

*T. B. Boardley Esq*

THE  
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,  
AND  
Columbian Magazine,

FOR MARCH, 1792.

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BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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PHILADELPHIA:

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COLOMBIAN

MARCH

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T H E  
**UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,**  
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P H I L A D E L P H I A:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY WILLIAM YOUNG,  
 BOOKSELLER, No. 52, SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESNUT-STREET.

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ALEXANDER'S *Memoirs* may be true; but we wish not wantonly to disturb the ashes of the dead, lest we should thereby give unnecessary pain to their living friends.

*The reward of virtue, a novel*, contains too many stale maxims, and too much uninteresting narrative.

We should be happy in complying with the request of our fair correspondent, in Baltimore; but the poetry she wishes us to insert, though truly beautiful, has already been published in so many selections, as to be altogether deprived of the charm of *novelty*.

*Lorenzo's verses* would but lampoon the fair one to whom they are addressed.

The *Ode to spring* is rather frigid.

*Melissa, an elegy*, has a sufficient degree of poetic *smoothness*. Some of the stanzas, however, are void of any meaning, that we can discover, and others are very incorrect.

An *elegy* on an unfortunate gentleman who put a period to his own existence—*Address to my empty pockets*—and *The Reverse, or An Address to my replenished pockets*, will appear in our next.

Some articles, intended for this month's *Review*, are unavoidably postponed, for want of room.

### PHILADELPHIA, March 31, 1792.

#### Current Prices of PUBLIC SECURITIES.

Six per cents, per £.	-	-	21s.	Final Settlements,	-	-	19s.
Deferred six per cents,	-	-	12s. 6.	Indents,	-	-	12s.
Three per cents,	-	-	12s.	Bank Stock $\frac{1}{2}$ Shares	50 per cent advance.		

#### COURSE of EXCHANGE.

Bills of Exchange on London, 90 days,	57½.	Ditto.	90 days,		36½.
Ditto. 60 days,	60.	Government bills, drawn at 10 days			
Ditto. 30 days,	61	per 11 guilders,	4dol. 44 cents.		
Amsterdam, 60 days, per guilder	37½.	France, 60 days,			80.

T H E  
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,  
A N D  
Columbian Magazine,

FOR MARCH, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*DESCRIPTION of the CITY of WASHINGTON, in the territory of COLUMBIA, ceded by the States of VIRGINIA and MARYLAND to the UNITED STATES, and by them established as the SEAT of their GOVERNMENT, after the year 1800.*

[Illustrated by an accurate engraving.]

**T**HE city of Washington stands at the junction of the rivers Potowmack and the Eastern-branch, extending nearly four miles up each, and including a tract of territory, exceeded, in point of convenience, salubrity, and beauty, by none in America; For although the land, in general, appears level, yet by gentle and gradual swellings, a variety of elegant prospects are produced, and a sufficient descent formed for conveying off the water occasioned by rain. Within the limits of the city are a great number of excellent springs; and by digging wells, water of the best quality may readily be had. Besides, the never-failing streams, that flow through that territory, may also be collected for the use of the city. The waters of Reedy-branch, and of Tiber-creek, may be conveyed to the President's house. The source of Tiber-creek is elevated about 236 feet above the level of the tide in said creek. The perpendicular height of the ground on which the Capitol is to stand, is 78 feet above the level of the tide in Tiber-creek. The water of Tiber-creek, may, therefore, be conveyed to the Capitol, and, after watering that part of the city, may be destined to other useful purposes.

The Eastern-branch is one of the safest and most commodious harbours in America, being sufficiently deep for the largest ships, for about four miles above its mouth, while the channel lies close along the bank adjoining the city, and affords a large and convenient harbour.—The Potowmack, although only navigable for small craft, for

a considerable distance from its banks next to the city (excepting about half a mile above the junction of the rivers) will nevertheless afford a capacious summer harbour; as an immense number of ships may ride in the great channel, opposite to, and below, the city.

The situation of this metropolis is upon the great post-road, equidistant from the northern and southern extremities of the Union, and nearly so from the Atlantick and Pittsburgh, upon the best navigation, and in the midst of a commercial territory, probably the richest; and commanding the most extensive internal resources, of any in America. It has therefore many advantages to recommend it, as an eligible place for the permanent seat of the general government; and as it is likely to be speedily built, and otherwise improved, by the public-spirited enterprize of the people of the united states, and even by foreigners, it may be expected to grow up with a degree of rapidity hitherto unparalleled in the annals of cities.

The plan of this city appears to contain some important improvements upon that of the best planned cities in the world, combining, in a remarkable degree, convenience, regularity, elegance of prospect, and a free circulation of air.—The positions for the different public edifices, and for the several squares and areas of different shapes, as they are laid down, were first determined on the most advantageous ground, commanding the most extensive prospects, and, from their situation, susceptible of such improvements as either use or ornament may hereafter require. The Capitol will be situated on a most beautiful eminence, commanding a complete view of every part of the city, and of a considerable part of the country around. The President's house will stand on a rising ground, possessing a delightful water prospect, together with a commanding view of the Capitol, and the most material parts of the city. Lines, or avenues, of direct communication, have been devised to connect the most distant and important objects. These transverse avenues, or diagonal streets, are laid out on the most advantageous ground for prospect and convenience, and are calculated not only to produce a variety of charming prospects, but greatly to facilitate the communication throughout the city.—North and south lines, intersected by others running due east and west, make the distribution of the city into streets, squares, &c. and those lines have been so combined as to meet, at certain given points, with the divergent avenues, so as to form, on the spaces *first determined*, the different squares or areas.—The grand avenues, and such streets as lead immediately to public places, are from 130 to 160 feet wide, and may be conveniently divided into foot-ways, a walk planted with trees on each side, and a paved way for carriages. The other streets are from 90 to 110 feet wide.

In order to execute this plan, Mr. Ellicott drew a true meridional line, by celestial observation, which passes through the area intended for the Capitol. This line he crossed by another, running due east and west, which passes through the same area. These lines were accurately measured, and made the bases on which the whole plan was executed. He ran all the lines by a transit instrument, and determined the acute angles by actual measurement, leaving nothing to the uncertainty of the compass.

## FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

WE have been favoured with the following copies of two letters written at that stage of the American Revolution which "tried men's souls," by Mr. John Adams, then a member of congress, now Vice-President of the united states. We shall be happy, at all times, in receiving similar communications. The hitherto unpublished correspondence of those distinguished patriots, who have rendered their names immortal, by their efforts in the cause of American freedom, could not fail to be well received by the public; and would certainly be a valuable acquisition to the future historian of the American Revolution.

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No. I.

*Philadelphia, July, 1st 1776.*

*Dear sir,*

TWO days ago I received your favour of May 1st.—I was greatly disappointed, sir, in the information you gave me, that you should be prevented from revisiting Philadelphia.—I had flattered myself with hopes of your joining us soon, and not only affording us the additional strength of your abilities and fortitude, but enjoying the satisfaction of seeing a temper and conduct here, somewhat more agreeable to your wishes, than those which prevailed when you were here before. But I have since been informed, that your countrymen have done themselves the justice to place you at the head of their affairs, a station in which you may perhaps render more essential service to them, and to America, than you could here.

There seems to have been a great change in the sentiments of the colonies, since you left us, and I hope that a few months will bring us all to the same way of thinking.

This morning is assigned for the greatest debate of all—A declaration that these colonies are free and independent states, has been reported by a committee, appointed some weeks ago for that purpose, and this day, or to-morrow, is to determine its fate.—May heaven prosper the new born republic, and make it more glorious than any former republics have been!

The small-pox has ruined the American army in Canada, and of consequence the American cause.—A series of disasters has happened there, partly owing I fear to the indecision at Philadelphia, and partly to the mistakes or misconduct of our officers in that department. But the small-pox, which infected every man we sent there, completed our ruin, and compelled us to evacuate that important province.—We must, however, regain it sometime or other.

My countrymen have been more successful at sea, in driving all the men of war completely out of Boston harbour, and in making prizes of a great number of transports and other vessels.

We are in daily expectation of an armament before New-York, where, if it comes, the conflict must be bloody. The object is great which we have in view, and we must expect a great expence of blood to obtain it. But we should always remember, that a free constitu-

George Town

Wachara & Vallance J.

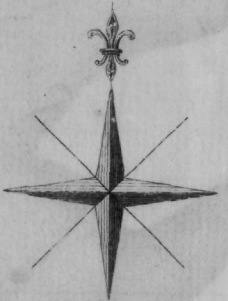


President's House

Capitol

POTOMAC RIVER

EASTERN BRANCH



Lat: Capitol 38: 53, N.

Long: ..... 0: 0.



tion of civil government cannot be purchased at too dear a rate, as there is nothing, on this side the new Jerusalem, of equal importance to mankind.

It is a cruel reflection, that a little more wisdom, a little more activity, or a little more integrity, would have preserved us Canada, and enabled us to support this trying conflict, at a less expence of men and money. But irretrievable miscarriages ought to be lamented no further, than to enable and stimulate us to do better in future.

Your colleagues, Hall and Guinn, are here in good health and spirits, and as firm as you yourself could wish them. Present my compliments to Mr. Houstoun. Tell him, the colonies will have republics for their governments, let us lawyers, and your† divine, say what we will.

I have the honour to be,  
with great esteem and respect, sir,  
your sincere friend and most humble servant,  
J O H N A D A M S.

*His excellency Archibald Bullock, Esq. of Georgia.*

No. II.

*Philadelphia, July 1st 1776.*

*Dear sir,*

YOUR favour by the post this morning gave me much pleasure, but the generous and unanimous vote of your convention gave me much more. It was brought into congress this morning, just as we were entering on the great debate. That debate took up most of the day, but it was an idle mispence of time, for nothing was said but what had been repeated and hackneyed, in that room, before an hundred times, for six months past.

In the committee of the whole the question was carried in the affirmative, and reported to the house.—A colony desired it to be postponed until tomorrow, when it will pass by a great majority, perhaps with almost unanimity; yet I cannot promise this, because one or two gentlemen may possibly be found, who will vote point blank against the known and declared sense of their constituents. Maryland, however, I have the pleasure to inform you, behaved well.—Paca, generously and nobly.

Alas Canada! we have found misfortune and disgrace in that quarter—Evacuated at last—Transports arrived at Sandy-Hook, from whence we may expect an attack in a short time, upon New-York or New-Jersey;—and our army not so strong as we could wish. The militia of New-Jersey and New-England not so ready as they ought to be.

The Romans made it a fixed rule never to send or receive ambassadors, to treat of peace with their enemies, while their affairs were in an adverse or disastrous situation. There was a generosity and

\* Zubly.

magnanimity in this, becoming freemen. It flowed from that temper and those principles which alone can preserve the freedom of a people. It is a pleasure to find our Americans of the same temper. It is a good symptom, foreboding a good end.

If you imagine that I expect this declaration will ward off calamities from this country, you are much mistaken. A bloody conflict we are destined to endure.—This has been my opinion from the beginning. You will certainly remember my decided opinion was, at the first congress, when we found that we could not agree upon an immediate non-exportation, that the contest could not be settled without bloodshed, and that if hostilities should once commence, they would terminate in an incurable animosity between the two countries. Every political event since the 19th of April, 1775, has confirmed me in this opinion.

If you imagine that I flatter myself with happiness and Halcyon days, after a separation from Great Britain, you are mistaken again. I don't expect that our new governments will be so quiet as I could wish, nor that happy harmony, confidence, and affection, between the colonies, that every good American ought to study, labour, and pray for, a long time. But freedom is a counterbalance for poverty, discord, and war, and more. It is your hard lot and mine to be called into life, at such a time;—yet even these times have their pleasures.

I am your friend and servant,  
JOHN ADAMS.

Mr. Chase.



BERKENHOUT'S *discovery for dying cotton and linen, in scarlet, crimson, and other colours.*

COTTON or linen, either in yarn or piece, should be perfectly wet with hot water, and then wrung out, as is the common practice. This being done, it must be perfectly soaked in a solution of tin, diluted with an equal quantity of clear soft water. The cotton or linen being so far prepared, must be wrung out, but not forcibly; then it is to be nearly dried, lying horizontally upon a hurdle, with a double linen sheet between, and covered with the same. The solution of tin being for scarlet, must be made of nitrous acid, and not of aqua fortis: but for crimson, aqua fortis must be used; and the bloom is to be given, after it comes out of the dye, by a small quantity of sal ammoniack and pearl ashes, dissolved perfectly in warm water; but this water must not be more than milk-warm. The colouring vat for the scarlet or crimson is simply cochineal in water, no hotter than the hand can bear; and as vegetable matter receives only the small particles of the colour, from the nature of its pores, two ounces to a pound of the materials dyed may be necessary. But cotton or linen, fresh prepared, will draw from the same vat, heated as

before, all the inferior shades, from scarlet and crimson; and, if any colour still remains in the vat, it may be taken out entirely, by wool prepared in the usual manner. The same preparation of tin serves for the green and yellows, with the same materials only that are employed by the dyers, except the best yellow, which is produced from turmeric.

It is necessary to observe, that after the preparation has been made use of for scarlet or crimson, the residue appears sufficiently strong for greens and yellows, even after it has been kept for a considerable time.

N. B. To make the best solution of tin with nitrous acid, it is necessary to have the strong smoking spirit, to which an equal quantity of the purest river water must be added; and the proportions of the following ingredients are to the weight of spirits; 1-16th sal ammoniac, 1-32d refined nitre, dissolved by little at a time in this aqua regia: dissolve 1-8th of granulated grain tin also by small quantities, to prevent too great an ebullition, which would weaken the solution considerably.

The ingredients and proportions are the same when a solution is to be made with aqua fortis; but that spirit, in general, will not bear any water when a perfect solution is intended.



### On the Character of a FINE WOMAN.

IT is agreed by most men, that a fine woman is the loveliest object in the creation; no wonder then that every female endeavours to appear in this character, and that her chief study is to supply the defects of nature by art, dress, or ornament. But as the ladies have run into some very egregious mistakes, in order to gain this appellation, I shall, after having studied the sex, and been a constant votary to them many years, point out a few of their capital errors.

1st. No female can be a fine woman, who uses either carmine or pearl powder.

2d. No female can be a fine woman, who uses perfumes of any kind, as these must be meant to predominate over some personal disagreeable odour.

3d. No female can be a fine woman, whose head is as big as a bushel, or whose cap is discomposed by the top of a coach.

4th. No female can be a fine woman, who wears artificial teeth, artificial shapes, or artificial hair.

5th. No female can be a fine woman, who plays the coquette or the prude.

6th. No female can be a fine woman, who, through affected delicacy, pretends to despise that brutal part of the creation—MAN.

7th. No female can be a fine woman, who rattles at church, or disturbs an audience.

8th. No female can be a fine woman, who laughs at nothing, only to shew her teeth.

HISTORY of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION,

CAMPAIGN OF 1778.

(Continued from page 103.)

AT the close of the year 1777, the American army went into winter quarters at Valley-Forge, where they experienced all the severities of the season, in a camp of wretched huts, destitute of comfortable clothing, particularly blankets and shoes, and so pinched by famine, that they were more than once in danger of perishing. Fortunately for them, the British remained quiet in their comfortable quarters, enjoying all the conveniences which an opulent city could afford, without attempting to disturb or harrass them, while in this destitute situation. The winter and spring passed away without many remarkable events. The British made a few excursions, for the purposes of procuring supplies and destroying property. One party went as far as Bordenton, where they destroyed four valuable stores. Before they returned to Philadelphia, they burned two frigates, nine ships, six privateer sloops, twenty-three brigs, and a number of sloops and schooners. In the middle of April, a French fleet of twelve ships and four frigates, commanded by count D'Estaing, sailed from Toulon, for America. It was probably from an apprehension of something of this kind, that it had been resolved in Great Britain, to evacuate Philadelphia; and to render the army and navy stronger and more secure, by uniting them in the city and harbour of New-York.—The commissioners, without knowing that any such plan was in contemplation, brought over orders for carrying it into immediate execution. The evacuation of Philadelphia, at the very time of the commissioners arrival, had an unfavourable influence on their negociations, but it was nevertheless necessary; for had the French fleet arrived in time to block up the Delaware, the Americans would have besieged Philadelphia, of course, and the escape of the British would have been scarcely possible.

On the 18th of June, the British army crossed the Delaware. General Washington, having penetrated into their intention, had previously sent general Maxwell, with his brigade, to co-operate with the Jersey militia in obstructing their march, as much as possible, that, by impeding their progress, time might be given to bring forward his army, for the purpose of seizing upon any opportunity that might offer to attack them with advantage. This detachment, and the militia, though too weak to oppose the enemy on their march, retarded them considerably, by breaking down the bridges. Nor was this the only impediment with which they had to struggle—they were encumbered with a vast quantity of provisions and baggage, insomuch that the loaded horses and wheel carriages extended twelve miles, on the narrow roads by which they pursued their march; the heat of the weather was excessive; and the constant labour of repairing the bridges was severely felt. Their progress, consequently, was very slow.

*March, 1792.*

X

General Washington, upon receiving intelligence of sir Henry Clinton's having crossed the Delaware, marched with his whole army, from Valley-Forge, in pursuit of the enemy, and detached col. Morgan, with 600 men, to reinforce general Maxwell. Having halted his troops near Princeton, he stated to the general officers, *June 24.* that Clinton's army consisted of between nine and ten thousand men, the American army of between ten and eleven thousand, beside Maxwell's brigade of 1200, and about 1200 militia. He then asked the question "Will it be adviseable to hazard a general action?" They answered in the negative; but recommended that a detachment of 1500 men should be immediately sent to act as occasion might serve, on the enemy's left flank and rear, in conjunction with the continental troops and militia already hanging about them. The detachment was accordingly sent on, under general Scott. The British had by this time advanced to Allen-Town. But sir Henry Clinton, concluding that the views of the Americans were directed against his baggage, in which part he was indeed vulnerable, determined, instead of keeping the direct course towards Staten-Island, to take the road leading to the sea-coast, and proceed by the way of Sandy-Hook. In case he proceeded by the other route, he was apprehensive that general Washington might be joined by Gates, with the northern army, at the Rariton; and that in crossing that river he might be severely harrassed by an attack from their joint force. In such case, his baggage, at least, would, he presumed, be very much endangered. And although, in reality, he had little to fear from any co-operation by Gates, whose army was dwindled down to a mere handful; yet, disposed as general Washington evidently was to give him battle, an attack might, perhaps, have been very advantageously made upon him in passing the Rariton, had he pursued that route.

General Washington, on receiving intelligence that the British were proceeding towards Monmouth court-house, dispatched 1000 men, under general Wayne, and sent the marquis de la Fayette to take the command of the advanced corps, with orders to seize the first fair opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear; while the main body preserved a proper distance for supporting him, and for taking a due part in the action, should it, in the event, become general. General Lee had been offered the command of the advanced corps, but declined it, as he was against hazarding an attack.

Sir Henry Clinton, judging from the number of the American light troops which hovered on his rear and flanks, that general Washington, with the main body, was at no great distance, placed the baggage under the conduct of general Knyphausen, who led the first column of the army. The other, which covered the line of march, and consisted of a chosen body of troops, being now freed from the incumbrance of baggage, was ready for action, under the immediate command of Clinton himself.

This disposition, on the part of the enemy, induced general Washington to increase the number of the advanced corps; and as general Lee now wished for the command that he had before declined, he was detached on the 27th, with two additional brigades, and ordered to take command of the whole. The enemy were now strongly

posted, for the night, in the neighbourhood of Monmouth court-house. When once arrived at the heights of Middletown, about twelve miles in advance, there would have been no possibility of attempting any thing against them, with a prospect of success. General Washington, therefore, determined to attack the rear, the moment they moved from their present ground, and communicated his intention to Lee, who was ordered to make the necessary dispositions, and to keep his troops in readiness to act on the shortest notice. The like was done with respect to the troops under his own immediate command.

28. Next morning early, as soon as the first division of the enemy had begun to march, orders were sent to Lee to attack their rear, unless there should be very powerful reasons to the contrary. The main body was immediately put in motion, to support him. From the imperfect observations which the nature of the country enabled Lee to make, and from some erroneous accounts which he obtained, he mistook Clinton's division of the royal army for a covering party of 1500 or 2000 men. Imagining these to be separated from the main body, by a considerable interval, he formed a plan for cutting them off. General Wayne was appointed to hang on the rear with 700 men, and ordered to attack the enemy faintly, so as to halt them, but not with vigour, lest they should retreat with celerity to the main body, or receive a reinforcement from it. Mean while Lee was to endeavour, by a short road leading to the left, to gain the front of the supposed covering party.

Sir Henry Clinton having received intelligence that strong detachments of the Americans were advancing on both his flanks, conceived their object to be the baggage, which was, at that juncture, engaged in troublesome defiles, which continued for several miles. With a view to frustrate this apprehended attempt on the baggage, he resolved to face about, briskly to attack the corps which harassed his rear, and thus oblige the detachments on his flanks to return to its assistance. With this view he advanced towards the right of the Americans. Lee now perceived his mistake. The enemy appeared in full view, marching back towards the court-house, in greater numbers than he expected.—Some cannonading and slight skirmishing ensued, and Lee retreated, resolving to make a stand on an eminence behind a morass, which he had passed in the morning.

General Washington had advanced about five miles, to support the advanced corps, when, to his great surprize, he found the whole of it retreating by Lee's orders, without his having received any previous notice of this step. He rode up to Lee, and, with a degree of astonishment and indignation, proposed certain questions to him which implied censure. Lee answered with warmth and unsuitable language. The rear of the retreating troops came up, and information was received that the enemy were advancing with rapidity, within fifteen minutes march of the place where Washington was. No time was to be lost. Looking around him, he judged the spot on which he stood to be an advantageous one for checking the enemy. Here col. Stewart's and lieut. col. Ramsay's battalions were immediately formed, by his order. Lee was asked if he would command on that ground, to which he consented; and upon being ordered to

take proper measures for checking the enemy, he replied—"Your orders shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field." The commander in chief then rode back to the main body, which was formed with the utmost expedition, on the eminence to which Lee had intended to retreat. A severe cannonade immediately commenced between the British and American artillery, and a heavy firing between the advanced troops of the enemy, and the two battalions commanded by Lee. These were charged by the British cavalry, and obliged to give way, after having stood their ground till they were broken by, and intermixed with, the horse and infantry of the enemy. Lieutenant colonel Ramsay, the commander of one of these battalions, was wounded and taken prisoner. General Lee continued till the last on the field, and brought off the rear of the retreating troops. The check the British received from Lee, gave time for making an advantageous disposition of the left wing and second line of the American army. Lord Stirling, who commanded the left wing, played upon the British with great effect, with his artillery. This, with the co-operation of some parties of infantry, detached for the purpose of opposing the enemy, effectually stopped their progress in that quarter. General Greene took a very advantageous position, on Stirling's right. The British finding themselves warmly opposed in front, attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed. A movement was then made to the right, but with no better success, Greene having advanced a body of troops, with artillery, to a commanding piece of ground, which not only baffled their design, but enfiladed those in front of the left wing. Wayne, at the same time, advanced with a body of troops, and kept up so severe and well directed a fire, that the British were soon compelled to fall back to the ground that had been occupied by Lee. Here their flanks were secured by thick woods and morasses, while their front could be approached only through a narrow pass. General Washington, nevertheless, resolved to attack them; and, for that purpose, ordered general Poor to move round upon their right, and general Woodford to gain their left, while the artillery played upon them in front, but they could not get within reach before it was dark. They remained, however, on the ground which they had been directed to occupy, during the night, with an intention of attacking the enemy early next morning; and the main body lay on their arms in the field, that they might be in readiness to support them. General Washington reposed himself in his cloak, under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action next day; for it appears, from several circumstances, that he was all along desirous of a general engagement, notwithstanding the prevailing contrary opinion of the general officers whom he consulted. But the British marched away in the night, in such silence—that Poor, though he lay very near them, knew nothing of their departure. They left behind them four officers and about forty men, who were so badly wounded that they could not be moved. The extreme heat of the weather, the distance the British had gained, by marching in the night, and the fatigue the Americans had already sustained, rendered a pursuit impracticable. Sir Henry Clinton, by his manœuvres, secured the arrival of the royal army in the neighbourhood of Sandy-

Hook, on the 30th of June, without the loss of either the covering party or baggage; but, in the course of the march, about 800 of his men, mostly Hessians, deserted. The fleet had by this time arrived from the Delaware; and in a few days the whole of the army got into New-York.

The loss of the Americans in the action at Monmouth, in killed and wounded, was about 250; that of the royal army, including prisoners, about 350. The loss of lieut. col. Monckton, an officer of great merit, who was slain, was much lamented by the British. On the part of the Americans, lieut. col. Bonner, of Pennsylvania, and major Dickenson, of Virginia, officers of distinguished merit, were slain. The intense heat of the weather, and the excessive fatigue of the day, proved fatal to no less than fifty-nine of the British, and several of the American soldiers, who were found among the dead, without having received a wound.

It is probable, that Washington intended to take no further notice of Lee's conduct in the day of action, but the latter could not brook the expressions used by the former, at their first meeting, and wrote him two passionate letters. This occasioned his being arrested, and brought to trial. The charges exhibited against him were—1st. For disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions.—2dly. For misbehaviour before the enemy, on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.—3dly. For disrespect to the commander in chief, in two letters.

After a tedious hearing before a court-martial, of which lord Stirling was president, Lee was found guilty, and sentenced to be suspended from any command in the armies of the united states, for the term of one year; but the second charge was softened by the court-martial, who, in their award, only found him guilty of misbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unnecessary, and in some few instances a disorderly retreat. Many were displeased with this sentence. They argued "that by the tenor of Lee's orders, it was submitted to his discretion, whether to attack or not, and also, that the time and manner were to be determined by his own judgment. That at one time he intended to attack, but altered his opinion on apparently good grounds. That the propriety of an attack, considering the superiority of the British cavalry, and the openness of the ground, was very questionable. That though it might have distressed the enemy's rear in the first instance, it would probably have brought on a general action, before the advanced corps could have been supported by the main body, which was some miles in the rear." "If" said they "Lee's judgment was against attacking the enemy, he could not be guilty of disobeying an order for that purpose, which was suspended on the condition of his own approbation of the measure." They also argued, that a suspension from command was not a sufficient punishment for his crimes, if really guilty. They therefore inferred a presumption of his innocence from the lenient sentence of his judges. Though there was a diversity of opinions relative to the first and second charges, all were agreed in pronouncing him guilty of disrespect to the commander in chief. The Americans had formerly idolized



gen. Lee, but some of them now went to the opposite extreme, and pronounced him treacherous or deficient in courage, though there was no foundation for either of these suspicions. His temper was violent, and his impatience of subordination had led him often to quarrel with those whom he was bound to respect and obey; but his courage and fidelity could not be questioned.

Soon after the battle at Monmouth, the American army took post at the White-Plains, a few miles beyond Kingsbridge, and the British, though only a few miles distant, did not molest them. They remained in this position, till late in the autumn, and then retired to Middle-Brook, in Jersey, where they built themselves huts, in the same manner as they had done in the preceding winter, at Valley-Forge.

Immediately on the departure of the British from Philadelphia, congress, after an absence of nine months, returned to the former seat of their deliberations. Soon after their return, they were *August 6.* called upon, to give a public audience to a minister plenipotentiary from the court of France. The person appointed to this office, was M. Gerard, the same who had been employed in the negotiations, antecedent to the treaty. The arrival and reception of a minister from France, made a strong impression on the minds of the Americans; who now felt the weight and importance, to which they were risen among nations.

(To be continued.)

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## An ACCOUNT of the SUGAR MAPLE-TREE of the UNITED STATES,

*And of the Methods of obtaining Sugar from it; together with Observations upon the Advantages both public and private of this Sugar. In a letter to THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esq. Secretary of State of the United States, and one of the Vice-Presidents of the American Philosophical Society, by BENJAMIN RUSH, M. D. Professor of the Institutes, and of Clinical Medicine, in the University of Pennsylvania.*

[Extracted from the THIRD VOLUME of the TRANSACTIONS of the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, now in the Press.]

DEAR SIR,

**I**n obedience to your request, I have sat down to communicate to our society, through the medium of a letter to you, a short account of the *sugar maple-tree* of the united states, together with such facts and remarks as I have been able to collect, upon the methods of obtaining sugar from it, and upon the advantages, both public and private, of this sugar.

The *acer sacharinum* of Linnaeus, or the sugar maple-tree, grows in great quantities, in the western counties of all the middle states of the American union. Those which grow in New-York and Pennsylvania, yield the sugar in a greater quantity than those which grow on the waters of the Ohio.—These trees are generally found mixed

with the Beech, (a) Hemlock, (b) White and Water-Ash, (c) the Cucumber-tree, (d) Linden, (e) Aspen, (f) Butter-Nut, (g) and Wild Cherry-trees (h.) They sometimes appear in groves, covering five or six acres in a body, but they are more commonly interpersed with some or all of the forest trees which have been mentioned. From 30 to 50 trees are generally found upon an acre of ground. They grow only in the richest soils, and frequently in stony ground. Springs of the purest water abound in their neighbourhood. They are, when fully grown, as tall as the white and black oaks, and from two to three feet in diameter.\* They put forth a beautiful white blossom in the spring before they show a single leaf. The colour of the blossom distinguishes them from the acer rubrum, or the common maple, which affords a blossom of a red colour. The wood of the sugar maple-tree is extremely inflammable, and is preferred upon that account by hunters and surveyors for fire-wood. Its small branches are so much impregnated with sugar, as to afford support to the cattle, horses, and sheep of the first settlers, during the winter, before they are able to cultivate forage for that purpose. Its ashes afford a great quantity of pot-ash, exceeded by few, or perhaps by none of the trees that grow in the woods of the united states.

The tree is supposed to arrive at its full growth, in the woods, in twenty years.

It is not injured by tapping; on the contrary, the oftner it is tapped, the more syrup is obtained from it. In this respect, it follows a law of animal secretion. A single tree has not only survived, but flourished after *forty-two* tapplings in the same number of years. The effects of a yearly discharge of sap from the tree, in improving and increasing the sap, is demonstrated from the superior excellence of those trees which have been perforated in an hundred places, by a small wood-pecker which feeds upon the sap. The trees, after having been wounded in this way, distil the remains of their juice on the ground, and afterwards acquire a black colour. The sap of these trees is much sweeter to the taste, than that which is obtained from trees which have not been previously wounded, and it affords more sugar.

From twenty-three gallons and one quart of sap, procured in twenty hours from only two of these dark coloured trees, Arthur Noble, Esq. of the state of New-York, obtained four pounds and thirteen ounces of good grained sugar.

A tree of an ordinary size, yields, in a good season, from twenty to thirty gallons of sap, from which are made from five to six pounds of sugar. To this, there are sometimes remarkable exceptions. Samuel Low, Esq. a justice of peace in Montgomery-county, in the state of

(a) *Fagus Ferruginea*. (b) *Pinus abies*. (c) *Fraxinus Americana*. (d) *Magnolia acuminata*. (e) *Tilia Americana*. (f) *Populus tremula*. (g) *Juglans alba (oblonga)*. (h) *Prunus Virginiana*, of Linnæus.

\* Baron La Hontan, in his voyage to North-America, gives the following account of the maple-tree in Canada. After describing the black cherry-tree, some of which he says are as tall as the loftiest oaks, and as big as a hoghead, he adds, "The maple tree is much of the same height and bulk. It bears no resemblance to that sort we have in Europe."

New-York, informed Arthur Noble, Esq. that he had made twenty pounds and one ounce of sugar, between the 14th and 23d of April, in the year 1789, from a single tree, that had been tapped for several successive years before.

From the influence which culture has upon forest and other trees, it has been supposed, that by transplanting the sugar maple-tree into a garden, or by destroying such other trees as shelter it from the rays of the sun, the quantity of the sap might be increased, and its quality much improved. I have heard of one fact which favours this opinion. A farmer in Northampton county, in the state of Pennsylvania, planted a number of these trees, above twenty years ago, in his meadow, from three gallons of the sap of which, he obtains every year a pound of sugar. It was observed formerly, that it required five or six gallons of the sap of the trees which grow in the woods, to produce the same quantity of sugar.

The sap distils from the wood of the tree. Trees which have been cut down in the winter, for the support of the domestic animals of the new settlers, yield a considerable quantity of sap, as soon as their trunks and limbs feel the rays of the sun, in the spring of the year.

It is in consequence of the sap of these trees being equally diffused through every part of them, that they live three years after they are girdled, that is, after a circular incision is made through the bark, into the substance of the tree, for the purpose of destroying it.

It is remarkable, that grass thrives better under this tree in a meadow, than in situations exposed to the constant action of the sun.

The season for tapping the trees is in February, March, and April, according to the weather which occurs in these months.

Warm days and frosty nights are most favourable to a plentiful discharge of sap.\* The quantity obtained in a day from a tree, is from five gallons to a pint, according to the greater or less heat of the air. Mr. Low informed Arthur Noble, Esq. that he obtained near three and twenty gallons of sap in one day (April 14, 1789,) from the single tree which was before mentioned. Such instances of a profusion of sap, in single trees, are, however, not very common.

There is always a suspension of the discharge of sap in the night, if a frost succeed a warm day. The perforation in the tree is made with an axe or an auger. The latter is preferred, from experience of its advantages. The auger is introduced about three-quarters of an inch, and in an ascending direction (that the sap may not be frozen in a slow current in the mornings or evenings) and is afterwards deepened gradually to the extent of two inches. A spout is introduced about half an inch into the hole, made by this auger, and projects from three to twelve inches from the tree. The spout is generally of the Sumach

\* The influence of the weather in increasing and lessening the discharge of the sap from trees is very remarkable.

Dr. Tonge supposed long ago (Philosophical Transactions, No. 68) that changes in the weather of every kind might be better ascertained by the discharge of sap from trees than by weather-glasses. I have seen a journal of the effects of heat, cold, moisture, drought, and thunder upon the discharges from the sugar trees, which disposes me to believe that there is some foundation for Dr. Tonge's opinion.

(a) or Elder, (b) which generally grow in the neighbourhood of the sugar trees. The tree is first tapped on the *south* side; when the discharge of its sap begins to lessen, an opening is made on its *north* side, from which an increased discharge takes place. The sap flows from four to six weeks, according to the temperature of the weather. Troughs large enough to contain three or four gallons, made of white pine, or white ash, or of dried water ash, aspen, linden, poplar, (c) or common maple, are placed under the spout, to receive the sap, which is carried every day to a large receiver, made of either of the trees before mentioned. From this receiver it is conveyed, after being strained, to the boiler.

To preserve the sap from rain and impurities of all kinds, it is a good practice to cover the troughs with a concave board, with a hole in the middle of it.

It remains yet to be determined whether some artificial heat may be applied, so as to increase the quantity and improve the quality of the sap. Mr. Noble informed me, that he saw a tree, under which a farmer had accidentally burnt some brush, which dropped a thick heavy syrup resembling molasses. This fact may probably lead to something useful hereafter.

During the remaining part of the spring months, as also in the summer, and in the beginning of autumn, the maple-tree yields a thin sap, but not fit for the manufactory of sugar. It affords a pleasant drink in harvest, and has been used instead of rum, in some instances, by those farmers in Connecticut, whose ancestors have left to them, here and there, a sugar maple-tree, (probably to shade their cattle,) in all their fields. Mr. Bruce describes a drink of the same kind, prepared by the inhabitants of Egypt, by infusing the sugar cane in water, which he declares to be "the most refreshing drink in the world."\*

There are three methods of reducing the sap to sugar.

1. By *freezing it*, this method has been tried for many years, by Mr. Obediah Scott, a farmer in Luzerne county, in this state, with great success. He says that one third of a given quantity of sap reduced in this way, is better than one half of the same quantity redu-

(a) *Rhus*. (b) *Sambucus Canadensis*. (c) *Liriodendron Tulipifera*.

\* Baron La Hontan gives the following account of the sap of the sugar maple-tree, when used as a drink, and of the manner of obtaining it, "The tree yields a sap which has a much pleasanter taste than the best lemonade, or cherry-water, and makes the wholesomest drink in the world. This liquor is drawn by cutting the tree two inches deep in the wood, the cut being made sloping to the length of ten or twelve inches, at the lower end of this gash, a knife is thrust into the tree slopingly, so that the water runs along the cut or gash, as through a gutter, and falls upon the knife, which has some vessels placed underneath to receive it. Some trees will yield five or six bottles of this water in a day, and some inhabitants of Canada might draw twenty hogheads of it in one day, if they would thus cut and notch all the maple trees of their respective plantations. The gash does no harm to the tree. Of this sap they make sugar and syrup, which is so valuable, that there can be no better remedy for fortifying the stomach, 'tis but few of the inhabitants that have the patience to make them, for as common things are slighted, so there are scarce any body but children, that give themselves the trouble of gashing these trees."

March, 1792.

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ced by boiling. If the frost should not be intense enough, to reduce the sap to the graining point, it may afterwards be exposed to the action of the fire for that purpose.

2. By *spontaneous evaporation*. The hollow stump of a maple-sugar tree, which had been cut down in the spring, and which was found sometime afterwards filled with sugar, first suggested this method of obtaining sugar to our farmers. So many circumstances of cold and dry weather, large and flat vessels, and above all so much time, are necessary to obtain sugar, by either of the above methods, that the most general method among our farmers is to obtain it,

3. By *boiling*. For this purpose the following facts, which have been ascertained by many experiments, deserve attention.

1. The sooner the sap is boiled, after it is collected from the tree, the better. It should never be kept longer than twenty-four hours before it is put over the fire.

2. The larger the vessel in which the sap is boiled, the more sugar is obtained from it.

3. A copper vessel affords a sugar of a fairer colour than an iron vessel.

The sap flows into wooden troughs from which it is carried and poured into store troughs, or large cisterns in the shape of a canoe, or large manger, made of white ash, linden, bass wood, or white pine, from which it is conveyed to the kettle, in which it is to be boiled. The cisterns as well as the kettle, are generally covered by a shed, to defend the sap from the rain. The sugar is improved, by straining the sap through a blanket, or cloth, either before or after it is half boiled. Butter, hogs lard, or tallow, are added to the sap in the kettle, to prevent its boiling over, and lime, eggs or new-milk, are mixed with it, in order to clarify it. I have seen clear sugar made without the addition of either of them. A spoonful of slacked lime, the white of one egg, and a pint of new-milk, are the usual proportions of these articles, which are mixed with fifteen gallons of sap. In some samples which I have lately seen of maple-sugar clarified with each of the above articles, that in which milk alone was used, had an evident superiority over the others, in point of colour.

The sugar after being sufficiently boiled, is grained and fined, and afterwards refined, or converted into loaf sugar. The methods of conducting each of these processes is so nearly the same with those which are used in the manufactory of West-India sugar, and are so generally known, that I need not spend any time in describing them.

It has been a subject of inquiry, whether the maple-sugar might not be improved in its quality, and increased in its quantity, by the establishment of boiling-houses in the sugar-maple country, to be conducted by associated labour. From the scattered situation of the trees, the difficulty of carrying the sap to a great distance, and from the many expenses which must accrue from supporting labourers and horses in the woods, in a season of the year in which nature affords no sustenance to man or beast, I am disposed to believe, that the most productive method, both in quantity and profit, of obtaining this sugar, will be by the labour of private families. For a great number of years, many hundred private families in New-York, and Pennsylvania, have supplied

themselves plentifully with this sugar, during the whole year. I have heard of many families, who have made from two to four hundred pounds in a year; and of one man who sold six hundred pounds, all made with his own hands in one season.\*

Not more knowledge is necessary for making this sugar than is required to make soap, cyder, beer, four-kroust, &c. and yet one or all of these, are made in most of the farm-houses of the united states. The kettles and other utensils of a farmer's kitchen, will serve most of the purposes of making sugar, and the time required for the labour, (if it deserve that name) is at a season when it is impossible for the farmer to employ himself in any species of agriculture. His wife and all his children above ten years of age, moreover, may assist him in this business, for the profit of the weakest of them, is nearly equal to that of a man, when hired for that purpose.

A comparative view of this sugar, has been frequently made with the sugar which is obtained from the West-India sugar-cane, with respect to its quality, price, and the possible or probable quantity that can be made of it in the united states, each of which I shall consider in order.

1. The quality of this sugar is necessarily better than that which is made in the West-Indies. It is prepared in a season, when not a single insect exists to feed upon it, or to mix its excretions with it, and before a particle of dust or of the pollen of plants can float in the air. The same observation cannot be applied to the West-India sugar. The insects and worms which prey upon it, and of course mix with it, compose a page in a nomenclature of natural history. I shall say nothing of the hands which are employed in making sugar in the West-Indies, but, that men who work for the exclusive benefit of others, are not under the same obligations to keep their persons clean while they are employed in this work, that men, women and children are, who work exclusively for the benefit of themselves, and who have been educated in the habits of cleanliness. The superior purity of the maple-sugar is farther proved, by its leaving a less sediment when dissolved in water than the West-India sugar.

It has been supposed, that the maple-sugar is inferior to the West-India sugar in strength. The experiments which led to this opinion, I suspect, have been inaccurate, or have been made with maple sugar, prepared in a slovenly manner. I have examined equal quantities by weight of both the grained and the loaf sugar, in hyson tea, and in coffee, made in every respect equal, by the minutest circumstances,

\* *The following receipt published by William Cooper, Esq. in the Albany Gazette, fully establishes this fact.*

“Received, Cooper's Town, April 30th, 1790, of William Cooper, sixteen pounds, for six hundred and forty pounds of sugar, made with *my own hands*, without any assistance, in less than four weeks besides attending to the other business of my farm, as providing fire-wood, taking care of the cattle, &c. John Nichols.—Witness, R. Smith.

A single family, consisting of a man and his two sons, on the maple-sugar lands, between the Delaware and Susquehanna, made 1800lb. of maple-sugar in one season.

that could affect the quality or taste of each of them, and could perceive no inferiority in the strength of the maple sugar. The liquors which decided this question were examined, at the same time, by Alexander Hamilton, Esq. secretary of the treasury of the united states, Mr. Henry Drinker, and several ladies, who all concurred in the above opinion.

2. Whoever considers that the gift of the sugar maple-trees is from a benevolent Providence, that we have many millions of acres in our country covered with them, that the tree is improved by repeated tappings, and that the sugar is obtained by the frugal labour of a farmer's family, and at the same time considers the labour of cultivating the sugar cane, the capitals sunk in sugar works, the first cost of slaves and cattle, the expenses of provisions for both of them, and in some instances the additional expense of conveying the sugar to a market, in all the West-India islands, will not hesitate in believing that the maple sugar may be manufactured much cheaper, and sold at a *less price*, than that which is made in the West-Indies.

3. The resources for making a sufficient quantity of this sugar, not only for the consumption of the united states, but for exportation, will appear from the following facts. There are in the states of New-York and Pennsylvania alone, at least ten millions of acres of land, which produce the sugar maple-tree, in the proportion of thirty trees to one acre. Now, supposing all the persons capable of labour, in a family, to consist of three, and each person to attend 150 trees, and each tree to yield 5 lb. of sugar in a season, the product of the labour of 60,000 families would be 135,000,000 pounds of sugar, and allowing the inhabitants of the united states to compose 600,000 families, each of which consumed 200 pounds of sugar in a year, the whole consumption would be 120,000,000 pounds in a year, which would leave a balance of 15,000,000 pounds for exportation. Valuing the sugar at 6-90 of a dollar per pound, the sum saved to the united states would be 8,000,000 dollars by home consumption, and the sum gained by exportation would be 1,000,000 dollars. The only part of this calculation that will appear improbable is, the number of families supposed to be employed in the manufactory of the sugar, but the difficulty of admitting this supposition will vanish, when we consider that double that number of families are employed every year in making cyder, the troubles, risks, and expences of which are all much greater than those of making maple-sugar.

But the profit of the maple tree is not confined to its sugar. It affords a most agreeable melasses, and an excellent vinegar. The sap which is suitable for these purposes is obtained after the sap which affords the sugar has ceased to flow, so that the manufactories of these different products of the maple tree, by *succeeding*, do not interfere with each other. The melasses may be made to compose the basis of a pleasant summer beer. The sap of the maple is moreover capable of affording a spirit, but we hope this precious juice will never be prostituted by our citizens to this ignoble purpose. Should the use of sugar in diet become more general in our country, it may tend to *lessen* the inclination or supposed necessity for spirits, for I have observed a relish for sugar in diet to be seldom accompanied by a love

for strong drink. It is the sugar which is mixed with tea which makes it so generally disagreeable to drunkards. But a diet consisting of a plentiful mixture of sugar has other advantages to recommend it, which I shall briefly enumerate.

1. Sugar affords the greatest quantity of nourishment, in a given quantity of matter, of any substance in nature; of course it may be preserved in less room in our houses, and may be consumed in less time, than more bulky and less nourishing aliment. It has this peculiar advantage over most kinds of aliment, that it is not liable to have its nutritious qualities affected by time or the weather, hence it is preferred by the Indians in their excursions from home. They mix a certain quantity of maple sugar, with an equal quantity of Indian corn, dried and powdered, in its milky state. This mixture is packed in little baskets, which are frequently wetted in travelling, without injuring the sugar. A few spoons-full of it mixed with half a pint of spring water, afford them a pleasant and strengthening meal. From the degrees of strength and nourishment which are conveyed into animal bodies by a small bulk of sugar, I conceive it might be given to horses with great advantage, when they are used in places or under circumstances which make it difficult or expensive to support them with more bulky or weighty aliment. A pound of sugar with grass or hay, I have been told, has supported the strength and spirits of an horse, during a whole day's labour in one of the West-India islands. A larger quantity given alone, has fattened horses and cattle, during the war before last in Hispaniola, for a period of several months, in which the exportation of sugar, and the importation of grain, were prevented by the want of ships.

2. The plentiful use of sugar in diet, is one of the best preventatives that has ever been discovered of the diseases which are produced by worms. The author of nature seems to have implanted a love for this aliment in all children, as if it were on purpose to defend them from those diseases. I know a gentleman in Philadelphia, who early adopted this opinion, and who by indulging a large family of children in the use of sugar, has preserved them all from the diseases usually occasioned by worms.

3. Sir John Pringle has remarked, that the plague has never been known in any country where sugar composes a material part of the diet of the inhabitants. I think it probable, that the frequency of malignant fevers of all kinds has been lessened by this diet, and that its more general use would defend that class of people, who are most subject to malignant fevers, from being so often affected by them.

4. In the numerous and frequent disorders of the breast, which occur in all countries, where the body is exposed to a variable temperature of weather, sugar affords the basis of many agreeable remedies. It is useful in weaknesses, and acrid defluxions upon other parts of the body. Many facts might be adduced in favour of this assertion. I shall mention only one, which, from the venerable name of the person whose case furnished it, cannot fail of commanding attention and credit. Upon my inquiring of Dr. Franklin, at the request of a friend, about a year before he died, whether he had found any relief from the pain of the stone, from the blackberry jam, of which he took



large quantities, he told me that he had, but that he believed the medicinal part of the jam resided wholly in the sugar, and as a reason for thinking so, he added, that he often found the same relief, by taking about half a pint of a syrup, prepared by boiling a little brown sugar in water, just before he went to bed, that he did from a dose of opium. It has been supposed by some of the early physicians of our country, that the sugar obtained from the maple tree is more medicinal, than that obtained from the West-India sugar cane, but this opinion I believe is without foundation. It is preferable in its qualities to the West-India sugar, only from its superior *cleanliness*.

Cases may occur in which sugar may be required in medicine, or in diet, by persons who refuse to be benefited, even indirectly, by the labor of slaves. In such cases, the innocent maple sugar will always be preferred.\*

It has been said, that sugar injures the teeth, but this opinion now has so few advocates, that it does not deserve a serious refutation.

To transmit to future generations, all the advantages which have been enumerated from the maple tree, it will be necessary to protect it by law, or by a bounty upon the maple sugar, from being destroyed by the settlers in the maple country, or to transplant it from the woods, and cultivate it in the old and improved parts of the united states. An orchard consisting of 200 trees, planted upon a common farm, would yield more than the same number of apple trees, at a distance from a market town. A full grown tree in the woods-yields five pounds of sugar a year. If a greater exposure of a tree to the action of the sun, has the same effects upon the maple, that it has upon other trees, a larger quantity of sugar might reasonably be expected from each tree planted in an orchard. Allowing it to be only seven pounds, then 200 trees will yield 1400 pounds of sugar, and deducting 200 from the quantity, for the consumption of the family, there will remain for sale 1,200 pounds, which at 6-90 of a dollar per pound, will yield an annual profit to the farmer of 80 dollars. But if it should be found that the shade of the maple does not check the growth of grain, any more than it does of grass, double or treble that number of maple trees may be planted on every farm, and a profit proportioned to the above calculation be derived from them. Should this mode of transplanting the means of obtaining sugar be successful, it will not be a new one. The sugar cane of the West-Indies, was brought originally from the East-Indies, by the Portuguese, and cultivated at Madeira, from whence it was transplanted, directly or indirectly, to all the sugar islands of the West-Indies.

It were to be wished, that the settlers upon the sugar maple lands, would spare the sugar tree in clearing their lands. On a farm of 200 acres of land, according to our former calculation, there are usu-

\* Dr. Knowles, a physician of worthy character in London, had occasion to recommend a diet to a patient, of which sugar composed a material part. His patient refused to submit to his prescription, and gave as a reason for it, that he had witnessed so much of the oppression and cruelty which were exercised upon the slaves, who made the sugar, that he made a vow never to taste the product of their misery as long as he lived.

ally 6,000 maple trees. If only 2,000 of those original and ancient inhabitants of the woods were suffered to remain, and each tree were to afford only five pounds of sugar, the annual profit of such a farm in sugar alone, at the price formerly mentioned, would amount to 666 dollars, 150 dollars of which would probably more than defray all the expences of making it, and allow a plentiful deduction for family use.

According to the usual annual profit of a sugar maple tree, each tree is worth to a farmer, two dollars and 2-3 of a dollar; exclusive therefore of the value of his farm, the 2,000 sugar maple trees alone confer a value upon it of 5,333 dollars and 30-90 of a dollar.

It is said that the sugar trees, when deprived of the shelter and support they derive from other forest trees, are liable to be blown down, occasioned by their growing in a rich, and of course a loose soil. To obviate this, it will only be necessary to cut off some of their branches, so as to alter its centre of gravity, and to allow the high winds to have an easy passage through them. Orchards of sugar maple trees, which grow with an original exposure of all their parts to the action of the sun, will not be liable to this inconvenience.

In contemplating the present opening prospects in human affairs, I am led to expect that a material share of the happiness which heaven seems to have prepared for a *part* of mankind, will be derived from the manufactory and general use of maple sugar, for the benefits which I flatter myself are to result from it, will not be confined to our own country. They will, I hope, extend themselves to the interests of humanity in the West-Indies. With this view of the subject of this letter, I cannot help contemplating a sugar maple tree with a species of affection, and even veneration, for I have persuaded myself to behold in it the happy means of rendering the commerce and slavery of our African brethren, in the sugar islands, as unnecessary, as it has always been inhuman and unjust.\*

I shall conclude this letter by wishing that the patronage which you have afforded to the maple sugar, as well as the maple tree, by your example, † may produce an influence in our country, as extensive as your reputation for useful science and genuine patriotism.

From, dear sir, your

sincere friend and obedient servant,

BENJAMIN RUSH.

\* This letter was written before the account of the war, which has lately taken place in Hispaniola, between the white people and their slaves, had reached the city of Philadelphia.

† Mr. Jefferson uses no other sugar in his family, than that which is obtained from the sugar maple-tree. He has lately planted an orchard of maple-trees on his farms in Virginia.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

THOUGHTS *on the Choice of a WIFE* ; *in a LETTER to a YOUNG BACHELOR.*

“ Marriage the happiest state of life would be,  
 “ If hands were only join'd where hearts agree.”

EXTRACT of a Letter from a BACHELOR to his Friend, an OLD GENTLEMAN.

*Dear and honoured sir,*

AS you have often assured and convinced me, that you are ever ready to assist me with your advice, on any subject in your power, when I ask it, and as I put much confidence in your opinions and counsels, I now take the liberty to ask a few lines on the subject of *the choice of a wife* ;—For indeed I begin to feel the life of a bachelor to be very lonesome, helpless, and irksome. I beg my respects to my worthy friend Mrs——and am, with the greatest regard and  
 reverence,  
 your obliged humble  
 servant.

## THE ANSWER.

*My dear young friend,*

I RECEIVED your late favour safe, per the post, and must assure you it is with the greatest satisfaction I can steal a moment or two from business, to comply, in some measure, with your request, by dedicating a few hints or scattered thoughts to you, respecting *the choice of a wife*. In the course of a few weeks I expect to see you at ——, when I intend to be more full and particular, in a conversation with you on this subject, than the hurry of business will now permit me to be on paper.

I shall, however, at present, in the first place, endeavour briefly to demonstrate the error of being directed in the choice of a wife, by the mere consideration of wealth ; and, in the second place, on the other hand, that a man should consider, before he marries, whether, upon his connection with a particular woman, they will have a competency.

The choice of a wife should be directed, in a great measure, by a correspondence of sentiment and disposition, at least so much so, as is necessary to make the connection, if not a blessing, a calm rather than a curse. A man should choose such a woman as he has great reason to believe will be able and inclined to render him happy, independent of the good or bad fortune that may befall them through life. And though a woman should possess an immense fortune, I would not recommend her as a wife to *one*, who did not conceive that she would be capable of making him a happy man, but *who* had a principal eye to her riches. Riches, experience (which is the test of truth) daily

tells us, will never alone afford happiness to their possessors. A woman, whose sentiments do not correspond with her husband's, will often make a much worse wife if she had a FORTUNE when he married her, than if she had nothing: For if they differ in opinion—and difference in opinion sometimes insensibly produces casual and temporary personal difference and coolness—the wife, if she brought him a fortune, a circumstance she will never forget, will be very apt to take airs on herself, and by her obstinacy add fuel to the kindling flame: on the contrary, had she brought him scarcely any thing, she would be more likely to submit with mildness and serenity in all their little differences, and this affectionate humility would be the means of dispelling the frown from the countenance, and the rising anger from the bosom, and of uniting the sensations of love and peace.

*Happiness* is, I believe, with every man, the main object in the choice of a wife. But many mistake the means of securing it; they build it on a very improper and deceiving basis, for instance some upon *wealth*. But *domestic* happiness is the truest happiness, and the foundation of all other happiness in the married state: And I do defy the man who is unhappy at home, to say that he is truly happy when abroad; it is true, he may feel a satisfaction in being absent from a torment, or being not then in the midst of his domestic broils, or he may, by the help of a glass of wine and jovial company, pass away an hour or so in forgetfulness of his misery;—yet this is of short duration; soon—very soon, the disagreeable reflections, awakened by the recollection of his domestic disquietudes, pour in upon his heart, and he feels a sudden determination of his artificial happiness. If this is not the case with him, I should, without the least hesitation, pronounce him an unfeeling creature, unworthy of being united to any female whatsoever—Many, my dear young friend, are found to sacrifice their health, their spirits, and their time to the bottle, in *heart-aching* sensations of domestic strife. And this may be owing, in a great measure, to an error in the choice of a partner; perhaps, from choosing one of different disposition and sentiments, through some wrong motive, as the desire of wealth, the rank of a family, &c.—But indeed there are some men who will not be happy, let their wives be ever so obliging, condescending, and amiable; but those are such as have a hell in their own hearts, and whose whims and dispositions nothing else than extreme good nature can put up with. I need not now take notice of this class of husbands; I am glad to say, I am addressing a person, that will always exert himself to render happy the woman who shall have the good fortune to call him husband. “Give me” said a wise man who was speaking of the marriage of his daughter “a man without money, rather than money without a man.” This is equally applicable, concerning a wife. However, do not mistake me, by supposing I consider money as an entire enemy to happiness. Far from it. When a man conceives, that in his connection with a particular woman he will experience the married state to be a state of happiness, and reasons from her disposition, character, and conduct, &c.—I mean from the accomplishments of her mind, and the virtues of her heart, I allow that the appendage of a fortune need be no objection. But I would say further, that in my

general judgment of matches, where one man has married a handsome woman with a fortune, and a second has married without one, I should be inclined to think the latter would be more likely to experience connubial bliss, for it is very reasonable to suppose that the latter was determined in his choice solely by the accomplishments of the woman, and the qualities of her mind and heart;—and that the former might have been a good deal dazzled, and at the same time attracted, by the splendor of beauty and fortune: Now as fortune and beauty are frail and fading, they are by no means a foundation on which to build happiness. Not that I would always be infallibly right in my judgment: for fortune &c. may sometimes be very good secondary considerations; and I think always should. But,

On the other hand, a man should never marry till he is in a capacity of maintaining a wife, and of continuing her in the same rank in which she moved when single. And therefore, he should pay so much regard to the external circumstance of *fortune*, as to calculate, whether, when their fortunes are joined, they will have a competency, and be able to live in a manner of which their friends need not be ashamed when they visit them.—For competence is at least one very probable ingredient towards happiness in the married state.

Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of sense  
Lie in three words, health, peace, and *competence*.

And if a woman be no economist, but has a taste for dissipation and dress, though she may bring him some estate, he is not to reckon it as so much addition to *his*, but must first calculate what it is likely she will *cost*, and then what her fortune will *yield annually*: now if the latter exceeds the former, he is to reckon the *excess* alone as the addition to his income; but if the former should exceed the latter, the wife will be exactly so much an incumbrance as the *excess*, and if he has not, when single, more than sufficient to maintain himself, such a match is unadvisable, at least till his circumstances are bettered.

And indeed the *excess* is now-a-days very often found to be on the side of spending. This is an error of parents, and operates in a very contrary direction from what they wish and intend;—it *increases* the difficulty they intend to *remedy*. They pay little or no attention to improve their daughters' minds, but take pains to bring them up in the luxury of fashion, without having it in their power to give them any thing as a marriage portion, or to leave them any thing at their decease, *that is*, in fact, they dress up their daughters, and teach them the easy lesson of living above their circumstances; hoping, no doubt, to recommend them to the notice of some clever fellow. But a prudent man, of the rank in which such a woman *dresses*, will not take her to wife, unless he has a great sufficiency himself, and she be a remarkably fine woman; which latter can seldom be the case, as her education has not been attended to, and as she has been led to consider *dress* the *omne necessarium* to constitute a lady. And a man of the rank in which she *ought* to dress will not aspire to one who holds her head so high; or rather, would be sorry to marry one, who will have so many unnecessary and idle demands upon their little treasury, which has been earned by *his* sober industry. This mistaken no-

tion of parents, though intended for the best, is, notwithstanding, the making of many *old maids*.

To conclude, at present, let me advise you, my dear friend, not to be precipitate in your choice. You are young enough to wait several years, and indeed for ever, rather than bestow yourself on an unworthy or improper object. And when you have fixed your eye on any woman, with some thoughts of the kind, be not too quick in discovering your intentions;—observe her in company, both of the social and formal kind: for if you give her to suspect your views, and she should not dislike you, she will be always on her guard, and you may never know her thoroughly till *after* you are married, however well you may *think* you do, and *then* it may perhaps be to your sorrow—And by this precaution you may perhaps save yourself from being coquetted, and *made a fool of* by the girls, as they sometimes pleasantly term it.

Mrs.— desires to be particularly remembered to you. Believe me to be, with the greatest affection,

Your very warm friend.



### ACCOUNT of the MULATTOES of ST. DOMINGO.

THESE are the motley breed of land-holders, gentlemen adventurers, parsimonious merchants, factors, clerks, managers, and plantation-overscers from Europe. The progenitors of this yellow tribe were generally persons who came out from France, and other parts of Europe, to make fortunes rapidly, return, and spend them under their native skies. During their stay in this delightful island, the pursuits of avarice were not sufficiently powerful to restrain them wholly from more natural pursuits. No immediate objects of gratification presented but the enslaved African female, who was therefore adopted *vice sponsa*, and while she planted canes on the mountain, or tended a herd of goats in the valley, contributed to people the island with a progeny, who were neither European nor African, and felt no attachment to either, further than interest or the more immediate prospects of advantage dictated.

Natural affection had still some influence, where united parental fondness had been rendered extremely weak from the unequal condition of the progenitors. The mulattoes were generally excused from the labours of the field—they were *house-keepers*, and clerks; they were house-boys, and poultry-men; they were waiters at table and taverns; they were fishermen, cooks, and turn-spits; they were even bound out to mechanical trades, and in general were every thing in the line of domestic employment, except field-slaves, who are reckoned the most degraded class in the islands, and absolutely placed upon a level with the mules that turn the cattle-mills.

Many of these mulattoes, of promising parts, had an education bestowed on them by no means despicable. They could read and write,

and had some acquaintance with figures. Education always engenders discontent, where there is not universal equality of condition. In consequence of acquired knowledge, they have for half a century past been aspiring to equal privileges with the whites; and we have seen, within these two years, that rather than not enjoy them, they allied themselves to the blacks, whom they heretofore held in contempt, and have carried fire and sword through the territories of the white inhabitants.

There is every reason to suppose, from the present example of their enormities, that the future condition of the mulattoes in the islands will be changed for the worse, as every European government will find its interest in restricting them (especially if a general prohibition of the slave trade should take place) to a situation that will not afford the same opportunities as heretofore, for exciting and aiding the insurrection of the blacks, or corresponding with the Spaniards.

Perhaps such a step (the equalizing the condition of the mulattoes and negroes) might be attended with some advantages. The islands have not hitherto been considered as fixed and ultimate places of residence for the generality of the whites. It was only (as observed above) to make a fortune in a few years and away, that they seemed to have sailed thither at all, and if they retained real estates, for the most part they enjoyed the revenues in Europe. This conduct has ever been encouraged by the colonizing countries in Europe, as it secured *colonial dependence*. When once the colonial whites begin to consider the West-Indies as their only proper home, a legitimate offspring of *their own grade* will ensue, who may in time, as has happened on this continent, render some of the insular governments independent of European supremacy; and grant those natural rights of man to the negroes and mulattoes, which they will in vain look for from the justice, the humanity, or the philosophy of Europe.

*Philad. March, 1792.*



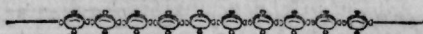
### REMARKABLE ANTIQUITIES *in the interior parts of* AMERICA.

**M**ANY tokens remain, on both sides of the Mississippi, of that country being in ancient ages as well cultivated, and as thickly inhabited, as the country on the Danube or the Rhine; which fully proves that the literati have been too hasty in denominating America *a new world*, or an original present to the Europeans, from the hands of rude nature.

A copper-mine was opened some years since, below the falls of the Mississippi, and, to the great surprize of the labourers, a large collection of mining tools were found several fathoms below the superficies of the earth. Another person, in digging for a well, discovered a furnace of brick-work five fathoms below the present surface; and in this furnace were found a quantity of coals and fire-brands, which, for aught we know, might have been kindled in the days of Moses or Lycurgus.

Not long since, at a spot on the shore of the Ohio, where the bank had been wasted by the undermining of the water, a stone dropped out, of the hardest kind of black marble, about seven pounds in weight, having twelve equal surfaces, each surface being mathematically equilateral and equiangular five sided-figures;—this does not appear to be a *lusus naturæ*, but a work of exquisite art, the offspring of human ingenuity. Near the falls of the Mississippi, there is a salt-spring in the bed of the river, which has been enclosed with stone work of unknown antiquity, to keep out the fresh water. In times of freshes, however, the river overflows the stone-work, and mixes with the brine, so that it does not afford salt to the savages hereabouts, till the river is considerably fallen.

In several places, circular fortifications have been discovered in the same country: these are constantly enclosed with deep ditches, and fenced with a breast-work.



### ACCOUNT of HATTERAS SHOALS.

AT the time of sir Walter Raleigh's approaching the American shores, the shoals in the vicinity of Hatteras were found to be extremely dangerous, and no vessels, in that latitude, ventured within seven leagues of the land. From a survey of the ancient drafts of this part of the coast, there can be no doubt, but the fears of former navigators were not without foundation, as these shoals are laid down very large in extent, and in many places covered not with more than five or six feet water, at a great distance from the land.

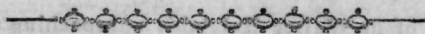
The constant experience of the coasting trade of the united states demonstrates, either that the ancient drafts were purposely falsified, in order to deter seamen from venturing too near a coast with which they had as yet a very slender acquaintance; or (which is the most probable) that by the strong currents hereabouts, which are only counter currents of the Gulph-Stream, the sands, which were originally heaped up in this part of the ocean, by some ancient convulsion of nature, have been gradually wearing away, and diminishing to what we find them to be at this time.

At present, the out-shoals, which lie about fourteen miles south-east of the Cape, are but of five or six acres extent, and, where they are really dangerous to vessels of moderate draught, not more than half that number of acres. On the shoalest part of these is, at low water, about ten feet, and here at times the ocean breaks in a tremendous manner, spouting, as it were, to the clouds, from the violent agitations of the gulph, which touches the eastern edge of these banks, from whence the declivity is sudden, that is to say, from ten fathoms to no soundings. On the spot above-mentioned, which is firm sand, it has been the hard lot of many a good vessel to strike, in a gale of wind, and go to pieces.—In moderate weather, however, these shoals may be passed over, if necessary, at full tide, without much danger, by vessels not drawing more than eight, nine, or ten feet water.



From this bank, which was formerly of vast extent, and called the *Full-moon shoal*, a ridge runs the whole distance to the Cape, about a N. W. course: this ridge, which is about half a mile wide, has on it at low tide generally 10, 11 or 12 feet water, with gaps at unequal intervals, affording good channels of about 15 or 16 feet. The most noted of these channels, and most used by coasting vessels, is about one mile and an half from the land, and may easily be known by a range of breakers which are *always* seen on the west side, and a breaker-head or two on the eastern side, which however are not so constant, only appearing when the sea is considerably agitated. This channel is at least two and an half miles wide, and might at full sea be safely passed by large ships. These, however, rarely attempt it. The common tides swell about six feet, and always come from the south-east. —A little north of the cape is good anchorage in four or five fathoms, and, with the wind to the westward, a boat may land in safety, and even bring off casks of fresh water, plenty of which is to be found every where on the beach, by digging a foot or two, and putting a barrel into the sand.

*Philad. March, 1792.*



### THOUGHTS on the PLAN for establishing COUNTY-SCHOOLS in PENNSYLVANIA.

IT is hardly possible to conceive that a more favourable opportunity than the present will ever occur of establishing free schools in this commonwealth. The public treasury is full and flowing; so that pecuniary aid can be immediately afforded if necessary, to as great an amount as may be expected at any future period. But it is presumed that disbursements from the public treasury will not be necessary. It may be questioned whether, on the plan of *county-schools*, appropriations of this kind would be equitable or just. The income of the state applied to discharge its debts, support the government, and for other *general* purposes, so far as it goes, will supersede the necessity of taxation for those objects: the way then appears to be fairly open for an *universal tax* to support an *universal plan of education*, so far as to comprehend *reading, writing, grammar, and arithmetic*.

It ought to be taken for granted by all legislative bodies, that the people will be pleased with measures which reason and experience shew will conduce to their interest—but, the public sentiment is, and must continue to be in favor of a general diffusion of knowledge—this they know cannot be obtained without expence; and the supposition ought not to be made, that they would not cheerfully incur it, much less supersede an experiment in the case.

The establishment of *county-schools* or *academies*, will not be of *universal* utility—they will benefit the more wealthy part of the community—and by the accommodation they afford to this class, will lessen the number of those who feel interested in a more general plan—and, in the same proportion, procrastinate the period when a system for the poor, as well as the rich, shall be adopted.

It is an imputation on the good sense of the people, to suppose that they would not with cheerfulness pay a tax for the support of learning—for it must occur to them that the rich will pay more than their proportion, when they consider that the major part of children are the inheritance of the poor and middling classes of citizens.

The plan of education here contemplated is, that every person who pays a tax, however small, shall have an *equal right* to the benefit of this free and universal institution.

The wealthy are interested peculiarly in this work of benevolence; for the knowledge of the people is the *security* of tranquility under a just government. Without knowledge, they cannot appreciate the value and importance of government, and hence the possessions of the rich, among an *ignorant* people, are held by a very precarious tenure—unless the people are slaves.

The poor and middling classes are deeply interested in this public provision for the education of their children. For it is tantalizing to say, that there shall be no distinctions of ranks, or exclusive privileges—and that the avenues to the posts of honour and profit under the state and general governments, shall be accessible to all, without distinction, who possess talents and virtue—while the paths of learning are not, and cannot be trodden by the poor.

*Philad. March, 1792.*



### On the HAPPINESS of different STATIONS in LIFE.

THE comparative happiness of the different stations in life, the advantages and disadvantages of the varying condition of human society, are points which have been frequently and fully discussed. The subject seems not, however, to be totally exhausted; and the observation I am going to make is, if I mistake not, in a great measure new.

The sweet sleep of the labouring man, the robust health of the village swain, have long been favourite topics of declamation. Nor has the poet's *golden mean*, the ease and independence of a handsome competence, been celebrated in strains of panegyrick less sublime. Yet will the apologists of either of these stations be found, perhaps, inferior in number to the professed admirers of wealth, of luxury, of splendor, and of power.

The same diversity of opinion takes place with regard to the progress of society. The first rude age, in which man's whole wants were supplied by the wild fruits of the wood, by the refreshing stream, and the sheltering cave, has been extolled by some as the golden æra of human felicity; while every step towards art, industry, and politeness, has been considered as an advance towards depravation and misery. Man in those primitive times has, by others, been regarded as hardly distinguished from the inferior animals; and attempts have been made to prove, that the perfection of our nature, and our real happiness, invariably keep pace with civilization and refinement of every kind.

So specious are the arguments advanced on all sides, so equally blended the good and the evil attendant on each particular state, that the dispassionate enquirer will find it extremely difficult to give a decisive preference to any one.

But, though we do not allow the happiness of the higher ranks, or of the more advanced stages in society, to be at all superior to that of the lowest stations, or the most uncultivated ages, there is yet, methinks, the greatest satisfaction in passing from the one to the other.

Let it be admitted, that neither ease, nor affluence, nor all the soft refinements of a luxurious age, can bestow solid and lasting enjoyment. Yet can it not be denied, that every additional article of convenience, every new species of accommodation, brings at least in the moment of its acquisition, new and real pleasure along with it. Familiarity, it will be said, soon begets indifference and insensibility; and the man who had considered a certain change of condition as the summit of all his wishes, finds himself not one jot happier than before. Granted. But he will experience further gratification in a transition to further degrees of more studied and refined indulgence. The man therefore, who has moved gradually on from the humblest to the most exalted spheres of life, the people that have advanced with rapidity from barbarism to high improvement and civilization, have, in my opinion, tasted of a greater portion of happiness than they can possibly have done who have remained at any one point, be that point fixed where it will.

Thus the traveller, who visits various and distant regions, though none of the countries into which he advances are, every circumstance considered, superior to those he leaves behind, yet feels in every step of his progress, feels in the mere act of traversing a large extent of the surface of this globe, a certain sensation of pleasure, which he who remains attached to a single spot, cannot even figure in imagination.

It is a favourite doctrine with certain philosophers, that man's riches and his happiness are not to be estimated by the sum of his wealth, or the number of his enjoyments, but by the proportion between his wants and his ability to supply them. The man, say these speculists, who feels no desire which he cannot fully gratify, has arrived at the summit of human felicity. But does not this reasoning prove too much? And, from the same premises from which this is inferred, may we not fairly conclude, that the condition of an oyster is as much to be envied as the state of the most exalted creature in the creation of God?

If we judge of the sentiments of mankind upon this point from their invariable practice, we shall see that they have, in all ages, uniformly given the lie to these pretended philosophers. If we consider that love of change, that restless activity, which so strongly characterise our frame, we shall no longer upbraid bustling and ambitious spirits with pursuing a shadow instead of a substance; we shall, on the contrary, pronounce that they have followed the original bent of human nature, that they have acted properly, and that in proportion to their success, they have augmented their sum of happiness.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## I M P A R T I A L R E V I E W

*Of American Publications.*

*The History of* NEW-HAMPSHIRE. *By* JEREMY BELKNAP, A. M. &c.

(Continued from page 119)

## C H A P. V.

**T**HIS chapter contains remarks on the temper and manners of the Indians, and an account of the first general war between them and the people of New-England.

When sir Richard Hawkins visited the coast, in 1615, the Indians were at war among themselves. This was succeeded by a pestilence in 1617, which carried them off in such numbers, that the living were unable to bury the dead. It is worthy of remark, that, during this pestilence, a number of persons, whom Gorges had hired to tarry in the country through the winter, lived among the Indians, and lodged in their cabins, without catching the infection.

The first remarkable quarrel between the English and the savages, was with the Pequods, who dwelt in the south-east parts of Connecticut. They were totally subdued in 1637; and, from that time, peace was preserved, without interruption, till 1675, when all the New-England colonies were involved in a dreadful war with the various tribes of Indians around them. We shall transcribe Mr. Belknap's account of the origin of the quarrel.

There dwelled near the river Saco a sachem named Squando, a noted enthusiast, a leader in the devotions of their religion, and one that pretended to a familiar intercourse with the invisible world. These qualifications rendered him a person of the highest dignity, importance, and influence among all the eastern Indians. His squaw passing along the river in a canoe, with her infant child, was met by some rude sailors, who having heard that the Indian children could swim as naturally as the young of the brutal kind, in a thoughtless and unguarded humour overset the canoe. The child sunk, and the mother instantly diving fetched it up alive, but the child dying soon after, its death was imputed to the treatment it had received from the seamen; and Squando was so provoked that he conceived a bitter antipathy to the English, and employed his great art and influence to excite the Indians against them. Some other injuries were alledged as the ground of the quarrel; and, considering the interested views and irregular lives of many of the eastern settlers, their distance from the seat of government, and the want of due subordination among them, it is not improbable that a great part of the blame of the eastern war belonged to them.

The Indians committed their depra-dations chiefly in small parties; the inhabitants were obliged to take refuge in the larger and more convenient houses, to fortify themselves as well as they could, and to be upon their guard night and day. Many were nevertheless surprized and killed. The attack was so general, that no settlement

March, 1792.

could afford relief to another.—The winter of 1675 was so uncommonly severe, that the eastern Indians were forced by famine to submit to major Waldron, who commanded the militia at Cocheb, and to sue for peace, which was readily granted.—The war still raged with the southern and western Indians; but these being nearly subdued, a number of them took refuge with the eastern Indians. Two companies, who were sent in pursuit of the southern Indians, in 1676, arrived at major Waldron's, where they met with four hundred mixed Indians. Major Waldron was now in a disagreeable dilemma. By suffering the Indians to be molested at his house, he would subject himself to a charge of inhospitable treatment, and would probably exasperate the friendly Indians, who had taken the fugitives under their protection. On the other hand, by not assisting the forces in the execution of their commission, he must fall under the censure of government, and be deemed accessory to any mischiefs which those fugitives might afterwards perpetrate. He therefore concerted a stratagem, by which the whole of the Indians were made prisoners and disarmed, without the loss of a man. Those who had made peace the preceding winter were quietly dismissed. The others were made prisoners, to the number of 200; of these seven or eight, who were known to have killed some of the English, were condemned and executed at Boston; the rest were sold into slavery in foreign parts. The eastern Indians never forgave major Waldron, who afterwards fell a sacrifice to their revenge. They had no conception of the same government being extended very far, and thought they might make peace in one place, and war in another, without any imputation of infidelity, but a breach of hospitality and friendship they deemed an unpardonable offence.

The Mohawks, between whom and the eastern Indians a most inveterate enmity subsisted, were engaged in the contest, as auxiliaries to the English, in 1677; but happening to kill some friendly Indians, who had been sent out by major Waldron, the English were suspected of treachery, and all the eastern Indians united against them.

In July 1677, a detachment was sent against some Indian forts on the Kennebeck. Having anchored off Black-Point, captain Swett, with ninety men, went in quest of some Indians who had been seen near that place. The Indians shewed themselves on a plain, in three parties; and having, by a feigned retreat, drawn the detachment two miles from the fort, they turned suddenly and violently upon them. The soldiers, being inexperienced, were thrown into confusion; and captain Swett, with sixty of his men fell. This was the greatest slaughter that happened in any engagement during the war.

A general treaty of peace was, at length, concluded at Casco, in the spring of 1678, upon the humiliating terms to the settlers, of paying annually a peck of corn for each family, to the Indians, on being permitted to return to their deserted settlements.

VI. In the mean time, Mason was urging his claim, with persevering assiduity. The colony of Massachusetts, upon the requisition of the king, sent over agents to London, in 1677, to answer to his com-

plaint. A hearing was ordered before the chief-justices of the king's bench and common pleas. The agents, in the name of the colony, disclaimed all title to the lands and jurisdiction, beyond three miles northward of the river Merrimack.—Accordingly, in 1679, a commission passed the great seal, restraining the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over New-Hampshire, and prescribing a form of government for that colony. The king appointed a president and council, who were to administer justice, according to the laws of England; and whose approbation of every legislative act, of an assembly chosen by the people, was necessary, previously to its becoming a law. The king retained the prerogative of annulling the acts of the whole, as well legislative as judicial, at his pleasure.—The most material defect in this form of government was, that the king claimed the dangerous privilege of discontinuing the representative body, whenever he should see fit. In this Charles was consistent with himself, parliaments being his greatest aversion.—This revolution was extremely disagreeable to a large majority of the people of New-Hampshire. They wished to remain united to the government of Massachusetts, which had so long afforded them protection, and had recently assisted them in repelling the attacks of a savage enemy.

VII. John Cutts was the first president. The members of the first council, in 1680, were gentlemen of respectable character in the province; who would gladly have declined the appointment, had they not been apprehensive that persons inimical to the country would be appointed in their room. Upon a writ being issued for calling a general assembly, it appeared that the number of voters in the four towns of Portsmouth, Dover, Hampton, and Exeter, was 209. The number of deputies in the first, and in several succeeding assemblies was eleven.

The assembly framed a code of laws, by the first of which, conceived in a style becoming freemen, it was declared, "that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance should be made or imposed upon them, but such as should be made by the assembly, and approved by the president and council."—"Idolatry, blasphemy, treason, rebellion, wilful murder, manslaughter, poisoning, witchcraft, sodomy, bestiality, perjury, man-stealing, cursing, and rebelling against parents, rape, and arson were made capital crimes. The other penal laws were, in their main principles, similar to those now in force." During this administration, every encroachment upon the rights and privileges of the colony was watched with a jealous eye, and opposed with firmness. Mason came over, and took a seat in council, by a mandamus from the king. His agents demanded rents from sundry persons, threatening to sell their houses for payment.—The council prohibited such proceedings; and, upon Mason's usurping the authority of citing the president and council to appear before the king, a warrant was issued for apprehending him; but he escaped to England.—President Cutts died in 1681, and major Waldron became his successor, till another president was commissioned.

VIII. Mason, on his return, had influence enough to obtain a change of the government.—Edward Cranfield was commissioned as governor, in 1682, with power to call, adjourn, prorogue, and dis-

solve general courts, to suspend members of the council, to appoint all officers by his sole authority, and to exercise a negative in all acts of government.—

The people now plainly saw the dangerous designs formed against them. The negative voice of a governor, his right of suspending counsellors, and appointing officers, by his own authority, were wholly unprecedented in New-England; and they had the singular mortification to see the crown not only appointing two branches of their legislature, but claiming a negative on the election of their representatives, in a particular case, which might sometimes be essentially necessary to their own security. They well knew that the sole design of these novel and extraordinary powers was to facilitate the entry of the claimant on the lands, which some of them held by virtue of grants from the same authority, and which had all been fairly purchased of the Indians; a right which they believed to be of more validity than any other. Having by their own labour and expense subdued a rough wilderness, defended their families and estates against the savage enemy, without the least assistance from the claimant, and held possession for above fifty years; they now thought it hard and cruel, that when they had just recovered from the horrors of a bloody war, they should have their liberty abridged, and their property demanded, to satisfy a claim which was at best disputable, and in their opinion groundless. On the other hand, it was deemed unjust that grants made under the royal authority should be disregarded; and that so great a sum as had been expended by the ancestor of the claimant, to promote the settlement of the country, should be entirely lost to him; especially as he had foregone some just claims on the estate, as a condition of inheritance. Had the inhabitants by any fraudulent means impeded the designs of the original grantee, or embezzled his interest, there might have been a just demand for damages; but the unsuccessfulness of that adventure was to be fought for in its own impracticability; or the negligence, inability, or inexperience of those into whose hands the management of it fell after captain Mason's death, and during the minority of his successor.

Great was the oppression of the people under the administration of Cranfield. He suspended members of the council at pleasure, and dissolved the assembly as often as they refused to pass such laws as he dictated, gratifying a pitiful spirit of revenge, by contriving to have the members made constables.—Having modelled the council to his mind, filled the judicial courts with persons disposed to favour the claims of Mason; and persons disaffected to the country, or who had taken leases from Mason, being provided to serve as under-sheriffs, jurors, and evidences, suits were instituted against all the principal landholders in the province. The jury having been challenged to no purpose, no defence was made. The jury, without hesitation, gave sometimes ten or twelve verdicts in a day, all of them in Mason's favour. But Mason could neither keep possession of the premises, nor dispose of them by sale, so that the owners still enjoyed them.

Cranfield and his council had now assumed the whole legislative power, and enacted several arbitrary and oppressive laws.—These multiplied oppressions constrained the people to state their grievances to the king. Petitions were privately signed in all the towns, and forwarded to London, by Nathaniel Weare; Major Vaughan, who was active in this business, was required to find sureties for his good behaviour, which, having broken no law, he refused, and was imprisoned, for nine months, by Cranfield's warrant.

But the most disgraceful conduct of Cranfield was his treatment of Joshua Moody, minister of the town of Portsmouth, who had rendered himself obnoxious, by the freedom of his pulpit discourses. Having required this worthy man to administer the Lord's supper to him-

self and others according to the liturgy of the church of England, he refused, as had been justly expected. The profane wretch, by a forced construction, made the penal statutes of England to extend to the colony, and, at the next sessions, had Moody sentenced to six months imprisonment. He was accordingly confined with major Vaughan.

Upon a calm review of this prosecution one can hardly tell which is most detestable, the vindictive temper which gave it birth; or the profaneness and hypocrisy with which it was conducted. The pretended zeal of the prosecutors was totally inconsistent with a due regard to those laws, and the principles of that church, for which they made themselves such contemptible champions. For it had been long before this time, a received opinion in the church of England, that the validity of all the sacramental administrations depends on authority derived from the apostles, by episcopal ordination, in an uninterrupted succession; and one of the statutes on which the prosecution was grounded enacts, "that no person shall presume to consecrate and administer the Lord's supper, before he be ordained a priest by episcopal ordination, on pain of forfeiting for every offence one hundred pounds." The ministers then in the province, being destitute of the grand prerequisite, were incapable by the act, of doing what was so peremptorily required of them; and had they complied with the governor's order must have exposed themselves to the penalty, if he had pleased to exact it from them.

Had there been the least colour, either of zeal or policy, for the severity exercised in the prosecution of Moody, candour would oblige us to make some allowance for human frailty.

Cranfield was at length so daring, as to impose taxes without the consent of the people; but finding it impracticable to levy them, he was obliged to desist. In consequence of the measures taken by Weare, the provincial agent, all proceedings on the decisions in Cranfield's courts were suspended, by the king's order, till the business should be brought before himself in council. An attempt being nevertheless made by the sheriff to levy an execution in Dover, he was prevented by a number of the inhabitants. Warrants were issued against the rioters, and the sheriff attempted to apprehend them when assembled for divine service. A tumult ensued, in which a young heroine knocked down one of the officers with her bible. They were all so roughly handled, that they were glad to escape with their lives.

In 1685, Cranfield embarked privately on board a vessel for Jamaica, and was succeeded by Barefoote, the deputy-governor.

IX. The arbitrary measures which marked the latter part of the reign of Charles the second, were not confined to England. The city of London, and most of the corporations in the kingdom being unjustly deprived of their charters, the New-England colonies also suffered in this general wreck of privileges. The charter of Massachusetts was annulled in 1683; and the king dying soon after, it was left to his successor James, who inherited the arbitrary principles of his brother, to settle the newly formed government.—By a commission, issued in 1685, Joseph Dudley was appointed president of New-England, and the government vested in him and a council, which, that the people might not be too suddenly alarmed, was composed chiefly of popular men, natives of the country. No house of deputies, or representatives, was mentioned in the commission.—Shortly after sir Edmund Androssé arrived, with a commission of captain-general of New-England, and vesting him and the council with most

extensive and dangerous powers. During his rapacious administration the country groaned under accumulated oppressions, of which the people of New-Hampshire had their share.

The people had now borne these innovations and impositions for about three years: their patience was worn out, and their native love of freedom kindled at the prospect of deliverance. The news of a complete revolution in England had not reached them; yet so sanguine were their expectations, so eager were they to prove that they were animated by the same spirit with their brethren at home, that upon the rumour of an intended massacre in the town of Boston by the governor's guards, they were wrought up to a degree of fury. On the morning of the eighteenth of April the town was in arms, and the country flocking in to their assistance. The governor, and those who had fled with him to the fort, were seized and committed to prison. The gentlemen who had been magistrates under the charter, with Bradstreet, the late governor, at their head, assumed the name of a council of safety, and kept up a form of government, in the exigency of affairs, till orders arrived from England; when Androssé and his accomplices were sent home as prisoners of state, to be disposed of according to the king's pleasure.

After this revolution New-Hampshire was again united to Massachusetts, under their ancient popular form of government. But Mason dying in 1691, his heirs sold their title to Samuel Allen, of London, for £750. Allen obtained from the crown a recognition of his title, and a commission for the government, in which his son-in-law, John Usher, was appointed lieutenant-governor. A council, composed of popular men, were nominated; and, in 1692, the people, much against their inclination, were separated from the Massachusetts government. Usher, having been an active instrument in Androssé's oppressive government, and having an interest in Allen's claim to the lands, was very disagreeable to the people.

The year 1692 was remarkable for a great mortality in Portsmouth and Greenland by the small-pox. The infection was brought in bags of Cotton from the West-Indies, and there being but few people who were acquainted with it, the patients suffered greatly, and but few recovered.

X. The lands from Penobscot to Nova-Scotia had been ceded to the French, by the treaty of Breda; and here the Baron de St. Castine resided, and carried on a considerable trade with the Indians. A grant had been made to the duke of York, which interfered with Castine's plantation, as he claimed to the river St. Croix.—In 1688, Androssé had gone in a frigate, and basely plundered Castine's house and fort; who, in revenge, excited the Indians to a new war. Before they commenced hostilities, however, they complained of sundry acts of ill-treatment, none of which, as has perhaps too often been the case, were enquired into or redressed. A bloody war ensued, and continued, with little interruption, from its commencement, in 1688, till the close of the year 1698. The French, in Canada, instigated and encouraged the Indians, and joined them in expeditions against the English colonies. The settlers, throughout the war, defended themselves, with extraordinary perseverance and bravery. Our limits will not permit us to follow our historian in his interesting narrative of the events of this tedious and distressing war.

The Indians had cherished an inextinguishable thirst of revenge ever since the capture of the four hundred, by major Waldron, at Cocheco, in 1676. Thirteen years after, they laid a plan for destroying this worthy man. He was surprised in his bed; but jumping up, he bravely defended himself, for some time, with his sword. He

was, at length, overcome and butchered, at the age of eighty years. Major Frost, who had also been concerned in the capture of the four hundred Indians, and was, on that account, an object of their implacable revenge, was waylaid and killed, in 1697.

In the course of this war, the sieur de Villieu, with 250 Indians, went on an expedition to a settlement at Oyster river, and destroyed most of the people and houses there. The manner in which one of the settlers successfully defended his house, was truly extraordinary.

Thomas Bickford preserved his house in a singular manner. It was situated near the river, and surrounded with a palisade. Being alarmed before the enemy had reached the house, he sent off his family in a boat, and then shutting his gate, betook himself alone to the defence of his fortress. Despising alike the promises and threats by which the Indians would have persuaded him to surrender, he kept up a constant fire at them, changing his dress as often as he could, shewing himself with a different cap, hat, or coat, and sometimes without either, and giving directions aloud as if he had a number of men with him. Finding their attempt vain, the enemy withdrew, and left him sole master of the house which he had defended with such admirable address.

The following general view of the Indian manner of making war is given by Mr. B. at the close of this eventful chapter.

The Indians were seldom or never seen, before they did execution. They appeared not in the open field, nor gave proofs of a truly masculine courage; but did their exploits by surprise, chiefly in the morning, keeping themselves hid behind logs and bushes, near the paths in the woods, or the fences contiguous to the doors of houses; and their lurking holes could be known only by the report of their guns, which was indeed but feeble, as they were sparing of ammunition, and as near as possible to their object before they fired. They rarely assaulted an house unless they knew that there would be but little resistance, and it has been afterward known that they have lain in ambush for days together, watching the motions of the people at their work, without daring to discover themselves. One of their chiefs who had got a woman's riding-hood among his plunder, would put it on, in an evening, and walk into the streets of Portsmouth, looking into the windows of houses, and listening to the conversation of the people.

Their cruelty was chiefly exercised upon children, and such aged, infirm, or corpulent persons as could not bear the hardships of a journey through the wilderness. If they took a woman far advanced in pregnancy their knives were plunged into her bowels. An infant when it became troublesome had its brains dashed out against the next tree or stone. Sometimes to torment the wretched mother, they would whip and beat the child till almost dead, or hold it under water till its breath was just gone, and then throw it to her to comfort and quiet it. If the mother could not readily still its weeping, the hatchet was buried in its skull. A captive wearied with his burden laid on his shoulders was often sent to rest the same way. If any one proved refractory, or was known to have been instrumental of the death of an Indian, or related to one who had been so, he was tortured with a lingering punishment, generally at the stake, while the other captives were insulted with the sight of his miseries. Sometimes a fire would be kindled, and a threatening given out against one or more, though there was no intention of sacrificing them, only to make sport of their terrors. The young Indians often signalized their cruelty in treating captives inhumanly out of sight of the elder, and when inquiry was made into the matter, the insulted captive must either be silent or put the best face on it, to prevent worse treatment for the future. If a captive appeared sad and dejected, he was sure to meet with insult; but if he could sing, and dance, and laugh, with his masters, he was caressed as a brother. They had a strong aversion to negroes, and generally killed them when they fell into their hands.

Famine was a common attendant on these doleful captivities: the Indians when they caught any game devoured it all at one sitting, and then girding themselves round the waist, travelled without sustenance till chance threw more in their way.

The captives, unused to such canine repasts and abstinences, could not support the surfeit of the one, nor the craving of the other. A change of masters, though it sometimes proved a relief from misery, yet rendered a prospect of a return to their home more distant. If an Indian had lost a relative, a prisoner bought for a gun, a hatchet, or a few skins, must supply the place of the deceased, and be the father, brother, or son of the purchaser; and those who could accommodate themselves to such barbarous adoption, were treated with the same kindness as the persons in whose place they were substituted. A sale among the French of Canada was the most happy event to the captive, especially if he became a servant in a family; though sometimes even there, a prison was their lot, till opportunity presented for their redemption, while the priests employed every seducing art to pervert them to the popish religion, and induce them to abandon their country. These circumstances, joined with the more obvious hardships of travelling half naked and barefoot through pathless deserts, over craggy mountains and deep swamps, through frost, rain, and snow, exposed by day and night to the inclemency of the weather, and in summer to the venomous stings of those numberless insects with which the woods abound; the restless anxiety of mind, the retrospect of past scenes of pleasure, the remembrance of distant friends, the bereavements experienced at the beginning, or during the progress of the captivity, and the daily apprehension of death, either by famine, or the savage enemy; these were the horrors of an Indian captivity.

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that there have been instances of justice, generosity, and tenderness, during these wars, which would have done honour to a civilized people. A kindness shewn to an Indian was remembered as long as an injury; and persons have had their lives spared for acts of humanity done to the ancestors of those Indians, into whose hands they have fallen. They would sometimes carry children on their arms and shoulders, feed their prisoners with the best of their provision, and pinch themselves rather than their captives should want food. When sick or wounded they would afford them proper means for their recovery, which they were very well able to do, by their knowledge of simples. In thus preserving the lives and health of their prisoners, they doubtless had a view of gain. But the most remarkably favourable circumstance in an Indian captivity, was their decent behaviour to women. I have never read, nor heard, nor could find by enquiry, that any woman who fell into their hands was ever treated with the least immodesty; but testimonies to the contrary are very frequent. Whether this negative virtue is to be ascribed to a natural frigidity of constitution, let philosophers enquire: The fact is certain, and it was a most happy circumstance for our female captives, that in the midst of all their distresses, they had no reason to fear from a savage foe, the perpetration of a crime, which has too frequently disgraced not only the personal but the national character of those who make large pretences to civilization and humanity.

XI. Displeased with their separation from the Massachusetts government, and perceiving that Usher's views were self-interested, and that he was endeavouring to recover and collect such papers as favoured Allen's claim, the people of New-Hampshire could not help being dissatisfied with their lieutenant-governor. They voted no money for his support, but pleaded their poverty; an apology

† Mary Rowlandson, who was captured at Lancaster, in 1675, has this passage in her narrative, (page 55.) "I have been in the midst of these roaring lions and savage bears that feared neither God, nor man, nor the devil, by day and night, alone, and in company; sleeping all sorts together, and yet not one of them ever offered me the least abuse of unchastity in word or action."

Elizabeth Hanson, who was taken from Dover, in 1724, testifies in her narrative (page 28.) that "the Indians are very civil toward their captive women, not offering any incivility by any indecent carriage."

William Fleming, who was taken in Pennsylvania, in 1755, says the Indians told him "he need not be afraid of their abusing his wife, for they would not do it, for fear of offending their God (pointing their hands toward heaven) for the man that affronts his God will surely be killed when he goes to war." He farther says, that one of them gave his wife a shift and petticoat which he had among his plunder, and though he was alone with her, yet "he turned his back, and went to some distance while she put them on." (page 10.)

Charlevoix, in his account of the Indians of Canada, says (letter 7.) "There is no example that any have ever taken the least liberty with the French women, even when they were their prisoners."



which appears to have been always at hand, when they were pressed for money by unpopular rulers. No people, on the contrary, could be more liberal than they, to men in whom they reposed confidence.—In 1696, in consequence of an application from the people, William Partridge was commissioned to supersede Usher in the government. He accordingly acted as lieutenant-governor till 1698, when Allen came over, and assumed the command. His short administration was remarkable for a want of harmony. The people, however, were soon released from their obedience to Allen, by the arrival of the earl of Bellamont amongst them in 1699; who, to the great joy of the people, was commissioned to the government of New-York, Massachusetts-Bay, and New-Hampshire. He caused the government to be modelled in favour of the people, who rejoiced in the prospect of a final settlement of their long-continued difficulties and disputes. The assembly presented the earl with five hundred pounds. He prudently avoided any interference in the dispute between Allen and the people, respecting the title to the lands, leaving this to the decision of the judiciary courts, which were now revived.—He died, in 1701, to the great regret of the people in his several governments.—In 1702, Joseph Dudley, formerly president of New-England, was appointed governor of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, by queen Anne. The assembly interested him in their favour by a well-timed present, and afterward settled a salary on him.

Allen had been worsted in a suit brought against the son of major Waldron, during the earl of Bellamont's administration. He appealed to the king, but this the court would not admit. He petitioned the king, and had an appeal granted him. The refusal of the appeal by the court was severely animadverted on by the lords of trade, in a letter to the earl of Bellamont, in which they mentioned "a thirst for *independency*" as a prevalent "humour in proprietaries and charter-colonies."

When the appeal came before the queen in council, the judgment recovered by Waldron was confirmed, it not appearing in proof, that Mason had ever been legally in possession.—It was directed, however, that (if Allen should insist on it at future trials) matters of fact should be found specially by the juries, and that these special matters should be made to appear on the appeal.—Allen brought his writ of ejectment *de novo* against Waldron, and demanded a special verdict; this the jury refused to bring in, but again found for the defendant with costs. Allen appealed from the judgement a second time.—Disappointment, poverty, and age, however, rendered him desirous of an accommodation; an event no less desirable to the people, as it would effectually secure them from future litigation and anxiety. At a general meeting of deputies, in 1705, articles of accommodation were agreed to, and ordered to be presented to Allen for his acceptance. But this was prevented by his sudden death; so that the people were still liable to be harassed by his heirs.—His son accordingly renewed the suit against Waldron, and was worsted both in the inferior and superior court, the jury refusing to find a special verdict. From this judgment an appeal was had to the queen

in council; but Allen dying in 1715, before the appeal could be heard, his heirs, who were minors, did not renew the suit.

XII. The French governor Villebon, had received orders to extend his province of Acadia to the river Kennebeck, although the English understood St. Croix to be the boundary; some French ships of war had prevented the English from fishing on the banks of Nova-Scotia, and Louis had proclaimed the pretender king of England. A war ensued, in which the American provinces were deeply involved; being attacked, as formerly, by the French and Indians united.

In June 1703, governor Dudley held a conference with the eastern Indians, at Casco; and received the most explicit assurances of a friendly disposition. But within six weeks, from that time, a body of five hundred French and Indians, having divided themselves into several parties, attacked all the settlements from Casco to Wells, and killed and took 130 people, burning and destroying all before them.—The war, thus commenced, was carried on, with savage cruelty, till the peace of Utrecht, in 1712, deprived the Indians of their French allies, and forced them to conclude a peace.

During this long period, the sufferings of the inhabitants were distressing in the extreme. A number of their best men were frequently abroad, on expeditions against the enemy; and the remainder, harrassed by continual alarms and attacks made by small parties of the savages, were on continual duty, in garrisons, and in forcasts. They earned their bread, at the continual hazard of their lives. They could till no lands, but what were within call of the garrisoned houses, into which their women and children were crowded. They went armed to their work, and posted centinels in the fields; notwithstanding which precautions, they were frequently surprised, on those occasions, and killed by skulking parties of the Indians, who would sometimes lie in ambush for several days together. Accumulated expenses, (especially when their husbandry and trade were in a ruined situation,) from the long continuance of the war, pressed heavily upon them. Yet, under all these distresses and discouragements, they resolutely kept their ground, and maintained their garrisons, not one of which was cut off, during the whole of this war, within the limits of New-Hampshire. The prosecution of an Indian war has at all times been expensive, and the loss of the savages trifling, when compared with that of their adversaries.

It was observed during this war, that the enemy did more damage in small bodies than in larger, and by scattering along the frontiers kept the people in continual apprehension and alarm; and so very few of them fell into our hands, that in computing the expense of the war, it was judged that every Indian killed or taken, cost the country a thousand pounds.

The following instance of female heroism and address is recorded by our historian.

A small party of them (the Indians) attacked the house of John Drew at Oyster river, where they killed eight and wounded two. The garrison was near, but not a man in it: the women, however, seeing nothing but death before them, fired an alarm, and then putting on hats, and loosening their hair, that they might appear like men, they fired so briskly that the enemy, apprehending the people were alarmed, fled without burning, or even plundering the house which they had attacked.

The firmness with which an Indian braves death, when inflicted for his perseverance in the cause of his country, and his fidelity to his brother warriors, cannot be better exemplified than in the following extract.

As the winter approached, colonel Walton with one hundred and seventy men traversed the eastern shores, which the Indians usually visited at this season for the purpose of gathering clams. On an island where the party was encamped, several Indians decoyed by their smoke, and mistaking them for some of their own tribe, came among them, and were made prisoners, one of them was a sachem of Norridgewog, active, bold, and fullen; when he found himself in the hands of enemies he would answer none of their questions, and laughed with scorn at their threatening him with death. His wife being an eye witness to the execution of the threatening was so intimidated as to make the discoveries which the captors had in vain desired of the sachem; in consequence of which three were taken at the place of which she informed, and two more at Saco river, where also five were killed.

For an account ofundry expeditions against the French settlements, during this war, we must refer to the work itself.

A perfect harmony subsisted between governor Dudley and the people, during the whole of his administration. But to their great regret, he was superseded, on the accession of George I, by the appointment of colonel Burges to the office of governor of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, in 1715. George Vaughan, who was then in London, whither he had been sent, as provincial agent, to oppose the claims of Allen, was made lieutenant-governor of New-Hampshire. Burges soon after resigned his commission, and colonel Samuel Shute was appointed in his stead. He arrived in New-Hampshire, in October 1716. Vaughan, who arrived about a year before, had entered upon the duties of his office; and Dudley not thinking proper to interfere, he had the sole command, till governor Shute's arrival.

(To be continued.)

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TRAVELS through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee country, the extensive territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek confederacy, and the country of the Chataways; Containing an account of the soil and natural productions of those regions, together with observations on the manners of the Indians. Embellished with copper-plates. By WILLIAM BARTRAM.—Philadelphia—1791.—Price two dollars.

P A R T I.

“AT the request of Dr. Fothergill, of London, to search the Floridas, and the western parts of Carolina and Georgia, for the discovery of rare and useful productions of nature, chiefly in the vegetable kingdom,” Mr. Bartram, in April 1773, embarked at Philadelphia for Charleston, in South-Carolina, where he was well-received by Dr. Chalmers, to whom he was recommended by his patron.

From Charleston Mr. B. embarked for Savanna, in Georgia. Thence he made an excursion to Sunbury “a sea-port town, beautifully situated on the main, between Medway and Newport rivers,

about fifteen miles south of Great Ogeechee river." In front of this place is the delightful island of St. Catharine's, the soil and productions of which our author describes with minuteness, "apprehending that it might exhibit a comprehensive epitome of the history of all the sea-coast islands of Carolina and Georgia."—From Sunbury, our traveller proceeded, by the route of fort Barrington on the Alatomaha, and by St. Ille, as far as the trading-house on the river St. Mary, whence he returned to Savanna, with a valuable botanical collection, which he forwarded to Dr. Chalmers, to be transmitted by him to London.

In the course of this journey, Mr. B. discovered several new species of plants which he describes. He also mentions some of the most remarkable birds. Of the native American, or wild turkey, he observes

Our turkey of America is a very different species from the *mileagris* of Asia and Europe; they are nearly thrice their size and weight. I have seen several that have weighed between twenty and thirty pounds, and some have been killed that weighed near forty. They are taller, and have a much longer neck proportionally, and likewise longer legs, and stand more erect; they are also very different in colour. Our's are all, male and female, of a dark brown colour, not having a black feather on them; but the male exceedingly splendid, with changeable colours. In other particulars they differ not.

After Mr. B. had passed St. Ille's, on his way to St. Mary's, being beyond the frontier of the white settlements, he had a very perilous adventure.

On a sudden, an Indian appeared crossing the path, at a considerable distance before me. On perceiving that he was armed with a rifle, the first sight of him startled me, and I endeavoured to elude his sight by stopping my pace, and keeping large trees between us; but he espied me, and turning short about, set spurs to his horse, and came up on full gallop. I never before this was afraid at the sight of an Indian, but at this time I must own that my spirits were very much agitated: I saw at once, that being unarmed, I was in his power, and having now but a few moments to prepare, I resigned myself entirely to the will of the Almighty, trusting to his mercies for my preservation; my mind then became tranquil, and I resolved to meet the dreaded foe with resolution and cheerful confidence. The intrepid Siminole stopped suddenly, three or four yards before me, and silently viewed me, his countenance angry and fierce, shifting his rifle from shoulder to shoulder, and looking about instantly on all sides. I advanced towards him, and with an air of confidence offered him my hand, hailing him, brother; at this he hastily jerked back his arm, with a look of malice, rage, and disdain, seeming every way disconcerted; when again looking at me more attentively, he instantly spurred up to me, and with dignity in his look and action, gave me his hand. We shook hands and parted in a friendly manner, in the midst of a dreary wilderness; and he informed me of the course and distance to the trading-house, where I found he had been extremely ill treated the day before.

Mr. B. being invited to attend a treaty with the Creeks and Cherokees, at Augusta, readily embraced the invitation, both on account of the opportunity this would give him to explore the country, and for sake of engaging the friendship of the Indians, whose country he wished to visit. The treaty being concluded, and a considerable purchase of lands made, he accompanied the surveyors in running the lines of this new purchase, and thus enjoyed a still further opportunity for making discoveries. The great Buffalo Lick, about eighty miles from Augusta, is thus described, by our author.

This extraordinary place occupies several acres of ground, at the foot of the S. E. promontory of the Great Ridge, which, as before observed, divides the rivers Savanna and Alatomaha. A large cane swamp and meadows, forming an immense plain, lies S. E. from it; in this swamp I believe the head branches of the great Ogeechee river take their rise. The place called the Lick contains three or four acres, is nearly level, and lies between the head of the cane swamp and the ascent of the Ridge. The earth, from the superficies to an unknown depth, is an almost white or cinerous coloured, tenacious fatiish clay, which all kinds of cattle lick into great caves, pursuing the delicious vein. It is the common opinion of the inhabitants, that this clay is impregnated with saline vapours, arising from fossil salts deep in the earth; but I could discover nothing saline in its taste, but I imagined an insipid sweetness. Horned cattle, horses, and deer, are immoderately fond of it, inasmuch that their excrement, which almost totally covers the earth to some distance round this place, appears to be perfect clay; which, when dried by the sun or air, is almost as hard as brick.

He then proceeds to mention an instance of Indian sagacity.

We were detained at this place one day, in adjusting and planning the several branches of the survey. A circumstance occurred during this time, which was a remarkable instance of Indian sagacity, and had nearly disconcerted all our plans, and put an end to the business. The surveyor having fixed his compass on the staff, and about to ascertain the course from our place of departure, which was to strike Savanna river at the confluence of a certain river, about seventy miles distance from us; just as he had determined upon the point, the Indian Chief came up, and observing the course he had fixed upon, spoke, and said it was not right; but that the course to the place was so and so, holding up his hand, and pointing. The surveyor replied, that he himself was certainly right, adding, that that little instrument (pointing to the compass) told him so, which, he said, could not err. The Indian answered, he knew better, and that the little wicked instrument was a liar; and he would not acquiesce in its decisions, since it would wrong the Indians out of their land. This mistake (the surveyor proving to be in the wrong) displeased the Indians; the dispute arose to that height, that the chief and his party had determined to break up the business, and return the shortest way home, and forbid the surveyors to proceed any farther: however, after some delay, the complaisance and prudent conduct of the colonel (Barnett) made them change the resolution; the chief became reconciled, upon condition that the compass should be discarded, and rendered incapable of serving on this business; that the chief himself should lead the survey; and, moreover, receive an order for a very considerable quantity of goods.

The survey being completed, Mr. B. returned to Savanna, with "an extensive collection of new discoveries and natural productions."

—The following extract will give our readers some idea of the amazing fertility of the soil between Augusta and the Lick before mentioned.

To keep within the bounds of truth and reality, in describing the magnitude and grandeur of these trees, would, I fear, fail of credibility; yet, I think I can assert, that many of the black oaks measured eight, nine, ten, and eleven feet diameter five feet above the ground, as we measured several that were above thirty feet girth, and from hence they ascend perfectly straight, with a gradual taper, forty or fifty feet to the limbs; but below five or six feet, these trunks would measure a third more in circumference, on account of the projecting jambs, or supports, which are more or less, according to the number of horizontal roots that they arise from: the tulip-tree, liquid-amber, and beech were equally stately.

This first part of the work contains an interesting sketch of the natural history of Georgia, particularly as respects its vegetable productions. The Cherokees and their confederates being on bad terms with the white people, it was unsafe for Mr. B. at this time, to prosecute his travels into the north-western regions of Carolina, as he had intended. He therefore resolved to travel into east Florida, which he had visited, with his father John Bartram, some years before.

(To be continued.)

## Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*Mr. Editor,*

*In January 1757 the masque of Alfred was acted in the college of Philadelphia, by the students of that seminary: several young ladies condescending to perform the vocal parts in the songs. On that occasion the following epistles were written by two of the students. By giving them a place in the Asylum, you will oblige*

*Yours, &c.*  
Y.

*To Miss HOPKINSON, on her excellent performance of the vocal parts in an oratorical exercise at the college of Philadelphia.*

**T**O thee, sweet harmonist! in grateful lays,  
A kindred muse her softest tribute pays;  
Bids every art with every grace combine,  
For thy fair brow the laureate wreath to twine:

Blest, would a smile from thee reward  
her care,

And doubly blest, wouldst thou the garland wear.

Tell me, ye pow'rs, whence all this transport springs?

Why beats my breast, when *Seraphina* sings?

I feel, I feel, each struggling passion wake,  
And, rous'd by turns, my raptur'd bosom shake.

Heavn's! with what force the varying accents move?

I joy, I moan, I rage, I melt, I love!  
Each pow'r, each spring, each movement of my soul,

Charm'd by her voice, all bend to her controul.

Not half so sweet the lark's shrill soaring lay,

Whose spritely matin wakes the slumbering day;

Not half so soft the lonely night-bird's strain,

Whose pensive warblings lull the weary swain;

Less plaintive flows the turtle's love-lorn tale;

Less sweet the sweetest note that wakes the dale.

But oh! when such soft charms their influence lend,

To gain the fairest prize, the noblest end;

To kindle, in each breast, the patriot flame,

And urge each arm to deeds of martial fame.

To bid stern vengeance rise with rigid hand,

Crush the proud foe, and save a sinking land;

To make each virtue grace the public weal,

And justice, mercy, goodness, truth, prevail.

When such the themes, and such the vocal charms,

What thrilling transport every bosom warms?

Each sense, each passion, all the soul is mov'd,

Each ear is ravish'd, and each heart improv'd;

The list'ning throng in dumb attention pause,

And silent rapture speaks their just applause.

*Yours, &c.*

J. DUCHEZ, jun.

*Phil. Jan. 18, 1757.*

*To Miss LAWRENCE, on the same.*

**T**HE pleasing talk, sweet maid! be mine,

To spread thy growing fame;

For early virtues such as thine,  
An early honour claim.

'Twas nobly done to lend thy voice,

And soft harmonious song;

When the great theme was freedom's choice

That warbled from thy tongue.

Yet, not the tuneful voice you lent,

Or song we most admire;

Good nature, and the good intent,  
A nobler praise require.

Tho' just the fair musician's boast,

Of yet unrival'd skill;

'Tis not the deed obliges most,

The virtue's in the will.

Thus still proceed in virtue's sphere,

Above all pride to shine;

So to the good thou'lt still be dear,

Still favour'd by the nine.

*Yours, &c.*

F. HOPKINSON.

*Phil. Feb. 1, 1757.*

## FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## ANACREONTIC.

NEAT and gentle is my fair ;  
Mild her looks, serene her air.  
She, true beauty to express,  
Scorns the aid of splendid dress.

See her in the dance surpass  
Ev'ry other beauteous lass,  
Who, the dupes of pride and art,  
Scarcely boast a single heart.

Taught coquetry to despise,  
She can charm the truly wise ;  
And, at once reserv'd and gay,  
Drive impertinence away.

Decent youth before her bends ;  
To her accents age attends ;  
Whilst, her triumphs to secure,  
She commiserates the poor.

Awed by her commanding eyes,  
Flattery from her presence flies.  
Passion's rage she can control,  
Truth her guide, and heaven her goal.

Of such various worth possess'd,  
Be the maid in marriage blest ;  
And, attentive to my vows,  
Charm her friends, and bless her spouse.

*Phil. March, 1792.*

## FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## The MISER.

I COURT not Fancy's powerful art, to  
show  
The miseries mental and corporeal woe ;  
More powerful Truth my ready pen shall  
guide,  
Dwell in my strain, and o'er my verse  
preside.

A prodigal in youth, his fortune spent,  
In middle age, the prey of discontent ;  
See him now, old and rich, in misery  
pine,  
And, like the slave, for others dig the  
mine !

In youth, familiar with each festive scene,  
Bold were his accents ; haughty was his  
mien ;  
Scorning reproof, of censure ne'er ashamed,  
He raked with rapture, and with spirit  
gam'd :

Thoughtless profusion, still allied with  
vice,  
Shuffled the cards, and shook the rattling  
dice.

Pride taught him to despise the honest  
poor ;

And lewdness led him to the harlot's  
door.

Rack'd by the woes of nature and of art,  
Dark are the windings of the human  
heart.

Fancy of fading pleasures ever dreams,  
Restless, and vibrating betwixt extremes ;  
Whilst reason, meant wild passion to con-  
trol,

Preserves the even tenor of the soul.

Dire want at length his bold career  
restrain'd—

Behold him now by sycophants disdain'd.  
Starving at home, abroad he finds no aid ;  
Whilst pamper'd parasites the wretch  
upbraid,

Madly on folly who presum'd to raise  
Th' solid fabric of esteem and praise.

Whilst in his breast no ray of comfort  
shines,

Helpless and sick, in wretchedness he  
pines ;

And proves, on charity forc'd to depend,  
The unfriendly heart can ne'er expect a  
friend.

At length, the heir of one who scorn'd  
his woes,

Soon in his heart a different passion glows—  
'Tis avarice !—The man who thousands  
spent,

Now from a single farthing hopes con-  
tent ;

And to himself, tho' sunk in years, de-  
nies,

Fearful of want, e'en nature's just sup-  
plies.—

Thus, where the cataract with fury roar-  
ed,

And o'er the neighb'ring plains destruc-  
tion poured,  
(Such are the effects of violence and  
years)

A wild, disgusting, barren waste appears.  
Reason ! thy happy, middle path dis-  
close ;

Shield us from avarice, and profusion's  
woes ;

And teach, at once, th' affluent and the  
poor,

Prudence in youth will ease in age secure.

## FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## To an ANTIQUATED COQUETTE.

MARTHA ! why wilt thou foolishly  
assume

Those airs, which graced thee when in  
beauty's bloom ?

At five and forty why thus vainly strive,  
To keep the charms of seventeen alive ?

## SONNET to NIGHT.

COME pale-robed NIGHT, thou fable-  
fandal'd friend!

And hide me from the prying eye of day;  
O come! and chace the tardy western  
ray,

And from the world thy votary defend.

Alas! the world is all a blank to me,—  
The waves of sorrow compass me around,  
And to my troubled soul no peace is  
found,

Save what it draws from solitude and  
thee!

And ah! how little all thou canst be-  
flow!

Yet the toft foul, long wedded to despair,  
Long used to shed the solitary tear,  
Finds luxury fill, in brooding over wo:

Come then, O NIGHT! thy soothing  
balm impart,

And blunt the thorn that rankles at my  
heart.

BELCOUR.

*Baltimore, March 9, 1792.*

## FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## The GADDING FAIR ONE.

FLORELLA, conscious of her pretty  
face,

Flaunts in each street, each walk, each  
public place;

Save when, confin'd by the loud tempest's  
roar,

She decorates the window or the door.—

Ah, silly maid! be wife, henceforth for-  
bear

To court the sneerer's laugh, the cox-  
comb's stare.

Now twenty-nine, cease to display those  
arts

Which 'gainst thy native beauty steel our  
hearts.

The sirt must evermore disgust excite,  
While modesty imparts supreme delight.

The gadding nymph for love's endearing  
ties

Unfits her mind, and oft unmarried dies.

*Pbil. March, 1792.*

## FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## The UNAFFECTED BEAUTY.

PLEAS'D, we behold that happy rose,  
Which on the cheek of Mira glows;

On art's vain aid she ne'er presumes,  
But by the help of nature blooms.

Artless her features and her mien,  
Her mind is steady and serene.—

Many the heart with transport warm,

But who, like Mira, long can charm?

## FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## The INCONSISTENT MAIDEN.

SOPHIA says a man of sense she'll  
wed;

Nor for a blockhead deck the bridal bed.  
But, while her smiles the fool and fop-  
ling share,

What man of sense would woo th' un-  
thinking fair!

Shall wit and genius meanly condescend  
To vie with fools!—with fribbles to con-  
tend!

No!—Let the maid, if worth meets her  
regard,

Her buzzing flies, and humming drones  
discard.

*Pbil. March, 1792.*

## The CHARMS of MUSIC.

TIS thine, sweet power, to raise the  
thought sublime,  
Quell each rude passion, and the heart  
refine.

Soft are thy strains as Gabriel's gentlest  
string,

Mild as the breathing zephyrs of the  
spring.

Thy pleasing influence, thrilling thro'  
the breast,

Can lull e'en raging anguish into rest.

And oft thy wildly sweet enchanting  
lay,

To fancy's magic heaven steals the rapt  
thought away.

## FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

RECIPE for making a MAN of CONSE-  
QUENCE.

(Inscribed to Doctor ———.)

A BROW austere, a circumspective  
eye,

A frequent shrug of the *os lumari*,\*

A nod significant, a stately gait,

A solemn manner, and a tone of weight,

A smile sarcastic, an expressive stare—

Adapt all these, as time and place will  
bear:

Then rest assured, that those of equal  
sense

Will deem you, sir, a man of consequence.

SANGRADO.

\* The bone which extends from the elbow  
to the shoulder.

## POLITICAL REGISTER.

REPORT of the SECRETARY of the TREASURY, respecting the ACT imposing a DUTY on SPIRITS, &c.—Read in the House of Representatives, March the 6th, 1792.

IN obedience to the orders of the house of representatives, of the first and second days of November last; the first, directing the secretary of the treasury to report to the house, such information as he may have obtained, respecting any difficulties which may have occurred in the execution of the act "*repealing, after the last day of June next, the duties heretofore laid upon distilled spirits, imported from abroad, and laying others in their stead; and also upon spirits distilled within the united states, and for appropriating the same,*" together with his opinion thereupon; the second, directing him to report to the house, whether any, and what alterations, in favour of the spirits which shall be distilled from articles of the growth or produce of the united states, or from foreign articles, within the same, can, in his opinion, be made, in the act for laying duties upon spirits distilled within the united states, consistently with its main design, and with the maintenance of the public faith; the said secretary respectfully submits the following

## R E P O R T.

FROM the several petitions and memorials which have been referred to the secretary, as well as from various representations which have been made to him, it appears that objections have arisen in different quarters, against the above-mentioned act; which have in some instances embarrassed its execution, and inspired a desire of its being repealed, in others have induced a wish that alterations may be made in some of its provisions.

These objections have reference to a supposed tendency of the act: 1st, To contravene the principles of liberty: 2dly, To injure morals: 3dly, To oppress by heavy and excessive penalties: 4thly, To injure industry, and interfere with the business of distilling.

As to the supposed tendency of the act to contravene the principles of liberty, the discussions of the subject which have had place in and out of the legislature, supersede the necessity of more than a few brief general observations.

It is presumed that a revision of the point cannot, in this respect, weaken the conviction which originally dictated the law.

There can surely be nothing in the nature of an *internal duty* on a *consumable commodity* more incompatible with liberty, than in that of an *external duty* on a like commodity. A doctrine which asserts, that all duties of the former kind (usually denominated excises) are inconsistent with the genius of a free government, is too violent, and too little reconcileable with the necessities of society, to be true. It would tend to deprive the government of what is in most countries a principal source of revenue, and by narrowing the distribution of taxes, would serve to oppress particular kinds of industry. It would throw, in the first instance, an undue proportion of the public burthen on the merchant, and on the landholder.

This is *one of those cases in which names have an improper influence, and in which certain prepossessions exclude a due attention to facts.*

Accordingly, the law under consideration is complained of, though free from the features which have served in other cases to render laws on the same subject exceptionable. And though the differences have been pointed out, they have not only been overlooked, but the very things which have been studiously avoided in the formation of the law, are charged upon it, and that too, from quarters where its operation would, from circumstances, have worn the least appearance of them.

It has been heretofore noticed, that the chief circumstances, which in certain excise laws have given occasion to the charge of their being unfriendly to liberty, are not to be found in the act, which is the subject of this report; namely: 1st, A summary and discretionary jurisdiction in the excise officers, contrary to the course of the common

law, and in abridgment of the right of trial by jury: and 2dly, A general power in the same officers to search and inspect *indiscriminately*, all the houses and buildings of the persons engaged in the business to which the tax relates.

As to the first particular, there is nothing in the act, even to give colour to a charge of the kind against it, and accordingly, it has not been brought. But as to the second, a very *different power* has been mistaken for it, and the act is complained of as conferring that very power of indiscriminate search and inspection.

The fact, nevertheless, is otherwise. An officer, under the act in question, can inspect or search no house or building, or even *apartment* of any house or building, which has not been *previously entered and marked* by the possessor, as a place used for distilling or keeping spirits.

And even the power so qualified is only applicable to distilleries from foreign materials, and in cities, towns and villages, from domestic materials; that is, only in cases in which the law contemplates, that the business is carried on upon such a scale as effectually to separate the *distillery* from the *dwelling* of the distiller. The distilleries scattered over the country, which form much the greatest part of the whole, are in no degree subject to discretionary inspection and search.

The true principle of the objection, which may be raised to a general discretionary power of inspection and search is, that the *domicil* or *dwelling* of a citizen ought to be free from vexatious inquisition and intrusion.

This principle cannot apply to a case in which it is put in his own power, to separate the place of his *business* from the place of his *habitation*, and by designating the former by visible public marks, to avoid all intermeddling with the latter.

A distillery seldom forms a part of the *dwelling* of its proprietor, and even where it does, it depends on him to direct and limit the power of visiting and search, by marking out the particular *apartments* which are so employed.

But the requisition upon the distiller, to set marks on the building or apartments which he makes use of in his business, is one of the topics of complaint against the law. Such marks are represented as a dishonorable badge. And thus a regulation, designed as much to conform with the feelings of the citizen, as for the security of the revenue, is converted into matter of objection.

It is not easy to conceive what maxim of liberty is violated, by requiring persons, who carry on particular trades, which are made contributory to the revenue, to designate by public marks the places in which they are carried on. There can certainly be nothing more harmless or less inconvenient, than such a regulation. The thing itself is frequently done by persons of various callings, for the information of customers; and why it should become a hardship or grievance, if required for a public purpose, can with difficulty be imagined.

The supposed tendency of the act to injure morals seems to have relation to the oaths, which are in a variety of cases required, and which are liable to the objection, that they give occasion to perjuries.

The necessity of requiring oaths, is, whenever it occurs, matter of regret. It is certainly desirable to avoid them, as often and as far as possible. But it is more easy to desire, than to find, a substitute. The requiring of them is not peculiar to the act in question. They are a common appendage of revenue laws, and are among the usual guards of those laws, as they are of public and private rights in courts of justice. They constantly occur in jury trials, to which the citizens of the united states are so much, and so justly attached. The same objection, in different degrees, lies against them in both cases. Yet it is not perceivable how they can be dispensed with in either.

It is remarkable that *both* the kinds of security to the revenue which are to be found in the act, the oaths of parties, and the inspection of officers, are objected to. If they are both to be abandoned, it is not easy to imagine what security there can be for any species of revenue, which is to be collected from articles of consumption.

If precautions of this nature are inconsistent with liberty, and immoral, as there are very few indirect taxes, which can be collected without them, the consequence must be, that the entire, or almost entire weight of the public burthens must, in the first instance, fall upon fixed and visible property, houses and lands, a consequence which would be found in experiment productive of great injustice and inequality, and ruinous to agriculture.



It has been suggested by some distillers, that both the topics of complaint, which have been mentioned, might be obviated by a fixed rate of duty, adjusted according to a ratio compounded of the capacity of each still, and the number and capacities of the cisterns employed with it; but this and every similar method are objected to by other distillers, as tending to great inequality, arising from unequal supplies of the material at different times, and at different places, from the different methods of distillation practised by different distillers, and from the different degrees of activity in the business which arise from capitals more or less adequate.

The result of an examination of this point appears to be, that every such mode, in cases in which the business is carried on upon an extensive scale, would necessarily be attended with considerable inequalities; and upon the whole, would be less satisfactory than the plan which has been adopted.

It is proved by the fullest information, that, in regard to distilleries, which are rated in the law according to the capacity of each still, the alternative of paying according to the quantity actually distilled, is viewed in many parts of the united states as essential to the equitable operation of the duty. And it is evident that such an alternative could not be allowed, but upon the condition of the party rendering upon oath an account of the quantity of spirits distilled by him; without entirely defeating the duty.

As to the charge that the penalties of the act are severe and oppressive, it is made in such general terms, and so absolutely, without the specification of a single particular, that it is difficult to imagine where it points.

The secretary, however, has carefully reviewed the provisions of the act in this respect, and he is not able to discover any foundation for the charge.

The penalties it inflicts are, in their nature, the same with those which are common in revenue laws, and in their degree comparatively moderate.

Pecuniary fines, from fifty to five hundred dollars, and forfeiture of the article, in respect to which there has been a failure to comply with the law, are the severest penalties inflicted upon delinquent parties, except in a very few cases: In two, a forfeiture of the value of the article is added to that of the article itself, and in some others, a forfeiture of the ship or vessel, and of the waggon or other instrument of conveyance, assitant in a breach of the law, is likewise involved.

Penalties like these, for wilful and fraudulent breaches of an important law, cannot truly be deemed either unusual or excessive. They are less than those which secure the laws of impost, and as moderate as can promise security to any object of revenue, which is capable of being evaded.

There appears to be but one provision in the law which admits of a question, whether the penalty prescribed may not partake of severity. It is that which inflicts the pains of perjury on any person who shall be convicted of "wilfully taking a false oath or affirmation, in any of the cases in which oaths or affirmations are required by the act."

Precedents in relation to this particular vary. In many of them the penalties are less severe than for perjury in courts of justice; in others they are the same. The latter are generally of the latest date, and seem to have been the result of experience.

The united states have in other cases pursued the same principle as in the law in question; and the practice is certainly founded on strong reasons.

1st. The additional security which it gives to the revenue cannot be doubted. Many who would risk pecuniary forfeitures and penalties, would not encounter the more disgraceful punishment annexed to perjury.

2. There seems to be no solid distinction between one false oath in violation of law and right, and another false oath in violation of law and right. A distinction in the punishments of different species of false swearing is calculated to beget false opinions concerning the sanctity of an oath; and by countenancing an impression that a violation of it is less heinous in the cases in which it is, less punished, it tends to impair in the mind that scrupulous veneration for the obligation of an oath, which ought always to prevail, and not only to facilitate a breach of it in cases which the laws have marked with less odium, but to prepare the mind for committing the crime in other cases.

So far is the law under consideration from being chargeable with particular severity, that there are to be found in it, marks of more than common attention, to prevent its operating severely or oppressively.

The 43d section of the act contains a special provision (and one which it is believed is not to be found in any law enacted in this country, prior to the present constitution of the united states) by which forfeitures and penalties, incurred without an intention of fraud or wilful negligence, may be mitigated or remitted.

This mild and equitable provision, is an effectual guard against suffering, or inconvenience, in consequence of undesigned transgressions of the law.

The 38th section contains a provision in favour of persons, who, though innocent, may accidentally suffer by seizures of their property (as in the execution of the revenue laws sometimes unavoidably happens) which is, perhaps, entirely peculiar to the law under consideration. Where there has even been a *probable* cause of seizure, sufficient to acquit an officer, the jury are to assess whatever damages may have accrued, from any injury to the article seized, with an allowance for the detention of it, at the rate of six per centum per annum, of the value, which damages are to be paid out of the public treasury.

There are other provisions of the act, which mark the scrupulous attention of the government, to protect the parties concerned from inconvenience and injury, and which conspire to vindicate the law from imputations of severity or oppression.

The supposed tendency of the act to injure industry, and interfere with the business of distilling, is endeavoured to be supported by some general and some special reasons; both having relation to the effect of the duty upon the manufacture.

Those of the first kind affirm generally, that duties on home manufactures are impolitic, because they tend to discourage them; that they are particularly so, when they are laid on articles manufactured from the produce of the country, because they have then the additional effect of injuring agriculture; that it is the general policy of nations to protect and promote their own manufactures, especially those which are wrought out of domestic materials; that the law in question intrefers with this policy.

Observations of this kind admit of an easy answer. Duties on manufactures tend to discourage them or not, according to the circumstances under which they are laid; and are impolitic or not, according to the same circumstances. When a manufacture is in its infancy, it is impolitic to tax it; because the tax would be both unproductive, and would add to the difficulties, which naturally impede the first attempts to establish a new manufacture; so as to endanger its success.

But when a manufacture (as in the case of distilled spirits of the united states) is arrived at maturity, it is as fit an article of taxation as any other. No good reason can be assigned, why the consumer of a domestic commodity should not contribute something to the public revenue, when the consumer of a foreign commodity contributes to it largely. And as a general rule, it is not to be disputed, that duties on articles of consumption are paid by the consumers.

To the manufacture itself, the duty is no injury, if an equal duty be laid on the rival foreign article. And when a greater duty is laid upon the latter than upon the former, as in the present instance, the difference is a bounty on the domestic article, and operates as an encouragement of the manufacture. The manufacturer can afford to sell his fabric the cheaper, in proportion to that difference, and is so far enabled to undersell and supplant the dealer in the foreign article.

The principle of the objection would tend to confine all taxes to imported articles, and would deprive the government of resources which are indispensable to a due provision for the public safety and welfare; contrary to the plain intention of the constitution, which gives express power to employ those resources when necessary; a power which is found in all governments, and is essential to their efficiency, and even to their existence.

Duties on articles of internal production and manufacture, form in every country the principal sources of revenue. Those on imported articles can only be carried to a certain extent, without defeating their object; by operating either as prohibitions, or as bounties upon smuggling. They are, moreover, in some degree, temporary; for as the growth of manufactures diminishes the quantum of duty on imports, the public revenue, ceasing to arise from that source, must be derived from articles which the national industry has substituted for those previously imported. If the government cannot then resort to internal means for the additional supplies, which the exigencies of every nation call for, it will be unable to perform its duty, or even to pre-

serve its existence. The community must be unprotected, and the social compact be dissolved.

For the same reasons, that a duty ought not to be laid on an article manufactured out of the produce of the country (which is the point most insisted upon) it ought not to be laid upon the produce itself, nor consequently upon the land, which is the instrument of that produce; because taxes are laid upon *land* as the *fund* out of which the *income* of the proprietor is drawn, or, in other words, *on account of its produce*. There ought therefore, on the principle of the objection, to be neither taxes on land nor on the produce of land, nor on articles manufactured from that produce. And if a nation should be in a condition to supply itself, with its own manufactures, there could then be very little or no revenue, of course there must be a want of the essential means of national justice and national security.

Positions like these, however well meant by those who urge them, refute themselves, because they tend to the dissolution of government, by rendering it incapable of providing for the objects for which it was instituted.

However true the allegation, that it is and ought to be the prevailing policy of nations to cherish their own manufactures, it is equally true that nations in general lay duties for the purpose of revenue on their own manufactures; and it is obvious to a demonstration that it may be done without injury to them. The most successful nations in manufactures have drawn the largest revenues from the most useful of them. It merits particular attention, that ardent spirits are an article, which has been generally deemed and made use of, as one of the fittest objects of revenue, and to an extent in other countries, which bears no comparison with what has been done in the united states.

The special reasons alluded to, are of different kinds.—

I. It is said, that the act in question, by laying a smaller *additional* duty on foreign spirits, than the duty on home-made spirits, has a tendency to discourage the manufacture of the latter.

This objection merits consideration, and as far as it may appear to have foundation, ought to be obviated.

The point however seems not to have been viewed, in all respects, in a correct light.

Before the present constitution of the united states began to operate, the regulations of the different states, respecting distilled spirits, were very dissimilar. In some of them duties were laid on foreign spirits only, in others, on domestic as well as foreign. The absolute duty in the former instances, and the difference of duty in the latter, was, upon an average, considerably less than the present difference in the duties on foreign and home-made spirits. If to this be added the effect of the uniform operation of the existing duties throughout the united states, it is easy to infer, that the situation of our own distilleries is in the main much better, as far as they are affected by the laws, than it was previous to the passing of any act of the united states upon the subject. They have therefore upon the whole gained materially under the system which has been pursued by the national government.

The first law of the united states on this head, laid a duty of no more than eight cents per gallon on those of Jamaica proof. The second increased the duty on foreign spirits to twelve cents per gallon of the lowest proof, and by certain gradations to fifteen cents per gallon of Jamaica proof. The last act places the duty at twenty cents per gallon of the lowest proof, and extends it by the like gradations, to twenty-five cents per gallon of Jamaica proof, laying also a duty of eleven cents per gallon on home-made spirits, distilled from foreign materials, of the lowest proof, with a like gradual extension to fifteen cents per gallon of Jamaica proof; and a duty of nine cents per gallon on home-made spirits distilled from domestic materials of the lowest proof, with the like gradual extension to thirteen cents per gallon of Jamaica proof.

If the transition had been immediate from the first to the last law, it could not have failed to have been considered as a change in favour of our own distilleries, as far as the rate of duty is concerned. The mean duty on *foreign spirits* by the first law was nine cents, by the last, the mean *extra* duty on foreign spirits is in fact about eleven cents, as it regards spirits distilled from *foreign* materials, and about thirteen, as it regards spirits distilled from *domestic* materials. In making this computation it is to be adverted to, that the four first degrees of proof mentioned in the law, correspond

with the different kinds of spirits usually imported, while the generality of those made in the united states are of the lowest class of proof.

Spirits from domestic materials derived a double advantage from the last law, that is, from the increased rate of duty on foreign imported spirits, and from a higher rate of duty on home-made spirits of foreign materials.

But the intervention of the second law has served to produce in some places a different impression of the business, than would have happened without it. By a considerable addition to the duties on foreign spirits, without laying any thing on those of home manufacture, it has served to give to the last law the appearance of taking away a part of the advantages previously secured to the domestic distilleries. It seems to have been overlooked, that the second act ought in reality to be reviewed only as an intermediate step to the arrangement finally contemplated by the legislature; and that, as part of a system, it has upon the whole operated in favour of the national distilleries. The thing to be considered is, the substantial existing difference in favour of the home manufacture, as the law now stands.

The advantage, indeed, to the distillation of spirits from the produce of the country, arising from the difference between the duties on spirits distilled from foreign and those distilled from domestic materials, is exclusively the work of the last act, and is an advantage which has not been properly appreciated by those distillers of spirits from home produce, who have complained of the law, as hurtful to their manufacture.

Causes entirely foreign to the law itself have also assisted in producing misapprehension. The approximation of the price of home-made spirits, to that of foreign spirits, which has of late taken place, and which is attributed to the operation of the act in question, is in a great degree owing to the circumstances which have tended to raise the price of molasses in the West-India market, and to an extra importation of foreign spirits prior to the first of July last, to avoid the payment of the additional duty which then took place.

It is stated in the petition from Salem, that previous to the last act, the price of domestic to foreign spirits was as  $1/9$  to  $3/4$ , of the money of Massachusetts, per gallon, and that since that act, it has become as  $3/3$  to  $4/2$ .

It is evident that a rise from  $1/9$  to  $3/3$  per gallon, which would be equal to 20 cents, is not to be attributed wholly to a duty of eleven cents. Indeed if there were a concurrence of no other cause, the inference would be very different from that intended to be drawn from the fact, for it would evince a profit gained to the distiller of more than eighty per cent on the duty.

It is however meant to be understood, that this approximation of prices occasions a greater importation and consumption of foreign, and a less consumption of domestic spirits than formerly. How far this may or may not be the case, the secretary is not now able to say with precision; but no facts have come under his notice officially, which serve to authenticate the suggestion. And it must be considered, as possible, that representations of this kind are rather the effect of apprehension than of experience. It would even be not unnatural, that a considerable enhancement of the prices of the foreign article should have led to a greater consumption of the domestic article, as the cheapest of the two, though dearer itself than formerly.

But while there is ground to believe that the suggestions which have been made on this point are in many respects inaccurate and misconceived, there are known circumstances, which seem to render advisable, some greater difference between the duties on foreign and on home-made spirits. These circumstances have been noticed in the report of the secretary on the subject of manufactures, and an alteration has been proposed, by laying two cents in addition upon imported spirits of the lowest proof, with a proportional increase on the higher proofs, and by deducting one cent from the duty on the lowest proof of home-made spirits, with a proportional diminution in respect to the higher proofs.

This alteration would bring the proportion of the duties nearly to the standard, which the petitioner, Hendrick Doyer, who appears likely to be well informed on the subject, represents as the proper one, to enable the distillation of geneva to be carried on with the same advantage as before the passing of the act. He observes that the duty on home-made geneva being 9 cents, the additional duty on foreign, ought to have been 12 cents. By the alteration proposed, the proportion will be as 10 to 8 which is little different to that of 12 to 9.

It is worthy of remark, that the same petitioner states, that previous to the passing of the act of which he complains, he "could sell his geneva  $16\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. under the price of Holland geneva, but that he cannot do it at present, and in future, lower than 14 per cent." If, as he also states, the quality of his geneva be equal to that of Holland, and if his meaning be, as it appears to be, that he can now afford to sell his geneva lower by 14 per cent. than the geneva of Holland, it will follow, that the manufacture of that article is in a very thriving train, even under the present rate of duties. For a difference of 14 per cent. in the price, is capable of giving a decided preference to the sale of the domestic article.

II. It is objected that the duty, by being laid in the first instance upon the distiller, instead of the consumer, makes a larger capital necessary to carry on the business, and, in this country, where capitals are not large, puts the national distillers under disadvantages.

But this inconvenience, as far as it has foundation in the state of things, is essentially obviated by the credits given. Where the duty is payable upon the quantity distilled, a credit is allowed, which cannot be less than six, and may extend to nine months. Where the duty is charged on the capacity of the still, it is payable half yearly. Sufficient time is therefore allowed to raise the duty from the sale of the article, which supercedes the necessity of a greater capital. It is well known, that the article is one usually sold for cash, or at short credit. If these observations are not applicable to distilleries in the interior country, the same may be said in a great degree of the objection itself. The course of the business in that quarter, renders a considerable capital less necessary than elsewhere. The produce of the distiller's own farm, or of the neighbouring farms, brought to be distilled upon shares or compensations in the article itself, constitute the chief business of the distilleries in the remote parts of the country. In the comparatively few instances, in which they may be prosecuted as a regular business upon a large scale, by force of capital, the observations which have been made will substantially apply.

The collection of the duty from the distiller has, on the other hand, several advantages. It contributes to equality, by charging the article in the first stage of its progress, which diffuses the duty among all classes alike. It better secures the collection of the revenue, by confining the responsibility to a smaller number of persons, and simplifying the process. And it avoids the necessity of so great a number of officers as would be required in a more diffuse system of collection, operating immediately upon purchasers and consumers. Besides, that the latter plan would transfer whatever inconveniencies may be incident to the collection, from a smaller to a greater number of persons.

III. It is alleged that the inspection of the officers is injurious to the business of distilling, by laying open its secrets or mysteries.

Different distillers, there is no doubt, practise, in certain respects, different methods in the course of their business, and have different degrees of skill. But it may well be doubted, whether in a business so old, and so much diffused as that of the distillation of spirits, there are at this day secrets of consequence to the possessors.

There will at least be no hazard in taking it for granted, that none such exist in regard to the distillation of rum from molasses or sugar, or of the spirits from grain usually called whiskey, or of brandies from the fruits of this country. The cases in which the allegations are made with most colour, apply to geneva, and perhaps to certain cordials.

It is probable, that the course of the business might and would always be such, as in fact to involve no inconvenience on this score. But as the contrary is affirmed, and as it is desirable to obviate complaint, as far as it can be done, consistently with essential principles and objects, it may not be unadvisable to attempt a remedy.

It is to be presumed, that if any secrets exist, they relate to a primary process, particularly the mixture of the ingredients; this, it is supposeable, cannot take a greater time each day, than two hours. If, therefore, the officers of inspection were enjoined to forbear their visits to the part of the distillery commonly made use of for such process, during a space not exceeding two hours each day, to be notified by the distiller, there is ground to conclude that it would obviate the objection.

IV The regulations for marking of casks and vessels, as well as houses and buildings, also furnish matter of complaint.

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This complaint, as it regards houses and buildings, has been already adverted to: But there is a light in which it is made that has not yet been taken notice of.

It is said that the requiring the doors of the apartments as well as the outer door of each building to be marked, imposes unnecessary trouble.

When it is considered how little trouble or expence attends the execution of this provision, in the first instance, and that the marks once set will endure for a great length of time, the objection to it appears to be without weight.

But the provision, as it relates to the apartments of buildings, has for its immediate object the convenience of the distillers themselves. It is calculated to avoid the very evil of an indiscriminate search of their houses and buildings, by enabling them to designate the *particular apartments*, which are employed for the purpose of their business, and to secure all others from inspection and visitation.

The complaint, as it respects the marking of casks and vessels, has somewhat more foundation. It is represented (and upon careful enquiry appears to be true) that through long established prejudice, home-made spirits of *equal quality* with foreign, if known to be home-made, will not command an equal price. This particularly applies to geneva.

If the want of a distinction between foreign and home-made spirits were an occasion of fraud upon consumers, by imposing a worse for a better commodity, it would be a reason for continuing it; but as far as such a distinction gives operation to a mere prejudice, favourable to a foreign, and injurious to a domestic manufacture, it furnishes a reason for abolishing it.

Though time might be expected to remove the prejudice, the progress of the domestic manufacture, in the interval, might be materially checked.

It appears therefore expedient to remove this ground of complaint by authorising the same marks and certificates, both for foreign and for home-made geneva.

Perhaps indeed it may not be unadvisable to vest somewhere a discretionary power to regulate the forms of certificates, which are to accompany, and the particular marks, which are to be set upon casks and vessels containing spirits, generally, as may be found convenient in practice.

Another source of objection with regard to the marking of casks is, that there is a general prohibition against defacing, or altering the marks, and a penalty upon doing it, which prevents the using of the same casks more than once, and occasions waste, loss, and embarrassment.

It is conceived, that this prohibition does not extend to the effacing of old marks and placing of new ones by the officers of the revenue, or in their presence, and by their authority. But as real inconveniences would attend a contrary construction, and there is some room for question, it appears desirable, that all doubt should be removed, by an explicit provision to enable the officer to efface old marks and substitute new ones, when casks have been emptied of their former contents, and are wanted for new use.

V. The requisition to keep an account, from day to day, of the quantity of spirits distilled, is represented both as a hardship and impossible to be complied with.

But the secretary is unable to perceive that it can justly be viewed either in the one or in the other light. The trouble of setting down, in the evening, the work of the day, in a book prepared for and furnished to the party, must be inconceivable: and the doing of it would even conduce to accuracy in business.

The idea of impracticability must have arisen from some misconception.

It seems to involve a supposition that something is required different from the truth of the fact. Spirits distilled are usually distinguished into high wines, proof spirits, and low wines. It is certainly possible, to express each day, the quantity of each kind produced, and where one kind is converted into another, to explain it by brief notes, shewing in proper columns the results in those kinds of spirits which are ultimately prepared for sale.

A revision is now making of the forms at first transmitted, and it is not doubted that it will be easy to obviate the objection of impracticability.

On full reflection, the secretary is of opinion, that the requisition in this respect is a reasonable one, and that it is of importance to the due collection of the revenue, especially in those cases, where, by the alternative allowed in favour of country distilleries, the oath of a party is the only evidence of the quantity produced. It is use-

ful in every such case to give the utmost possible *precision* to the object which is to be attested.

VI. It is alleged as a hardship, that distillers are held responsible for the duties on spirits which are exported, till certain things difficult to be performed are done, in order to entitle the exporter to the drawback.

This is a misapprehension. The drawback is at all events to be paid in six months, which is as early as the duty can become payable, and frequently earlier than it does become payable. And the government relies on the bond of the exporter for a fulfilment of the conditions upon which the drawback is allowed.

An explanation, to the several collectors, of this point, which has taken place since the complaint appeared, will have removed the cause of it.

The same explanation will obviate another objection founded on the supposition that the bond of the distiller and that of the exporter are for a like purpose. The latter is merely to secure the landing of the goods in a foreign country, and will often continue depending after every thing relative to duty and drawback has been liquidated and finished.

VII. It is an article of complaint that no drawback is allowed in case of shipwreck when spirits are sent from one port to another in the united states.

There does not occur any objection to a provision for making an allowance of that kind, which would tend to alleviate misfortune and give satisfaction.

VIII. The necessity of twenty-four hours notice, in order to the benefit of drawback on the exportation of spirits, and the prohibition to remove them from a distillery after sun-set, except in the presence of an officer, are represented as embarrassments to business.

The length of notice required appears greater than is necessary. It is not perceived, that any inconvenience would arise, from reducing the time to six hours.

But it is not conceived to be necessary or expedient to make an alteration in the last mentioned particular. The prohibition is of real consequence to the security of the revenue. The course of business will readily adapt itself to it, and the presence of an officer in extraordinary cases will afford due accommodation.

IX. It is stated as a hardship, that there is no allowance for leakage and wastage in the case of spirits shipped from one state to another.

The law for the collection of the duties on imports and tonnage allows two per cent. for leakage on spirits imported. A similar allowance on home-made spirits at the distillery, does not appear less proper.

X. It is mentioned as a grievance, that distillers are required to give bond *with surety* for the amount of the duties, and that the sufficiency of the surety is made to depend on the discretion of the chief officer of inspection.

The requiring of sureties can be no more a hardship on distillers than on importing merchants, and every other person to whom the public afford a credit. It is a natural consequence of the credit allowed, and a very reasonable condition of the indulgence, which without this precaution might be imprudent, and injurious to the united states.

The party has his option to avoid it by prompt payment of the duty, and is even entitled to an abatement, which may be considered as a premium if he elects to do so.

As to the second point, if sureties are to be given, there must be some person on the part of the government to judge of their sufficiency, otherwise the thing itself would be nugatory; and the discretion cannot be vested more conveniently for the party than in the chief officer of inspection for the survey.

A view has now been taken of most, if not of all, the objections of a general nature, which have appeared.

Some few of a local complexion remain to be attended to.

The representation signed Edward Cook, chairman, as on behalf of the four most western counties of Pennsylvania, states, that the distance of that part of the country from a market for its produce leads to a necessity of distilling the grain, which is raised, as a principal dependence of its inhabitants; which circumstance and the scarcity of cash combine to render the tax in question unequal, oppressive, and particularly distressing to them.

As to the circumstance of equality, it may safely be affirmed to be impracticable to devise a tax which shall operate with exact equality upon every part of the community. Local and other circumstances will inevitably create disparities more or less great.

Taxes on consumable articles have upon the whole better pretensions to equality than any other. If some of them fall more heavily on particular parts of the community, others of them are chiefly borne by other parts. And the result is an equalization of the burthen as far as is attainable. Of this class of taxes it is not easy to conceive one which can operate with greater equality than a tax on distilled spirits. There appears to be no article, as far as the information of the secretary goes, which is an object of more equal consumption throughout the united states.

In particular districts a greater use of cyder may occasion a smaller consumption of spirits; but it will not be found on a close examination that it makes a material difference. A greater or less use of ardent spirits, as far as it exists, seems to depend more on relative habits of sobriety or intemperance than on any other cause.

As far as habits of less moderation, in the use of distilled spirits, should produce inequality any where, it would certainly not be a reason with the legislature either to repeal or lessen a tax, which, by rendering the article dearer, might tend to restrain too free an indulgence of such habits.

It is certainly not obvious how this tax can operate particularly unequally upon the part of the country in question. As a general rule it is a true one, that duties on articles of consumption fall on the consumers, by being added to the price of the commodity. This is illustrated in the present instance by facts. Previous to the law laying a duty on home-made spirits the price of whiskey was about thirty-eight cents; it is now about fifty-six cents. Other causes may have contributed in some degree to this effect, but it is evidently to be ascribed chiefly to the duty.

Unless, therefore, the inhabitants of the counties, which have been mentioned, are greater consumers of spirits, than those of other parts of the country, they cannot pay a greater proportion of the tax. If they are, it is their interest to become less so. It depends on themselves by diminishing the consumption to restore equality.

The argument, that they are obliged to convert their grain into spirits in order to transportation to distant markets, does not prove the point alledged. The duty on all they send to those markets will be paid by the purchasers. They will still pay only upon their own consumption.

As far as an advance is laid upon the duty, or as far as the difference of duty between whiskey and other spirits tends to favour a greater consumption of the latter, they, as greater manufacturers of the article, supposing this fact to be as stated, will be proportionably benefited.

The duty on home-made spirits from domestic materials, if paid by the gallon, is nine cents. From the communications which have been received, since the passing of the act, it appears, that paying the rate annexed to the capacity of the still, and using great diligence, the duty may be in fact reduced to six cents per gallon. Let the average be taken at seven and a half cents, which is probably higher than is really paid.

Generally speaking, then, for every gallon of whiskey which is consumed, the consumer may be supposed to pay seven and a half cents; but for every gallon of spirits distilled from foreign materials the consumer pays at least eleven cents, and for every gallon of foreign spirits at least twenty cents. The consumer therefore of foreign spirits pays nearly three times the duty, and the consumer of home-made spirits from foreign materials nearly fifty per cent. more duty, on the same quantity, than the consumer of spirits from domestic materials, exclusive of the greater price in both cases, which is an additional charge upon each of the two first mentioned classes of consumers.

When it is considered that 8-21 parts of the whole quantity of spirits consumed in the united states are foreign, and 7-21 parts are of foreign materials, and that the inhabitants of the Atlantic and midland countries are the principal consumers of these more highly taxed articles, it cannot be inferred, that the tax under consideration bears particularly hard on the inhabitants of the western country.

This may serve as an exemplification of a general proposition of material consequence, namely, that if the former descriptions of citizens are able from situation to obtain more for their produce than the latter, they contribute proportionally more to the revenue. Numerous other examples in confirmation of this might be adduced.

As to the circumstance of the scarcity of money, as far as it can be supposed to have foundation, it is as much an objection to any other tax as to the one in question. The weight of the tax is not certainly such as to involve any peculiar difficulty. It is impossible to conceive that nine cents per gallon on distilled spirits, which is rating it at



the highest, can, from the magnitude of the tax, distress any part of the country, which has an ability to pay taxes at all, enjoying too the unexampled advantage of a total exemption from taxes on houses, lands, or stock.

The population of the united states being about 4,000,000 of persons, and the quantity of spirits annually consumed between ten and eleven millions of gallons, the yearly proportion to each family, if consisting of six persons, which is a full ratio, would be about sixteen gallons, the duty upon which would be less than *one dollar and a half*. The citizen who is able to maintain a family, and who is the owner or occupier of a farm, cannot feel any inconvenience from so light a contribution, and the industrious poor, whether artizans or laborers, are usually allowed spirits or an equivalent in addition to their wages.

The secretary has no evidence to satisfy his mind, that real scarcity of money will be found, on experiment, a serious impediment to the payment of the tax any where. In the quarter where this complaint has particularly prevailed, the expenditures for the defence of the frontier would seem alone sufficient to obviate it. To this it is answered, that the contractors for the supply of the army operate with goods and not with money. But this still tends to keep at home whatever money finds its way there. Nor is it a fact, if the information of the secretary be not materially erroneous, that the purchases of the contractors of flour, meat, &c. are *wholly* with goods. But if they were, the secretary can aver, that more money has in the course of the last year been sent into the western country from the treasury, in specie, and bank bills, which answer the same purpose, for the pay of the troops and militia, and for quarter-masters supplies, than the whole amount of the tax in the four western counties of Pennsylvania and the district of Kentucky is likely to equal in four or five years. Similar remittances are likely to be made in future.

Hence the government itself furnishes, and in all probability will continue to furnish, the means of paying its own demands, with a surplus which will sensibly foster the industry of the parties concerned, if they avail themselves of it under the guidance of a spirit of economy and exertion.

Whether there be no part of the united states, in which the objection of want of money may truly exist, in a degree to render the payment of the duty seriously distressing to the inhabitants, the secretary is not able to pronounce. He can only express his own doubt of the fact, and refer the matter to such information as the members of any district so situated, may have it in their power to offer to the legislative body.

Should the case appear to exist, it would involve the necessity of a measure in the abstract very ineligible, that is the receipt of the duty in the article itself.

If an alternative of this sort were to be allowed, it would be proper to make it the duty of the party paying, to *deliver the article at the place in each county* where the office of inspection is kept, and to regulate the price according to such a standard, as would induce a preference of paying in cash, except from a real impracticability of obtaining it.

In regard to the petition from the district of Kentucky, after what has been said with reference to other applications, it can only be necessary to observe, that the exemption which is sought by that petition, is rendered impracticable by an express provision of the constitution, which declares, that all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the united states.

In the course of the foregoing examination of the objections which have been made to the law, some alterations have been submitted for the purpose of removing a part of them. The secretary will now proceed to submit such farther alterations as appear to him advisable, arising either from the suggestions of the officers of the revenue or from his own reflections.

I. It appears expedient to alter the distinction respecting distilleries from domestic materials in cities, towns, and villages, so as to confine it to one or more stills worked at the same distillery, the capacity or capacities of which together do not fall short of four hundred gallons.

The effectual execution of the present provisions respecting distilleries from home materials in cities, towns, and villages, would occasion an inconvenient multiplication of officers, and would in too great a degree exhaust the product of the duty in the expence of collection. It is also probable that the alteration suggested would conduce to public satisfaction.

II. The present provisions concerning the entering of stills are found by experience not to be adequate, and in some instances not convenient.

It appears advisable, that there shall be one office of inspection for each county, with authority to the supervisor to establish more than one, if he shall judge it necessary for the accommodation of the inhabitants; and that every distiller or person having or keeping a still, shall be required to make entry of the same, at some office of inspection for the county, within a certain determinate period in each year. It will be proper also to enjoin upon every person, who residing within the county, shall procure a still, or who removing into a county, shall bring into it a still within twenty days after such procuring or removal, and before he or she begins to use the still, to make entry at the office of inspection. Every entry besides describing the still, should specify in whose possession it is, and the purpose for which it is intended, as whether for sale or for use in distilling; and in the case of a removal of the person from another place into the county, shall specify the place from which the still shall have been brought. A forfeiture of the still ought in every case in which an entry is required, to attend an omission to enter.

This regulation, by simplifying the business of entering stills, would render it easier to comprehend and comply with what is required, would furnish the officers with a better rule for ascertaining delinquencies, and, by avoiding to them a considerable degree of unnecessary trouble, will facilitate the retaining of proper characters in the offices of collectors.

III. It is represented that difficulties have in some instances arisen concerning the persons responsible for the duty. The apparent, not being always the real proprietor, an opportunity for collusion is afforded; and without collusion the uncertainty is stated as a source of embarrassment.

It also sometimes happens, that certain itinerant persons without property, complying with the preliminary requisitions of the law as to entry, &c. erect and work stills for a time, and before a half-yearly period of payment arrives, remove and evade the duty.

It would tend to remedy these inconveniences, if possessors and proprietors of stills were made jointly and severally liable, and if the duty were made a *specific lien* on the still itself; if also the proprietor of the land, upon which any still may be worked, should be made answerable for the duty, except where it is worked by a lawful and bona fide tenant of the land of an estate not less than for a term of one year, or unless such proprietor can make it appear, that the possessor of the still was during the whole time without his privity or connivance an intruder or trespasser on the land: and if in the last place any distiller about to remove from the division in which he is, should be required previous to such removal to pay the tax for the year, deducting any prior payments, or give bond with approved surety, conditioned for the payment of the full sum for which he or she should be legally accountable to the end of the year, to the collector of the division to which the removal shall be, rendering proof thereof under the hand of the said collector, within six months after the expiration of the year.

As well with a view to the forfeiture of the stills for non-entry, as to give effect to a *specific lien* of the duty (if either or both of these provisions should be deemed eligible) it will be necessary to enjoin it upon the officers of the revenue to identify by proper marks the several stills which shall have been entered with them.

IV. The exemptions granted to stills of the capacity of fifty gallons and under, by the 36th section of the law, appear from experience to require revision. Tending to produce inequality, as well as to frustrate the revenue, they have excited complaint. It appears at least advisable, that the obligation to enter, as connected with that of *paying duty*, should extend to stills of all dimensions, and that it should be enforced in every case by the same penalty.

V. The 28th section of the act makes provision for the seizure of spirits unaccompanied with marks and certificates in the cases in which they are required; but as they are required only in certain cases, and there is no method of distinguishing the spirits, in respect to which they are necessary, from those in respect to which they are not necessary, the provision becomes nugatory, because an attempt to enforce it would be oppressive. Hence not only a great security for the due execution of the law is lost, but seizures very distressing to unoffending individuals must happen notwithstanding great precaution to avoid them.

It would be, in the opinion of the secretary, of great importance to provide, that all spirits whatsoever, in casks or vessels of the capacity of twenty gallons and upwards,

should be marked and certified, on pain of seizure and forfeiture, making it the duty of the officers to furnish the requisite certificates *gratis* to distillers and dealers, in all cases in which the law shall have been complied with.

In these cases in which an occasion of recurrence to the officers for certificates might be inconvenient, blanks may be furnished to be accounted for. And it may be left to the parties themselves in the like cases to mark their own casks or vessels in some simple manner to be defined in the law. These cases may be designated generally. They will principally relate to dealers, who in the course of their business draw off spirits from larger to smaller casks, and to distillers who pay according to the capacities of their stills.

As a part of a regulation of this sort it will be necessary to require, that within a certain period, sufficiently long to admit of time to know and comply with the provision, entry shall be made, by all dealers and distillers, of all spirits in their respective possessions, which shall not have been previously marked and certified according to law, in order that they may be marked and certified as old stock.

The regulations here proposed, though productive of some trouble and inconvenience in the out-set, will be afterwards a security both to individuals and to the revenue.

VI. At present spirits may not be imported from abroad in casks of less capacity than fifty gallons. The size of these casks is smaller than is desirable, so far as the security of the revenue is concerned, and there has not occurred any good objection to confining the importation to larger casks, that is to say, to casks of not less than ninety gallons. Certainly as far as respects rum from the West-Indies it may be done without inconvenience, being conformable to the general course of business. The result of examination is that the exception as to this particular in favor of gin may be abolished. Should any alteration on this subject take place it ought not to begin to operate till after the expiration of a year.

VII. There is ground to suppose, that the allowance of drawback without any limitation as to quantity has been abused. It is submitted, that none be made on any less quantity than one hundred and fifty gallons.

VIII. There is danger that facility may be given to illicit importations, by making use of casks which have been once regularly marked, and the certificates which have been issued with them to cover other spirits than those originally contained in such casks. Appearances which countenance suspicion on this point have been the subjects of representation from several quarters.

The danger may be obviated by prohibiting the importation in such marked casks on pain of forfeiture, both of the spirits and of any ship or vessel in which they may be brought. A prohibition of this sort does not appear liable to any good objection.

IX. The duty of sixty cents per gallon of the capacity of a still was founded upon a computation, that a still of any given dimensions worked *four* months in the year, which is the usual period of country distillation; would yield a quantity of spirits which at the rate of nine cents per gallon, would correspond with sixty cents per gallon of the capacity of the still. It will deserve consideration, whether it will not be expedient to give an option to country distillers, at the annual entry of their stills, to take out a licence for any portion of the year, which they may respectively think fit, and to pay at the rate of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents per gallon of the capacity, per month, during such period. This to stand in lieu of the alternative of paying by the gallon distilled. It would obviate in this case the necessity of accounting upon oath, and would leave it in the power of each distiller to cover the precise time he meant to work his still with a licence, and to pay for that time only. A strict prohibition to distil at any other time, than that for which the licence was given, would be of course necessary to accompany the regulation as far as regarded any such licensed distiller.

The only remaining points which have occurred, as proper to be submitted to the consideration of the legislature, respects the officers of the revenue.

It is represented, that in some instances, from the ill humour of individuals, the officers have experienced much embarrassment, in respect to the filling of stills with water, to ascertain their capacity, which upon examination is found the most simple and practicable mode. The proprietors have in some instances not only refused to aid the officers, but have even put out of their way the means by which the filling might be conveniently accomplished.

It would conduce to the easy execution of the law, and to the very important purpose of retaining and procuring respectable characters as collectors, if the proprietors

and possessors of skills were required to aid them in the execution of this part of their duty, or to pay a certain sum as a compensation for the doing of it.

The limits assigned in the law respecting compensations are found in practice essentially inadequate to the object.

This is so far the case, that it becomes the duty of the secretary to state, that greater latitude in this particular is *indispensable to the effectual execution of the law.*

In the most productive DIVISIONS, the commissions of the collectors afford but a moderate compensation. In the greatest part of THEM the compensation is glaringly disproportioned to the service, in many of them it falls materially short of the expence of the officer.

It is believed, that in no country whatever has the collection of a similar duty been effected within the limit assigned. Applying in the united states to a *single* article only, and yielding consequently a less total product than where many articles are comprehended, the expence of collection must of necessity be proportionally greater.

It appears to the secretary that  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the total product of the duties on distilled spirits, foreign as well as domestic, and not less, will suffice to defray the compensations to officers and other expences incidental to the collection of the duty. This is to be understood as supplemental to the present custom-house expences.

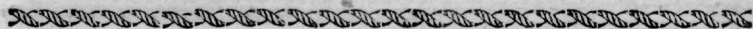
It is unnecessary to urge to the house of representatives, how essential it must be to the execution of the law, in a manner effectual to the purposes of the government and satisfactory to the community, to secure by competent, though moderate rewards, the *diligent services* of respectable and trust-worthy characters.

*All which is humbly submitted.*

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

*Secretary of the Treasury.*

*Treasury-Department, March, 5, 1792.*



## The CHRONICLE.

*Philad.* DIED, in this city, on Monday the 19th of March, M. Peter Jaquette, one of the principal sachems of the Oneida nation of Indians.—This young chief was educated in France; he accompanied M. de la Fayette to that country on his return from the united states.

On Wednesday last his funeral was attended from Oellers' hotel to the Presbyteri-an burying ground in Mulberry-street, where his remains were interred.

The corpse was preceded by detachments of the light infantry of the city, with arms reversed—drums muffled—music playing a solemn dirge. The corpse was followed by six of the chiefs as mourners, succeeded by all the warriors now in this city—the reverend clergy of all denominations—the secretary of war, and the gentlemen of the war department—Officers of the federal army, and of the militia—and a number of citizens.

The concourse assembled on this occasion, is supposed to have amounted to more than 10,000 persons.

The laudable spirit of canal making has pervaded every part of the union. A company has been incorporated for the purpose of connecting Cooper and Santee rivers, by a canal of one and twenty miles in length, in South-Carolina. The sum supposed to be necessary to complete this extensive work, is 55,620*l.* sterling—Twenty-five per cent. are allowed by the legislature in tolls for all monies advanced by stockholders.

We have authority to assure the public that a loan of three millions of guilders for account of the united states, has been effected at four per cent interest, in the city of Amsterdam.

The Indian chiefs, now in this capital, have made their visit hither (it is said) in consequence of an invitation by col. Pickering, superintendant of Indian affairs, on behalf of the president of the united states. The object of this visit is said to be a confirmation of former treaties, and the promotion of peace and a good understand-

ing between the whites and the Indian tribes of the five nations.—The chiefs are of the following tribes. 1. *Senecas*, six warriors.—2. *Snipe* tribe, eight warriors.—3. *Wolf* tribe, seven warriors.—4. *Beaver* tribe, eight warriors.—5. *Cayugas*, two warriors.—6. *Onondagoes*, six warriors.—7. *Oncidas*, eight warriors.—8. *Tuscaroras*, three warriors.—9. *Stockbridge*, (branch of the Wolf tribe) one warrior.—In the whole, 49, under the direction of doctor *Samuel Kirkland*, Indian missionary.

The French frigate, *La Mofelle*, now in this port (commanded by captain Ferrarie, lieutenant in the navy of France) left the Cape the 6th of March. Six thousand troops had then arrived, but these were judged insufficient to recover the island speedily. The national civil commissioners had sent an urgent demand to France for fourteen thousand more, which, in addition to 6000 already arrived, it was thought would be fully sufficient to reduce the revolters to instant submission.

A letter from Fort-Washington, of Feb. 15. mentions the imprudent excursion of several officers and soldiers from Fort-Jefferson, during which, although the distance they rambled did not exceed half a mile, their retreat was cut off by a party of Indians. They all, however, got back, except two (Mr. Shaylor and commissary Mason) who were killed and scalped. Capt. Shaylor was wounded in the back with an arrow.

Official accounts have been received of col. Wilkinfon's expedition to bury the dead, on the field of action with the Indians the 4th of Nov. last. The col. marched from Fort-Washington Jan. 25, with two companies of the second regiment and 130 volunteer militia cavalry. On the 30th they reached Fort-Jefferson, near 70 miles distant, having been much impeded by snow two feet deep. On Feb. 3d they left Fort-Jefferson: the path proving intolerably bad, the infantry were soon after ordered to return to Fort-Washington, and the col. with the volunteer cavalry proceeded on, and arrived at the place of action the next day at ten o'clock, 29 miles. The snow was here better than a foot and a half deep on a level. All the cannon carriages, except three, were unfit for service, on one of which a four pounder continued mounted; this was the only one that could be discovered, the rest having probably been either buried, carried off, or thrown into a creek hard by, which was frozen over: the damaged carriages, and four pounder, a howitz, and some iron, were carried to Fort-Jefferson on sleds; to which place the party returned on the 5th.—Not a tree (say these accounts) or a bush, or scarcely a twig, could be found on the left, between the lines of the army, which had not been marked by a ball.

Mr. Spillard, the celebrated English traveller, arrived at Savannah, in Georgia, on the 14th of February last. He was to leave that city in a few days for New Orleans, taking the Indian foot paths through the country. At New Orleans he was to meet lord Fitzgerald, who was on his way there to Quebec. They were then to proceed in company up the Mississippi to the Missouri, which they intended to explore to its source, and from thence, if possible, travel to the head of the *Oregon* [or river of the west] which falls into the south seas.

Messieurs North and Vefey, owners of a flourishing rope manufactory in the vicinity of Charleston, have unfortunately suffered a loss of 3000l. sterling, by their buildings taking fire on the 20th of January, wherein was a large quantity of cordage, hemp, yarn, &c. which were almost entirely consumed.

On the 26th of the same month, in Charleston, a house narrowly escaped being consumed by means of a globular decanter, which had been accidentally placed in a window fronting the south. The rays of the sun passing through the decanter, collected to a focus, and set fire to a mahogany slab, which instantly kindled into a blaze; but was discovered in time to prevent further mischief.

The countenance which the exiled French princes, and their aristocratic adherents, have received from several states of the Germanic empire, appears to have excited in the government and people of France an apprehension of danger from a counter-revolution. The most vigorous and decisive measures have accordingly been taken to muster a powerful army on the frontiers, and to put the nation in the best posture of defence. The king of Sweden and the empress of Russia have, at length, agreed to receive the notification, from Louis the 16th that he had accepted the constitution; and the emperor of Germany refuses to interfere in the affairs of France.—Indeed we cannot conceive that any of the great powers of Europe will attempt the re-establishment of despotism in France. And it would be too absurd to suppose that the petty states of Germany are capable of bringing about a counter-revolution in that country.



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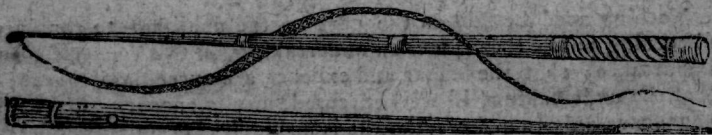
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