeeded by a calm of some minutes, during which they saw nothing but a moderate quantity of smoke and flame, which gradually increased, and terminated in thunder and explosion as before.

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When they arrived, their guides placed them at a reasonable distance from the mouth of the volcano, and on the side from whence the wind came. Thus they were not incommoded by the smoke, nor in danger of being hurt, except when the explosion was very violent.

Having remained some time where they were posted by their guides, the company grew bolder, as they became familiarized to the scene; and some made the circuit of the crater, though not without risk.

Considering the rash and frolicksome disposition of some who visit this mountain, it is remarkable, says our author, that so few accidents happen. Some English gentlemen have been known to bet who could approach nearest, and remain longest near the mouth of the volcano.

A very dreadful accident had nearly happened while our travellers remained there. The bank, on which some of them stood, to look into the volcano, actually fell in before they left the summit of the mountain. This made an impression on all present, and inclined them to abandon so treacherous a vicinity.

The steep hill of dross and cinders which they had so much difficulty in ascending, they descended with rapidity; but as the night was dark, they had more difficulty in passing over the rough valley between that and the hermitage, near which the mules waited.

Before they resumed their journey to Naples, they were refreshed at the bottom of the mountain with some glasses of a very generous and pleasant wine, called *Lachrima Christi*, which forms a striking contrast with its name.

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In walking the streets of Naples one day, they met some people carrying the corpse of a man on an open bier, and others following in procession. The deceased was a tradesman, whose widow had bestowed the utmost attention in dressing him to the greatest advantage on this solemn occasion. He had on a perfectly new suit of clothes, a laced hat upon his head, ruffles, his hair finely powdered, and a large blooming nosegay in his left hand, while his right was gracefully stuck in his side.

It is the custom at Naples to carry the dead to church in full dress, soon after their death; and for their nearest relations to display the magnitude of their grief, by the magnificent manner in which they decorate the corpse. When the body arrives in the church, the ceremony is read over it. That being performed, it is carried home, stripped of its fine clothes to the very shirt, and interred privately.

After observing various other customs of the Neapolitans, in some of which a degree of refinement and brutality, of folly and sense, was intermixed, on the 1st of May, they had an opportunity of seeing the famous miracle of the liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood performed.

This saint is the great patron of Naples; and it is reasonable to suppose that his influence must be thought very considerable, or he would not be trusted with the care of a city like this, which is threatened every moment with destruction from Mount Vesuvius.

St. Januarius suffered martyrdom about the end of the third century. When he was beheaded, a pious lady of this city caught about an ounce of his blood, which has been carefully preserved ever

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ever since, in a solid form, without the least diminution of its weight; and, on being brought near the head of the saint, it immediately liquefies, as a mark of veneration. This miracle is performed thrice a year, and is considered by the Neapolitans as one of the first magnitude. Indeed some of the zealous Catholics are ready to rest the truth of their doctrine on this trick*; which, though it cannot be satisfactorily explained, but by the real agents, yet we may with certainty pronounce a gross imposition on the credulity of men.

The head and blood of the saint are kept in a kind of press, with folding doors of silver, in the chapel of St. Januarius. The real head is not exposed to the eyes of the public, but inclosed in a large silver bust, gilt and enriched with jewels of high value. The blood is kept in a small repository by itself

"About mid-day," says Dr. Moore, "the bust, inclosing the real head, was brought with great solemnity, and placed under a kind of portico, open on all sides, that the people might have the comfort of beholding the miracle."

The processions of that solemn day were innumerable; and all the ecclesiastics were dressed in their best robes. The monks were mustered under their particular banners; and a splendid cross was carried before each procession, and the images

* "O illustrious memorial!" exclaims one; "O irrefragable truth! Come hither, ye heretics! come hither and be astonished, and open your eyes to Catholic and evangelic truth. The blood of St. Januarius alone is a sufficient testimony of the truth. Is it possible that such a great and famous miracle does not convert all heretics and infidels to the truths of the Roman Catholic church?"

of favourite saints, in massy silver, immediately followed the cross.

Having made their obeisance to St. Januarius, they marched back, by a different route, in the same order to their convents.

After these inferior processions were over, the grand one commenced, composed of a numerous body of clergy, and an immense multitude of people of all ranks, headed by the archbishop of Naples, carrying the phial containing the blood of the saint.

The Duke of Hamilton and our author were conducted, by the British minister, to a house exactly opposite to the portico where the sacred head was placed. A magnificent robe of velvet was thrown over the shoulders of the bust; and a mitre, refulgent with jewels, placed on its head.

The archbishop, with a solemn pace and a look full of awe and veneration, approached, holding forth the sacred phial, which contained the precious lump of blood. He addressed the saint in the most fervent manner, and implored him to manifest his usual regard for his faithful votaries of Naples, by ordering that lump of his sacred blood to assume its natural and original form. The multitude joined in the same supplications, particularly the women.

Our author mingled with the crowd, and by degrees got near the bust. For twenty minutes the archbishop had been praying, without intermission. An old monk stood near him, and was at the utmost pains to instruct him how to handle, rub, and chase the phial; but their joint manœuvres were ineffectual.

By this time the multitude had become quite noisy, and the women were hoarse with praying; the

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the monk continued his operations with increased zeal, and the archbishop was in a profuse sweat with vexation. In whatever light the failure of the miracle might appear to others, it was a very serious matter to him; because the people consider such an event as a proof of the saint's displeasure, and a certain indication that some dreadful calamity will happen. Besides, this was the first time he had officiated since his nomination to the see; and it was not unlikely but that the superstitious populace might fancy the saint was offended with his reverence.

"I never," says Dr. Moore, "saw more evident marks of vexation and alarm, than appeared in the archbishop's countenance. This alone would have convinced me, that they cannot command the liquefaction when they please. While things were in this state, a gentleman pushed through the crowd, and spoke to the old monk, who, in a pretty loud voice, and with an accent and grimace expressive of chagrin, replied, " 'Sblood! it is still as hard as a stone."

An acquaintance whispered our traveller to retire, as it was not unusual to ascribe the failure of the miracle to the presence of heretics; and that the populace might, in consequence, be led to an insult. He took the hint, and rejoined his friends in the balcony; amusing himself with observing the different passions which the devotees displayed. Some cried and sobbed, as if their hearts were ready to break; others, instead of sorrow, became indignant, and began to abuse the saint.

When almost dark, and when least expected, the signal was given that the miracle was performed. The populace filled the air with shouts

of joy; a band of music began to play; te deum was sung; and couriers were dispatched to the royal family, then at Portici, with the glad tidings.

A Catholic, however, who stood close by the archbishop, assured our author that the miracle had entirely failed; for the old monk, seeing no symptoms of the blood liquefying, had the address to give the signal, when it was too dark to distinguish clearly, and the archbishop had held up the bottle, moving it with a rapid motion before the eyes of the spectators, who were all willing to believe what they wished; or at least did not chuse to contradict the principal agents.

The tomb of Virgil, which is constantly visited by travellers, stands on the mountain of Pausilippo, a little above the grotto of that name. The path to it runs through a vineyard: it is overgrown with ivy-leaves, and shaded with branches, shrubs, and bushes. An ancient bay-tree, with infinite propriety, overspreads it.

"Viewed from this magic spot," says our author, "the objects which adorn the bay become doubly interesting. The poet's verses are here recollected with additional pleasure; the verses of Virgil are interwoven in our minds with a thousand interesting ideas; with the memory of our boyish years, or the sportive scenes of childhood; of our earliest friends and companions, many of whom are now no more; and those who still live, and for whom we retain the first impression of affection, are removed to such a distance, that the hopes of seeing them again seem at best but doubtful*."

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* Some antiquarians have pretended to say, that Virgil was buried on the other side of the bay; without fixing the particular

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The Grotto of Pausilippo serves as a communication to the classic fields of Baia and Cumæ. It is a subterraneous passage through the mountain, near a mile long, about twenty feet broad, and thirty or forty high, except at the two extremities, where it is much more elevated.

People of fashion generally drive through this passage with torches; but the light which enters at the extremities, and at two holes, pierced through the mountain, renders it not difficult for passengers to find their way.

Two miles beyond this grotto is a circular lake, about half a mile in diameter, called Lago d'Agnano, on whose margin is situated the famous Grotto del Cane, where so many dogs have been tortured, merely to shew the effect of the vapour which rises at the bottom of the cave.

A dog having his head held in this vapour, becomes convulsed in a few minutes, and soon after falls to the earth, motionless. The fellows, who attend at this cave, have always some miserable animals, with ropes about their necks, ready for this cruel experiment, when any one will pay them for their trouble.

"I should have been happy," says Dr. Moore, "to have taken the effect of the vapour for granted, without a new trial; but some of the company were of a more philosophic turn of mind than I have any pretensions to. When the unhappy dog found all his efforts to escape were ineffectual, he seemed to plead for mercy by the

cular spot. It is an easy matter to raise doubts, or to ask questions; but we cordially join Dr. Moore in his apostrophe: "Would to heaven those *doubters* would keep their minds to themselves, and not ruffle the tranquillity of *believers*!"

dumb eloquence of looks, and the blandishments natural to his species. While he licked the hand of his keeper, the unrelenting wretch dashed him a blow, and thrust his head into the murderous vapour. The Duke of Hamilton, shocked at the fellow's barbarity, soon wrested the dog from his hands, and gave him life and liberty, which he seemed to enjoy with all the bounding rapture of gladness and gratitude."

Though the experiment is generally made with dogs, because they are most easily procured, yet it admits of no doubt, that this vapour convulses, and, at last, proves fatal to whatever has life.

Beyond this, lie the favourite fields of fancy and poetical fiction: the Campi Phlegrei, the Monte Nova, and Barbarò; the grotto of the Cumæan sybil, the noxious and gloomy lakes of Avernus and Acheron, and the green bowers of Elysium.

The town of Puzzoli, and its environs, present an immense field of observation to the antiquarian, the natural philosopher, and the classical scholar. The Temple of Jupiter Serapis, at this place, is a very interesting monument of antiquity, being in quite a different style of architecture from the Grecian and Roman temples, and built in the Egyptian, or the Asiatic taste.

The ruins of Cicero's villa, near Puzzoli, are of such extent, as to give a high idea of the wealth of this great orator. Had fortune always bestowed her gifts with as much propriety, she never would have been accused of blindness. When the truly great are blessed with riches, it affords pleasure to every candid mind. Tully's country seats were never the scenes of idleness or riot. They are distinguished by the names of his works, which

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have been the delight of the learned, and have immortalized his own name.

The bay between Puzzoli and Baia, is about a league in breadth. Having passed this, a new field of curiosities presents itself. The baths and prisons of Nero, the tomb of Agrippina, the temples of Venus, of Diana, and of Mercury, and the ruins of the ancient Cumæ; but there are no vestiges of some of the finest villas that once adorned this luxurious coast, nor even of the town of Baia. The whole of this beautiful bay, once the seat of pleasure and of population, is now very thinly inhabited, and exhibits a striking contrast between its ancient opulence and its present poverty.

Our travellers went to view the palace of Casserta, begun in 1750, and not then finished, though several hundreds of men had been constantly employed on it.

In extent and magnificence, it seems out of all proportion to the revenues of the kingdom. It is situated about sixteen miles north of Naples, on the plain where the ancient Capua stood.

Casserta is of a rectangular form, seven hundred and fifty feet by five hundred and eighty; and about one hundred and twelve feet high, comprising five habitable stories, which contain a sufficient number of apartments to accommodate the most numerous court. This rectangle is divided into four courts. In each of the two principal parts are three correspondent gates, forming three openings, which pass from side to side. The middle gate forms the entry to a magnificent portico, through which the coaches drive. In the middle of this, and in the centre of the edifice, is a vestibule, which opens into the four grand courts.

On one side is a statue of Hercules, crowned by Victory, with this inscription,

“ Virtus post fortia facta coronat.”

that is,

“ Virtue crowns him after many valiant actions.”

The grand staircase is adorned with the richest marble; and the apartments are laid out for balls, for theatrical entertainments, for parade, and for use: in a word, this palace is the most magnificent in Europe.

The gardens are of correspondent extent and magnificence. They are decorated with statues, chiefly from the antique, and contain an artificial lake and island. In the middle of the latter is a kind of castle, regularly fortified, with a ditch round it, and a numerous train of artillery, some of them nine or ten *ouncers*. It seems, indeed; that the cannon were designed against the frogs, who are continually attempting to scale the ramparts from the ditch. Dr. Moore says, he no sooner entered this fort, than he wished Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim had been of the party; for it would have charmed the souls of the worthy veteran and his faithful servant. The whole, it appears, was built for his majesty's amusement: no other reason could be assigned for it by the person who shewed the gardens.

As the king and queen were about to pay a visit to four of the principal nunneries of Naples, in order to gratify the curiosity of the archduchess and her husband, Prince Albert of Saxony, then on a visit at this court, the Duke of Hamilton and
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our author had the honour to be admitted of the party.

"I have seen," says Dr. Moore, "various nunneries in various parts of Europe, but none that could be compared even with the meanest of those four, for neatness and conveniency. They are all for the reception of young ladies of good families, and into one, none but such as are of high rank can be admitted.

Each of the young ladies, in this splendid convent, have both a summer and winter apartment, and many other accommodations, not common in such retreats.

The royal visitors were received in all of them by the lady abbess at the head of the elderly nuns; they were afterwards presented with nosegays, and served with fruit, sweetmeats, and a variety of cooling beverages, by the younger of the sisterhood. The queen, and her amiable sister, received all very graciously, conversing very familiarly with the lady abbesses, and noticing each individually.

In one of the convents, there was the appearance of a table plentifully covered with a cold collation; but, on sitting down to taste something, all the dishes were found to be various kinds of ices, disguised under the forms of joints of meat, fish, and fowl. The queen chose a slice of cold turkey, which, on being cut up, turned out to be a large piece of lemon ice.

The gaiety, good humour, and affability, of this royal party, threw an air of cheerfulness over the scene; which, however, was interrupted, observes our author, by gleams of melancholy reflection, which failed not to dart across the mind, at sight of so many victims to family pride, to avarice,

and superstition. There is something, adds he, in a nun's dress, which renders the beauty of a young woman more interesting than the gayest, richest, most laboured ornaments. The interest taken in a beautiful woman, is heightened by the contrast which is imagined to exist between the life to which her rash vows have condemned her, and that to which her own unbiafed inclination would have led her. One is moved with pity, which is akin to love, on seeing a young blooming creature doomed to retirement and self-denial, who was formed by nature for society and enjoyment.

Our travellers soon after left Naples, and returned to Rome, visiting Tivoli, Fiescoli, and Albano, which they had omitted to do when they were there before.

On the road from that city to Tivoli, about three miles from the latter, strangers are desired to visit a kind of lake, called Solfatara, formerly *Lacus Albulus*, and are there shewn certain substances, to which they give the appellation of floating islands. Some of these are twelve or fifteen yards in length, and are formed of bull-rushes, dust, and sand, and cemented together by the bitumen which swims on the surface of the lake, and the sulphur, with which its waters are impregnated.

By means of a pole, these islands may be moved from one part of the lake to another.

The ground near this lake, which empties itself into the ancient Anio, resounds as if it were hollow. The water has the singular quality of covering any substance which it touches with a hard, white, stony matter. Small round incrustations found here, which cover the sand and pebbles,

bles, are called Confections of Tivoli. Fishes are found in the Anio, both above and below Tivoli, till it receives the Albula; after which, there are none, till it joins the Tiber.

Near the bottom of the eminence on which Tivoli stands, are the ruins of the magnificent villa of Adrian, which comprehended an immense collection of buildings for various purposes. Every quarter of the world contributed to adorn it; and its spoils have since formed the principal ornaments of the Campadoglio, the Vatican, and different palaces of the Roman princes. It is said to have been three miles in length, and one in breadth; but its present ruins do not cover a quarter of that extent.

The town of Tivoli, the ancient Tibur, is now wretchedly mean. Even in the reign of Augustus, it had much declined from its ancient prosperity. It was, however, a favourite residence with many of the great men of Rome, among the rest, Julius Cæsar and Caius Casius, had villas here, with many other illustrious names. The ruins of the villa of the celebrated patron of learning, Mæcenæ, whose name is become proverbial, for the patronage he afforded to the literati, are still to be seen on the south side of the Anio. Horace has rendered this spot immortal; and his own seat was at no great distance, though antiquaries are divided about its precise situation.

The river Anio, which flows from the Apennines, fifty miles above Tivoli, glides through a plain till it comes near that town, when it is confined by two hills, covered with groves, supposed to have been the residence of the Sybil Alburnia. There is still a temple here, supposed to have been dedicated

dedicated to her; the proportions of which are as happy as its situation. Near this spot is the famous cascade of Tivoli, so much celebrated by all travellers.

Another grand ornament of Tivoli, is the villa Estense, belong to the Duke of Modena. It was built by Hippolitus of Este, Cardinal of Ferrara. The house is in the finest style of architecture; and there are many whimsical water-works in the gardens, which have a grand effect, though the gardens are not in a pure taste.

Frescati is a pleasant village, on the declivity of a hill, about twelve miles from Rome. It is a bishop's see, and is always possessed by one of the six senior cardinals. At present it belongs to the Cardinal Duke of York, who passes the greatest part of his time in the duties and ceremonies of religion, and is little known, except by those who enjoy his bounty.

The villa Aldobrandini, called also Belvedere, is one of the most remarkable seats in this vicinity. Its situation is extremely fine, and its accompaniments are in the first style of splendor. Over a saloon, near the grand cascade, is the subsequent inscription :

HUC EGO MIGRAVI MUSIS COMITATUS APOLLO,
HIC DELPHI, HIC HELICON, HIC MIHI DELOS ERIT.

The walls are adorned with a representation of Apollo and the Muses; and some of that god's adventures are painted in fresco by Domenichino.

The other most distinguished villas in the neighbourhood of Frescati, are those of Ludovisi and Taverna. The last is the finest and best furnished of any near Rome.

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The ancient Tusculum is supposed to have occupied the spot where Frascati is now built; and about a mile and a half distant, was the Tusculan villa of Cicero, at a place now called the Grotto Ferrata. Some Greek monks, of the order of St. Basil, flying from the persecutions of the Saracens, in the eleventh century, built a convent here, and still perform the service in the Greek tongue.

They returned from visiting this charming place, by Genzano, Marino, La Riccia, and Castel Gondolfo. All these villages and villas communicate by fine walks and avenues of lofty trees, whose intermingled branches form a continued shade.

Near the village of Castel Gondolfo, is the Barbarini villa, within the gardens of which are the ruins of an immense palace, built by the emperor Domitian. There is also a charming walk, about a mile long, by the side of the Lake of Albano, as far as the town of that name. The lake is an oval, of about seven or eight miles in circumference, whose margin is finely adorned with groves and trees of various tints, beautifully reflected from the transparent bosom of the water.

The grand scale on which the beauties of nature appear in Switzerland and the Alps, are almost too vast for the pencil; but among the sweet hills and valleys of Italy, her features are brought nearer the eye, and appear in all the bloom of rural loveliness. Hence Tivoli, Albano, and Frascati, are the favourite abodes of landscape-painters, who travel into Italy for improvement. Nothing, indeed, can exceed the beautiful assemblage of natural charms to be seen in this vicinity.

Having taken a final leave of Rome, our travellers proceeded to Florence. This is, unquestionably

tionably, a very beautiful city. Independent of the churches and palaces, the architecture of the houses, in general, is in a good taste; the streets are remarkably clean, and paved with large broad stones.

Florence is divided into two parts, by the river Arno, over which are four bridges, in sight of each other. That called the Ponte Della Trinita, is uncommonly elegant. It is constructed of white marble, and ornamented with four beautiful statues, representing the four seasons. The quays, the buildings on each side, and the bridges, render that part of Florence, which is bounded by the river, by far the most superb.

This city has been equally distinguished by a spirit of commerce and the fine arts; particularly while it was under the influence of the Medici family. In no part of Italy are there so many villas as in this vicinity, and even the habitations of the peasants are distinguished for neatness and convenience. The peasants have a look of health and contentment; and the natural beauty of the Italian countenance is neither disgraced by dirt, nor deformed by misery. The women are more handsome than in other parts of Italy, and dress in a very attractive and becoming manner.

The country, all round, is divided into small farms, with a neat house on each. Tuscany produces a considerable quantity of corn, as well as excellent wine, and great quantities of silk.

Our travellers passed generally two hours every morning in the famous gallery of Florence. In Dr. Moore's opinion, one of the most interesting parts of it, is the series of Roman emperors from Julius Cæsar to Gallienus, with a considerable number of their empreses arranged opposite to them.

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them. This series is almost complete; and wherever the bust of an emperor is wanting, the place is supplied by that of some other distinguished Roman.

The gallery is sacred to art, and every production which she avows has a right to a place here. Among the noble specimens of ancient sculpture, some of the works of Michael Angelo are justly admitted. His Bacchus and Faunus have been preferred by some to the antique.

The beautiful head of Alexander is universally admired by the virtuosi; though they differ in respect to the expression the sculptor meant to impress. The unfinished bust of M. Brutus, by Michael Angelo, admirably portrays the determined firmness of character belonging to that hero.

The Arrotino, or Whetter, attracts the notice of every person of taste. Some suppose it to represent the slave who overheard Cataline's conspiracy, while whetting his knife; others, that it was done for a peasant, who discovered the plot concerted by the two sons of Junius Brutus, for the restoration of Tarquin.

The Dancing Faun, the Wrestlers, the Venus Urania, and the Venus Victrix, are in the same apartment; as well as the Venus de Medicis, which has been reckoned a model of female beauty. Dr. Moore, however, does not think her equal to her brother Apollo, in the Vatican. The latter he says appears more than a man; the former only a beautiful woman.

In the same room, or the Tribuna, as it is called, are many valuable curiosities; besides an admirable collection of pictures by the best masters.

Besides

Besides the Gallery and the Tribuna, there are other rooms replete with the works of art and nature, whose contents are indicated by the names they bear: the Cabinet of Arts—of Astronomy—of Natural History—of Medals—of Porcelain—of Antiquities,—and the Saloon of the Hermaphrodite, so called from the statue which divides the admiration of the amateurs with that in the Borghese villa at Rome. The excellence, however, of the execution is disgraced by the indecency of the subject.

The large room, called the Gallery of Portraits, is not the least curious in this museum. It contains the portraits of the most celebrated painters, who have flourished in Europe for the three last centuries, all executed by themselves. They amount to above two hundred.

Though poverty is very general in Italy, our author says there is less misery than he expected to find. This is partly owing to the mildness of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and partly to the sober, religious, and contented habits of the people.

The Italians, who are too idle to work, or who cannot find employment, receive great relief from the convents. The lower classes of tradesmen are neither diligent nor rich, but the little they gain is not wasted in intemperance.

Great part of the lands in Italy belong to the religious orders; and their tenants are said to be the happiest of any. The revenues of the convents are generally well applied, and as they are never squandered away by the folly or extravagance of their members, the monks can have no incitement to severe and oppressive exactions from their peasantry; a passion which never rises to such

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such a height in a society, where the revenues are in common, as in the breast of an individual, who has the exclusive benefit of his grinding disposition.

As the subjects of the ecclesiastical states are perhaps the poorest in Italy, this has been imputed solely to the rapacious disposition, said to be natural to churchmen; but our author thinks this poverty may be rather accounted for from the nature of the government than from the profession of the rulers.

That in all Roman Catholic countries, and particularly in Italy, the clergy are too numerous, have too much power, and have too great a portion of the lands, is undeniable. That the common people would be in a better situation, if manufactures and a spirit of industry could be introduced among them, is equally true; but even as matters stand, I cannot help thinking, says Dr. Moore, that the state of the Italian peasantry is preferable to that of persons in the same condition, in most countries of Europe. They are neither beaten by their ecclesiastical lords, as those of Germany are; nor are their children torn from them, to be sacrificed to the pomp, avarice, or ambition of some military despot.

Besides the *conversazioni*, which are common at Florence, with other towns in Italy, a number of the nobility meet here every day at a house called the *Cassino*. This society is elected by ballot, and pretty much resembles the London clubs. They play at billiards, cards, or other games; or continue in conversation, according to their different tastes.

The opera at Florence is a place where people of quality pay and receive visits, and converse as

freely as at the Casino. This occasions a continual passing and repassing to and from the boxes. Sometimes, however, they play at cards, and pay little attention to the music or the performers.

On the evenings on which there is no opera, it is usual for the genteel company to drive to a public walk immediately without the city. Soon after the arrival of our travellers at Florence, in one of the avenues of this walk, they were shewn Count Albany * and his lady. The count at subsequent accidental meetings fixed his eyes strongly on the Duke of Hamilton, as if he meant to say, observes Dr. Moore, "our ancestors were better acquainted." They neither affected to shun, nor wished to meet with this unfortunate personage; wisely considering, that those who would treat him with an ostentatious contempt at Florence, would have been his most abject flatterers at St. James's.

Our author, in this place, gives an interesting account of cicisbeism, for which the Italians have been so much stigmatized. It seems that when the French manners began to prevail, and the women were freed from the unnatural restraints to which they were formerly subject, the husbands could not emancipate themselves from jealousy at once; but agreed, that their wives should go into public, under the guidance of a friend of their own chusing. Thus it soon became universal for the women to appear in public, leaning on the arms of a man, who, from their frequently whispering together, was called her Cicisbeo. It was stipulated, at the same time, that the lady while

* The late pretender.

abroad should converse with no other man but in his presence, and with his approbation.

Such appears to have been the origin of the custom; but as it was unlikely that the husband could please both himself and his wife in the choice of a humble attendant, by degrees, the latter attached herself to some person for whom she had a friendship; and it would be uncharitable to suppose that their connection is always carried farther: the reputation of some women, indeed, is so high, even in Italy, that even suspicion does not glance at an impropriety in their conduct.

At present, the *cicisbeo* visits the lady at her toilet, and having fixed the plan for passing the evening, retires before dinner. After dinner, he returns to conduct the lady to the public walk, the *conversazione*, or the opera, and attends to her wants, with the utmost assiduity. The husband is generally engaged in a similar manner; and both resign their charges, when the business of the evening is over.

The *cicisbeo*, in many instances, is a poor relation or humble friend, who is happy to be admitted into all the societies, and to be carried about to public diversions, as an appendage to the lady. It must, however, be admitted there are others of a different stamp, whose appearance is sufficient to make a man jealous; but it is probable there are infamous compromises in Italy as well as in other countries.

But whether the connection be innocent or criminal, most Englishmen, says Dr. Moore, will be astonished that men should spend so much of their time in the company of women. This, however, will appear less surprising, when they recollect that the Italian nobility dare not inter-

meddle with politics; have no employment in the army or navy; nor are attached to hunting or drinking. Gaming and society are their only diversions; and surely, in such a situation, nothing can so effectually soothe the cares, and beguile the tediousness of life, as the company of an agreeable woman. Though the intimacy should never exceed the limits of friendship, there is something more flattering and agreeable in it than in male friendships: it gives a softness to the manners, and a delicacy to the way of thinking, which cannot be acquired from associating with their own sex.

To attempt a description of the churches, palaces, and other public buildings of Florence, would carry us too far; suffice it to say, that few cities in Europe, of its size, afford a finer field of entertainment to those who are attached to such studies.

The chapel of St. Lorenzo, is perhaps the finest, and most expensive, structure that ever was raised for the dead. It is incrusted with precious stones, and adorned by sculpture. Mr. Addison remarked, that this chapel advanced so slowly, that it was not impossible the Medici family might become extinct before it was finished. This has actually taken place: the Medici family is extinct, and yet the chapel is not finished.

The Palazzo Pitti, where the great duke resides, stands on the opposite side of the Arno from the gallery. The furniture is rich and curious, particularly some tables of Florentine work, which are much admired. The walls of the imperial chamber are painted in fresco by various artists, in allegorical subjects, to the honour of Lorenzo of Medicis, the Magnificent.

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From Florence our travellers proceeded for Bologna, and had the good fortune to be present on the day when the academy distributes the prizes for the best specimens and designs in painting, sculpture, and architecture. A panegyric on the fine arts was pronounced by one of the professors, who took that opportunity of scattering incense on every person who had power or influence in the state.

On their way to Milan, they made a short stop at Modena, the capital of the duchy of that name. This town contains about twenty thousand inhabitants. The streets are in general wide, straight, and adorned with porticoes.

Modena is surrounded by a fortification, and farther strengthened by a citadel. It was anciently rendered famous for the siege which Decimus Brutus sustained here against Mark Antony.

They next proceeded to Parma, a beautiful and well fortified town, with broad regular streets, and well built houses. This town is divided into two unequal parts by the little river Parma, which loses itself in the Po, ten or twelve miles from Parma. The theatre is the largest in Europe; yet a whisper on the stage is heard all over this immense building.

Several of the churches here are ornamented by the pencil of Correggio, particularly the cupola of the cathedral. The famous picture of the Virgin, by this artist, in which Mary Magdalen and St. Jerome are introduced, has been thought to unite, in a supreme degree, the various beauties of the art. Our author, however, could not see half the beauties in it which amateurs had pointed out; and indeed he seems to think it has many defects as excellences.

The duchies of Modena, Parma, and Placentia, are extremely fertile. The soil is naturally rich, and the climate being more moist than in many parts of Italy, the pasturage is green and luxuriant. The road runs over a continued plain, divided by rows of trees, from whose branches the vines hang in beautiful festoons.

The peasants have a neat, contented, and cheerful appearance; and the women shew some attention to the ornaments of dress, which is seldom found to be the case amidst oppressive poverty.

Notwithstanding the fertility of the environs, the town of Placentia itself is but thinly inhabited, and seems in a state of decay. Except the ducal palace, some pictures in the churches, and two bronze equestrian statues before the town-house, there are few objects of curiosity in this place.

Their next stage was Milan, which is the largest city in Italy except Rome, though not half so populous as Naples.

The cathedral stands in the centre of the city, and after St. Peter's, is the most considerable building in Italy. It was begun four hundred years ago, yet a considerable number of men are still employed on it, either in completing the original plan, or in repairing the injuries of time.

No church in christendom is more loaded, or rather disfigured, with ornaments. The number of marble statues, both within and without, is prodigious. The whole pile is of solid marble, and supported by fifty columns, each eighty-four feet high. The four pillars under the cupola are twenty-eight feet in circumference. By much the finest statue is that of St. Bartholomew. He appears flayed, and his skin hangs round his waist like

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The treasury belonging to this church is reckoned the richest in Italy after Loretto. It contains many jewels, relics, and curiosities of various kinds.

The Ambrosian library is said to be one of the most valuable collections of books and manuscripts in Europe. It is open for students a certain number of hours every day. In the adjoining museum are a considerable number of pictures and many curiosities. Among others, a human skeleton, said to belong to a Milanese lady of great beauty, who, by her last will, directed that her bones should be placed here for the contemplation of posterity.

There is no place in Italy, or perhaps in Europe, where strangers are more hospitably received than at Milan. A natural politeness distinguishes the nobility of this duchy; and the general character of the inhabitants has perhaps fewer shades than in any other part of the country.

Fertile as this country is, and abounding in articles of exportation, trade is neither encouraged, nor even allowed to expand itself. There are still absurd prejudices against the character of a merchant; and perhaps there is little probability, says Dr. Moore, that the inhabitants of Milan will recover this unfortunate turn of mind, while they remain under German dominion, and adopt German ideas.

“Why are the inhabitants of the rich plains of Lombardy,” continues he, “less opulent than those of the sterile mountains of Switzerland? Because freedom, whose influence is more benign than

than sun-shine and zephyrs, who covers the rugged rock with soil, drains the sickly swamp, and clothes the brown heath in verdure; who dresses the labourer's face with smiles, and makes him behold his increasing family with delight and exultation:—Freedom has abandoned the fertile fields of Lombardy, and dwells among the mountains of Switzerland."

They left Milan at midnight, and arrived at Turin next evening. All the approaches to that city are magnificent. It is situated at the foot of the Alps, in a fine plain, watered by the Po. Most of the streets are well built, uniform, and clean. The Strada di Po, the finest and largest in the city, is adorned with porticoes. The four gates are highly ornamental; and the fortifications are regular, and in perfect order.

The royal palace and gardens display neatness rather than magnificence. The furniture, however, is rich and elegant; and the decorations, consisting of pictures, statues, and antiquities, are of great value.

The royal family are great observers of etiquette: all their movements are uniform and invariable. Our travellers had the satisfaction of seeing them at mass; but as the Duke of Hamilton was impatient to reach England, he declined being presented at court, and stopped only two days at the capital of Sardinia.

Proceeding on their route, they reached Novalezza, at the bottom of Mount Cenis, where their carriages were taken to pieces, and delivered to the muletteers to be carried to Lanebourg. They rode up this mountain with great ease, and found on the top a fine verdant plain. They halted at an inn, called Santa Croce, where Piedmont ends
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and Savoy begins, and were regaled with fried trout, caught from a neighbouring lake.

When they arrived at the north side of the mountain, they dismissed their mules, and had recourse to some Alpine chairs, carried by men. As they jogged, zig-zag, according to the course of the road, they laughed and sung all the way, and seemed happier than those they carried.

Arriving at Lanebourg, they put the scattered members of their carriages together, and passing through Aiguebelle, Montmelian, and Chambery, came to Geneva. Here Dr. Moore made some stay, and seems to have left the Genevese at last with extreme regret.

Having been frequently, he says, at Lyons, he chose on this occasion to return to Paris by Franche Comté and Champagne. At Besauçon he accidentally found his lively friend the Marquis de F. with whom he had been so intimate in Paris. Their meeting was extremely agreeable to both, and though the marquis was indisposed with an ague, he entertained our traveller with a recital of his different adventures, and those of their friends, since their last parting, with all the vivacity for which the French are distinguished.

After an agreeable journey by Gray, Langres, and Troyes, they arrived at Paris, where they had the happiness to renew their old friendships, and to contract some fresh ones.

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TRAVELS IN
THE UNITED STATES
OF
A M E R I C A,

PERFORMED IN 1788, BY

J. P. BRISSOT DE WARVILLE.

THE rapid career of revolution which Brissot ran, soon brought him to the goal. We will leave it to impartial posterity, to appreciate his merits, or his faults; but we cannot help thinking, that his travels will be read with some interest, even by those, who join with us in reprobating many of the principles he defends, and the cause for which he suffered.

Seeing with the eyes of a prejudiced republican, the government of America appeared bordering on perfection, and nothing but happiness was to be found among the people. All her institutions were wise and humane, and all her rulers actuated by patriotic views alone. How often do illusions assume the form and colour that suit our present fancy, and fallacious novelties triumph over solid experience! All human institutions partake of error and imperfection: the best cannot make man happy, without personal virtue; the worst have some beauties, or advantages, which are missed, as soon as removed.

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The object of Brissot, in the following travels, was to make remarks on the political, civil, and military state of the United States of America, and to report them to his friend M. Claviere, which he has done in a series of letters, in a very animated style.

As we neither adopt his principles, nor are responsible for his arguments, we permit him to appear in his own character; and only lop off his excrescences, and connect his observations.

He arrived at Havre de Grace on the 3d of June 1788, and soon after embarked for America.

I shall not describe, says he to his correspondent, the cities and countries which I have passed on my way to Havre. 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. I was insensible to all the scenes which presented themselves to me.

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. The head-dress of the women of Caux is singular; the cap is in the form of a pyramid, the hair turned back, constrained, plaistered with powder and grease, and covered with tinsel, which always disfigures simple nature.

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

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constitution, no province is better situated, or enjoys more means to arrive at a 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 fallow 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 at 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 doubtless lead to a free constitution; which, by knocking off the shackles from the French industry and commerce, would enable us to repair our losses. With regard to the indifference of 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.

* This treaty shewed the superior abilities of Lord Auckland in commercial negotiation.

Hayre 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, 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.

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To this objection, as to twenty others, which I have heard a hundred times repeated, I opposed the victorious answers which this discussion has provoked: 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 gives to this commerce.

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.

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;—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,

* This infernal project has succeeded; but the triumph, it is hoped, will not be long.

against the American timber, and the American construction.

Adieu, 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. 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.

On the 30th of July, I landed at Boston. With what joy did I leap to this shore of liberty! I was weary of the sea; and the sight of trees and 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. With what pleasure did I contemplate this town! How I delighted to wander up and down that long street, whose simple houses of wood, border the magnificent channel of Boston, and whose full stores offered me all the productions of the continent which I had quitted! How I enjoyed the activity of the merchants, the artisans, and the sailors! It was not the noisy vortex of Paris; it was not the unquiet, eager mien of my 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 marks of a town still in its infancy, but which, even in

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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 mother of industry. Every thing is rapid, every thing great, every thing durable with her. 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 former travellers. 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 diabolic art, begins to make part of their education. 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; but 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 a church on Sunday. The good cloth coat covers the man, calicoes and chintzes dress the women and children, without being spoiled by those gewgaws, which whim and caprice have added to them among our women.

I shall never call to mind without emotion, the pleasure I had one day, in hearing the respectable Mr. Clarke, successor to the learned Dr. Chauncey, the friend of mankind. 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

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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 our humanity, and the order of society. The discourse, the prayer, the worship, every thing bore the same simplicity. The sermon contained the best morality, and it was heard with attention.

The excellency 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 leads to discussion and quarrels.

This tolerance is unlimited at Boston; a town formerly witness of severe persecutions, especially against the Quakers. Just Heaven! how is it possible there can exist men believing sincerely in God, and yet barbarous enough to inflict death on persons who feel it their duty to think differently. 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 and talents, and not religious opinions, are the tests of public confidence.

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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 some dogmas of the Romish church. 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 idotry. 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.

Since the ancient puritan austerity has disappeared, you are no longer surpris'd to see a game of cards introduced among these good Presbyterians. When the mind is tranquil in the enjoyment of competence 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.

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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. and 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 Rocfort of France. This may with truth be said of that made on a farm on Elizabeth Island, belonging to the respectable Governor Bowdoin.

After the Americans had secured their independence, they determined to rival their mother-country in every thing useful. This spirit of emulation shews itself every where: it has erected at Boston an extensive glass manufactory, belonging to M. Breek and others.

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

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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 crowded 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 fortunate 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

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tages 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 enlarge the establishment. The library and cabinet of philosophy, do honour to the institution. The first contains thirteen thousand volumes. The heart of a Frenchman palpitates on finding the works of Racine, of Montesquieu, and the Encyclopædia, where, one hundred and fifty 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, 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 will, doubtless, very soon point out a course of education more short, and more sure in forming good citizens and philosophers.

Mr.

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.

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 honour 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.

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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. Some time since was published, the History of the late Troubles in Massachusetts; it is very well written. The author has found much difficulty to indemnify himself for the expence of printing it.

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.

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 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*.

* Shallow, mistaken politician! Neither the arts, nor even commerce can flourish, where the masses of property are dissolved.

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Let us not blame the Bostonians; 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 instructions 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 one hundred and fifty 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, the number of thieves and vagabonds is small. These are vermin attached to misery; and there is no misery here.

An employment which is, unhappily, one of the most lucrative in this state, is the profession of the law. They still preserve the expensive forms of the English practice, which good sense and the love of order, ought to teach them to suppress; they render advocates necessary; they have likewise borrowed from their fathers, the English, the habit of demanding exorbitant fees. But, notwithstanding the abuses 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.

One of the greatest ornaments of the American bar, is the celebrated Adams; who, from the humble station of a schoolmaster, 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. 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 do not 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

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Mr. Adams is not the only man distinguished in this great revolution, who have 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 Cincinnati: their eagle appears to him a gew-gaw. 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 characterizes almost all the men of this state, who have acted distinguished parts in the revolution: such, among others, as Samuel Adams, and Mr. Hancock the present governor. If ever a man was sincerely an idolator of republicanism, it is Samuel Adams; and never a man united 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 the command of the army. The event, however, has proved that the application was false.

Samuel Adams is the best supporter of the party of Governor Hancock. You know the great sacrifices which the latter made in the revolution. 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, and the 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 as 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; 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

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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. Castellux has so much exalted.

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. You arrive at Bunker-hill by the superb bridge at Charleston, 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 valour; 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 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 many men, killed and wounded, before they became masters of the place.

The taxable heads of this state are upwards of one hundred thousand, acres of arable land two hundred thousand, pasturage three hundred and forty thousand, uncultivated two millions, tons of shipping at Boston sixty thousand.

From Boston I proceeded to New York by land. The distance between these towns, is about two hundred and fifty miles. Many persons have united in establishing a kind of diligence, or public stage, which passes regularly for the

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.

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, 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 infested 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 covering, wine adulterated, and every thing at its weight in gold; greedy servants, who are complaisant only in proportion

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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 among the rocks, we were convinced that a carriage with springs would very soon have been upset and broken.

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 the perpetual contrast of savage nature and the efforts of art. Those vast ponds of water, which lose themselves in the woods; those rivulets, that wash the meadow, newly snatched from uncultivated nature; those neat houses, scattered among the forests, and containing swarms of children, joyous and healthy, and well clad; those fields, covered with trunks
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of trees, whose destruction is committed to the hand of time, and which are covered under the leaves of Indian corn; those oaks which preserve still the image of their ancient vigour, but which, girdled at the bottom, raise no longer to heaven but dry and naked branches, which the first stroke of wind must bring to the earth: all these objects, so new to an European, arrest him, absorb him, and plunge him into an agreeable reverie. The depths of the forests, the prodigious size and height of the 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: they have now given place to another generation. The cultivator fears no more their vengeance; his musket, formerly his necessary companion at the plough, now rests suspended in his house. Alone, with his wife and children, in the midst of the forests, he sleeps quietly, he labours in peace, and he is happy. Such were the ideas which occupied me the greater part of my journey: they sometimes gave place to others, arising from the view of the country houses, which are seen at small distances through all the forests of the 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 calicoes, display the traits of civility, frankness, and decency; virtues which always follow contentment and ease. Almost all these houses are inhabited by men who are both cultivators and artisans; one is a tanner, another a shoemaker, another sells goods; but all are farmers. The country stores are well assorted; you find in the same

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shop, hats, nails, liquors. This order of things is necessary in a new settlement; it is to be hoped that it will continue; for 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 province 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 in the interior of America, designates an extent of eight or ten miles, where are scattered a 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
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basis of many regulations. No people carry their attention, in 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, ten 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 journeys 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;

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Springfield, where we dined, resembles an European town; that is, the houses are placed near together. On a hill that overlooks this town, is a magazine of ammunition and arms belonging to the state of Massachusetts. We set out from Springfield, after dinner, for Hartford. We passed, in a ferry-boat, the river that washes the environs of Springfield.

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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, Colonel 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. I here describe the impression he made on me.

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, and other places. 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.

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 Wethersfield, a

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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.

Wethersfield 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 young handsome persons who assemble there, and by the agreeable music with which they intermingle the divine service.

Newhaven yields not to Wethersfield for the beauty of the fair sex. At their balls, during the winter, it is not rare to see a 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 horseback, 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 road, and the general innocence of manners. They are here indeed 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.

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, imbitters 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*.

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

* What an exaggerated description! but it carries its antidote in the impossibility of its being literally true.

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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. The university is presided over by a respectable and learned man, Mr. Stiles.

We are 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 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, however, preserved us from accident. We passed the night at Fairfield, a town unhappily burnt in the last war. 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.

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 Horse-neck; a chain

of rocks so steep, that if a horse should slip, the carriage must be thrown into a valley two or three hundred feet below.

From Horteneck 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. This 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.

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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, a hundred years after the banishment of the ancestor. Mr. Jay was equally immoveable by all the efforts of the 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 dependent 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 Shelbourne 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

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.

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 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 Monday. 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.

* 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 other journey by land.

† What a severe philippic on the revolution financiers of France!

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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 appears 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.

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; recal to your mind the figures of men scarcely bearing the print of humanity, children

children

I went

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.

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 settle-

* This state has since acceded to the new federal government, and no doubt, in our author's opinion, wiped off all past disgrace.

ment at Muskingum, on the Ohio, is from this state. General 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 a republican government is disastrous. This example, however, 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.

But in the midst of their present disorders, you hear nothing of robberies, of murders, or of mendicinity; for the American poor does not degrade himself so far as to abjure all ideas of equity, and all shame. And this is a trait which still marks the 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 Hellgate, 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

prising that vessels which know it not, should be dashed in pieces. They speak of an English frigate lost there the last war. This Hellgate is an obstacle to the navigation of this straight; 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 observable 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 this kind 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. There is nothing like it on the old continent.

Nothing is more magnificent than the situation of New York—between two majestic rivers, the north and the east. The former separates it from New Jersey: it is so deep, that ships of the line

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anchor in it. I have at this moment under my eyes, a French ship of one thousand two hundred tons, destined to the East India trade, which has come into it to refit. Two inconveniences 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 a 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 a hundred good dwelling-houses, a court-house, public fountains, &c. More than fifty ships belong to it, which export the American productions to the islands and to Europe. Two whaling 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 this 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, envelops all his operations in the most profound mystery; it is an effect of the Dutch spirit, that still governs this city. The Dutchman conceals his gains and his commerce; he lives but for himself.

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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, contribute much to extend here the ravages of luxury. The inhabitants are far from complaining at it; they prefer the splendor 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 asks a question; the answer comes two minutes after, and it is well-founded. The cigar renders to a man the service that the philosopher drew from the glass of water, which he drank when he was in anger.

The great commerce of this city, and the facility of living here, augments the population of the state with great rapidity. In 1773, they reckoned one hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and twenty-four whites; in 1786, the

number was two hundred and nineteen thousand nine hundred and ninety-six.

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 fish. It is difficult to unite so many advantages in one place. Provisions are dearer in New York, than in any other of the northern or middle states. Many things, especially those of luxury, are dearer here than in France. A 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

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will find them honest. The French are the most forward in making these complaints; and they believe that the Americans are more trickish 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 services 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 towards 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.

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, billious 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 in many places of Europe the villages and towns are falling to ruin, rather than augmenting, new edifices are here rising 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, whilst 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 two hundred 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,

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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.

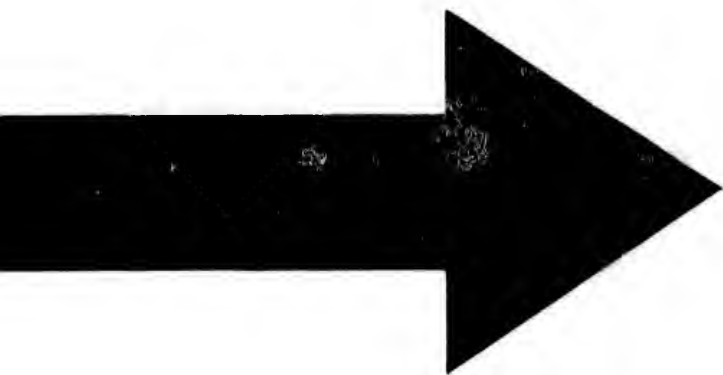
At the same time they are erecting a building for congress. They are likewise repairing the hospital: this building is in a bad condition; not a sick person could be lodged in it at the end of the war; it was a building almost abandoned; they have restored the administration of it to the Quakers, from 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 sick; magnificent and agreeable prospects; out of the town, and yet sufficiently near it.

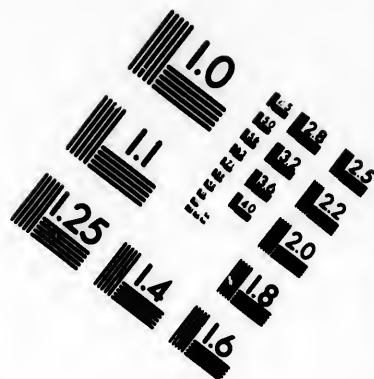
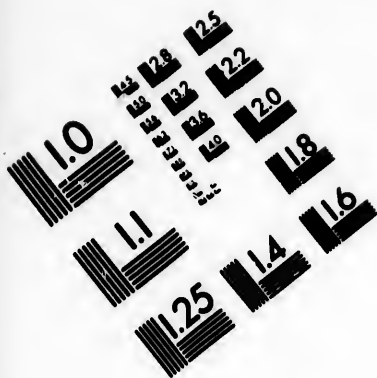
It is likewise to the Quakers, to these men so much calumniated, of whom I shall speak more fully hereafter, that is owing the order observable in the work-house, of which they have the superintendance.

It is to their zeal also that is to be attributed the formation of the society for the abolition of slavery.

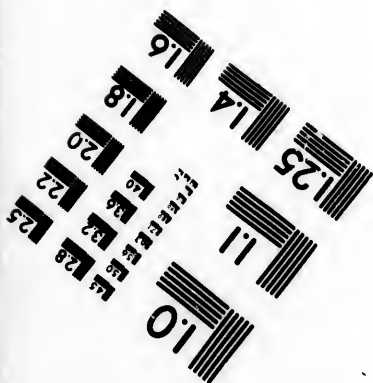
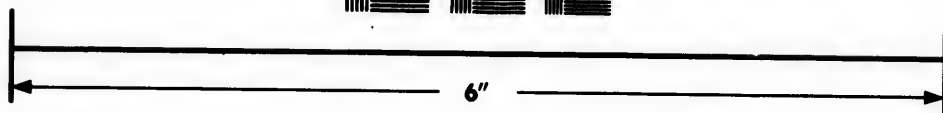
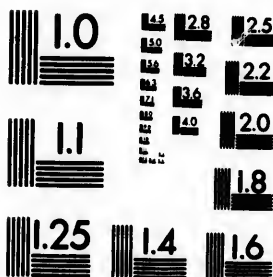
A society of a more pompous title, but whose services are less real, has been lately formed. Its object is the general promotion of science and useful knowledge. They assemble rarely, and they do







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do nothing. They have, however, eight hundred pounds in the bank, which remain idle. Their president is Governor 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, Maddison, Hamilton, King, and Thoraton. I have already spoken to you of the first.

The name of Maddison, 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 his country. He distinguished himself, particularly, in the conventions for the acceptation of the new federal system. Virginia balanced a long time in adhering to it. Mr Maddison 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.

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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. Maddison 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. Maddison 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 worthy fellow-labourer of Mr. Maddison: 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; and he well merited it. Since the peace he has taken up 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*; and the letters of Phocion, in favour of the royalists. Mr. Hamilton had fought them with success during

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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 compatriots, whose resentment had been justly excited against these people, for the woe they had brought on their country.

This young orator triumphed again in the convention of the state of New York, where the anti-federal 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 occasion the greatest misfortune 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 honour of this eloquent speaker.

He has married the daughter of General Schuyler, a charming woman, who joins to the graces all the candor 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 of 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.

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Mr. Maddison, 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 benefits 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, and the only one whose doors are open to the Americans:

Dr. Thornton, 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 remarks 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, is 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 impressed. 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 without speaking of another American, whose talents in finance are well known here; it is Colonel 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.

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 pretension in some of these women; one acted the giddy, another, the woman of sentiment. This last had many pruderies and grimaces.

A president of congress is far from being surrounded with the splendor of European monarchs. He is not durable in his station; and 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.

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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 eighty thousand pounds, 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 ten thousand one hundred and ten pounds.

The bank of New-York enjoys a good reputation; it is well administered. Its cashier is Mr. William Seton, to whom Mr. de Crevecoeur has addressed his letters; and what will give 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 chuse to open an accompt with it.

I left New-York on the 25th of August, in my way to Philadelphia; 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 woollen, 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 chuse 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 of 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

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the side of the shoemaker 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 *à la mode*; 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 artisan, or the labourer, who finds himself in one of these stages with a man in place, composes himself, is silent; or if he endeavours 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 civil and easy 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 ploughman, on learning that he takes a pride in calling himself a New Jersey farmer.

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

Crevecoeur. 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, they know not to what degree it may depreciate. A friend dares not trust his friend. Instances of perfidy of this kind have
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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 dishonours their country, that it runs all kinds of honest industry, and corrupts the morals of the 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.

* How well have these remarks been verified in France.

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. All the towns are well built, whether in wood, stone, or brick. 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

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.

I had passed but 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 lived 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 nothing but paper. The money is locked up, said Mr. Franklin. Would you have a man be

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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 that 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 Frenchman 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

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 characterizes the sect of the Quakers.

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

conversed much on the society of Friends, the society in France for the abolition of slavery, the growing of wheat, and other subjects.

I never was 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, and other grain; 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 likewise made in the house.

Mr. Shoemaker shewed me the place where this worthy cultivator was going to build a house for his eldest son. You see, says 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 Crevecoeur had said in praise of the American mills. This one merited it for its neatness,
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and for the intelligence with which the different operations were distributed. There were three sets of stones destined to the making of flour 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 ensures a constant income.

Being taken ill, Warner Miflin came to see me. It was this man who 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

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 poſſeſs a ſpirit of mildneſs and general benevolence.

The converſation of this worthy Quaker, 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 Niſmes, and of ſome friends in America and England, who have been to viſit them. He regarded them as inſtruments deſtined 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. Oh! 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.

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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 Missin 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 enfranchise his negroes, and all this by hypocrisy, would be a very bad speculation; hypocrisy makes better calculations.

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.

I was present at the funeral of Thomas Howell, one of the elders of the society of Friends. 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 nearest relatives, and grand-children of the deceased, but none of them in black. All his 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 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
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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 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.

Certainly the manner of the ancient orators, and modern preachers, is better imagined for producing the great effect of eloquence. They speak by turps, 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. The Quakers, however, 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. 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 this meeting, was fervent; it was pronounced by a minister, who fell on his knees. The men took off their hats; and each retired, after having shaken hands with his neighbour.

In considering the simplicity of the Quakers' worship, and the air of sadness that in the eyes of strangers appears to accompany it, 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*.

* We are not of opinion that Quakerism is gaining much ground in the world.

I made a visit to a house of correction, or a Bettering House, as it is called. This edifice is situated in the open country, in one of those parts of the original plan of Philadelphia not yet covered with houses. It 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, though the number of these last is small; such is the general purity of manners.

There are particular halls appropriated to each class of poor, and to each species of sickness; and each hall has its superintendent. 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, considered 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 are 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

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ox, does the honours of the table through the whole year.

I can 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? No door but that of their common mother earth would receive them, were it not for this provision made by their common friend, society.

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.

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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 this 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 with transport. She was taking her tea by the side of her little table ; for they allow this luxury 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, that 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.

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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 a 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 chuse to remain, she shall always enjoy the fruit of her own labour:

On our return from the hospital, we drank a bottle of cider. Compare this frugal repast to the sumptuous feasts given by the superintendents of the poor of some capitals—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. The best administered hospital in Paris amounts to about fourteen pence, like money, a day; and, what a difference in the treatment!

I next visited the hospital for lunatics. 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

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was told that this honour 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.

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dy. The exercise of walking abroad, the view of the fields, 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 unwholesome humidity of the earth? The enlightened and humane Dr. Rush told me, that he had endeavoured 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.

Dr. Franklin had been suffering a severe illness, which threatened his dissolution, but was sufficiently recovered to receive company. I went 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
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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. 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 can 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 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

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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 newspaper.

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 practice 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 provisions 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 began 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 endeavoured, 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 would have believed that France, that Europe, would one day erect statues to that man, who had not where to lay his head?

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:

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his reputation in this respect, existed for many 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 perpetuate in Pennsylvania those excellent morals which still distinguish that state.

But a work which contributed still more to diffuse in America the practice of frugality, economy, and good morals, was *Poor Richard's Almanack*. It had a great reputation in Europe, 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 As-

sembly 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 assurance 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.

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 a 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 characterized 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

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The circumstances of his political career are likewise known to the world; 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, had this plan been pursued, the colonies would not have been ravaged by the dreadful war which followed.

On his final return to his country, after many important negotiations, which terminated in its independence, he obtained all the honours which his signal 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 by 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,

* Dr. Franklin died in 1790.

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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?"

Brissot, after giving the speech of Mirabeau in the national assembly of France, in which he proposed that they should go into mourning for Benjamin Franklin for three days, which was immediately carried by acclamation, thus sums up the character of that philosopher: "Ye who sincerely indulge the wish to place yourselves 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 austerly 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.

I break-

I breakfasted at Philadelphia one morning with Samuel Amieland, 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 large oars of considerable force, which were to give sixty strokes per minute.

* 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. Mr. Rumsey proposed then (February 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.

Various schemes of this kind, of great promise, have proved abortive, when brought to the test of experience; nor have we any reason to believe that the American projectors have been more fortunate than in England. EDITOR.

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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 raileries on account of the *steam-boat*. These raileries 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?

I was present at a meeting of the Agricultural Society. It is not of long standing, but 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

* Agriculture is the first pillar of any state: it is the permanent wealth, and is influenced by no external events, which sometimes annihilate commerce, or shift its site.

good farmers here, yet the great mass of them want information; and this information 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, 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. Polwell, and M. Griffiths, president and secretary of this society, do equal honour 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 honour 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.

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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.

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 endeavour 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 tranquillity 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 tranquillity and with reason; a habit of injuring no person, and of having no need of the interposition of the magistrate.

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

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wives succeeded to them; thinking themselves dishonoured 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: a hair-dresser costs you eight pence a-day, or twelve shillings the month. I hired a one-horse chaise three days; it cost me three louis d'ors.

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. 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 Ray-

nal: 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 Maître*, 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 Pindley, whose eloquence displays the greatest talents.

The estate of General Mifflin, 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.

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 foot 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, granite, and a yellow gravel; some places a very black earth. In the neighbourhood are quarries

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.

A 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 medow, 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 intendent of Guadaloupe, who, to suppress the proofs of his own accompli-

city 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 a hundred and twenty acres of wood land, eight acres of arable, twenty-five acres of meadow, three acres of garden, a great house, several small houses for his servants, his barns, and his cattle. By this fact, some judgment may be formed on the subject of taxes in the United States. Mr. L. has attempted to cultivate the vine: he has planted a vineyard near his house, on a 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.

* In Orleans, 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 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.

Mr.

Mr. L. furnished me with the proof of this. He gave me some very good Noufillon, which cost him, by the single bottle, only eight pence; and I know that this same wine, at first hand, cost five pence or six pence.

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, 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 advertises his neighbours, who take what they chuse, and he salts 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 corn-fields 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 sells very well at Philadelphia. He has obtained leave from the state to erect a ferry on the Skuykill, 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, 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 comfortable; and that he should not fail to be completely happy, were he surrounded by his family, which he had left in France.

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He is attentive to the subject of meteorology ; it is he that furnishes the meteorologic 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 greatest cold in this part of Pennsylvania, is commonly from 10 to 12 deg. below the freezing point of Reaumur's thermometer : the greatest heats are from 26 to 28 deg. above : the mean term of his observations for four years, or the temperature, is 9 deg. and 6 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 had been remarked during these four years.

During

During my stay in Philadelphia, I 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 service of 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. Piguët, who had some knowledge in botany, to visit Kentuckey and the Ohio.

They arrived at Philadelphia, and passed immediately 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 deg. 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 potato. 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,

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man, Mr. Rague, and a Virginian. They landed at Mutkinquam, 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. Piguët 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, with the loss of his money and all his effects. He then revisited Philadelphia, on his way to Europe.

He 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 whisky, beer, and cider, with a thousand other advantages, attract to this country great numbers of emigrants from other parts of America. A man in that country works scarcely 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 clothes 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

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 Mississippi, 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*.

When we contemplate the establishments here in favour of the blacks, it may be maintained that there exists a country where they 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, then, 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, on visiting the school for the blacks at this place. I have seen, heard, and examined these negro children. They read well, repeat from memory, and calculate with rapidity.

I saw in this school, a mulatto one-eighth negro; it is impossible to distinguish him from a

* This gentleman was 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.

white

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 housekeepers. 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 useful establishment—to that Benezet whose benevolence some have not blushed to ridicule.

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 Calvinists; 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 an 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

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 schoolmasters. 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 two hundred pounds 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 departing spirit, must be a prize more consoling than the laurels of a conqueror.

This philanthropic Quaker was preceded and followed in the same career by many others, whom it is unnecessary to mention. In the United States, humanity begins to triumph over unfeeling avarice, and the reign of slavery is hastening to a termination.

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

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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 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.

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 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 assembly, *Sign this article, or we will withdraw from the union. To avoid the evils, which, without meliorating the*

fate of the blacks, would attend a political schism, the convention was 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; 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 these reclamations, yet the people there hold slavery in such horror,

* The principle of Solon is certainly just. Laws must be adapted to the prejudices, the errors, the ignorance of men. Whoever founds them on abstract notions of perfection, will find them inapplicable to the situation of any people on earth.

that

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.

Slavery 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 parts of the state are disposed to free their negroes; but the eastern part are opposed to it.

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 forever, 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 eluded 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

in the slave trade; condemned to the public works the stealers of negroes, &c.

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 benevolent character, Warner Mifflin. Like Benezet, he occupies his time in extending the opinions of his society relative to the freedom of the blacks, and the care of providing for their existence and their instruction. It is in part to his 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 some 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 behold with uneasiness, the efforts that are making to abolish slavery. The Virginians are persuaded of the impossibility of cultivating tobacco without slaves; 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.

The free blacks in the eastern states, are either hired servants, or they keep little shops, or they cultivate the land. Some of them are to be seen 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 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

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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 hinder 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

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 that 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:

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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, junior, 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 practise, 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. Dr. 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 the Spanish.

The other instance has been cited by Doctor 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

He

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 are 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.

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 Shennadore. 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 Mississippi 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.

wheat. At their head may be reckoned that astonishing man, General Washington, who alone seems ignorant of his own glory. 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, 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 be 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

way

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.

The society of Philadelphia, which may be regarded as the source of these institutions, has lately taken more effectual measures, both to instruct 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 burden, 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

* Washington saw with the eye of a politician as well as of a philosopher. These societies, however praiseworthy in the abstract, have certainly led to dangerous consequences in Europe, and the West Indies. Brissot was a leader in the French society of Les Amis de Noirs; and hence the details he has entered into respecting slavery, which, however, we have considerably abridged.

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 the men who compose these American societies.

The following eloquent extract from the address of the society of Pennsylvania, to congress, in 1787, deserves to be preserved.

"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 for the most atrocious invectives from the adversaries of humanity.

On this continent, so polluted and tormented with slavery, Providence has placed two powerful and infallible means of destroying 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

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 endeavours.

The difficulties attending the cultivation of the cane are well known. 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 cost 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 unfavourable 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,

* M. Lantenas, one of the most enlightened defenders of the blacks in France, has made some calculations on this subject. Supposing, says he, that a family will produce in a

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, colour, 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.

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, one hundred and forty trees, which, even when

season one thousand five hundred pounds of sugar; eighty thousand 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 thirty-eight thousand four hundred and seventy-six square feet of France; and supposing the trees planted at seven feet distance, about thirty thousand acres appropriated to this use, would suffice for the above quantity of sugar.

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young, would produce three hundred pounds of sugar a year. This would give four hundred and twenty pounds the acre, which, at three pence sterling the pound, and deducting one half for the labour, would yield annually fifty-two pounds six shillings 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*.

Here Brissot introduces the ideas of Dr. Thornton, on the re-emigration of the blacks to Africa. This ardent friend of the blacks, says he, is persuaded, that we cannot hope to see a sincere union 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 honour 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?

* The author ought to have carried the idea farther. The sugar maple for fuel is equal to the best oak; 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. The experiment of M. Nouilles, in his garden at St. Germain, proves that this American tree would succeed well in Europe.

Even, on admitting them to all the rights of citizens, I know not if 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, Doctor 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 manufacture, 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?

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

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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.

In considering the vices, says Brissot, which tarnish Old Europe, and the mild fraternity that unites the 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 the best built; it is the most wealthy, though not the most luxurious. You find here more men of information, more political

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cal 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*.

Penn brought into his new colony a government truly fraternal. Brothers who live together, have no need of sentinels, 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 patrol. 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 passers. 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

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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 may contain twelve persons. They have many chairs and fulkeys, open 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 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 a 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 one hundred feet wide; there is none of this width, except Market-street; they are generally from fifty to sixty feet wide. He speaks of wharfs of two hundred feet: there is none such here;

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here; the wharfs 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 wharfs. 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, which, in summer, are 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 stair-case covered

covered

vered 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. 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.

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 fops 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 is it 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.

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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 Dr. 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.

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 unites great industry with great information, and 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 that 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

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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 sell 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 bankruptey 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

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 rising in the town and 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 alteration.

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 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.

Thus it seems that population has more than doubled in twenty-five years, notwithstanding the 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 three hundred and sixty thousand; 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

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 Ireland. 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 the 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 instalment 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.

Hitherto I have spoken only of farms already 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 with the humble spire of corn. We must follow this man in his progress, observe the changes that his cabin undergoes, 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

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 ploughed, and planted with Indian corn. The soil, being new, requires little culture: in the month of October it yields a harvest 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.

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.

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 a 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 ploughed, 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

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 a 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 and 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 labours of the harvest. The last object of industry is to build a house for his own use. This building is generally of stone; it is large, 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. The ordinary drink of his family, is beer, cider, and wine; his wife and daughters manufacture their clothing. 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

churches and schools, as the only means of ensuring 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 the 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

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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 land rises 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; but yet you find many men respectable for their knowledge and understanding among them, such as Rittenhouse, Kuhn, Mulhenberg, &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.

I have already spoken of the climate of this happy town. The respectable Dr. Rush has 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.

* According to M. Moheau, one family in 25,000 in France has thirteen children; two have twelve.

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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 passed here (in August and September) I felt nothing of the languor of body, and depression of spirits, which I expected: though the heat was very great, I found it supportable; nearly like that of Paris, but it caused a greater perspiration.

Dr. 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 facility. The joy of victory gave to their bodies the force of health. He had made the same observations 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 centenarians 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 30 deg. You see, that the winter here is not much colder than at Paris, as it rarely descends more than to 12 deg. below the freezing point. There falls much more rain here than at Paris. The common quantity there 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 Peking, 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. Dr. Ruth attributes the difference to this circumstance, that Pennsylvania is bordered with a vast extent of forest, and that the country about Peking is generally and highly cultivated.

My friend Myers Fisher, who endeavours to explain the characters of men from the physical
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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 dulness 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.

Dr. 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 excessive. He instanced the vigorous winter of 1780, the burning summer of 1782, and the rainy summer of 1788. There were then few or no diseases; and those that happened were occasioned by imprudence, such as cold water drunk in heat, or spirituous liquors in cold. Pleurifies 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 and in winter.

Among the diseases of the United States, the consumption doubtless makes the greatest ravages.

vages. 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 shroud 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 featherbeds, for they know not the use of mattresses; 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 amongst the Quaker women is doubtless the habit of gravity and immobility which they contract in early life,

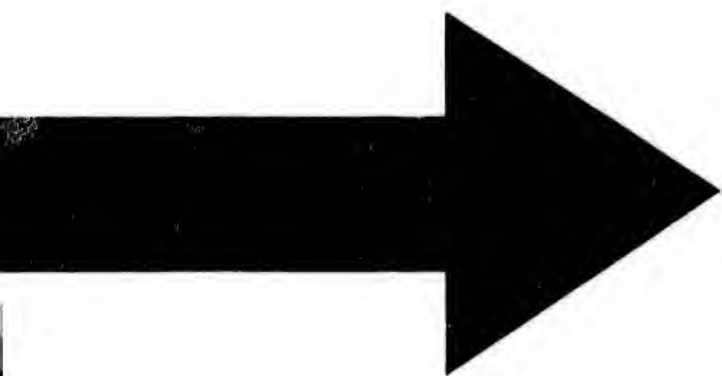
life, and which they preserve for hours together in their silent meetings. The women of the other sects are equally attacked by consumptions, but it is attributed to different causes: they are fond of excessive dancing; heated with this, they drink cold water, eat cold unripe fruits, drink boiling tea, 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.

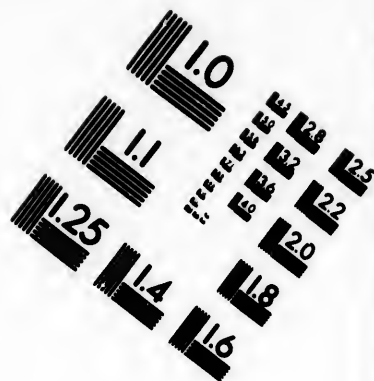
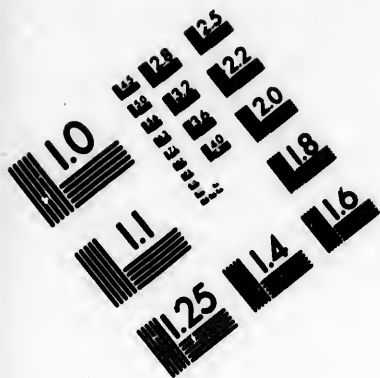
A moral or political cause may likewise aid us in explaining why women are more subject to consumptions than men. It is the want of a will, or a civil existence. The submission to which women are habituated, has the effect of chains, which compress the limbs, cause obstructions, deaden the vital principle, 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.

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.

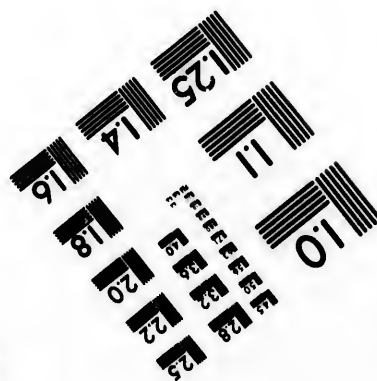
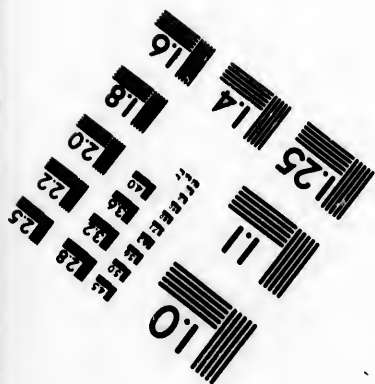
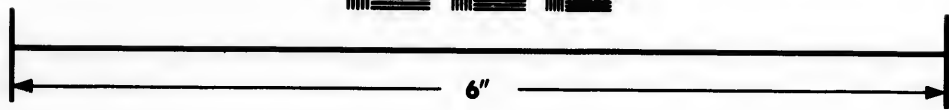
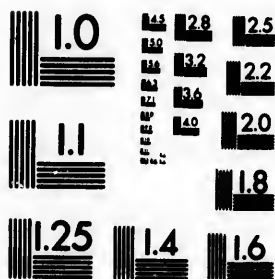
Another disease, very common here, is the fore-throat; when putrid, it is mortal. It generally







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proceeds from excessive heats, cold drinks, and carelessness in clothing.

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-ache. 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-coast, 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 cu-

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rious experiments of Dr. Ingenhouse 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 strong 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.

Perhaps, after the account that I have given of the maladies which afflict America, it may be thought that human life is shorter here than in Europe. It is a prejudice; and it has been accredited by many writers, and by some even who have

have travelled in America, it becomes a duty to destroy it.

The Abbe 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 at 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 adorn 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 of them 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 a hundred in 1765, and left

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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 exhibit some tables of mortality, and of the probabilities of life, in this country. This is the only method of conveying to you certain information.

The general causes of longevity are,

1. The salubrity of the atmosphere and of the country.

2. The abundance and goodness of the aliments.

3. 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

ages of nature, they unite that of liberty, which is the principle of health.

It is difficult here to obtain regular tables of births and deaths. There are some sects who do not baptize their children, and whose registers are not carefully kept; others who baptize 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 immigrations, still increase the difficulty. Yet we may approach near the truth, by taking for examples such seaports 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.

Dr. 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.

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Ages.	Graduates of Harvard College.	Hingham, in Massachusetts.	Dover, in New-Hampshire.	London, Simpson's Tables.	Norwich.	Northampton.	CHESTER.		Holy Cross, near Shrewsbury.	STOCKHOLM		
							Males.	Females.		Males.		
25	36.07	35.46	37.89	26.1	31.56	30.85	32.00	34.78	35.58	21.40	26	
30	33.40	33.81	34.97	23.6	28.93	28.27	29.25	32.27	32.66	19.42	23	
35	30.70	30.83	31.89	21.5	26.05	25.68	25.97	29.26	29.43	17.58	21	
40	26.45	28.28	28.74	19.6	23.18	23.08	22.92	26.37	26.40	15.61	19	
45	22.9	25.11	25.80	17.8	20.78	20.52	20.20	23.50	23.35	13.78	17	
50	19.86	22.08	22.79	16.0	17.55	17.99	17.64	20.62	20.49	11.95	15	
55	17.75	18.47	19.22	14.2	14.87	15.58	15.14	17.52	17.47	10.36	12	
60	14.63	15.20	15.49	12.4	12.36	13.21	12.36	14.20	14.86	8.69	10	
65	11.31	12.29	12.98	10.5	10.05	10.88	10.79	11.94	12.30	7.39	8	
70	10.01	9.68	10.46	8.8	8.12	8.60	8.05	8.81	10.00	5.81	6	
75	8.39	7.63	8.40	7.2	6.44	6.54	7.00	7.14	7.87	4.09	4	
80	6.96	6.03	6.87	5.0	5.14	4.75	5.43	5.20	5.75			
85	3.06	5.02	4.96		3.50	3.37	4.25	4.85				

EXPLANATION.

The first column gives the ages; the following ones give, by years and days, the probabilities of life among the inhabitants of the different places mentioned. The second column is for Cambridge, near Bolton; Hingham, which forms the third, is in Massachusetts; the fourth is for New-Hampshire. The other columns are taken from the work of Dr. Price.

COMPARATIVE TABLE

OF THE

LIFE IN NEW ENGLAND AND IN EUROPE.

		SWEDEN.				GERMANY.		HOL- LAND	FRANCE
ENGLAND.		STOCK- HOLM.		In the Kingdom.		Breslaw.	Brandenburg.	Kerisboom's Tables of An- nuityants.	M. De Parcieux's Table of Annuityants.
Females.	Holy Cross, near Shrewsbury.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.				
34.78	35.58	21.40	26.80	33.63	35.58	30.88	31.70	33.27	37.01
32.27	32.66	19.42	23.98	30.34	32.17	27.80	28.70	30.92	33.96
29.26	29.43	17.58	21.62	27.09	29.03	24.92	25.56	28.36	30.73
26.37	26.40	15.61	19.21	23.75	25.21	22.13	22.65	25.49	27.30
23.50	23.35	13.78	17.17	20.71	22.57	19.56	19.65	22.34	23.77
20.62	20.49	11.95	15.12	17.72	19.26	17.07	16.55	19.41	20.24
17.52	17.47	10.36	12.89	14.98	16.15	14.77	13.68	16.72	16.88
14.20	14.86	8.69	10.45	12.24	13.08	12.30	11.28	14.10	13.86
11.94	12.30	7.39	8.39	9.78	10.49	9.85	9.15	11.56	11.07
8.81	10.00	5.81	6.16	7.60	7.91	7.45	7.48	9.15	8.34
7.14	7.87	4.09	4.39	5.89	6.03	5.51	6.17	6.81	5.79
5.20	5.75			4.27	4.47	4.08	5.06	5.05	4.73
4.85				3.16	3.40	2.36	4.18	3.38	3.45

EXPLANATION.

These give, by years and decimal parts of a year, the probabilities of life as mentioned. The second column regards the graduates of Harvard College, the third, is in Massachusetts; and Dover, which forms the fourth, is in New York of Dr. Price.

PROBAB

To face p. 279.

NEW ENGLAND.					HOL- LAND	FRANCE
Ages.	Graduates of Harvard College.	Hingham, in Massachusetts.	Dover, in New-Hampshire.	London, Simpson's Tables.	Kerisboom's Tables of An- nuityants.	M. De Parcieux's Table of Annuitants.
25	36.07	35.46	37.89	26.1	33.27	37.01
30	33.40	33.81	34.97	23.6	30.92	33.96
35	30.70	30.83	31.89	21.5	28.36	30.73
40	26.45	28.28	28.74	19.6	25.49	27.30
45	22.9	25.11	25.80	17.8	22.34	23.77
50	19.86	22.08	22.79	16.0	19.41	20.24
55	17.75	18.47	19.22	14.2	16.72	16.88
60	14.63	15.20	15.49	12.4	14.10	13.86
65	11.31	12.29	12.98	10.5	11.56	11.07
70	10.01	9.68	10.46	8.8	9.15	8.34
75	8.39	7.63	8.40	7.2	6.81	5.79
80	6.96	6.03	6.87	5.0	5.05	4.73
85	3.06	5.02	4.96		3.38	3.45

The first column gives the ages and probabilities of life among the inhabitants of the district of Cambridge, near Boston; Hingham, in New-Hampshire. The other columns are taken from Harvard College, and the fourth, is in New-France.

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 with those stated by M. Moheau*. He says, that in the island of Oleron, of fourteen thousand inhabitants, there are but five or six octogenaries, and but one for forty-two in the 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 an opinion 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 Dr. 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.

* See *Recherches et Considerations sur la Population de la France*, page 192.

This

ENGLAND	FRANCE
	M. De Parcieux's Table of Annuitants.
3.27	37.01
0.92	33.96
8.36	30.73
5.49	27.30
2.34	23.77
9.41	20.24
6.72	16.88
4.10	13.86
11.56	11.07
9.15	8.34
6.81	5.79
5.05	4.73
3.38	3.45

abilities of life
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This comparative table will fix your ideas on the subject of longevity on the United States. And it is to be hoped that from the care of Dr. Wignefworth 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; from which may be seen the proportion between the births and deaths, and the ages of the diseased. I will take Salem, which is considered as a very unhealthful town. It is a sea-port, in the 42 deg. 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

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
----- one and two years,	29
----- two and five,	28

Vol. XIX.

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AGES

Between 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 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 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
1781 — 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
	<hr/> 6175	<hr/> 2380

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. On the whole, however, the number of inhabitants is increasing in an amazing proportion.

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,

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crimes, it has been necessary to restrain them by prisons, though I love to indulge the belief, that this was once unnecessary. One fact does honour 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 was 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 dishonour 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 honour and repentance are the only keepers.

But, after all, what is the use of prisons? The Indians have them not; and they are not the worse

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 nourishing soil; and how will you expect it to exist?

The man who has for a long time vegetated in a prison, who has experienced frequent convulsions of rage and despair, is no longer the same

* No parallel can be drawn between savages and civilized nations. The former have little private property, and neither laws nor prisons are much wanted where this is wanting.

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, or the turn-key, 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 free man 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 ordained the *habeas corpus* are wise and natural. But they do not ordain it in all cases. A prisoner for debt, who cannot obtain security, must remain a prisoner. A man accused of a capital offence, who will be probably 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 that 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 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.

I am

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.

Dr. 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, 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 in this country.

Our author appears to have entertained the most favourable opinion of the Quakers. Simplicity, candour, and good faith, says he, 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. Their women are what they should be, faithful to their husbands, tender to their children, vigilant and economical in their household, 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 households, happy families, and public

public virtues. But, we miserable wretches! gangrened with our own civilization and politeness, 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; in his opinion, you will never be rich."

Simplicity is a favourite 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."

The white hat, which they prefer, has become more common here, since Franklin has proved the advantages which it possesses, and the inconveniences 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.

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.

They put on woollen stockings the 15th of September; it is an article of their discipline, which extends to their clothing; and to this is to be

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 satin. 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."

Luxury begins where utility ends. When displayed in simple things, it 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

with the great principles of morality—a mind that places its happiness, not in virtue, but in appearance.

Happily, the luxury of dress and furniture 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, oider, 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 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

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 themselves."

The Quakers carry to the borders of the tomb this same tranquillity of mind; and it even forsakes 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 reflection 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 eternal 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.

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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 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 sharpeners among them. The reputation of the sect, and the advantage that may be made of it, have naturally brought into it some hypocritical phylites 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.

Mr.

Mr. Bingham, one of the most opulent citizens of Philadelphia, 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, so often 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.

The Quakers have been accused of avarice; but 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 and of amusements, must be occupied wholly in business; and consequently appear more vigilant, that is, in the language of the lazy and dissipated, *more avaricious*.

One of their detractors agrees, that the Quakers are virtuous; but does not allow them to rank in this respect above other sects. He be-

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,—
1st, That the sect of the Quakers, in proportion to their number, has produced more of these prodigies. 2d, 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.

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 numerous in
the

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 the guide, it is necessary to know it; to be known, it should often be interrogated. Hence the necessity of frequent meditations.

The Quakers have been much ridiculed for their belief in this interior principle. For their calumniators, some of whom have called them-

Selves 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 endeavoured to characterize 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*.

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 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.

* Brissot, in some subsequent remarks, seems to consider the Quakers as a species of deists; a reflection, which, we hope, does not attach to them as a body; but which opinion probably was one cause of the French philosopher's partiality for their religion.

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 society, 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 frequent-
ly

ly 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 chuse 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 honourable 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.

A thorough knowledge of the Quakers, is not to be obtained by going into one of their churches. Enter into their houses; you will find them the abodes of peace, harmony, gentleness, and frugality;

gality; 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, that, after having well examined this society, under all these details, one would be ready to 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."

These wise men, says Brissot, have seen that the great basis of universal happiness must be universal peace; and that to open the way to that
peace,

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 shall 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.

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 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 colonies 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 the British army.

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 noxious leaders to Staunton, in Virginia, two hundred miles from their families. 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.

* If defensive war is allowable, and every citizen is bound to assist the government that protects him, where is the hardship in a Quaker being compelled to make a compensation for his personal service, which he refuses to grant?

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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 collectors till September 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 them. This is already done in Virginia, in abolishing, with respect to them, the militia service.

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 stands likewise on a creek near 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 celebrated 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,

per, 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 Dr. Way. The celebrated Mr. Dickinson, who resides here, was, unfortunately for me, out of town.

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, when you arrive at Henderson's tavern, a very good inn, alone in the midst of vast forests. 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 one hundred and fifty 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. Both the drivers and their

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 is here 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 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 shewed 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 Bladensburg, 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 cider on their farms.

George-town 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 George-town a considerable part of the commerce of Alexandria.

This place is eight miles below George-town, on the opposite side of the Potowmack. Alexandria

dria has grown from nothing to its present size within these forty years. It is not, however, 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 wharfs; but commerce still languishes, on account of impolitic restraints.

I hastened to arrive at Mount Vernon, the seat of General Washington, ten miles below Alexandria, on the same river. On this route 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 turkeys, geese, and other poultry. This house overlooks the Potowmack, enjoys an extensive prospect, has a large 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. He has often been 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 improvement 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. Though this building is of 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 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, that 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 amenity, 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.

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The Duke of Devonshire with his dog (The Duke of Devonshire)



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M. de Chastelux 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 ardour 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.

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.

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

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 honour 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 Potomack advances with rapidity. Crimes are more frequent in Virginia than in the northern states.

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.

Tobacco, so generally cultivated here, 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 propagation 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 inclosed, and meadows succeed to tobacco. Such is the system of the proprietors who 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 subject of tobacco, which many authors have explained; but I will give 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

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 consumed in the country, or smuggled to the islands.

As Virginia produces about eighty thousand hogsheds, 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 inconveniences, 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.

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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. At present it is carried chiefly to England; where about the tenth part is consumed, and the rest is exported. England pays the whole in her own merchandise. 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.

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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 expence, as no people equals them in enterprize and industry, they may undertake to furnish the whole earth.

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 Mississippi 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.

I proposed, on quitting Alexandria, to visit that charming valley, washed by the Shenadore, of which Jefferson and Crevecoeur have given us so seducing a description. From thence I intended to return by the vale of Lancafter, 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 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,

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 inconveniences. 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 a 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 Patowmack 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 tranquillity 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 do not calumniate; they revile not their benefactors; men of the greatest merit cannot always say this of their fellow-creatures.

I left Boston the 2d of October, after dinner, with my worthy friend Mr. Barret; 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 Linn remarkable for the manufacture of women's shoes. It is calculated that more than a hundred thousand pairs are annually exported from this town. At Reading, not far from Linn, is a similar manufacture of men's shoes.

Salem, like other great towns in America, has a printing press and a gazette. I read in this ga-

zette 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, and electrizes all men by the recital of actions, which thus become common to all.

It was cold, and we had a fire in a Franklin stove. These are common here, and those chimneys that have them not, rarely smoke. The mistress of the tavern was taking tea with her daughters; they invited us to partake of it with them. I repeat it, we have nothing like this in France. It is a general remark through all the United States: a tavern-keeper must be a respectable man, his daughters are well dressed, and have an air of decency and civility. We had good provisions, good beds, attentive servants; neither the servants nor the coachmen 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. It is over a creek near a mile wide. The construction of this bridge, and the celerity with which it was built, give a lively idea of the activity and industry of the inhabitants of Massachusetts. It cost but three thousand pounds; the toll for a horse and carriage is eight pence; the opening in the middle for the passage of vessels, is of a simpler mechanism than that of Charles-town. On the road to
Beverly,

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 Newberry with Mr. Tracy, who formerly enjoyed a great fortune, and has since been reduced by the failure of different enterprises, 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. In consequence, the cargo was condemned, and sold at Havre for two hundred and fifty pounds. Mr. Tracy lives retired; and with the consolation of his respectable wife, supports his misfortunes with dignity and firmness.

Newberry 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 Murrinak, abounding in fish of different kinds.

Twenty-four miles of fine road brings you from Newberry 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 Piscatuay, 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. Colonel 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. At the time of the invasion of General Burgoyne, he was the first to mount his horse, and lead off his fellow citizens to fight him. He appears 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 Newberry, on the Mirrimak: 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.

Mr. Dalton received me with that frankness, which bespeaks a man of worth and of 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 gormandise on Sunday.

day. This trait will paint to you a people at their ease, who will not torment themselves for show.

Mr. Dalton's house presented me with the image of a true patriarchal family, and of great domestic felicity; it is composed of four or five handsome young women, dressed 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 often 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.

According to Brisset, the total amount of the debt of the United States is about eighty millions of dollars; a sum, which he thinks they will be able gradually to liquidate. The expence of the federal government he calculates at five hundred and seven thousand four hundred and eight dollars, exclusive of the interest of the debt. If any thing, says he, can give an idea of the high degree of prosperity, to which these confederated republics are making rapid strides, it is the contemplation of their exportations and manufac-

tures. 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 principle 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 other wood of construction; cabinet work, cordage, cables, carriages; works in brass, copper, and lead; glass of different kinds; gun-powder, cheese, butter, calicoes, printed linen, indigo, furs, &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 of 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

Cotton succeeds equally well. The spinning machines of Arkwright are well known here, and are made in the country.

Nature invites the Americans to the labours 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 two hundred and fifty thousand 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 Potowmack employs five hundred persons. They have begun with success, at Philadelphia, the printing of calicoes, cotton, and linen. Sugar refiners are increasing every where. In Pennsylvania are twenty-one powder-mills, which are supposed to produce annually six hundred and twenty-five tons of gunpowder.

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

In their commerce to the East Indies, you may see displayed the enterprising spirit of the Americans; the first motive to it, was the hope of economizing in the price 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 eighty-five thousand pounds 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 some 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 at in Europe: they navigate with less seamen, and at less expence, although they nourish their seamen better.

The productions of their country are more favourable to this commerce than those of Europe. They carry ginseng to China; plank, ship-timber, flour, and 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 as 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, of which the
price

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.

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, failed to discover the north-west of this continent; this is his second voyage round the world: the brig Hope has failed 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 furs 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

gate 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 Americans 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.

I have not leisure to describe 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 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 Alleghanies, 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

* We suspect our author is a worse geographer than he was a politician.

ascend, 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 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, Mutkingum, 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.

Cumberland, situated in the neighbourhood of Kentucky, contains eight thousand inhabitants, Holston five thousand, and Frankland twenty-five thousand.

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

ascend,

I am going to speak. The establishment at the Muskingum 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. These 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 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.

There is nothing to fear, that the danger from the savages will ever arrest the ardour of the Americans for extending their settlements. They all expect that the navigation of the Mississippi 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 negotiation 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

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 honour 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 endeavours 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 the people of the east; the unceasing emigrations serve perpetually to strengthen their connections; and as it is for the interest both of the east and west, to open an extensive commerce with South America, and to overleap the Mississippi; 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 are masters of the Ohio and the Mississippi, cannot conceive that the insolence of a handful of Spaniards can think of shutting rivers and seas against a hundred thousand free Americans. The slightest quarrel will be sufficient to throw them

into a flame; and if ever the Americans shall march towards New Orleans, it will infallibly fall into their hands. The Spaniards fear this moment; and it cannot be far off.

In order to avert the effects of this enterprising character of the free Americans, the Spanish government has adopted the pitiful project of attracting them to a settlement on the west of the Mississippi; and 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 extend! 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.

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 diffused, and gentle tolerance taking place of the ferocious inquisition. I see Mexicans, Peruvians, men of the United States, embracing each other, cursing tyrants, and blessing the reign of liberty, which leads to universal harmony. But the mines, the slaves, what
is

is to become of them? The mines will be closed, and the slaves will become the brothers of their masters.

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.

Thus have we accompanied Brissot in his travels through the United States, sometimes with pleasure and sometimes with disgust. Blinded by preconceived opinions, which he was anxious to realize in France, and more a *modern* philosopher than a sound politician, he frequently introduces vague remarks, and praises or censures without judgment and without discrimination. Of this we think it necessary to warn our readers; though we have all along endeavoured to soften his deleterious principles, and to omit his chimeras. On the whole, however, his travels contain much information relative to the state of America.

END OF VOL. XIX.

