Manners and customs of Washington's administration

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MANNERS AND CUSTOMS
OF WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

by

Ethel June Spaulding

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Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College of
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CHAPTER 1

Court Life.

The customs and scenes described in this chapter go back to the days when the government was very new, when the whole system political, economic and social, was in the early process of evolution. The purpose is to become acquainted with the social side of the people who laid the foundation of our national life as it exists to-day. Many writers have given us a picture of the political workings of Washington and his cabinet, but now we are interested in what the people wore, how they danced, how they poured tea, and how they amused themselves. Details such as these have an importance to any passing generation.

The social life surrounding the first executive and his cabinet is often compared with that found at contemporary European courts. The administrative circles with their many levees and receptions do form somewhat of a court. However the word court is used in a sense very different from that in the minds of many staunch Republicans who used the words "Federalist Court", as a symbol of reproach.

On April 30, 1789, a patient throng was waiting in front of the building where Washington took his oath of office. Arthur Stansbury, an eye-witness has left an account of this
memorable inauguration in his Recollections and Anecdotes of the Presidents of the United States. "Many an anxious look was cast in the direction from which he was expected to come, till at length, true to the appointed hour, (he was the most punctual of men), and agitation was observable on the outskirts of the crowd, which gradually opened and gave space for the approach of an elegant white coach, drawn by six superb white horses, having on four sides beautiful designs of the four seasons, painted by Cipriani". Then the coach door opened and two men stepped out to part the crowd. A shout from the people greeted General Washington as he mounted the steps deliberately.

Stansbury was even more alert to observe and to record the dress and appearance of the General. "He was dressed in a full suit of the richest black velvet, his lower limbs in short clothes with diamond knee buckles and black silk stockings. His shoes, which were brightly japanned, were surmounted with large square silver buckles. His hair, carefully displayed in the manner of the day, was richly powdered, and gathered behind into a black silk bag, on which was a bow of black ribbon. In his hand he carried a plain cocked hat, decorated with the American cockade. He wore by his side a light, slender dress-sword, in a green slategreen scabbord, with a richly ornamented hilt. His gait was deliberate, his manner solemn but selfpossessed, and he presented, altogether, the most human figure
I had then or since beheld."

Near by stood another Virginian, square shouldered and attired in a blue coat with large bright basket buttons. The tall ungainly prospective Secretary of State was perhaps comparing this picture with the court scenes he had witnessed in France.

Mrs. Washington met with a very cordial welcome at the hands of the new government. She had been greeted with enthusiasm everywhere as she passed from town to town from Mt. Vernon to New York where the capital of the new government had been located. Several miles from Philadelphia the first troops of Philadelphia City Cavalry headed by Captain Miles and accompanied by a number of distinguished civilians met the first lady of the new government. Later Mrs. Washington was met by several prominent ladies of Philadelphia in carriages, among these was Mrs. Robert Morris who conducted her to her own home in Philadelphia and later accompanied her to New York. The party entered the Quaker city midst the discharge of artillery in honor of the city's distinguished guest.

The new government was fortunate in the selection of its first president from a social as well as from many other standpoints. Mr. and Mrs. Washington came from the most refined and exclusive circle of the colonies. The executive mansion was to be presided over by those who combined patriotism, dignity, elegance, and moderation, thus saving the new world from "thecrudeness and bald simplicity of extreme rep-
ublicanism, also luxury and excess." An attempt was made to combine republican simplicity with the necessary form and ceremony becoming to the chief executive. Naturally criticism arose from some source or other no matter what combination was made. Extreme Republicans complained that the new President showed monarchial tendencies, and another class of people looked back with regret at the ceremonies of the colonial governors. McMaster in his A History of the People of the United States says about this latter class, "they would gladly have seen the modest, sad looking gentleman in black whom they had raised to the chief place in the land, have a guard at his door, ride out followed by a train of menials, and would have gone, on reception days, with some pride, through lines of liveried servants to bow at the foot of a very low throne", while others "begrudged him even the fine house and furniture."

Washington on his entrance to office realized the many difficulties attendant upon his position, for he bore the fact constantly in mind that he was to set the precedents for his successors. That he might gain the opinions of others upon some of the social problems he was solving, he submitted a number of questions to Hamilton and Adams. Some of these questions were whether "he should associate with all, or see none", whether "he should keep open house after the manner of the presidents of congress or would it be enough to give a feast on such great days as the Fourth of July, November 30th, and
March 4th, "whether, "one day in each week would be sufficient to receive visits of compliments," and "what would be said if he were sometimes to be seen at quiet tea-parties." Hamilton and Adams answered these question by saying that no visits of ceremony would be required of the president and his wife but that a certain amount of form would add to the dignity of Republican government. They offered the suggestion that stated days and hours for receiving guests would prevent Mr. and Mrs. Washington from being intruded upon. Some plan of this sort was necessary, for the resident soon after his inauguration wrote, "By the time I had done with breakfast, and thence till dinner, and afterwards till bed-time, I could not get rid of the ceremony of one visit before I had to attend to another. In a word, I had no leisure to read or to answer the dispatches that were pouring in upon me from all quarters." Accordingly, Washington gave over Thursdays to Congressional dinners and announced that he would receive calls on Tuesdays and Fridays.

The name levees was given to the afternoon receptions of the president. Frequently references are found to the levees given in the first administration, but later the more democratic presidents wanted to have nothing to do with what they termed remnants of monarchy. At these receptions the guests were introduced by one of the president's secretaries, Mr. Tabioe Lear or Major William Jackson. Later when the doors were closed and the guests had formed a circle, the President
began at his right and went from one guest to another. In a dignified and elegant way he bowed to each person, omitting the hand shake, calling his guest by name and saying a few words to him. The proceedings gave dignity to the position of the chief executive, yet there was nothing monarchical in appearance. Mrs. Washington generally remained in her drawing room up-stairs during the hours of the President's levees. Here she received any guests who wished to pay respects to her. Her ideas of court forms and etiquette were based upon those of the mother country as she was fearful lest European countries might despise our crudeness.

At these gatherings the guests saw Washington majestically bowing to each of his many distinguished visitors and were impressed at the picture of the president, in a black velvet coat and breeches, his hair in full dress powdered and gathered in a silk bag; yellow gloves and holding a cocked hat with a cockade on it and the edge adorned with a black feather about an inch deep. The long sword with its delicately wrought and polished steel belt carried in a scabbard of polished leather, added to the military appearance of the president's figure.

Different eyes saw these receptions or levees from a very different standpoint. William Maclay, the staunch Republican Senator, from Pennsylvania, has left many interesting pictures of the social as well as other phases of the life
during the first administration. In his *Journal* he depicted his aversion to anything savoring of monarchical tendencies. The adjournment of Congress from Friday until Monday so that the members may attend the Friday afternoon levee was the occasion for an impatient paragraph in his *Journal*: "Here are the most important bills before us, and yet we shall throw all by for an empty ceremony, for attending the levee is little more. Nothing is regarded or valued at such meetings but the qualifications that flow from the tailor, barber or dancing master. To be clean-shaved, shirted and powdered, to make your bows with grace, and to be master of small chat on weather, play, or newspaper anecdote of the day, are the highest qualifications necessary. Levees may be extremely useful in old countries where men of great fortune are collected, as it may keep the idle from being much worse employed. But here I think they are hurtful. They interfere with the business of the public and, instead of employing only the idle, have a tendency to make men idle who should be better employed." Maclay saw no end of the evil to which this useless custom might not lead.

At a later date Maclay again wrote in his *Journal* on the subject of levees, "This was levee day, and I accordingly dressed and did the needful. It is an idle thing, but what is the life of men but folly? and this is perhaps as innocent as any of them, so far as respects the person acting. The practice, however, considered as a feature of royalty,
is certainly anti-republican. This certainly escaped no-body. The Royalists glory in it as a point gained. Republicans are
borne down by fashion and fear of being charged with a want of respect to General Washington. If there is treason in the wish
I retract it, but would to God this same General Washington were in heaven! We would not then have him brought forward
as the constant cover to every unconstitutional and irrepub­
lican act."

Mrs. Washington gave a very simple reception every Fri­
day evening at which the President appeared simply as a "private
gentleman" mingling with the guests. The hall, stairs, and
the drawing room were lighted by lamps and chandeliers. The guests were delightfully received by the hostess who had the pleasing faculty of giving a home-touch to all of her functions. One might consider these Fridays evening receptions a little dull and the simple refreshments consisting of plum-cake, tea and coffee a little short of the more elaborate affairs of our later day. But then it was not necessary for the guests to spend the evening to a late hour, for at nine Mrs. Washington always rose and in a dignified manner announced that the general always retired at nine. At these functions all the old Knickerbocker and Patroon families of New York and the wives and daughters of government officials were present. Mrs Wharton in her book Salons, Colonial and Republican gives a descrip­tion of the guests who attended these receptions. "A dis-
tiqued circle was this, which was assembled around Mrs. Washington, the most distinguished that had ever been gathered together in the new world, and one rarely if ever equalled in later times, for here were men and women who had learned their lessons of patriotism in the school of danger and adversity.

Charlotte Chambers, a girl visiting Philadelphia in 1795, has left an interesting account of one of these receptions in her letters home. Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Knox were sitting near the fireplace, the rest of the ladies were seated around the room on sofas, and the gentlemen were standing in the middle of the room when the writer entered. Mrs. Washington rose and made a courtesy while the men bowed low. The President advanced with dignity. "I rose to receive and return his compliments with the respect and love my heart dictated". He then sat down beside her and asked for her father.

Mrs. Wharton in her Life of Martha Washington has left a picturesque account of a New Year's reception given by Mrs. Washington in 1790. She described the beautiful evening with the moon shining saying, it was almost as warm as summer. The hostess was beautifully gowned in velvet over a white satin petticoat with her hair moderately high in the style of the day. Mrs. Wharton commented that her hair was not half as high as Mrs. Robert Morris's who stood near by and presented quite and "impressing structure", Mrs. Washington laid aside her homespun garments which she brought from Mt. Vernon and now wore the silk,
velvet, and lace befitting her station. The president stood at his wife's side or mingled with the guests.

A very select group of ladies surrounded Mrs. Washington: Mrs. John Adams, Mrs. George Clinton, her daughter Cornelia who later married Citizen Genet, the first minister from the French Republic to the United States, Mrs. Livingston of Clermont, the widow of Judge Livingston, Mrs. Robert R. Livingston, Mrs. Montgomery and her sister-in-law, Mrs. James Duane, another Mrs. Livingston, whose husband was mayor of New York, and Mrs. Oliver Wolcott. We have all become acquainted with these names in the history of the early republic. Mr. Liston, the British Minister expressed his admiration for the grace and dignity of American women. "Your country woman, Mrs. Wolcott, would be admired even at St. James", he remarked to a certain senator from Connecticut. The latter nonchalantly replied, "She is admired even at Litchfield Hill."

The social line at this reception was strictly drawn and none but those who had the right by reason of official station or were entitled by established character and position, were present. All the gentlemen in official life with their wives and daughters paid their respects to Mrs. Washington. Many foreign ambassadors in their rich costumes, glittering with decorations mingled with the other guests.

One saw here many beautiful costumes made of brocades in many colors and contrasts worked into bold and successful combination. Only the aquisiteness of the material permitted the many
bright colors put together from being grotesque. Alice Morse Earle in her book, *Two Centuries of Costume in America*, says, that "A calico in such gay hues would suit only a savage".

There is a gown of Mrs. John Jay to-day in the New Haven Historical Society building. It is made of white striped material with a scarlet-berried vine upon a stripe of purplish pink, and is made presentable only by the perfection of each tone of color and the richness of material.

Much imitation jewelry was worn, especially paste jewels in the elaborate buckles. Much gauze was used in the caps, bonnets, aprons, and handkerchiefs. One beautiful dress is described as being made of celestial blue satin with a white satin petticoat. Around the neck, over it, was worn a very large Italian gauze handkerchief with border stripes of satin. Many bracelets were worn, the especially elegant ones being set with miniatures or locks of hair.

At these receptions full dress was required for the men and these costumes were as picturesque as those worn by the women of our own time. The men with powdered heads, knee breeches, long silk stockings, brilliant knee and shoe buckles presented a very dignified and court like appearance.

Balls were always given on the president's birthday. From eleven o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon Washington received guests in the large parlors and this was followed in the evening by a ball in his honor.
Charlotte Chambers already referred to has left a good account of one of these presidential balls. It was no wonder that this attractive young woman who came from a quiet home of Scotch-Presbyterian restrictions delighted in the gay life at Philadelphia. To her is due the account of the celebration of Washington's February 22, 1795. The morning was rushed in with a discharge of heavy artillery. The Masonic, Cincinnati, and military orders united during the day to do honor to the chief executive. The dancing assembly was attended by a brilliant group of the leaders of our early republic together with many prominent foreigners who were representing foreign governments at our capital as well as many visitors. Seats were arranged like those of an amphitheater with cords stretched to preserve sufficient space for the dancers. Washington entered and bowed to the ladies as he passed around the room. This particular ball was given by the City Dancing Assembly of Philadelphia. True to her sex Miss Chambers dwelt particularly upon the customs seen at this brilliant assemblage. Mrs. Washington was dressed in rich silk without ornament except that of her pleasant personality. The wives of the foreign ambassadors glittered from head to foot. Our young writer thought they attracted too much attention by their mode of dress but that perhaps it was to honor the country which they represented. One of the ladies wore three large ostrich feathers in her hair, her brow was encircled by a sparkling fillet of jewels, and her neck and arms were almost covered with sparkling gems. Besides these
many ornaments two watches hung from her girdle. Miss Chambers decided that all of this attracted too much from the lady her self, but that, Mrs. Washington in her choice of costum had not obscured her own personality.

Many hats of white satin adorned with plumes were seen at this elaborate function. French influence was evident in the many perriots or overdresses worn. A certain Colonel Stone gave a description of hat he considered one of the most beautiful of the dresses seen at one of these balls. The dress was a perriot, "made of grey Indian taffeta, with dark stripes of the same color, having two collars, one of yellow, and the other white, both trimmed in the same corset or bodice, with large cross stripes of blue."

In the year 1795 the styles in women's dress were changing and the soft clinging materials were superseding the stiff brocades and rustling silks. The skirts were made long and narrow and the bodices short with long tight-fitting sleeves, and shoulders uncovered. Scarfs were worn when out of doors. The hair was worn in loose curls caught up with combs or knots of ribbon. The high-kneed slippers with high heels and pointed toes, were very elaborate, made of many colored brocades.

State dinners are given by the president and Mrs. Washington at least once a week. Here came the prominent figures of the administration. At these dinners Mr. and Mrs. Washington always sat opposite each other contrary to their usual
custom at family dinners where they sat next to each other. The president disliked delay and always insisted upon promptness, on the part of his guests. It was his custom to wait just five minutes after the hour set to provide for a variation in time pieces. In case there was not a minister present, Washington always asked the blessing. A certain simplicity and genuine hospitality prevailed in these dinners to which guests at Mt. Vernon had always referred. But these entertainments were said to be less sumptuous than those given by many prominent people of Philadelphia.

Maclay in his Journal has given a detailed picture of some of these dinners where he was a guest. The first one described was given August 27, 1789, and to begin with he enumerated the guests present, Vice President and Mrs. Adams, the Governor of Pennsylvania and his wife, a Mr. Langlon and wife, Mr. Dalton and lady, (it may have been his wife), Mr. Smith, Mr. Bassett, the President's two secretaries, Mr. Lear and Mr. Lewis and himself. The President and his wife sat opposite each other at the middle of the table and the two secretaries at each end. Mr. Maclay said that it was much too warm but nevertheless "It was a great dinner, and the best of the kind I ever was at!"

The menu was, first soup, then roasted and boiled meats, gammon and fowls, and for dessert, apple-pies, puddings, then ice cream and jellies followed by water-melons, musk melons, apples, peaches and nuts. The middle of the table was decorated with
small images and artificial flowers. The dinner proceeded very solemnly, no healths were drunk until the cloth had been taken away and then the President drank to the health of every individual around the table. "Everyone imitated him, charged glasses, and such a buzz of "health, sir", and "health, madam", and"thank you sir", "I had never heard before". Mrs Washington and the ladies then withdrew as was their custom at dinners of this sort.

The President now and then said a word or two on some common subject, keeping his fork in his hand when the cloth was being taken away. Macably thought that perhaps he was keeping it to pick nuts but he ate none and kept playing with the fork and striking it on the edge of the table. He soon rose and went up-stairs to drink coffee, followed by the company and at this time Macably took his leave.

Macably makes this entry into his Journal for January 15, 1790. "Dined this day with the President. It was a great dinner, all in the taste of high life. I considered it as a part of my duty as a Senator to submit to it, and am glad it is over. The President is a cold, formal man; but I must declare that he treated me with great attention."

On March 7, 1790, he again makes reference in his Journal to a dinner at the President's House. He alluded for a second time to his most disagreeable habit of playing with his fork,
"At every interval of eating or drinking he played on the table with his fork or knife, like a drumstick. Next to him, on his right, sat Bowery Johnny Adams, ever and anon mantling his visage with the most unmeaning simper that ever dimpled the face of folly. Evidently from this our friend, the very democratic senator from Pennsylvania was a warm admirer of the first vice-president. Maclay believed that Washington tried to influence public men by these dinners and he said it was a compliment when Washington, who knew he was being constantly criticized, came to neglect him.

Mrs. Morris was considered the second lady at court by Maclay. It was Robert Morris who used all possible influence to get the capital moved from New York to Philadelphia and had finally to content himself with the securing of the temporary residence there until the necessary buildings could be erected in the District of Columbia. In speaking of Mrs. Morris and other ladies of Philadelphia, Maclay wrote, "As to taste and etiquette, she is certainly first", and he added that she was very talkative. The Senator, from his comments on various social functions when he is a guest always seemed to be very much interested in the subject of food. He never seemed to find fault with the food found at the tables of Washington but had he found things not quite to his liking, he certainly would not have been averse to saying so. In an account of a dinner at Mrs. Morris's he praised the hostess very highly but he found something wrong with
the cream and with usual frankness commented upon it. " I hap­
pened to mention that they were ill supplied with the article of
cream. Mrs. Morris had much to say on the subject; declared
they had done all they could, and even sent to the country all
about, but that they could not be supplied."

While the seat of government was in New York the drawing
rooms next in importance to Mrs. Washington's were those presid­
ed over by Mrs. John Jay and Lady Kitty Duer. The visiting
lists of these two leaders in society have been preserved and
one finds upon them the names of foreign diplomats of the most
illustrious in America. Mrs. John Jay had enjoyed the social
advantages derived from foreign travel as well as those of Amer­
ica and she was well qualified to give the law in fastidious and
elegance to New York women. With her beauty and natural ability
she maintained a select and fastidious court at her home on
Broadway. Lady Kitty Duer, daughter of the Earl of Stirling,
became the wife of Colonel Duer and made her home in this country.
She was very popular although it is admitted by her admirers that
she was not beautiful but nevertheless very sociable and well-liked.

Mrs. Hamilton, the wife of the much admired, though
often criticized first Secretary of the Treasury, was a prominent
figure in the social life of the capital. M.de Warville in
the account of his travels describes her as having a delicate
face, full of character with fine dark eyes. He pays her this
distinctive compliment, "a charming woman, who joined to all the 
graces, the simplicity of an American wife". Betsey Schuyler was 
wooed and won by Washington's young aide-de-camp, Alexander Ham­
ilton, during the days of the Morristown encampment. Mrs. Hami­
ilton had her days for receiving in one of the most brilliant of draw­
ing rooms of the Federalist society gathered around "the court". 
Here she was often assisted by her mother and sister. Mrs Church, 
Mrs Hamilton's oldest daughter Angelica, recently returned from 
abroad and exhibited the latest things in the way of fashions. 
In the days of Washington as well as in the twentieth century 
new fashions were not always welcomed unanimously and a conserva­
tive individual criticized, "a late abominable fashion from 
London, of ladies like washerwomen with their sleeves above their 
elbows".

The name of Mrs. William Bingham cannot be omitted in 
speaking of the most prominent social leaders of Washington's 
administration. Neither a description of "Court Life", nor of 
social life in the cities would be complete without reference to 
this talented and remarkable woman of Philadelphia. Mrs. John 
Adams in a letter to her daughter says, "Mrs. Bingham has certa­

inly given the laws to the ladies here, in fashion and elegance; 
their manners and appearance are superior to what I have seen"
Washington was one of her great admirers who appreciated her 
ability, grace of bearing, and many qualities of leadership. 
Her drawing room was said by frequent foreign visitors to be wor­
thy of comparison with any salon of Paris.
Mrs. Washington had many calls to make upon the ladies first in New York and later when the seat of government was moved to Philadelphia. Usually escorted by one of the President's secretaries, Mr. Lear or Major Jackson, she observed the old custom of returning visits on the third day. The President and his wife during their hours of recreation drove out to pay frequent friendly visits at the country homes of his friends.

Money was an important factor in maintaining even a show of brilliance. Were these people who occupied important places in the government and in the social life of the capital paid generous salaries? Washington received for his services $20,000 per year and he did not have his home furnished him nor the many special allowances made for the later presidents. Jefferson as Secretary of State received $3,500 while the other members making up the cabinet were paid $3,000, and on their salary they were expected to make a good appearance to entertain frequently and to live up to their position. This must have been some what of a problem, for Washington referred to it thus, "It is unaccountable to me how other families on $2,500 or $3,000 a year, should be enabled to entertain more company or at least entertain more frequently than I could do for $25,000."

Mr. Wolcott when he was offered the position of auditor of the Treasury accompanied by a salary of $1,500 investigated the proposition of expense to ascertain whether that amount would be in any way sufficient. He found that a house could be rented
for $200 a year and the best wood bought for four dollars a cord, therefore he decided he would make an experiment and wrote to his wife, "I am confident that no change in our habits of living will in any degree be necessary. The example of the President and his family will render parade and expense improper and disreputable."

A very great difference of opinion existed as to what would constitute a proper salary for the various government officials. Washington made the statement that he favored large salaries or else suitable men might be deterred from office. Maclay was disgusted with the word large and thought the society of New York had contaminated the President. He writes in his Journal that according to his opinion, Congressmen should be paid five dollars per day for their services.

Jefferson as Secretary of State did not live with the alleged democratic simplicity. The Virginians showed their usual clannishness by living near to-gether and Jefferson, John Page and Madison all lived along the same street in Philadelphia. The secretary found much more to interest him in the social life of Philadelphia than that of New York. He became a member of the Philosophical Society which included among its membership many learned men such as William Bartram, botanist, Dr. William Smith, Provost of the college of Philadelphia, Reverend William White, Dr. Abercrombie and David Rittenhouse. Jefferson kept five horses, four or five men servants, a French steward and
The President's last birthday in Philadelphia was celebrated with every mark of attachment. The hours from twelve to three found three rooms of his house filled with friends who came to pay their respects. Everything bore a solemn air and the guests saw Mrs. Washington frequently in tears at the many proofs of public regard while the President at times could scarcely speak from emotion. In the evening the presidential party saw a brilliant show at the amphitheatre where twelve-hundred people assembled in honor of the day. The vice-President handed in Mrs. Washington followed by the President.

CHAPTER II.

The President in His Home.

This chapter will be devoted to the more personal details of the life of the chief executive and his family or as it might be called, "the inner court." Brilliant 'court' gatherings in the President's home have been portrayed but nothing has been said of the many domestic problems which confronted Washington during his term of office.

Contrary to the opinion often held that great men neglect the little things, Washington proved himself an efficient manager of the many small details relating to his household. The many letters which he wrote to his Secretary, Tobias Lear.
show the careful supervision that he exercised over all of his domestic affairs. The President rented a house on the corner of Pearl and Cherry streets which was described as one of the handsomest homes in the City of New York. This was a commodious house with large rooms which were necessary for such homes. Congress had passed a resolution to "put the house and the furniture there-of in proper condition for the residence and use of the President of the United States." Accordingly the partition between the two large front apartments was removed to make a good-sized drawing room suitable for receiving guests. The furniture provided for the house was plain but very comfortable. Mrs. Washington had sent from Mt. Vernon many articles to adorn her new home, such as pictures, vases, and other ornaments, the gifts from European friends. The family plate was melted and cast into more elaborate forms. Mrs. Washington at her teas used the famous tea service, each piece of which bore the arms of the Washington family. The salver of this was twenty-two and one half inches long and seventeen and a half wide. The house was said to have had very low ceilings and the story is told that a certain Miss McEvers at one of the receptions wore a tall head-dress of ostrich feathers which caught on the fire chandelier. Washington had made it very clear to the new government that although he did not want to interfere with the household accommodations of his successors he declined personally to live in a public building. Later he moved his family to a large house on Broadway near Bowling Green, the loc-
ation of which was much more pleasant and the house much more convenient. For the rent of this house he paid $2,500 a year. 34

The Vice-President and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. John Adams occupied a beautiful rural residence at Richmond Hill while at New York. Mrs. Adams, admired everywhere for her fine intellect and womanly qualities, wrote of the beauty of their home to a sister as "a situation where the hand of nature has so lavishly displayed her beauties that she has left scarcely anything for her handmaid, art, to perform." 37

In July, 1790 Washington and his family moved to Philadelphia where congress was to meet until the new buildings on the Potomac could be completed. The legislature of Pennsylvania voted lavish sums of money for building a house for the President. When Washington saw the proposed dimensions of the house he said that not only his aversion to living in a house provided by the public would keep him from occupying it, but also the fact that he did not want to be compelled to buy suitable furniture for such a house.

Washington carried on the negotiations from his home at Mt. Vernon for renting a suitable house in Pennsylvania through his Secretary, Tobias Lear. Richard Rush has written a collected review of a series of letters that Washington wrote to this Secretary in regard to the conduct and necessary regulations incident to his domestic affairs. Mr. Lear secured the house of Robert Morris for the President's residence, which was loc-
ated among the fashionable residences of Philadelphia, not far from the Christ Church and St. Peters. The house was surrounded by fine trees, and back of it was a large garden and stable.

Washington wrote that he feared the house would not be sufficiently commodious without additions. Even then the gentlemen of his family would have to go into the third story. There would be no place for his own study and dressing-room but in the back building. The coach house would be sufficient for his carriages. There were good stables which he feared would have to offer sleeping quarters of the second floor for the coachmen. He regretted this for no order could prevent the carrying of lights there and the stables would be set on fire very easily.

He was very anxious to have Mr. Morris fix the amount of rent to be paid before going into the house and he wanted to make sure that it was a just value. He feared from the fact that he had been unable to ascertain the amount to be paid that the city council of Philadelphia was planning that the rent should be paid by the public and in his letters to Mr. Lear he frequently said that he would not consent to this. "I am, I must confess, exceedingly unwilling to go into any house without first knowing on what terms I do it, and wish that this sentiment could, in a delicate way, be again hinted in delicate terms to the parties concerned with me. I cannot, if there are no latent motives which govern in this case, see any difficulty in the business. Mr. Morris has most assuredly formed an idea of what ought in
equity to be the rent, of the tenement in the condition he left it, and with this aid the (Comme), I conceive ought to be as little at a loss in determining what it should rent for, with the addition and alteration which are about to be made, presumably in a plain and neat manner, not by any means an extravagant style; because the latter is not only contrary to my wish, but would in reality be repugnant to my interest and convenience;—principally, because it would be the means of keeping me out of the use and comforts of the house to a later day; and because the furniture and everything else would require to be accordant therewith, besides its making me pay an extravagant price perhaps to suit the taste of others. 39 The rent of Mr. Morris's house was finally settled at $3,000 per year and this was occupied by the President and his family until the end of this second administration. Some thought that Washington had an additional reason for refusing the offer of the legislature of Pennsylvania besides that of his aversion of living in a house other than that provided from his own salary. This was that Washington thought Pennsylvania was trying to influence him against his better judgment to keep the capital at Philadelphia. The house belonging to Robert Morris and rented by the President was three stories high and twenty-two feet wide. There was a front of three windows in the first story and four in the third in the third and fourth stories. An addition was built to the back building to provide for a servant's hall and two rooms for them. On the first floor, the front rooms were used to receive guests and the back part for the servants. The second floor had the drawing rooms and quarters of Mr. Washington, the two grandchildren
and their maids. The third floor had the room of Mr. and Mrs. Lear, the public office and the rooms for the gentlemen of the family.

The change of the capital to Philadelphia perhaps did not do all for that city that its anxious citizens had hoped for. A letter written from Philadelphia August 10, 1790, said "Some of the blessings anticipated from the removal of Congress to this city are already beginning to be apparent; rents of houses have risen, and I fear will continue to rise, shamefully; even in the skirts they have lately been increased from 14, 16, 18 1/2 to 25, 28 and 30. This is oppressive. Our markets, it is expected, will also be dearer than heretofore. Whether the advantage we shall enjoy from the removal will be equivalent to these disadvantages, time alone will determine," Oliver Wolcott wrote to his wife, "I have at length been to Philadelphia and with much difficulty have procured a house in Third Street, which is a respectable part of the city. The rent is one hundred pounds, which is excessive, being nearly double what would have been exacted before the matter of residence was determined."

Thirty years before, Washington had married Martha Dandridge Custis, then twenty-seven years of age, who was spoken of as the "richest and handsomest widow in Virginia" Mrs. Custis had two small children, Martha Parke Custis, and John Parke Custis, aged six and four. The daughter died when yet a child
and the son grew to manhood, married and, when still a young man died leaving several children. Elinor, better known as Nellie Custis and George Washington Parke Custis, were adopted by Washington and later they made the presidential home joyful with the merry sound of laughter. Often Washington would leave his study to enjoy the Virginia reel with Nellie Custis and her friends. Although Mrs. Washington loved her favorite grand daughter dearly she was very strict with her and seldom permitted her to be idle. One of her duties was to practice four or five hours at the harpsichord each day. The story is told that once when Mrs. Washington entered the room she remarked that she had not heard any music and asked the name of the person whom she had just seen leaving. Nelly remained silent and all at once Mrs. Washington noticed a blemish of the newly painted wall. "Ah, it was no Federalist! None but a filthy democrat would mark a place with his good for nothing head in that manner!" she exclaimed in disgust.

At New York the President and his wife had just the two younger grandchildren with them, but later at Philadelphia they had Mrs. Washington's older granddaughters and some of her nieces with them. Elizabeth Custis when a beautiful girl of seventeen married Mr. Law, a nephew of Lord Ellenborough and Martha Custis became the wife of Mr. Thomas Peter of Georgetown. A daughter of George W. Parke Custis at a much later date married Robert E. Lee of Civil War fame. The presence of so many young people brought much gayety and happiness to the house of the President.
Mrs. Logan in her book *Our National Government* spoke of Martha Washington as being "a fair representative of the average American Matron of the eighteenth century". In her letters she revealed the fact that she was much more interested in her home and that it was from a sense of duty rather than from inclination that she interested herself in the official life of the capital. "To do honor to the high position occupied by her husband, to exact a proper respect towards herself as his wife, caused this simple-hearted and retiring woman to give considerable time and thought to forms and ceremonies". Mrs. Washington was not an educated woman and even if she had been would never have been known as particularly intellectual. It is known that Washington wrote many of her letters for her, because for her it was a difficult task to express her thoughts in writing. Although Martha Washington is always said to have been very domestic in tastes, yet the detail and trouble of household affairs seem to have been left to her husband. A reader of some of the letters to her most intimate friends cannot but refrain from pitying this little woman who was so far away from the scenes and the life she loved best. In a letter written while she was in New York she told of her unhappiness. "I live a very dull life here and know nothing that passes in the town— I never go to any public place indeed I think I am more like a state prisoner than anything else, there is certain bounds set for me which I must not depart from and as I cannot do as I like I am obstinate and stay at home a great deal." A critic of the times said that Mrs.
Washington's manners were very easy, pleasant, and unceremonious, with the characteristics of other Virginia ladies. She never forgot that she was the wife of the President and tried to preserve all the dignity becoming to the position. Her ideas of forms and ceremonies were based upon those of European courts and she was very anxious to gain their respect.

The married life of Washington seems to have been very happy. George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son wrote that for forty years Washington wore constantly a miniature portrait of his wife suspended from his neck on a gold chain. Although pictures that were left of Mrs. Washington portray her as a kindly and comparatively pretty woman, contemporaries spoke of her as growing stout and losing her beauty as she approached middle age. Chastellux, a famous French traveler in America, described her as "one of the best women in the world, and beloved by all about her." Martha Washington was very thrifty and industrious, her hands being frequently busied in knitting, an art in which she was very much more proficient than in writing and spelling.

Washington often wrote to London merchants and ordered clothing for his wife. In one letter he ordered "a salmon-colored tabby of the enclosed pattern, with satin flowers, to be made in a sack", "cap, handkerchief, tucker and ruffles, to be made of Brussels lace or point, proper to wear with the above negligee, to cost £20, and pair black, and pair white satin
shoes, of the smallest".

Washington had Mr. Gouverneur Morris, then in Paris buy a list of things for him; among these were wine coolers of plated ware which would hold four decanters of cut glass. In a letter written to Mr. Lear he seemed dissatisfied with the purchase both as to fashion and unexpected cost. He gave a description of what he had planned and asked Mr. Lear to consult a silversmith.

Washington exercised economy in all the details of his household, Penn's Gazette published this statement. "We are happy to inform our readers that the President is determined to pursue that system of regularity and economy in his household which has always marked his public and private life. As proof of this, we learn that his steward is obliged, by his articles of agreement to exhibit weekly a fair statement of the receipts and expenditures of moneys by him, for and on account of the President's household, to such person as the President may appoint to inspect the same; together with the several bills receipts of payment for those articles which may be purchased by him." There is a story frequently told to show Washington's economy. He was particularly fond of fish and his steward Samuel Francis knowing this secured a shad very early in the season. When it was brought to the table Washington asked the price and when he learned how expensive it was he thundered forth, "Take it away, take it away, sir; it shall never be said that my table sets such an example of luxury and extravagance". In a letter to Mr. Lear he asked his
advise whether or not Mr. and Mrs. Hyde should be retained as servants. He thought they were paid a good deal, $200 a year for Mr. Hyde and $100 for his wife. He likewise thought that perhaps under their management the expenses of the second table were too great as he suspected that every luxury used at his own table was as profusely used at theirs. He frequently showed economy in the hiring of servants. In a letter to Mr. Lear he suggested that he might get boy helpers from the immigrants coming in from Germany to look after the horses and carriages for their board and clothing. When buying, particularly for Mt. Vernon he would make a study of the markets and buy provisions in quantities. Washington always kept a steward who did the marketing and engaged the servants, exercising a general supervision over the household during his official residence in New York and Philadelphia. Thus the President was saved from many cares and worries. Samuel Fraunces, a steward, and Hercules as chief cook, proved themselves invaluable servants. George Washington Parke Custis said, "When Fraunces in snow white apron, silk shirt and stockings and hair in full powder, placed the first dish on the table, the clock being on the stroke of four, the labors of Hercules ceased." At one time when it was necessary for Washington to engage a housekeeper he promised an applicant "a warm, decent and comfortable room to herself, to lodge in, and will of the vituals of our table, but not set at it, or at any time with us, be her appearances what it may; for if this was once admitted no limit satisfactory to either party perhaps,"
could be drawn thereafter."

In a letter to Mr. Lear from Mt. Vernon written June 15th 1791, Washington said he thought it would be wise for his secretary to hint to the servants how foolish it would be for the lower servants to try to combine to get rid of those higher in authority such as the steward and the housekeeper, for even if they should try to make the lives of the present ones so miserable that they would resign, others would be hired who would be equally as rigid or more so. Servants such as the steward and housekeeper were necessary to take the responsibility off the hands of his wife and himself. The President had his servant problems and once after he learned of the running away of his cook, that he was afraid he would have to break his resolve never to acquire another slave by purchase.

The chief executive and his family always spent Sunday together. No official function was held on that day and simple family dinner was given. Social engagements were avoided and the members of the family attended church in the morning, generally either St Paul's Chapel or Trinity Church and then wrote letters in the afternoon. Mrs. Washington was a devout member of the Church of England. When the Washingtons entered the church they were preceded by a servant in livery who opened the door of their pew. The whole congregation rose and remained standing until the President and his family were seated. The servant
then closed the door and sat down on a chair in the aisle. After church was over the same ceremony was observed.

The subject of coaches was a very important one in the days of Washington. They were a very frequent standard by which the wealth or social prestige of an individual was judged. It was very fashionable to have a coach call for a person. Maclay expressed his opinion on this subject as well as on many others. His Journal told of a certain senator who always ordered his carriage for three. Sometimes the Senate would adjourn soon after twelve and then the Senator could take his choice of waiting or walking. Maclay added "Thus folly often fixes her friends".

Washington owned a large family coach, a light carriage and chariot, all three of which were cream colored, painted with three enamelled figures on each panel and described as being very handsome. On Sunday morning he used the coach with two horses. When he drove on his frequent trips into the surrounding country he used his carriage with four horses. He drove to the Senate in a manner of state in his most elegant conveyance, a chariot drawn by six horses. This was built in London for Governor John Penn and later bought by Washington for his wife. Decorated with gilt medallions, and accompanied by servants attired in white cloth, trimmed with scarlet or orange the chariot presented the spectacle of what some considered "too pompous for a Republican President", Mrs. Washington was often seen in
the chariot driving with Nelly Custis, the youthful daughters of Robert Morris and other young lady friends of Nelly's.

People at that time used their own carriages a great deal in traveling. When Washington and his wife made their trip from Mt. Vernon to Philadelphia in 1790, they went in their own carriage while they hired a stage coach to bring the children and the servants. Before starting for Philadelphia he had ordered a new set of harness and new jockey caps with tassels for the postillions.

Mr. and Mrs. Washington had the pleasure of welcoming many prominent friends to their home. Mrs. Nathaniel Greene, widow of the famous general of the Revolutionary War was a frequent visitor, often dining with them and then accompanying them on their theatre parties. Washington always paid marked attention to the widow of his comrade in arms. She was now no longer the gay young Matron who "danced upwards of three hours with General Washington without once sitting down", but a woman saddened with a great grief. Washington frequently made mention in his diary of the visits of Mrs. Greene. In this diary Washington made frequent mention of tea drinkings at the Meridith's. A long established friendship existing between Samuel Meridith, Treasurer of the United States and the Washingtons. In Philadelphia they lived almost straight across the street from the residence of the chief executive. Washington who earlier cared little for social affairs such as teas seems to have become somewhat addicted to the fashion of the day.
Secretary of the Treasury and Mrs. Oliver Wolcott were also great personal friends of the Washingtons. Mrs. Wolcott and Mrs. Washington not withstanding the great difference in ages enjoyed each others society in an intimate way. Mrs. Wolcott was a good friend of Martha Washington's oldest granddaughter. On leaving his office Washington presented each of his chief officers with a token of regard. He gave Mr. Wolcott a piece of silver plate and Mrs. Washington added a lock of the President's hair.

The families of Washington and Robert Morris were particularly friendly. People of Philadelphia often saw Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Morris driving together. A letter of Mrs. Washington written in April 1795 told of her granddaughters going to the wedding of Hetty Morris and James Marshall.

Mrs. Washington was visited frequently by such distinguished guests as Mrs. George Clinton, Mrs. Robert R. Livingston, Mrs. John Bayard and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton. When Mrs. Knox or Mrs. Greene called, Washington himself always handed them to their carriages while it was the duty of Mr. Lear or one of the other secretaries to do this honor for all other lady guests.

Other families of the administration had their domestic problems to solve and endure as well as did the President's. Mrs. Adams had several of her best gowns ruined on the voyage from Boston to Philadelphia. She commented upon this in a letter
as "the blessed effects of tumbling about the world". She went on to say, "Poor Mrs. Knox is in still greater tribulation, as the vessel, which sailed with her furniture on board, has not been heard of, although considerable overdue". She knew moreover that she was much better off than Mrs. Washington for Mrs. Lear had just called and said that the former's house would not be fully completed for a year. Mrs. Adams frequently made note in her interesting letters of enjoying the calls of ladies such as Mrs. Bingham whom she admired very much, Mrs. Otis and Nancy Hamilton.

At first Mrs. Adams did not seem to like the change of the capital to Philadelphia. In a letter written to her daughter December, 1790 she said "I have received many invitations to tea and cards, in the European style, but have hitherto declined them, on account of my health and the sickness of your brother. I should like to be acquainted with these people, and there is no other way of coming at many of them but joining in their parties; but the roads to and from Bush Hill are all clay, and in open weather, up to the horses knees; so you may suppose that much of my time must be spent at home."

The corner-stone for the new capitol was laid October 13, 1792 but was not officially occupied until June, 1800, a short time after Washington's death. Washington "led with a patience and wisdom undreamed of and unappreciated in this generation, the straggling and discordant forces of the Republic from
oppression to freedom, from chaos to achievement. He came in sight of the promised land of fruition and prosperity, but he did not enter it, this Father and Prophet of the people.

CHAPTER III.

Life in the Cities.

The cities of New York and Philadelphia have been mentioned as the location for the capital during Washington's administration. These were the two largest in population in the United States in 1790. Philadelphia with that of 42,000 came first and New York next with 32,000. The country was still rural and had few cities or even towns of any size, most of these being north of the Potomac. There were only two good sized towns north of this river. Charlestown in South Carolina with a population of 15,000 and Richmond with 3,751, the largest in Virginia. There were only three other towns in that state with a population of two thousand or more, Norfolk, Petersburg, and Alexandria and none in North Carolina.

De Warville, a prominent traveler in the United States in 1792, said "Philadelphia may be considered as the metropolis of the United States. It is certainly the first town, and the best built; it is the most wealthy, though not the most luxurious. You find here more men of information, more political
and literary knowledge, and more learned societies. He attributed the growth of the city to the simplicity and the perseverance of the Quakers.

All the French travelers in America at this time had a great deal to say of the cleanliness of Philadelphia. The fronts of the houses which were often of white marble were washed every Saturday and also the doorsteps and the side walls were sponged off. The streets were long and large, were laid out on a regular plan, lines crossing each other at right angles. A visitor in the city might have had considerable difficulty in finding his destination, for the doors were not numbered. On the sides of the street were footways of brick and by the side of them were gutters constructed of brick or wood. Strong posts were placed near the footways to prevent carriages from going upon them. The streets were furnished with public pumps. At the door of each house were placed two benches where the family would sit evenings to get fresh air. De Warville did not approve of this custom however. "It is certainly a bad custom, as the evening air is unhealthy, and the exercise is not sufficient to correct this evil, for they never walk here; they supply the want of walking by riding in the country." The people of Philadelphia kept very early hours and by ten o'clock in the evening all was quiet on the streets and with the exception of an occasional call of a watchman, profound silence reigned.
While French visitors found much to praise in Philadelphia, they criticized the absence of the many gardens and pretty walks which made their own cities beautiful. "It is so lacking in all which serves to make life pleasant that there is not even a single public promenade," was the comment of Chastellux, one of the travelers in this period. De Warville spoke of there being only one public garden in Philadelphia and that was "not large; but is agreeable and one may breathe in it." There were few coaches used in this city but in their stead many handsome wagons. These were long kinds of carriages which would carry as many as twelve persons, were used frequently to carry families to the country for an outing.

French travelers marveled at the public spirit manifested on the part of the people of Philadelphia. A free dispensary distributed medicine to the poor. There were various societies interested in humanitarian work such as the one to make the position of prisoners more endurable and another to assist immigrants in a new and strange country.

The people of Philadelphia were very much interested in foreign trade. Frequently after the arrival of a ship from England, the pavement near the wharves would be covered with boxes and bales of English dry goods for several blocks. Warehouses and stores all along Water Street, which were separated from the water by a wall and iron railing, belonged to those who were engaged in foreign trade with South America, the Indies,
China, and European cities. Life was still very primitive in Philadelphia and most of these merchants—even the wealthiest—lived in very unpretentious houses on this street.

The first retail fancy dry-goods shop was opened by Mrs. Whitesides from London at 134 Market Street. This was a very attractive shop with its large pane of glass showing dropped chintz, linens, and muslins. This created quite a sensation among the feminine population of the city and soon several other attractive shops appeared.

Ferdinand M. Bayard in the account of his trip in the United States in 1797 said the society of Philadelphia was classified according to fortunes. He said whether or not a man owned a carriage was a good index to his position in society. The upper or first class owned carriages with the family coat of arms painted on them. "Nobility having been abolished by the constitution alone, it is not astonishing that so many individuals pretended to be descended from ancient English families." The second class was composed of merchants, lawyers, business men without carriages and doctors who paid their visits on foot. People engaged in the mechanical arts made up the third. The ladies of the first class never received those of the third class in their homes. The French were surprised and shocked at the widespread love of luxury in America. Bayard wrote, "The position of a rich man is the most brilliant which a citizen can desire."
There was a gay and fashionable circle in Philadelphia in spite of the fact there was a large Quaker element. The formal social order united with simplicity appealed to the President and his wife. There was a great Quaker aristocracy which had substantial homes, wore plain clothes, and used plain language. However, they had a special weakness for handsome silver and china and took delight and pride in their carriages and horses. A well-to-do woman had her home criticized by a more austere Quaker woman visitor from Carolina, who looked at her carpet critically, saying "it was better to clothe the poor than to clothe the earth."

The food served in these well-to-do Quaker homes must not have been simple and plain as their attire. Mrs. John Warder, an English Friend, wrote that she considered entertainments given during her visits to America as "something of an epicure". "In view of the frequent onslaughts that Mrs. Warder records upon green-turtle soup, boned turkey, roast pig, venison, oysters, and all manner of homemade pastry and sweets, in the preparation of which the colonial lady excelled, it is not strange that John Warder should have been laid up with gout during some days of his visit, or that his wife should have reached the conclusion that Philadelphia Friends were more superb in their entertainments than in England." However, Mrs. Warder could not quite bring herself to the austerity of dress of the Philadelphia Friends. She thought she...
would have to go "through severe conflicts" to force herself to wear a costume like a typical one which was "all brown except her cap, which was coarse muslin without either border or strings." Uniform simplicity of cut and sober coloring were the rules that guided the Quakers in dress. On some very notable occasion lilac satin was deemed lawful.

Some of the French visitors of the period did not seem to think the Philadelphia Friends lived in such a very plain manner. They wrote of the fine linen and expensive clothes brought from England. One writer especially disapproved of their taste for fine silver. "This excessive luxury is the more objectionable because, like a miser, it absorbs the precious metals, which are valuable only in circulation."

In all of the journals kept by the many French travelers of the latter part of the eighteenth century, frequent allusions are made to the fact that Americans were much better dressed than Europeans. They found much to criticize in what they deemed an excessive interest in clothes. "Americans make immoderate use of all commodities of wealth, no people have more clothes. Elsewhere luxury is only to be found in the upper ranks of society, but here it is everywhere, and it has even penetrated to the cottage of the workingman and the country laborer, so much so that in the United States is no dis-
tinotion in dress. The maid is dressed like her mistress, and the poorest workman like the first Magistrate." A love of dress appeared to be running riot. Washington loved fine dress, and, having always worn it, it was hard for him to preach simplicity although he had previously bravely worn native made cloth. Foreign guests of America noted the absence of the great ragged class found in Europe.

French writers of eighteenth century America enjoyed writing on the subject of American women. Some difference of opinion was held however as to the merit of their charms. St. Mary who visited the United States in 1793 was favorably impressed. "American women are pretty and those of Philadelphia most so; no other city in the world shows such a proportion". However, he did say later that the Southern women had very poor teeth and their feet were too long. Bayard, another visitor from France was not so loyal to the ladies of Philadelphia. "The Virginia women are tall, well poised, and have much more expression in their faces than other American women. Although they seem better fitted for the fatigues of Diana than the games of Love, they obey the laws that master gods and men". One writer compared Philadelphia ladies with those of his own country, France. "The ladies of Philadelphia, although magnificent enough in their costumes, generally do not wear them with much taste. In arranging their hair they have less lightness
of touch than our French women. While they have good figures they lack grace and make their curtsies badly.

Philadelphia women took a great delight in dress and interested themselves especially in ribbons and shoes. They did not follow the fashion of French women in wearing veils and laces and likewise they wore few artificial flowers. Fashion decreed the use of false braids of hair which could be purchased for four dollars and which were to be fastened up with a comb. Beaver hats both in black and brown with simple bands were worn a great deal at this time in Philadelphia. Handkerchiefs worn around the neck made a very popular style among the ladies. Rachel Huntington, a visitor in the city was very alert to the new and latest styles and her sisters at home gained much information from her letters. One letter contained the directions for making these handkerchiefs. "The way to make handkerchiefs is to set lace or a ruffle on a straight piece of muslin—and put it on so as to show only the ruffle and make it look as if it was set on the neck of your gown."

Men as well as women took a keen interest in the subject of clothes. Powder, which had been worn on the hair for a hundred years, went out of fashion in the year 1794, but the hair still continued to be worn in a queue tied with a black ribbon. Soft, low brimmed hats came into fashion in this year. The coats were cut away in front and had quite long tails in
back. Waistcoats were cut low over ruffled shirt fronts. A typical fashionable wardrobe of the time is described in McClellan's *Historic Dress in America*. This consisted of a light coloured broadcloth with pearl buttons and a pair of breeches of the same cloth and another pair of black satin ones to go with it. Vests of the following descriptions formed a part of this wardrobe; a swansdown buff striped, a moleskin cheque figure, a satin figured, a Marseilles white, and finally a muslinet figured. There were two flannel undershirts faced with red cassimere. Many pairs of both silk and cotton hose were included. White silk ones were the most numerous as there were ten or a dozen pairs of those. Twelve handkerchiefs, a chintz dressing gown, a pair of silk gloves and an old pair of kid gloves completed the wardrobe.

A typical dinner given in Philadelphia was described by St. Mary, mentioned before as one of the French visitors to this country. This was served at two in two courses according to the rural American custom. The menu consisted of roast beef and potatoes, boiled or fried cuts, boiled or fried fish, salad (which was often cold slaw), and dessert of fruit, cheese and pudding. Many toasts to the Independence of the United States followed these dinners which showed the political sentiment of the people. Frequently a bowl of punch was passed around and individual healths were drunk.

Quaker weddings formed an important part of the social
festivities of Philadelphia. Mrs. Warder already referred to as an English Quaker visiting America, wrote a detailed account of a wedding she attended. She spoke of the crowd, the preaching and the praying and ended "then Jenny Pemberton was married" without mentioning the bride. She gave an account of another wedding—that of Elliston Perot. In the dull rainy morning the marriage party went to the meeting house in carriages. After the ceremony had been completed and the bride and groom had signed the certificate the guests went to Perot's home. Cake and wine were served by the bride's brother who was so unfortunate as to spill part of it over his sister's wedding gown for which Mrs. Warder "felt less then for the poor young man whose embarrassment was very great." Conversation followed until two, when a dinner was served to the guests seated at a table in the shape of a horse shoe. "We had a plentiful plain entertainment, almost all things that the season provided. After being all satisfied we adjourned upstairs and chatted away the afternoon, moving from one room to another as inclination took us". It must have been the custom of the wedding guests to "make a day of it" for they staid for tea and later for the supper which was served at nine. "This was mostly fragments with the addition of a few hot partridges, less pastry and such like than I have ever seen on such occasions". The guests then left but the next day they returned to call on the bride, and stay for tea. The forty guests who were present were introduced to the bride by the bridesmaid and groomsmen. Sally the bride
"conducted herself very becoming and with great ease, moving her seat repeatedly to converse among us all". This sort of reception was carried on every day for a week. "This ceremony lasting a week must be very fatiguing, commented Mrs Warder, and I should think very disagreeable to both Bride and Groom, but customs long established are not very easy broke through."

Frenchmen seemed to be much surprised at the social attainments of American women. Many prominent ladies of Philadelphia are mentioned in their journals and the name which occurs perhaps the most frequently was that of Mrs. William Bingham, who came from a very prominent family of Philadelphia. Her father, Thomas Willing, was a great merchant prince and was president of the Bank of North America. Elizabeth Willing, a sister, became the wife of Major William Jackson, one of Washington's private secretaries. The story is frequently told that Abigail, Mrs. Bingham's youngest sister, was admired by Louis Philippe who was in America. When the Duke asked Mr. Willing for his daughter the latter with republican dignity replied, "Should you ever be restored to your hereditary position you will be too great a match for her; if not she is too great a match for you". She later became the wife of a Philadelphia lawyer.

Mr. Bingham was known as one of the wealthiest men in Philadelphia. In the darkest hour of the revolution he had subscribed 5,000 £ to the bank of Pennsylvania. In 1784 Mr. and Mrs. Bingham had made a tour of Europe where the latter
especially enjoyed the foreign fashions. On their return they built a beautiful home modeled after the residence of the Duke of Manchester, Manchester Square, London. The house which was set forty feet back from the street was approached by a circular carriage way. There was no raised entrance to the house, but a single step brought one to a wide hall paved with marble from which a broad white marble stairway led to the second floor. The grounds were well laid out with rare beautiful trees. Unfortunately the view from the house was shut off by a high board fence and a line of Lombardy poplars.

Mrs. Bingham was admired by all who met her for her charm, beauty of face and figure, and her grace of bearing. Her drawing room with its superior choice of guests was worthy any salon of Paris. Mrs. John Adams in her letters frequently referred to her admiration of Mrs. Bingham. Soon after her arrival in Philadelphia she wrote to her daughter, "Mrs. Bingham has certainly given laws to the ladies here, in fashion and elegance; their manners and appearance are superior to what I have seen". Another time she wrote, "Mrs. Bingham has been twice to see me, I think she is more amiable and beautiful than ever." Mrs. Adams enjoyed the visits of the ladies of Philadelphia, but sometimes found it hard to find a place to receive them for in her unfinished home there was but one room finished.

Mrs. Robert Morris was another leader of Philadelphia society. Her tact and ability, together with the wealth and
important position of her husband, who was at the head of a large foreign trade with India, made her very prominent. Mr. Morris was also connected with the Bank of North America with William Bingham and "Thomas Willing. The elegance and luxury of her household with the white liveries of the servants was loved all over Philadelphia. Castellux in an account of his travels told about a tea given by Mrs. Morris. He commented on the superb mahogany of the door and tables, the excellent tea, and the nice appearance of the hostess. At the twelfth cup of tea served him, an ambassador who sat next to him warned him to put his spoon across his cup, "whereupon this sort of hot water torture was ended". This was the tea signal used in the middle and northern states to show that a guest had all the tea desired.

Many improvements were being made in New York city. Houses no longer were built after the old Dutch style. Streets were better paved and better lighted and the use of hackney coaches had been introduced to carry passengers from one part of the city to another. The merchants had left their old place of meeting and established new quarters in the Tontine, a building which was described as "elegant and commodius". Here there was a coffee room where the merchants of the city gathered and discussed business and politics. Here there were many insurance offices and large books containing shipping news. Here a business man who wanted to hire another
New York was a much more smiling city than that of Philadelphia and was more European in every way. Foreigners noted the cleanliness found here as in other American cities. There was a larger poor class corresponding to that of European cities than in other parts of America. These people however were assured some means of support from the oyster-fisheries.

In the matter of society New York could not compare with Philadelphia. Though it had many old and powerful families, as the Livingstons, Clintons, Van Rensselaers, Jays, and Courtlandts, it had no woman who directed manners and fashions as did Mrs. Bingham of Philadelphia. New York was the capital of the United States under the Constitution for less than two years. There were several circumstances which tended to lessen the gaiety of New York during that time. There were few public or private balls given which the President attended because of his ill health and the death of his mother.

Theodosia Burr, daughter of Aaron Burr was considered one of the belles of New York. A guest of the City said of her, "at the time that she dances with more grace than any young lady of New York, Miss Theodosia Burr speaks French and Italian with facility, is perfectly conversant with the writers of the Augustan age, and not unacquainted with the language of the Father of Poetry".
In 1790 Boston was a city of 18,000 but was not growing with the same degree of rapidity as New York and Philadelphia. This was due probably to the fact that it had suffered through the commercial restrictions placed upon it during the revolution. It did not enjoy the monopoly of trade in its neighborhood as did Philadelphia and New York. De Warville was much pleased with Boston. "The Bostonians write simplicity of manners which render virtue more amiable." He enjoyed the neatness and hospitality of the people, and said the lack of brilliant monuments was more than made up by their neat and commodious churches, their good houses often single and made of brick and their substantial bridges and excellent ships. He spoke of his delight in wandering up and down the long streets where simple houses of wood bordered the magnificent channel of Boston.

Another French traveler saw much to criticize in the dress of the Boston women, and said that though they took great care in the details of dress they lacked taste and did not understand how to arrange their hair well.

Baltimore was a rapidly growing city with a population of 10,000 in 1794, ten percent of which was made up of negroes. The fact that it had twelve churches of ten different denominations and only one theatre would suggest the trend of the interests of the people.

Charlestown bore more resemblance to some old city of
England than to any other city in the United States. Here was found the most gayety and greatest expenditure. Frenchmen were surprised at the elegance of the homes and the expensive furniture. La Fayette said, "The city of Charlestown is one of the prettiest, best built, and most agreeable peoples that I have ever seen". A countryman of his admitted that, "some of the buildings of Charlestown would pass for handsome even in Europe".

A large portion of the wealthier population of Charlestown was made up of absentee landlords. These land owners would leave their estates and slaves in the charge of overseers and spend their time in enjoying life in Charlestown. If their estates lay far from the coast they seldom visited them. In the city they lived in fine houses, gave dinners, attended theaters, and joined clubs. Surrounded by a very agreeable society of southern gentlemen planters and well-dressed women, the wealthy men of Charlestown lived a life of luxury and ease.

One Frenchman remarked that all men over fifty had white hair. It was degrading in the opinion of the South Carolina planter to own a shop or a ship or to be connected with a trade of any kind. Charlestown was a great commercial center where every article of luxury was brought from England.

Societies were founded all over the United States to encourage manufacturing at home. The members of one in Delaware pledged themselves to appear on the first day of January
each year clothed in goods of American make. A society at Philadelphia received models of a cotton carder and of a spinner and built a factory to make cotton goods. The New York Packet of May 12, 1789, spoke of forty-three ladies who met and occupied themselves in spinning while waited on by a number of gentlemen. The tendency was to the old habits of frugality. Young women wore plainer clothes and interested themselves in the spinning wheel. Young men were not ashamed to be seen in homespun stockings and homemade clothes. Politicians found it to their advantage to dress in homespun. The town of Hartford made a present to John Adams, as he passed through on his way to become Vice-President, of a roll of cloth which had been manufactured there. He wore an outfit of American made clothes when he took his oath of office.

Frenchmen commented on the excessive daily consumption of intoxicants throughout the states. One wrote in a letter, "My health continues excellent despite the ladies out of gallantry and of madeira all day long with the men out of politeness." The Americans not only drank large quantities of intoxicants but often used very heavy ones, considering port wine and bordeux as light drinks. The story is told of one traveler who asked how much water cost. He saw so little of it used as a beverage that he thought it must be very expensive.

Foreign visitors likewise marvelled at the excessive amount of meat eaten by the Americans. It was estimated that
they ate seven or eight times as much meat as bread. The French
did not like the bread made here and one writer explained why
so many girls in Virginia between the ages of eighteen and twenty
lost their teeth by the habit of eating so much hot bread. The
people used about the same vegetables that are eaten to-day.
Tomatoes were not considered healthy. Onions were raised by the
Northerns to sell to the Southerns for the former did not like
them. Other products raised by the North and sent South were
potatoes, beets, apples and oats. French visitors to America
did not approve of the American's negligence in not using nap-
kins. People ate with their knives which had rounded ends.
There were forks with two prongs but these were only used when
carving.

Labor was considered more respectable and the laborer
was better fed and clad here than in European cities. Chastellux
in the account of his travels sought to explain labor conditions
in America. "Such is the general equality of condition that
those things which everywhere else would be regarded as luxur-
ies are here considered as necessities. So it is that the
salary of a workingman must not only provide subsistence for
his family, but also comfortable furniture for the home, tea
and coffee, for his wife, and a silk dress to put on every
time she goes out. This is the principal cause for the high
cost of labor, although it is generally blamed to a lack of
hands." Indentured servants made up a fair proportion of the
laboring classes. A single man would work two years to pay
for his passage over to America and if he were married he would work four. The apprenticing of youths was very common, particularly in the North where it was estimated that one boy out of every four was apprenticed to some master. Servants came to be paid more often by the month than by the year. A very common wage for an ordinary laborer was eight dollars a month. Carpenters were paid ten pence per hour. Sailors received the higher wages of twenty-four dollars a month. Black servants in Philadelphia were hired for four or five dollars. The good morals and the lesser amount of crime found in this country than in Europe was explained by the better wages, cheap provisions, and less misery.

CHAPTER IV.

Rural Life.

Frenchmen believed that in the country life they could best understand America. Here the people were farther away from European influence and the tendencies of city life to imitate European customs. Ninety-five percent of the population in 1790 can be classed as rural—that is, those living in villages or in the open country. The independence of the United States from England had reacted on American life and the people were becoming more distinctly American.

The frontier was being pushed to the westward beyond
the mountains. There were two general passages to this country, one through western Pennsylvania, by wagon to Pittsburgh and thence by flatboat down the Ohio and the other by wagon road through south West Virginia to Holston valley and thence down the Tennessee river. The Ohio River by 1800 was bordered by growing towns such as Wheeling, Marietta, Cincinnati and Louisville. The treaty made with Spain in 1795 had opened up the navigation of the Mississippi and provided means of transportation for western products.

Location of land was a good index to the wealth of its owners. Wealthy farmers owned large sections of land lying along the rivers. This was advantageous in shipping products to Europe. The land which lay between the upland hills was left for the small farmer. There was a great deal of land which did not pay to clear and was left to forests. The broad flat plains of Virginia and the Carolinas were left for the most part in forests but cotton was soon to work a marvelous change here. The people who lived in small clearings in these forests were isolated and poor. They made up a large democratic element which far outnumbered the wealthy farmers.

The large planters of the south, an educated and aristocratic class, dominated the communities or localities where they lived. They were well educated and with the exception of those who were Republicans on philosophical grounds and favored France, were staunch Federalists. In the middle
states the mass of population was made up of medium and small farmers. The latter, however, were less isolated than those of the South and were much better educated. The roads were more tolerable here, distance to large seaports not so great, and educational and religious facilities more accessible. In New England the forests had disappeared more than in other sections due to lumber and ship-building industries. Villages were located on the edges of bays and small streams and around them the land was laid out in small farms where food for the population was raised. Commerce was relied upon to support these communities. These towns were generally built along a single street, two rows of houses generally quite far apart and backed by gardens and fields.

Many beautiful country homes were found in the South. Thomas Jefferson chose the name Monticello, the Italian word for little mountain, for his home which was built on an elegant style modeled after that found in Italy. The building consisted of a large square pavilion entered by two porticoes adorned with columns. The ground floor consisted of a large drawing room in the center and two wings. These communicated with the kitchen, pantries and other rooms.

It has often been said that it was Washington's greatest pride to be thought the first farmer in America. As he retired from the office of President he briefly stated his
plans for the remainder of his life. "To make and sell a little flour annually, to repair houses (going fast to ruin), to build one for the security of my papers of a public nature, and to amuse myself in agricultural and rural pursuits, will constitute employment for the next few years I have to remain on this terrestrial globe." Washington was a diligent student of agricultural literature and constantly experimented. He knew well the value of fertilization. For this purpose he first sowed his land to buckwheat, and then later plowed it under.

Washington was said by a contemporary to be perhaps the "largest landholder in America". He was not only a successful farmer but a business man and his wealth at his death, exclusive of his wife's and the Mt. Vernon estate was valued at $530,000. He had ten or fifteen thousand acres of land divided under different overseers. Maclay in his Journal spoke of the army organization by which everybody and everything was graded according to rank beginning with the overseers (generals) grading down through whites, mulattoes, negroes, horses, cows, sheep, and lastly, hogs. Friday of each week each general made his report. In 1774 Washington had paid titles on 135 slaves and later there were three hundred negroes on the estate of Mt. Vernon according to a contemporary. A large force of workingmen was constantly employed: men to look after the grist mill, the blacksmith shop, the wood-burners which supplied charcoal, masons, carpenters, shoemakers and gardeners.
Washington even owned the schooner which carried most of the produce to market. The superintendent for the estate in 1793 was paid one hundred guineas which Washington according to one of his letters thought was pretty high. He believed that an owner of an estate to be successful should keep his overseers at a distance. During his presidency which necessitated his absence from Mt. Vernon he had reason to believe that, instead of working, his overseers were spending much of their time at horse races. He wrote to the superintendent that if they failed to do their duty to discharge them with out a cent of pay.

Washington was a very progressive farmer. He had a barn built on a plan sent him by the famous English farmer, Arthur Young which he improved upon. This was one hundred feet long and was built to receive the productions of the estate and to shelter stock. The material of the building was of brick and cost three hundred pounds. In 1793 the President owned fifty-four draft horses, 317 head of cattle, and 634 sheep. However, his large dairy did not seem to fulfill its owner's expectations. One year he planted 1,100 bushels of potatoes. This large scale of production was something new in Virginia. Washington was a great lover of horses and dogs and was an ardent sportsman.

Washington kept a very minute personal supervision over his estate, with the exception of the years in which
absence was necessary to serve his country. Even, he carried on a detailed correspondence with the superintendent. He was at the head of a well-ordered family and always appeared as the kind, hospitable master who paid a good deal of attention to the comfort of servants, slaves and others. He kept a daily record of all expenses and no detail at Mt. Vernon was too small for his supervision. It was a frequent custom for him to make agreements in writing with his servants. The story is told of a father amusing one made with Philip Barter, a gardener, who had the failing of frequently becoming intoxicated. He promised his master that he would keep sober and drink only on stated occasions. Barter was to have "Four dollars at Christmas, with which to be drunk four days and four nights; two dollars at Easter, to effect the same purpose; two dollars at Whiteside, to be drunk for two days; and a dram in the morning, and a drink of grog at dinner, at noon. For the true performance of all these things, the parties have here unto set their hands, this twenty-third day of April, Anno Domini, 1787."

The days at Mt. Vernon were busy days for its owner. He began the day with the sun and saw that his servants were at work. He breakfasted a little after seven and then rode about his broad acres, supervising the work that was being done until four when it was time to dress for dinner. Often he worked with the men himself and showed that he was a very good mechanic.
After dinner he spent the rest of the daylight hours sitting at the table, walking and having tea. When the hour came for candles to be brought in, he devoted himself to writing letters.

Washington's home at Mt. Vernon was considered a mansion in its day. The building was of wood, cut and painted to resemble stone, with many pillars supporting the roof. This was surmounted with an antique weather-vane. Although large and covering a wide area, this home possessed no architectural beauty. The rooms were not arranged in a manner which would suit the more fastidious tastes of to-day. The kitchen with its huge fireplace stood thirty feet from the main building. The cooked food was carried to the dining room through a covered colonade.

The beauty of Mt. Vernon lay in the grounds and the fine trees. To the west stretched a beautiful lawn which Washington called his "bowling green". Here frequently gay parties galloped over the green area which was half a mile in circumference. Facing the mansion on the right was a large vegetable garden and on the left was a flower garden. The grounds are to-day under the care of the Mt. Vernon Ladies' Association who employ a superintendent to look after them. Martha Washington's flower garden is still kept just as she left it. Slips of the famous Mary Garden rose which Washington was said to have named after his mother are sold to visitors who come in great numbers to see the home of Washington. It is said that
it was the custom of the Washington's to ask distinguished guests to plant something in their flower garden. Four large trees have stood guard over the entrance to Mt Vernon for more than a century.

The furniture on exhibition at Mt Vernon is neither beautiful nor comfortable. The old mahogany bedstead with the mountainous feather beds look very comfortable if it were not for the many steps beside them which it was necessary to mount before retiring. The room in which Washington died was never occupied afterwards. It was closed and everything in it preserved just as he left it. To-day in this room a visitor may see the same bed, a military trunk, a few camp equipments, two chairs cushions worked by Martha Washington, and a small, plain mahogany covered toilet stand.

The room which the widow chose after her husband's death was inconvenient and dreary. It was located in the garret and had only one small window. This however looked out over the tomb of Washington and explained the choice of the sorrowful, lonesome woman. Here she spent her last days, gazing out over the beautiful landscape where her husband was buried. Standing by this window to-day, one is touched by the memory of the patient and gentle woman who above all worldly pleasures loved her husband and home.
The life of the southern gentleman planter was one of ease. Northerners were surprised at the inactivity seen everywhere. Frenchmen disliked the institution of slavery and the carelessness and laziness present wherever it existed. The typical day spent by a gentleman of the higher class of society was not a busy one. He arose at nine, breakfasted at ten, had dinner at two, seldom ate supper and retired at ten. He often spent most of the day lying on a pallet with his slaves fanning him. His chief labors consisted of joining in fox hunts and riding long distances to barbecue.

Most Virginia gentlemen were far from rich. The large estates with their noble and profuse hospitality were misleading. The fine coaches, horses and slaves were deceptive as an indication of real wealth. Many of these planters were bankrupt and most of them were in debt. "While the tradesman was clamoring for the price of his goods, while the doctor called again and again for his fees, the great planter was ready to bet a slave at a horse race, or squander at a cock-fight hundreds of pounds borrowed at high rates of interest. Tobacco notes made no inconsiderable part of the currency of the state. Coppers did not exist. In place of small change were silver dollars cut into quarters and halves, a kind of currency long known in Richmond as "sharp-shin." The merchants held what ready money there was. If any were wanted to improve a highway, to build a school-house, to make some repairs on a
country church, a lottery was the only means by which the sum could be collected."

In the previous chapter it was said that the society of Charlestown was made up of absentee landowners. Here young gallants introduced the fashions of England to the city. They drove about the city on horseback but they could go the Englishman one better in that they were followed by a slave also on horseback. No person in Charlestown—unless he were a mechanic, a tutor or member of a like class—was ever seen on foot.

The Southerners were much interested in games of chance. When a person offered his household furniture for sale, the whole village or surrounding country would assemble, gun in hand. A mark would be set up and each contestant would pay a few pence to the owner of the furniture. The one who hit the mark got the piece of furniture. With the exception of the subject of cotton, horse racing founded the prevailing topic of conversation.

Instead of bringing the electors of a county together in different localities they all assembled at the court house and the votes were polled in the presence of the sheriff. Frequently rival candidates would appear with bands of followers and the stronger would drive the other away. In 1794 a certain voting experience was described in the House of Representatives by the committee on contested elections. The place was in the Montgomery Court House in Virginia when a
United States Representative was to be chosen. The circumstances of the election were said by southern members not to be unusual ones at any election. One of the candidates for office had a brother who was in command of sixty or seventy federal troops camped near by. They paraded around the courthouse, voted for the brother of their chief and threatened to beat down anyone who wished to vote against their man. Finally after knocking down a drunken magistrate the men who were waiting to vote stoned them back to camp.

The class that came next after the great planters was just as idle and just as hospitable. However, their education was less, their plantations smaller, their manners much coarser, and they could not even trace their ancestry back to a third son of an English peer. They sought to imitate the great proprietors who looked down upon them.

Far below this latter class were the poor whites who as a rule were indentured servants whose time had expired. These were the most shiftless and worthless set of men imaginable. Their huts were scarcely an improvement over the cabins of the negroes. The chimneys were made of logs and clay. There only furniture consisted of that which they had made themselves. The grain was threshed by driving horses over grain in the fields. This was ground by the use of a crude pestle and mortar. They abhored work of every type. Beyond the
limits of great towns or sea-board villages artisans were seldom seen although such a class was needed very badly. An occasional half-starved mechanic would wander from plantation to plantation mending broken articles and performing services which the slaves were unable to do. These were despised by the poor white who preferred to spend their time idling about taverns.

The conditions of the slaves was most pitiable even under the kinder master. Some were fortunate enough to be given over to the lighter tasks such as taking care of the children, waiting on the table, and becoming a blacksmith or mason. Most of them, however, were still savages and were driven into the fields under the lash. They were still the superstitious and barbarous African from whom the southerners found it necessary to protect themselves by severe and brutal laws. "Lashes were prescribed for every black who kept a dog, who owned a gun, who hired a horse, who went to a merrymaking, who attended a funeral, who rode along the highway, who bought or sold, or traded without his owner's consent. Slaves were forbidden to learn to write or read writing, to give evidence against a white man, to travel in bands of more than seven unless a white man went with them, or to quit the plantation without leave." Next to Murder the worst sin that a negro could commit was to run away. The legislature might then outlaw him and any one could kill him on sight. If an owner
provided food and a rude shelter for his slaves and did not work them more than fifteen hours a day in the summer or more than fourteen in the winter, he met the requirements of the law.

After the introduction of the cotton culture the number of negroes greatly increased. This race was coming to leave an imprint on its haughty Anglo-Saxon masters. The children of the wealthy planters (all) had their 'mammy' to care for them. Naturally the child copied the gestures and accent of its nurse.

The Southerners loved display and every effort was made to impress a guest. John Davis, in the account of his travels in America, tells of a frequent custom of the great proprietors. A negro would be placed on the look-out to watch for the approach of any visitor. The moment he noted a carriage or a horseman coming in his direction, the alarm was given and every negro servant changed his ragged clothing for an elaborate suit of livery.

In the Carolinas Davis noted that the legislature and executive powers of the house belonged to the mistress. Often when the master flogged the slaves, the latter would seek supplication at the feet of their mistress. However, the writer said "the ladies of Carolina, and particularly those of Charleston have little tenderness for their slaves."
Frequently there would be some man in the neighborhood who could be hired to whip recreant slaves. In one particular instance the charge made was a shilling per dozen lashes. One woman complained that this made her bill pretty high and so she made a bargain whereby all her slaves could be whipped for a year at a certain stated price.

Davis who was an Englishman could not but draw a comparison between his country and that of the United States in respect to slavery. "Slaves cannot breathe in England! They touch our country, and their shackles fall", He resented the treatment given slaves and thought that quite often the negroes were not inferior to their masters. "Many planters seem incapable of displaying their sovereignty, by any other mode than menaces and imprecations".

Negroes made frequent attempts to escape from their masters. These were fraught with much danger as frequently the fugitives were shot while hiding in the woods. The Charles-town papers were filled with advertisements for fugitive slaves. A typical one, quoted by Davis will be given here: "Stop the runaway. $50 reward. Whereas my waiting fellow, Will having eloped from me last Saturday; without any provocation (it being known I am a humane master) the above reward will be paid to any one who will lodge the aforesaid slave in some jail or deliver him to me on my plantation at Liberty Hall. Will may be known by the incisions of the whip on his back; and
I suspect has taken the road to Goosohotchic, where he has a wife and five children, whom I sold last week to Mr. Gillespie."

The backwoods farmer of Virginia was very willing to offer the hospitality of his simple home to a friend or wayfarer. During his extended travels in America, Davis spent many pleasant hours in the huts of these backwoodsmen. He recounts the experience of knocking on the door of a log house in the woods to ask for a drink. When the door opened the stranger looked upon a simple homelike scene with the mother and five children sitting before the fireplace. The father insisted that the wayfarer spend the night before continuing on his journey. The day was almost over and he would send his son to guide him out of the woods in the morning. A supper was soon prepared and Davis noticed that the Sunday cupboard was unlocked and part of a loaf of sugar taken out in honor of the special occasion. In the evening the question of where he was going to be put to sleep puzzled the guest. There was only one room with three beds in evidence which must harbor a family of seven besides himself. Finally the two oldest daughters undressed and slipped unabashed into one of the beds. Later the father brought a ladder and opened a trap-door. Davis crawled up through it and found a very decent bed awaiting him. The next morning he rose with the sun and descended the ladder. Already the father and sons were at the plough. The mother was
busying herself with the breakfast and the two girls were at the spinning wheel. A little later it rained and he was urged to stay another day. This was not particularly distasteful to him for the daughter Mary, a pretty girl of seventeen, proved very interesting company. He noted that she had dressed herself with no little coquetry." During the day a peddler came to the door with a variety of wares for sale. Davis bought two pairs of ear rings as gifts for the two girls.

Davis left America with a very warm regard for the Virginians. "But whatever may be advanced against the Virginians, their good qualities will ever outweigh their defects; and when the effervescence of youth has abated, when reason asserts her empire, there is no man on earth who discovers more exalted sentiments, more contempt for baseness, more love of justice, more sensibility of feeling, than a Virginian."

European travelers marveled at the love of luxury which they were surprised to find in provincial America. When on a visit to this country Talleyrand found "on the bowis of the Ohio river, in a house built of roughly hewn logs, a piano, adorned with really beautiful bronzes. When Monsieur de Beau- metz opened it, Mr. Smith said to him, "Don't try to play on it, because our piano-tuner who lives a hundred miles off, didn't come this year."

The clothing worn in rural communities was made of
fabric manufactured in the home. The better quality was spun at home, and then later pulled and dressed at a clothier's shop. In the summer men wore trousers of brown tow on linen and a frock which was a kind of over-shirt. Woolen clothes were worn in the winter. These were generally coarse and very warm. Sometimes this clothing was quite well spun and dressed. Women wore striped or checked linen on weekdays and chintzes or perhaps muslins or even silks on Sundays. Cloaks of scarlet broadcloth were much admired by the gentler sex. Wedding gowns if not made of muslins were often made of brocades.

The principal feature of each country house was the large kitchen fireplace. These were sometimes seven or eight feet in width and contained one or two ovens. Around these fireplaces on cold winter evenings large families gathered, often numbering eight or ten children. Knitting needles flew quickly back and forth in the skillful hands of the mother and oldest daughters. The older sons puzzled over examples in arithmetic which they were endeavoring to work out on their slates. The younger children after learning spelling lessons would turn perhaps a little more enthusiastically to bowls of apples and nuts. Father and perhaps other members of the family might be laboring over a borrowed book. The rest of the long winter evening might be spent in storytelling and singing, after which a mug of cider with red pepper in it would be passed around. The reading of the family...
bible followed, and then a prayer to God by the father to protect his family and his country.

CHAPTER V.

Travels and Amusements.

America life as viewed by the traveler in the rambling stage coach or from a well-provisioned table of some very typically American int... was particularly interesting. Here the foreigner noted the essential democracy of America. A member of Congress might be seated next to a day laborer and together enjoy or endure the discomforts of the trip. The traveler had a fine opportunity to hear interesting topics of the day discussed, the chosen one always being politics. The American delight in talking seemed to have reminded Davis of his countrymen, "Both Americans and Englishmen are subject to loquacious imbecility. Their subjects only differ. The American talks of his government, the Englishmen of himself."

The chief method of travel by land was the historic stage coach. De Warville in the frequently referred to account of his travels described this means of conveyance. "The stagecoach has four wheels and is an open vehicle whose sides have double curtains of leather and cloth which let down when it rains or when the sun proves annoying, and which can be raised when you wish to enjoy the air and the view of the country."
These vehicles are badly hung but, the road over which they run being of sand and gravel, one suffers no discomfort. The horses are good and fast enough. The coaches have four seats and hold a dozen people. Light baggage is put under one's feet, and trunks are fastened on behind, but you are not permitted to have too many. He was able to cover in one day the ninety-six miles which separated New York and Philadelphia. Therefore he thought that in many respects with the exception of the roads that America was ahead of Europe. The drivers on these stage coaches were the great authorities on all subjects during these trips. In a country where means of communication between different sections of the country were still poor they had the peculiar advantage of conversing with travelers from near and far, thus accumulating a valuable stock of information. Travelers carried only necessary things with them for there was an extra charge for baggage beyond a certain stipulated amount.

During Washington's first term there were only two stages and twelve horses employed in carrying all the travelers and goods between the two commercial centers of New York and Boston. The coaches were old and shackle, the harness was usually made of rope, and the horses were but ill fed skeletons. On summer days when conditions were good these stage coaches averaged forty miles a day while in the winter the roads were bad and generally not more than twenty-five miles could be covered. There were real hardships connected with these trips.
Travelers stopped for the night at some wayside inn. They would be called at three to make ready for the eighteen hour ride ahead of them.

There was a difference of opinion in regard to the condition of roads in America. Minister Fauchet reported to his government of France March, 1794, that on a trip from Baltimore "to reach Philadelphia we had to travel by roads which were almost impassable; it was only after much effort and fatigue that we were able to arrive in that city". Other writers gave good comments on the roads. The roads which led North and South were good and well cared for.

De Warville gives an account of a journey from Boston to New York. He traveled the two hundred and sixty miles in a stage coach which had been established by several individuals and made the trip at regular intervals. He made the trip in four days. It was in the summer time and the travelers were obliged to set out at four every morning. Each day they covered from sixty to sixty-six miles, changing horses several times on the way. The coach which held six travelers, had no springs. The charge per mile was three cents in Massachusetts money. This included the transportation of baggage up to the value of 142.

Roads were free from the robbers which infested the highways of Europe and there was no need to carry weapons.
Young girls thought it nothing out of the way to drive on the roads unaccompanied. Frenchmen marveled at the careless freedom displayed everywhere by American girls.

Much travel along the coasts as well as into the interior of the country was done by water. This was a much more comfortable method of travel although more uncertain. No definite time schedule could be set for departure or arrival. De Warville told of a trip by packet from Charlestown to New York. This took ten days and cost him between forty and fifty dollars. The packet was the picture of cleanliness and order. The cabin contained fourteen beds in two tiers, one above the other. Each person had his own window and thus had the advantage over the European traveler in that he had plenty of fresh air. The crew consisted of the Captain, two men and a negro cook. The last mentioned provided very good board for the passengers. Frequently travelers made most of the trip from New York to Philadelphia by water, crossing part of the distance by land. A line of vessels carried passengers from New York to Providence from where they were taken from Boston by coach. Frequently it took days or even two weeks to make this trip when conditions were unfavorable.

In 1792 there were two-hundred and sixty-four post-offices scattered over the country and the yearly income from these was twenty-five thousand dollars. The postage charged on a letter that was not sent more than thirty miles
was six cents. The amount grew until at four hundred and fifty miles the charge was twenty-two cents and beyond that was twenty-five cents. These were the rates for a single letter of one sheet, those of two sheets would be counted as a double letter. The postage required for a paper was one cent if the distance were not more than a hundred miles, otherwise it would be a cent and a half.

The time consumed in travel by stage-coach made it very necessary that inns or taverns be scattered along the highway where the weary travelers might secure food and rest. Inn keepers were apt to be men of importance. Very frequently they were retired army officers. His financial position also commanded respect for he received more ready money than anyone else in a time when money was scarce. Naturally there were some good inns and some very bad ones. One writer will criticise them severely, another will find things to praise. Davis, the English traveler mentioned before, wrote, "The English bewail the want of convenient taverns in the United States; but the complaint is I think groundless; for I have found taverns in the woods of America, not inferior to those of common market towns in England." Frenchmen were surprised at the class of people he found conducting these inns. "We never stopped at a tavern without finding everywhere cleanliness, decency and dignity. The table is often served by a modest and pretty young lady, by an amiable mother whose pleasant face has
not been affected by age, and who still preserves her freshness; by men with that awe of dignity which equality gives, and who are neither ignoble nor low like most of our innkeepers."

Most of the good inns were in New England. In the large towns the tavern being superseded by the hotel modeled after those of Europe. In the South the inns were terrible. Oftentimes the roofs leaked and the windows had no sashes. There were no mattresses and the traveler had to try to rest on a feather bed even on the hottest night. Notwithstanding he had to pay well for such accommodations as he received. His breakfast cost him perhaps six shillings and his dinner one dollar. He seldom ate supper. He paid fifty cents for his bed and if he were as particular as to ask for clean sheets, sixpence additional. Innkeepers excused the bad conditions found as being due to the habits of the people entertaining wayfarers. The inns found in North Carolina were even more wretched than those found in Virginia. The travelers who could not reach some town by night fall and had to stop at some roadside tavern was unlucky indeed. He would find a house of logs containing only one room whose walls were devoid of plaster. Some benches, a bed, table and a chest or two made up the furniture of the room. If the night were cold the traveler was privileged to lie down on the floor in front of the fire, otherwise he would probably sleep in the open with a blanket over him stretched to four stakes to
keep off both flies and dew. All meals served were just alike, bacon, eggs, hominy, coarse bread and New England rum. Davis tells of a typical experience where with some trouble I knocked up a miserable negro, who, on my entrance, resumed her slumbers on an old rug spread before the embers of the kitchen fire, and snored in oblivion of all care."

French travelers were unanimous in protesting against giving half of their beds to some one else. Many humorous stories were told of experiences at a Mr. Patrick Archibald's near Pittsburgh where there were four beds in one room to accommodate the ten members of the family plus any passing strangers. Another Frenchman wrote of twenty five sleeping in six beds in two different rooms. Landlords were astonished if anyone would ask for a room alone. The person who was given a bed by himself was considered fortunate. Rooms some times contained six to ten beds. A landlord of a certain hotel in Philadelphia boasted that in the summer he gave each lodger a room to himself.

Where there were not inns or when distances between them did not conform to the day's journey it was customary for the travelers to ask the hospitality of some individual. This could be done without embarrassment for he would pay as to innkeeper. Frenchmen commented on the good living found everywhere in America.

No better specimen of a good southern inn than the Eagle Tavern at Richmond can be found. This was a large
brick building with a wide veranda. On the wall hung a printed list of rates. A neat bed in a well furnished room might be had for a shilling and sixpence. A charge of two shillings was made for breakfast, and for dinner with grog or toddy three. The best Madeira wine could be had for six shillings and a quarter. The lodge washed on the porch. He ate his meals at a table with pewter spoons and china plates. If a person was content with a cold supper and one quart of toddy a day he might secure his lodging and board for $1.66 in federal money each day.

These taverns often served as social centers. This same Eagle Tavern at Richmond was famous for its splendid ball given during race week, a very important time in the life of that city. The affair called for the most formal dress and no gentlemen might gain admission in boots and pantaloons but must come attired in small clothes, silk stockings and pumps set off with large buckles and with his hair heavily powdered. The opening dance began at sundown and was always a minuet de la cour danced to music as solemn as a hymn. The managers would lead out with some favored lady at arms length. Then would follow much bowing and tiptoeing and gentlemen displayed "Their skill at cutting pigeon-wings." The solemn minuet would be gone through with and then followed by some more lively dance.

The American enjoyed a game of chance, that is those
outside of Puritan New England. De Warville said that the people had changed somewhat in this respect and would not be surprised to see a President playing a game of cards. "When the mind is tranquil, in the enjoyment of competence and peace, it is natural to occupy it in this way, especially in a country where there is no theatre, where men make it not a business to pay court to the women, where they read few books, and cultivate still less the sciences. This taste for cards is certainly unhappy in a republican state. The habit of them contracts the mind, prevents the acquisition of useful knowledge, leads to idleness and dissipation, and gives birth to every malignant passion. Happily, it is not very considerable in Boston; you see here no fathers of families risking their fortunes in it".132

Dancing was a very favored form of amusement and one Frenchman recorded that "all American women, married or single love dancing." Chastellux, the warrior-beau who visited America and although he admired the women here said that they were generally awkward in dancing, particularly in the minuet. Other writers remarked that the ladies of Philadelphia did not excel in dancing. Foreigners were surprised at the brilliance and gayety of the Presidential balls. "All that luxury, flattery, idolatry could imagine was there combined. There were only lacking Body Guards and the red and blue ribbons of decorations to enable one to imagine himself at the court of a King. Courtiers were certainly not lacking."133
The French were shocked at the freedom our girls enjoyed both before and after marriage. "Young people sit up spooning after their elders go to bed, and sometimes a late returning servant will find them both asleep and the candle burned out—so cold is love in that country. The woman in this country no matter how frivolous before marriage becomes reserved afterwards. Foreigners believed that most American children were spoiled.

New England was ruled by Puritan morals. Here life was regular and only the simpler forms of recreation indulged in such as sleighing, riding, dancing or shooting at a mark. Boys busied themselves in football, cricket, and skating. The austere New Englander would spend an hour at fox and geese with his children or play a game of draught with his wife. His conscience did not hurt him when he drank palm tea at a quilting or drank ale and cider at apple-paring bees. However, when fiddles were produced he went home to his pipe or to a sermon.

Picnics were a very favored form of indulgence in America. Frenchmen had some difficulty in trying to spell the word. They appreciated the entertainment even though they did have to spell it some such way as "pigue-nique". A pretty site near some such river was always chosen and here the host brought quantities of delicious foods. Frequently a large china loving cup of cold punch would be passed around the circle and everyone would take a drink. This was a sp-
socially untidy habit as all the men chewed tobacco.

Corn huskings were another species of popular amusement. These would be held in the evenings. The barn floor would be swept and candles lighted. The guests would gather to husk corn while someone sang or told a story. At midnight a bowl of boiling milk with cider in it was served to each guest. Sugar or molasses, spices and toasted bread would be added to the steaming bowl. The merry company would perhaps not break up until five in the morning.

Although the Americans were criticised by the French as cold-hearted and poor love makers, nevertheless there was much interest taken in the process of courting. In the backwoods country it was very easy to detect a lover. The first symptom of love is a desire to please the opposite sex. The young backwoodsman would change his heavy leggings for a pair of boots, made in Philadelphia and he would substitute a fashionable coat for his home made frock. The annual gatherings of the Quakers at Philadelphia were important occasions for the young people for here were the first meetings of many happy couples. After these meetings a favorite device was the writing of love letters under assumed names. The Juliets and Clarissas took the wicked and worldly names of Lotharicos and Lysanders.
The amusements of the South were more unrestrained than in other sections of the country. Horse racing and cock-fighting were the favorite forms of diversions. \\

Doomed, was the well known name of a horse imported into Virginia whose offspring was famous on many a track in adjoining states. One of them was Truxton, Andrew Jackson’s famous race-horse. A person derived much social renown from owning a race-horse. Charleston was a famous center for this sport and here the "Jockey Club" was the leading social organization. The races took place there in February and lasted four days. For hours before the beginning of the races roads were crowded with coaches, all on their way to the great celebration. Shops were closed and the streets were deserted. On the night of the third day the Jockey Club gave a ball and here gentlemen settled their gambling debts. The chief sins of Carolina gentlemen were betting and gambling, drunkenness and a passion for dueling and running in debt. After the war duels were a frequent occurrence. Juries would convict men of manslaughter with the penalty of having a hand burned but this would never be carried out.

One of the chief diversions of the South Carolina planter was the hunting of deer. Davis could see little enjoyment in standing behind a tree waiting for hours until the negroes and dogs sent on ahead had dislodged the deer. People went in large parties and after killing half a dozen deer, they would assemble by appointment at some planter's
house where the wife and daughters there served a dinner of venison which had been killed at some previous hunt and the richest modeira wine.

Social clubs helped to provide entertainment for the people. Chastellux, who has been referred to before as a French visitor to America, told of a certain club in Boston which was held every Tuesday around at the different houses of the members. The guests assembled after tea-time, played, talked or read papers until between nine and ten, then sat down to a supper where "vegetables, pies and especially good wine" were not spared.

The Americans were excessive tea-drinkers. The people of the Southern states took even more tea with their meals than separately. The great quantities of tea consumed was blamed for the bad teeth and frequent colds of the Southern women. Tea-parties in both North and South were important social functions. The hour of five was the specially designated hour. There was a complete set of established rules of etiquette, and everything was very grave. Trays were brought in with cups, sugar bowls and cream jugs, and the small quantities of bread, pots of butter, smoked meat or tartlets.

The theater was a favorite recreation of Washington. In New York during his year there as President the theater building was a very poor sort of affair and held only about
a hundred people. It was located on the north side of John street near Broadway. This was mean and badly furnished and had been put up for an American Company of comedians before the war. The President's box was adorned with fitting emblems. Washington was sometimes criticised for attending the theater so often. According to Washington's diary he frequently entertained at the theatre such guests as Baron Van Steuben, Mrs. Nathahiel Greene and Mrs John Adams. In the Park Theater of New York there was a pit for the men and boys. Board benches without cushions were provided for them. There were a second and third tier above the pit, both of which had boxes. There was a sort of restaurant of the second tier and the third was set apart for the dissolute of both sexes.

According to the custom of the time. The gentlemen of the audience promenaded between acts in the space between the pit and boxes.

The theater in Philadelphia was described as elegant as that of Covent Garden, London. A gray scene presented itself, the President, his cabinet and other officials and their wives in elegant dress. The younger ladies wore their hair in curls and the more mature wore their hair "full dressed without caps". The gentlemen were gayly dressed, often times in striped silk coats with high collars. By 1794 Philadelphia had built its second theater despite the petitions signed by over three thousand citizens including
clergymen and prominent elders of the Society of Friends. Sometimes a play as elevated as Hamlet would be given. Mrs. Adams referred to a Philadelphia theater in one of her letters. "The house is equal to most of the theatres we meet throughout France. It is very neat, and prettily filled up; the actors did their best; "The school for Scandal was the play. I missed the devine Farren; but upon the whole it was very well performed."

Even Boston in 1792 declared that "stage plays" were necessary for happiness. Much opposition however met the attempts in the State House of Representatives to introduce a bill permitting the establishment of a theater in Boston. Samuel Adams was one of the forces which led the opposition. A speech of thirty thousand words was made by John Gardiner, to permit the establishment of this theater. From this speech a person might learn much of the history of the drama and how it took its rise in religion. He used economic arguments to appeal to the members of the House. "Strangers who visit us complain much of the want of public places of resort for innocent and rational amusement; as in the summer and the fall months, our only public places of resort for amusement (the concert and the assemblies) and dead and unknown among us.... Did the town of Boston possess a well regulated theater, these strangers would, most probably, spend double the periods of time they generally pass in this town, to the great advantage of stable-keepers, the keepers of lodging houses..."
the hairdresser, the shoemaker, the miller", besides many others. This permission was finally given and the site chosen for the Boston experiment was a region of mud and livery stables. Probably one of these was made into the theater and called the "New Exhibition Room ". At first the audiences were entertained with somersaults backward, dancing on tight ropes, and jumping backward and forward over a cane. Later plays such as "Othello " and "Romeo and Juliet" appeared. In 1794 there was a large theater built in Boston; evidently the experiment had proved a success. This was 140 feet long and sixty-two feet wide and was made of brick with stone facings. The interior was quite elaborate.

CHAPTER VI.
Religion, Education and the Professions.

The Congregational Church was a very important institution in New England. The minister occupied the most revered and respected position in the village. As a graduate of some college, perhaps of Harvard or Cambridge, he was its most educated man and took the leadership of the thought of the people and even interfered with its politics. His position in the church made him the religious example for its membership. It was the ambition of every village, no matter how small, to have a church of its own. If it were too poor to have a minister, itinerant ministers served it and were frequently paid
four dollars for a sermon. Very frequently the minister came from a ministerial family, his father and grandfather before him having been Congregational ministers. The New Englanders had inherited their Congregationalism from their ancestors but they did not realize that their religion had undergone a great change since the days of the founding of the first colonies. Oftentimes it was necessary for the minister in order to gain a bare sustenance to take to teaching school, and so he undertook the preparation of a half dozen boys for college. For a small sum each boy would receive his lodging, board and education.

De Warville very much approved of the Boston churches. He enjoyed the simplicity of the service and the harmony and tolerance shown particularly appealed to him. The Americans had disconnected worship from "all its superstitious ceremonies, which gave it the appearance of idolatry." Europeans, according to his belief went to church as to a theater and consequently he admired the gravity and the sincerity of the church congregation in Boston. Women and children were dressed in calicoes and chintzes "without being spoiled by those gewgaw which whim and caprice have added to them among our people," However he noticed with pain that men powdered their hair after European fashions. In America they did not pay priests enormous salaries so they could live of luxury and ease, but modest salaries were paid to the ministers out of the
collections made each Sunday and from the rent of pews. The sermons contained the best possible morality. He said that now every one in Boston worshipped in their own way.

Another Frenchmen wrote, "Piety is by no means the only motive which brings crowds of American women to church". There were few theaters and places of amusement, therefore the church was a good place to display fine silks. "The church is particularly desired by young people—both sexes, by the young girls especially, who go there to display their carefully made toilettes and to meet their friends".

All of the French travelers of this period did not agree entirely with De Warville's approval of the churches in America. Some missed the pomp and ceremonies to which they were accustomed and one asked, "Can one properly give this name (church) to a room where there are only benches—no ornament, painting, altar, chairs—nothing, in a word, of all that one sees in the churches of other religions.

Frenchmen marveled at the quiet observance of Sunday and the frequent reading of the Bible. They themselves could not enjoy days of this kind but noticed that they did not seem to be sad ones for the Americans. That day is consecrated to divine worship, which is an excellent idea, but is also consecrated to repose, and of what use is repose without gaiety, without diversion! I venture to say that in America you know nothing either of the strain of work or of the pleasure of repose. What
a distressing silence reigns in your cities on Sunday! One would think that a violent epidemic of a pest, had obliged everybody to shut himself up at home."

Unitarianism was beginning to undermine the domination of the Congregational church. Large crowds of people attended the preaching of John Butler in New York in 1794. His liberal views of religion were spread broadcast and a Unitarian Society was founded. He delivered what he called a "lecture" every Sunday evening. The city was then much given over to French infidelity and the time was particularly favorable for some new doctrine. In 1805 there were said to be fifty-three different religions in the United States, and nineteen different churches in Boston alone.

The influence of John Wesley was beginning to be greatly felt in America. An American body based upon his teachings had been formed in 1784. Methodism appealed to the vast middle class of people. The democratic fire of preaching penetrated the backwoods and exerted a powerful influence on the life of America.

The day of Episcopal supremacy in the South was gone by 1789. Many of its ministers had been Tories during the American Revolution and there had always been a close alliance between it and aristocracy. Many of the wealthy planters were developing French scepticism and the Episcopal church was fast losing ground. There were many parish churches
built by families upon whose estates they were. Both these and the churches in large cities were falling into decay. In those churches which still lived on, there were high box pews where the great ladies and their families sat. They were always followed by slaves who carried their prayer books and shut the pew doors for them. On the walls were tablets of stone in memory of the distinguished persons still continued to be buried under the communion table or the broad aisle.

After the service the church goer went home to a heavy dinner. In contrast to this the New England Congregationalist went home to a cold dinner for it would have been very contrary to his religious beliefs to eat a dinner which had been cooked on Sunday.

One of the first Sunday schools in America was established at Philadelphia in 1791. This was to teach poor children who were apprenticed and could not go to school other days. In order not to offend the people it was decided that the reading should be done from the bible or moral books. However, it was a long time before some "Righteous" men saw anything but evil in a school held on Sunday.

"The First Day or Sunday School Society" was formed at Philadelphia in 1791 at a general meeting of citizens irrespective of denominations. It had been decided that the movement was too vast a one to be left to any one church or creed. Anyone who gave ten dollars to the society became enrolled as a life member and a dollar entitled its donor to membership for one year. In March, 1791, the first non-sectarian Sunday-
school was opened. The attendance was so great that a second school was established here. In this time five-hundred children had been taught to read and write.

The years 1789-1800 were not characterized by intellectual progress and literacy effort was all but dead. As an after effect of war, people devoted their energies to physical recuperation. The New England School-system, poor though it was ranked far above that found in other parts of the country. The little red district school-house was opened two months in winter for the boys and taught by a man teacher. In the summer for the same length of time a woman taught the girls. Here the children were taught reading and writing and enough arithmetic so that the boys could keep accounts, figure interest, and make change in a shop. This modest amount of education was administered by frequent use of a whip and the psychology of teaching in the minds of most school-masters, consisted in the efficient use of a cane or whip. It was very necessary for them to maintain their dignity and they could not expel a mischievous youngster because they could not afford to lose the small tuition he paid. The school-master was generally some young divinity student, a graduate of an academy who wanted to earn money in his winter vacation so that he might pursue his studies at Harvard or at Yale. He did not have to pay any part of his small salary for board or lodging. If the district was a populous and wealthy one, it set apart a certain sum for his board. The school master was then placed with the man who
would agree to keep him the longest time for this amount. Generally, however, he went from house to house where they had children in school, apportioning his stay according to the number of students he had in each family. Frequently he had to walk five miles over bad roads to his school. The schoolmaster was far from an unwelcomed guest. He was given the best bed and best food which the home afforded. The long winter evenings he spent helping the boys with their lessons, holding yarn for the daughters or perhaps escorting them to quilting bees.

Only the more fortunate boys ever gained an education above the humble one afforded by the district school. These attended an academy or a seminary kept by some minister. In many ways these boys who were given this advantage were not so fortunate after all. Life here was very hard. In the academy the boy met with rigid discipline. He was taught to endure hard face, long sermons and prayers and frequent severe floggings. He spent eight hours a day on hard benches learning long passages by heart. He had to commit Dr. Watt’s Hymns for children and be drilled in the Assembly Catechism. The boy was compelled to rise with the sun and seek his bed at sundown. His food consisted mainly of brown bread, and pork and porridge, and beans. Instead of an enjoyable day of rest of Sunday, he listened to long sermons and ate a cold dinner.

In New York and Pennsylvania, schools were seldom seen
outside the village or town. In the South educational facilities were worse than in the North, and those of South Carolina ranked at the very bottom. Davis in the account of his travels described experiences which he had in South Carolina as a tutor. One of these positions was that of a private teacher on a large plantation. The children called him schoolmaster. He was constantly reminded of his place in the family. He had to maintain a profound silence in company to denote inferiority, and for this reason he was served last at the table. Twice each Sunday he carried the children's Bible and prayerbooks to the church. He arose with the sun, taught until breakfast. Then after breakfast he taught until dinner. He was given enough time just to devour his dinner, then he again took up teaching until tea time. From then until bedtime he was allowed the privilege of sinking into insignificance.

Davis tells of another interesting experience. He was hired as teacher for a little school on a Virginia plantation at a salary of one hundred guineas. This log-hut which was termed an academy was attended by every child in the neighborhood. All seemed eager to "exchange perishable coin for lasting knowledge". The school-house stood on blocks two and a half feet above ground. There was no ceiling but instead the roof which was covered with shingles was not lathed or plastered. Davis slept in this one room and when it rained he moved his
bed to the most comfortable corner. The one window of which the school boasted had no glass or shutter. The school was composed "not only of truant boys, but some of the fairest damsels in the country." He proved himself not to have been disinterested in the other sex by further saying, "Two sisters generally rode on one horse to the school-door, and I was not so great a pedagogue as to refuse them my assistance to dismount form their steeds". Common text books in use at that time laid aside to read were Goldsmith's Essays and the works of De Foe and Addison. One ambitious student at thirty wanted to learn Cicerò and Virgil as he might teach, and his teacher wrote of him that he "had been bred a carpenter, but he panted for the honours of literature." Davis enjoyed teaching his girl students more than the boys and was particularly interested in one young girl. "In the delightful employment of teaching very lovely pupils all I knew, the hours of the morning were contracted to a moment by the earnest application of my mind to its object." He thought boys were mischievous and that female minds were particularly adapted to enjoy poetry.

Girls were not educated to the extent that the boys were. They had been shut up from the Boston High School because they had gone to it in such large numbers. There were no schools for girls that corresponded to Yale and Harvard. The education of the girls in New England was little better than in Virginia. Few could read or write. It was one of the
main elements of the daughter of the cavalier education to be taught dancing. Martha Washington prided herself on her spinning and weaving but could not spell. Mrs. Abigail Adams, never was sent to school. In a letter written in 1817 she said, "My early education did not partake of the abundant opportunities which the present days offer, and which even our common country school now affords. I never was sent to any school. I was always sick. Female education in the best families, went no further than writing and arithmetic; in some few and rare instances, music and dancing."

However, if the provisions made for the education of girls were not good in America, there were many who did make considerable educational advances. Frenchmen wrote of their surprise at the learning displayed by certain women, the wife of General Warren, printing poetry. This did not seem to deprive her of her womanly qualities as she was still active, amiable, and mourned the death of her son who had been killed in war. Perhaps the most remarkable comment was "That the literary occupations of this estimable dame have not diverted her attention from the duties of housekeeping."

Harvard had been the first college established in America. De Warville in the account of his travels gave a good picture of this college. It was located at Cambridge, just four miles from Boston. The imagination could not fix on a place that could better unite the conditions essential to a
The seat of education; sufficiently near to Boston to enjoy all the advantages of a communication with Europe and the rest of the world, and sufficiently distant not to expose the students to the contagion of licentious manners common in commercial towns." The plant was composed of several large buildings including a library of 13,000 volumes. The course of study was regulated somewhat after the English Colleges, of Oxford. De Warville seemed not to have entirely approved of it and predicted a future change. He thought that the study of dead languages, of a fastidious philosophy and theology ought to occupy few of the moments of a life which might be usefully employed in studies more advantageous to the great family of a human race.

Every year Harvard had a solemn feast in honor of the sciences which they called commencement. This resembled the day of exercises and awarding of prizes in the French Colleges. He noted that "Sciences were not diffused among the inhabitants of the town. Commerce occupies all their ideas, turns all their heads and absorbs all their speculations."

The faculty in 1800 was composed of a President, three professors and four tutors.

At Harvard divinity, mathematics, philosophy, metaphysics, Greek and Latin were taught to boys whose fathers could afford to send them to England. There was nothing taught of political economy and little of geology. Students lodged at dormitories, where the food was very poor. There
were two days of the week known as boiling days when the meat was boiled and the other five days went as roasting days. There was a set menu of wild peas, dandelions, cabbage, and pudding that went with boiling days. For breakfast which was served at sunrise, each student received a can of coffee and a piece of biscuit and butter. There was a bowl of bread and milk served for supper.

A candidate for a degree from Harvard had to spend certain hours every Monday and Tuesday during the three weeks of visitation in June and answer questions which anyone might ask him to examine his knowledge in languages and sciences which he pretended to have mastered. In college memories, one finds little if any reference to athletics. The Harvard student paid sixteen dollars a year for tuition and six dollars a month for food. If he spent more than four years at the college he ceased paying tuition after the fourth time.

St. Méry in his *Voyage aux Etas-Unis de l'Amérique* left a description of Princeton College. "Princeton has one college, with a brick wall around a dirty courtyard, which is a bad example to set the students. There is also an old cannon which is in bad condition. In Nasson Hall are forty-two bedrooms, each for three students. Although there is room for 120 students there are generally only about eighty in residence, mostly from Virginia and the Carolinas. The life there is too easy-going. Gambling and loose living occupy the students more than study"
The rule to regulate the dress of college undergraduates had been prescribed in 1756. "No schollar shal goe out of his chamber without a Gowm, cloak or coat; and everyone everywhere shal were modest and sober Habits, without strange ruffian-like, or new-fangled fashions, without all lavish Dress, or excessive apparel whatsoever, not shal wear any Gold or silver or jewels without the just permission of the President; nor shal it be permitted to wear Long Haire, Locks, Foretops, Curlings, Crispings, Partings, or Powderings of ye Head." In 1784 there was a new ruling made to meet the conditions. "The coat could be blue, gray, the waistcoat could be black, nankeen, or olive green. Freshmen must then wear plain buttonholes; juniors might wear inexpensive frogs but not on their buttons, and frogs ad libitum". The student had the choice of a black or white necktie. His shoes or boots were to be black.

The position of the doctor was a very important one. In the New England town next to the minister and the judge his was the most honorable. There were only two medical schools in the country and these were not well attended. The aspiring youth was generally apprenticed to some prominent doctor, in a city where he was both a student and a servant. Here he gained his knowledge of medicines from observation and experience. "He ground the powders, mixed the pills, rode with the doctor on his rounds, held the basin when the patient was
bled, helped to adjust plasters, to sew wounds, and ran with trials of medicine from one end of the town to the other. In the moments snatched from duties such as these he swept out the office, cleaned the bottles and jars, wired skeletons, tended the night-bell, and, when a feast was given, stood in the hall to announce the guests. When he had finished his apprenticeship he usually returned to his native town to begin his work, there to grow in popularity and wealth. He had to combine the duties of a doctor and druggist and mix his own drugs. Perhaps his saddle-bag would be the only drug-store in the radius of forty miles. A great deal of medicine was taken by the well to keep the body in a fit condition—more probably, than is now taken by the sick.

Bleeding was a frequent method employed by doctors. When George Washington contracted the severe cold and sore-throat riding about his plantation which led finally to his death he received four bleedings. A quart of blood was drawn by a doctor who represented the best medical skill at that time. This treatment was barbarous even judged by the standard of the time.

Davis in his Travels spoke of a doctor who had little practice although “he dressed in black, maintained a profound gravity and wore green spectacles on his nose.” Although they shared with the lawyers, the high standing in the community they did not earn as much. This was perhaps because the good health
found everywhere in this country was notable. American doctors even at this time were often wise enough to recommend change of air instead of drugs.

There were many epidemics of yellow fever during the period of years of Washington's presidency. One of the most terrible was at Baltimore in 1793. The disease was quickly recognized by its symptoms, a quick pulse, dull headache and a hot skin, and a doctor called at once. Sometimes the patient would be bled as many as five times in one day. In one instance a patient had seventy-two ounces of blood taken from him in three days. Death usually followed about the eight day. By the third week of the epidemic the streets were full of funerals. The mayor ordered a cleaning up of the city. This was very necessary for the streets were full of filth and on vacant lots carcasses of horses and dogs lay rotting in the summer sun. The physicians did what they could in caring for the sick and advising as well. People who had remained in the city were advised to keep out of the sun, to be sober, not to get tired, to put a mark upon infected horses and to bury the dead quietly. At one time the doctors advocated the burning of gunpowder. Immediately everyone began the firing of guns but this had such a depressing effect on the sick that the doctors ordered it stopped. People got the idea that garlic was a preventative of the fever and thenceforth was in a great demand. Some chewed it, others wore it in
their shoes. Other remedies such as mud-bathes were tried and the wearing of a camphor bag around the neck. There were no hospitals to care for the afflicted and so they were carried to a circus tent. This was situated in a thickly settled district and the patients had to be removed to a house which had been seized because its owner was out of town. Here in this place of filthy and horror most of them died. During four months of the year 1793, in Baltimore there were 4,044 deaths. When cool weather came the plague abated and the city could now return to its ordinary work.

The yellow fever likewise ravaged sections of the south. The mortality of foreigners particularly during the summer at Charlestown was great. Few Europeans escaped this pestilence. The disease always made a sudden attack and chose the strongest victims. "The temporal arteries of the wretched victim are ready to burst; black vomiting ensues; the skin turns yellow; the man so lately rioting in lustihood is without the strength of a child, and his tongue lolling out, he dies delirious". Negroes were not subject to the fever. Seven-eights of the whites living around Charlestown were attacked. Consequently, during the summer months most of them left for higher and dryer land.

Lawyers were an influential and wealthy class. De Warville said they had not only borrowed court forms from England
but also the habit of demanding exorbitant fees. Four dollars was the charge for an ordinary consultation. Many Lawyers had very good libraries, not only upon the subject of law but upon history and literature as well.

In the years of peace newspapers had made progress, some few had ceased to exist with the Revolution but many more had sprung up all over the country. There were no Sunday newspapers. No truly religious, scientific, illustrative, literary or trade journals had appeared. In these papers were many advertisements for runaway slaves, letters written from distant places, occasional odes and ballads, much about the "sins of idleness", about the "value of economy" and about the wretchedness of the wicked woman whose feet take hold on hell." Many rude presses were set up in sections of the country where ten years before there had been nothing but wilderness.

Magazines differed from our monthly periodicals of to-day. November numbers were not then as now made up in July, sent to the press and issued in the middle of October. Those for November came out in December. There were many "odes to Laura", selections from the writing of Colonel Humphreys and Philip Freneau, songs translated from the French, a few lines from Homer, bits of foreign and domestic news, "Satiricals" on old bachelors and old-maids, and hints for farmers and book reviews. Ten new Magazines appeared in the year 1786 to 1792 but most of them were not long lived.
In the last year a Ladies Magazine was issued containing the customary flattery which was paid women at the time. The first religious magazine appeared before 1800.

By the act of 1792, the postage on a single newspaper so long as it was not sent out of the state was reduced to one cent. In Philadelphia there were now thirty one printin g offices and thirteen different newspapers. A great deal of space in them was given to foreign news. The taste of the people ran to politics rather than to literary or poetic works. Probably the recent revolution, the newness of the government, the opportunities for building up the country, led men to think of the useful and practical things. The energy of the people was spent not in erecting brilliant monuments, but in putting up neat buildings and providing for well lighted streets. America was still in her early youth, but building a very firm foundation for her future progress.
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