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Title: Letters from Charles Nisbet to David Erskine Date: 1787-1792

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\* 21 Carlifle, 25 " Dec." 1787. My Lord, This Day, Jacord to Religion , Gluttony & Drunkennep, I dedicate to the Remembrance of valuable abfent Friends. I am afhamed to obferve that your Lordfling's laft Letter is dated 19th September 1986, but the laft year was to me an year of Confusion, from Multiplicity of Business & hard Study. I have written more than two hundred & fifty Sheets of Paper before the first Graught of my decluses was finished. I read your Lond thip's Poem with a me. lancholy Pleasure, and a fincere With that all your favourable Augusies concern ing this lountry were in the Way of being accomplished. Perhaps they are to, but prespent appearances are converte difeouraging. The People of this tountry feem to have gained nothing by their Independence, except Impunity of limer, & the Bre valence of every human Vice except Superfition & Hypocrity. Public Spirit appears to be extinct, and public & private bedit entirely at an End. No Man is afhamed even of the most thancful londuel, & the Authority of Laws & Magistrates is on. lively difregarded. The Magiffrakes, being chosen by the People, dare got act, for free of toping their Offices, and a Competition & Reciprocation of Cheating & Henavery -Teems to pervade this Country from the one End to the other. No Debto are paid, no Engagements are kept, and the only Way a Man has to live, feins to be, to cheat as much as his Reighbours. A few good Characters exist, but like Stars in a dark Right. they are fearcely diferred, & have no fentible Effect on the public Morals . I Intifil, as it was by Mirach, waiting & praying for better Times, Dr. Ruth defended my Interest in about three Months after my arival, and has been ever lince a cold Friend & Jecrel Enemy, Most of the Ineflees never mind their Jaths & Engagements and feverals have lately refigned, I am afraid, by his Influence. Notwithflanding of this, I would have been supported by the Increase & Character of this Seminary, were it not for the general Diffreh & Want of Money, real or affected, that prevails over all this tountry, which hinden Parents from thinking of giving their Children Education . Yel wary Body lives in Luxwy , & there is no Want of Money for Law Juils, Drunkenneh, & the Purchase of losign Goods. Only Debts & Jaxes remain us paid. The llengy, to be fare, have the world of it in fuch a Situation of things, as na daws protect their Right, it having pleased the Majoty of the Scople that Chergymen & Regroes thould be entirely at Diferction. Some have much Expectation from the Ren Federal Confliction, which has been adopted lately by this State, on a Divipin 46 against 23. & by the State of Delaware without a diferting Voice. It is hoped that Maffachulets, Connecticut, New Hamphire, & Jerfey will adont it in a few Weeks, if Some of them have not done it already. Maryland & North Carolina may adopt it with forme Difficulty. South Carolina & Georgia, on also Vir. ginia are doubtful, being almost equally divided. Rhode Illand is definined of X mult be publiced by arms, if the States define to prevent it from becoming a for seign Garriton, Imperfect & Impious as this Conflictution is, it is much preferable to a state of Mature, which prevails at prepent. All honeft People are for it, but thek who are in Dell to England or at home, are uniformly against it. Those who have properly, if they are defines to prefere it or coin their dives, mult unite to inbroduce a regular & efficient Government, as the Oppoper of the Con

Ilitution Matter the People with a Comstrainity of Goods, & a general Release of Iden ? in Cafe they will take arms to oppose it. In the late convention of this State, these were only three Specaking Members against it, and these ignorant & iliterate Men, who had their Speeches made for them by two or three oftenfible Characters without Doors. They will all be printed, & fent abread, being already taken down in that hand, I need the Grayers & Pily of good thrillians , as the hottest opposition is in these Weftern Countries. Mobbifh Meetings were held here laft Right, to draw up Letters of Thanks to the Minority of the convention, & in these Meetings the Incakers extented the Scople to take up Arms in Defence of their Right. I hope however that this will be only a Shreat. What is worth is, that longrep have army for many thousand, of man and a Confiderable Quantity of Gun-powder in their Stores here, which they, like wile Men, have adored to be fold in a fow Necks hence , as it an purpole to Jupply the Ence mies of their loundry. As this Jown is the neareft to the lenter of the United States & most commodious for Security, Intelligence & Communication, the Old Congacts made thorized it for their general Magazine, & if the new longress are wife, they will make it the federal Capital. If they do not, they will lose all the bunking to the Nellward of the Allegany Mountains, which is only in a Rominal Julication to the Stak al prefeat, and is daily filling up with Multitudes of People, almost to a Man difaffected to federal Government, or more properly, to all Government what. focour. If the Capital is placed here, these Deople will be capity kept in Order, but at a quater Diflamee, no Government will be able to Jecure Refuel, & prove efficient, your Lorothip can not conceive how little Mnowledge is in this Country. The Oro. grok of il requires Min of Bromarby, dearning, Virtue & Leifrere. We have almost none of these hore . Curiofily is at a Stand, and every Subject of Conversation gives Way to disty, lengthe & grovelling Politics. No Man of Sente has any Influence, Authority or Respect. The meanell & most wicked of the People bear Rule, & every Man dow that which is right in his own Eyes, without lear a Shame. These Poch & Romantic Politicians who have bung the Charms of Liberty, ought to bravel to this Country for Information. I they would loon find that the Perfor of her day. thip is extremely deformed & dijagreeable when the is feen naked, & not dreped in the Roles of Juffice, Law & good Order. God almighty has raifed up all nations from Tribes of barbarous & wandering Bandithi, but the Mola conquering ar. my, the usual Seminary of Mations, is much capter reduced into Order by the Sonle of Subordination & the Sonle of Honour anifing from their Condition, than a mob of Banknight, Jugilives from Juffice, transported Convicts & indented Jar vanh, which are the lour Elements of which our body Politic here is composed; for the for qualiff Part. A love of Order & Obedience to laws may be grafted on a Senfe of Honour & a love of Diffinction, but almost no buch Principles exist here, in all orders of Men. Lying, theating & low lunning on the highest Ochilical Virtues, and able to raife their Pattepor to Seats in allembly, longrep or lonor. lion. Hel we have three worthy & honourable Members of longress from this loundy of lumberland, and all the most decent People here are on the Side of the federal Government. God grant that it may be chattighed without Bloodfled. As an In Hance of the Worl of Patriolifm among us, when fome Perform in England had tality lind over two Models of the lotton - prinning Machines to this loundry, a lled

23 of worthy litizons of Philadelphia railed a Ourle by Subfeription, & purchased the Maids & re- compared them to Englan? !!! Such an our Patrich. A Sulfinition was begun in the lame Place for encouraging Domeflie Manufacturos, but the lame sort of Repleci having got into the Management of it, the Scheme is already Marved I at an End. If one did not believe that there is a God, & a Providence, one works confider over Condition as quite depresale, & Jay with Plantus Ipla Satus, fi velit non notell servare have familiam. But the Ways of Providence are nonderful two wicked & felfigh Mon, who mind only themselves, may be used as Inflorements to provide for the public Salchy, without which they thens felves can not be long lafe. By the Indolonce & Ignorance of the People, this Country is quite unexplored, & in a great Meaper uncullivated. In Shearman's Valley, about thisteen Miles from this Place, when vifiling a Sulphanous Spring, I deferred leveral Fragments of Valcanic Lava, & on near Examination found that the Ground was Anwed with them in fundry Parts, especially on. polite to two acuminated Jops in the Ridge, which must have her Volcanes in former Ages . A Gentleman who accompanied me, mate me then take Molice of a Number of Stones disperfed among the Lava, which were vijibly composed of Sea Shells Jused by the force of fire. On the outfide of these Stones we could diferr many tockles, Perinvinkles & Clams unmelled, and on breaking the Stones, their internal Confifting appeared to be the fame as on the Outline , These Stones were to be found only opposite to the tharp Jopo which we conceived to be Volcanos. Parhaps there is Probability in the Sup. popilion that all Mountains are formed by Volcanos. The Deferiptions of the Pike of Tenerill, I of the leper Mountains on the Jun. mit a Silos of Alma & Vefuerius definited by Mr. Brydone, give Counterna to the same Aynothefis. No Matural Britachion is lought for here at prefent, except Gin Song, with which our Ocopile have glutted the Market of China, and reduced its Onice. A Miner & Chymift is come from Gormany to explore our Monor lains for Minorals, but for landed Royle are able to employ him on the Banks of a lock in this neighbourhood, many bagment of they that an difeovered and the least Mulfile is friend in the beck. I have been no least procever as only Boys are attention to these things here. I am informed that there are presal Monutains in New England where the Color on the Jummit is Hill difermible & of a confiderable Depth. I have enjoyed good Health fine the Winter of 1785. In other Refrech my Situation is difagreeable. No ondervour to perfuade ourfelores that things will mond, as they from at prefeat to be at the worth. If the Seminary were encouraged, & the Toutles faithful & active, I thould have nothing to complain of . Truth & Soule may make their Way, though flowby, into the Minds of Mon. I am formy for the State of Europe which Jeems to threaten War. We can fearcely be work here, except with Reffect to our dives . May God order all things for the bell . I beg leave to prefent my respect. ful Compliments to Lady Buchan, & pray that you may onjoy many Clate. nic years of Mappinch, being most unfrignedly, My dad, your dordhip's mall obedient humble servent Cha. Nisbel.

### Carlisle, 25th Decr 1787

## My Lord,

This Day, sacred to Religion, Gluttony & Drunkenness, I dedicate to the Remembrance of valuable absent Friends. I am ashamed to observe that your Lordship's last Letter is dated 19th September 1786, but the last Year was to me an Year of Confusion, from Multiplicity of Business & hard Study, I have written more than two hundred & fifty sheets of Paper before the first Draught of my Lectures was finished. I read your Lordship's Poem with a melancholy Pleasure, and a Sincere Wish, that all your favourable Auguries concerning this Country were in the Way of being accomplished. Perhaps they are so, but present Appearances are extremely discouraging. The People of this Country seem to have gained nothing by their Independence, except Impunity of Crimes, & the Prevalence of every human Vice except Superstition & Hypocrisy. Public Spirit appears to be extinct, and public & private Credit entirely at an End. No Man is ashamed even of the most Shameful Conduct & the Authority of Laws & Magistrates is entirely disregarded. The Magistrates, being chosen by the People, dare not act, for fear of losing their offices, and a Competition & Reciprocation of Cheating & Knavery seems to pervade this Country from the one End to the other. No Debts are paid, no Engagements are kept, and the only Way a Man has to live, seems to be, to cheat as much as his Neighbour. A few good Characters exist, but like Stars in a dark Night, they are scarcely discerned, & have no sensible Effect on the public Morals. I subsist as it were, by Miracle, waiting & praying for better Times, Dr. Rush deserted my Interest in about three months after my Arrival, and has been ever since a cold Friend and secret Enemy. Most of the Trustees never mind their Oath & Engagements and severals have lately resigned, I am afraid, by his Influence. Notwithstanding of this, I would have been supported by the Increase & Character of this Seminary, were it not for the general Distress & Want of Money, real or affected, that prevails over all this Country, which hinders Parents from thinking of giving their Children Education. Yet every Body lives in Luxury, & there is no Want of Money for Lawsuits, Drunkenness, & the Purchase of foreign Goods. Only Debts & Taxes remain unpaid. The Clergy, to be sure, have the worst of it in such a situation of things, as no Laws protect their Rights, it having pleased the Majesty of the People that Clergymen & Negroes would be entirely at Discretion. Some have much Expectation from the New Federal Constitution, which has been adopted lately by this State, on a Division 40 against 23, & by the State of Delaware without a dissenting Voice. It is hoped that Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire New York & Jersey will adopt it in a few Weeks, if some of them have not done it already. Maryland & North Carolina may adopt it with some Difficulty. South Carolina & Georgia, or also Virginia are doubtful, being almost equally divided. Rhode Island is despaired of, & must be subdued by Arms, if the States desire to prevent it from becoming a foreign Garrison. Imperfect & Impious as this Constitution is, it is much preferable to a State of Nature, which prevails at present. All honest People are for it, but those who are in Debt to England or at home, are uniformly against it. Those who have property, if they are desirous to preserve it or even their lives, must unite to introduce a regular & efficient Government, as the Opposers of the Con

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stitution flatter the People with a Community of Goods, & a general Release of Debts in Case they will take to Arms to oppose it. In the late Convention of this State, there were only three Speaking Members against it, and these ignorant & illiterate Men, who had their Speeches made for them by two or three offensible Characters without Doors. They will all be printed, & sent abroad, being already taken down in shorthand. I need the Prayers & Pity of good Christians, as the hottest Opposition is in these Western Counties. Mobbish Meetings were held here last Night, to draw up Letters of Thanks to the Minority of the Convention, & in these Meetings the Speakers exhorted the People to take up Arms in Defence of their Rights. I hope however that this will be only a threat. What is worst is, that Congress have Arms for many thousands of Men and Considerable Quantity of Gun-Powder in their Stores here, which they, like wise Men, have ordered to be sold in a few Weeks hence, as if on purpose to supply the Enemies of their Country. As this Town is the nearest to the Center of the United States, & most commodious for Security, Intelligence & Communication, the old Congress made choice of it for their general Magazine, & if the new Congress are wise, they will make it the federal Capital. If they do not, they will lose all the Country to the Westward of the Allegany Mountains, which is only in a Nominal Subjection to the State at present, and is daily filling up with Multitudes of People, almost to a Man disaffected to federal Government, or more properly, to all Government whatsoever. If the Capital is placed here, these People will be easily kept in Order, but at a greater Distance, no Government will be able to secure Respect & prove efficient. Your Lordship can not conceive how little Knowledge is in this Country. The Progress of it requires Men of Property, Learning, Virtue & Leisure. We have almost none of these here. Curiosity is at a Stand, and every subject of Conversation gives Way to dirty, senseless & grovelling Politics. No Man of Sense has any Influence, Authority or Respect. The meanest & most wicked of the People bear Rule, & every Man does that which is right in his own Eyes, without fear or Shame. Those Poets & Romantic Politicians who have sung the Charms of Liberty, ought to travel to this Country for Information, & they would soon find that the Person of her Ladyship is extremely deformed & disagreeable when She is seen naked, & not dressed In the Robes of Justice, Law & good Order. God Almighty has raised up all Nations from Tribes of barbarous & wandering Banditti, but the Mob of a conquering Army, the usual Seminary of Nations, is much easier reduced into Order by the sense of Subordination & the Sense of Honour arising from their Condition, than a Mob of Bankrupts, Fugitives from Justice, transported Convicts & indented Servants, which are the four elements of which our body Politic is here composed, for the far greatest part. A love of Order & obedience to laws may be grafted on a Sense of Honour & a love of Distinction, but almost no such Principles exist here, in all Orders of Men. Lying, Cheating & low Cunning are the highest Political Virtues, and able to raise their Possessors to Seats in Assembly, Congress or Convention. Yet we have three worthy & honourable Members of Congress from this County of Cumberland, and all the most decent People here are on the Side of the federal Government. God grant that it may be established without Bloodshed. As an Instance of the Want of Patriotism among us, when some Persons in England had lately sent over two Models of the Cotton-spinning Machines to this Country, a Club

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of worthy Citizens of Philade1phia raised a Purse by Subscription & purchased those Models & re-exported them to England!!! Such are our Patriots. A subscription was begun in the same Place for encouraging Domestic Manufactures, but the same Sort of People having got into the

Management of it, the Scheme is already starved, & at an End. If one did not believe that there is a God, & a Providence, one would consider our Condition as quite desperate, & say with Plautus Isa Salus, si velit non potest servare hane familiam. But the Ways of Providence are wonderful. Even wicked and selfish Men, who mind only themselves, may be used as Instruments to provide for the public safety, without which they themselves cannot be long safe. By the Indolence & Ignorance of the People, this Country is quite unexplored, & in a great measure uncultivated. In Shearman's Valley, about thirteen Miles from this Place, when visiting a Sulphurous Spring, I observed several Fragments of Volcanic Lava, & on near Examination found that the Ground was strewed with them in sundry Parts, especially opposite to two acuminated Tops in the Ridge, which must have been Volcanos in former Ages. A Gentleman who accompanied me, made me then take Notice of a Number of Stones dispersed among the Lava, which were visibly composed of Sea Shells fused by the force of fire. On the outside of these Stones we could discern many Cockles, Periwinkles & Clams unmelted, and on breaking the Stones, their internal Consistency appeared to be the Same as on the outside. These Stones were to be found only opposite to the Sharp Tops which we conceived to be Volcanos. Perhaps there is probability in the supposition that all mountains are formed by Volcanos. The Descriptions of the Pike of Teneriff, & of the lesser Mountains on the Summit & Sides of Olna & Vesuvius described by Mr. Brydone, give countenance [page torn, ce added] to the Same Hypothesis. No Natural Production is sought for here at present except Gin Seng, with which our People have glutted the Markets of China, and reduced its Price. A miner & Chymist is come from Germany to explore our Mountains for Minerals, but few landed People are able to employ him. On the Banks of a Creek in this Neighbourhood, many fragments of Chrystal are discovered and the Pearl Mussel is found in the Creek. I have seen no Pearl however as only Boys are attentive to these things here. I am informed that there are several Mountains in New England where the Crater on the Summit is still discernable & of a considerable Depth. I have enjoyed good Health since the Winter of 1785. In other Respects my situation is disagreeable. We endeavour to persuade ourselves that things will mend, as they seem at present to be at the worst. If the Seminary were encouraged, or the Trustees faithful & active, I should have nothing to complain of. Truth & Sense may make their Way, though slowly, into the Minds of Men. I am sorry for the State of Europe which seems to threaten War. We can scarcely be worse here, except with Respect to our Lives. May God order all things for the best. I beg leave to present my respectful Compliments to Lady Buchan, & pray that you may enjoy many Platonic Years of Happiness, being most unfeignedly,

> My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

> > Cha.s Nisbet

21 Carlifle, 16th September, 1788.

My Lord, From a lounky of to little Curiofily, & to bassen of Events as this is, little In. formation can be cocpected, but as it is now in a fingular & intenting Situation, & the accounts in the nublic Papers may be defective or partial, I imagined that a brief account of its prepent state might not be unacceptable to your dord thin, as a libisin of the World, & a lover of Mankind. Lass year a convention of the Representatives of the thirteen States drew up a Conflictution on Olan of Government for this Country, which was pubmitted to the Conventions of the leveral States, & agreed to be carried into Execution il adopted by thine States. This Conflictu tion, the imperfect, detective, & in fome Repects impious, was judged however to be the bell Form of Government that could be adopted by a People in our Situation, & is till thought to be to , by all that love Order, Tuffice & the Happinep of Jocicly. Eleven States have now adopt. ed this Conttitution, the those of Virginia & now york appear to be least fincere in this Business. Rhode Illand has not called a Convention to confider it, & North Carolina appears to be dipoled only to accept it conditionally. your Lord this may capity imagine has few good things can be expected to be agreed to by three Millions of ignorant Peafants, under lactions deaders, & loaded with Deblo at home & alread, habitualed likewife, as they have been fince the Peace, to the uniform Practice of Injuffice to their budilon & to one another. Wicked Men in this Sitera tion, mult be Encorico to an efficient Government, which would oblige them to pay their Debla and Jaxes , & put it out of their Power to make daws against the Practice of Tullice, which is all that the State Governments have done hitherto. Accordingly the Oppoless of the New Confli. Intion confit almost wholly of Men of this Defeription, & confidering how much they abound here, it is purprising that the Opposition has not been greater . I hope that no Violence will be allempted, but the Mal contents in corry State are Jelling up Committees of Correspondence in Hopes of mining the conflictution by Amendments, which they could not hinder by love or Numbers , What they principally point at is to deprive longrets of the Power of imposing general Jases, & to prevent their keeping a Manding army in time of deace . Many likewile contend for a Bill of Right, & that the longrep thould not have nower to appoint the Time & Place of the Election of their own Members, but that it thould be left to the Diferction of the Itale Allemblies. If they thould prevail on the degittatures of Rine States to agree to thefe noclended Amendments, or even any of the two first, they would effectually defeat the Intenti. on of the New Conflictution, & protong our profont Anarchy. All the Operations of the State affemblies fince the Peace have been only to make laws for preventing the Payment of Bri. lift Debts , & to cheat one another with Paper Money , & if no New Government is in hoduced they will go on as they have begun. The Opportunity of impoling on one another, by a lumency depresiable at Pleasure, is confidered by the most of the Prople of this Country, as one of the most lacked & unalicenable Rights of Mankind; & the Numbers have been mined by it, yet or others have been great Gainers, they are thill lond of it, & all the States except Maryland have entered deep into this Species of Villany. The People are first thimulated by their lead. en lo clamour lor a Paper Currency. The Affembly grant it, & affign the Redomption of it upon some Jax that is never to be collected, as there is not the most remote Intention of Pay. ment. The monied Men receive this bake Currency at the Iscalury at thisty nor Cent. Difeound They lay it out in liverelation at the nominal Value, & as foon as all the Bills are out of the Treaking, they begin to depuchate, & the Monied Mon relate to take them without len, twenty or thirty per lent. Dilcount, as they can agree, even the ' they gained thisty per lent. at the Emipion. The Treatury receive the Bills indeed at the nominal Value, for the four Janes that are paid, but to indomnity themplores, they oblige their Enditor & their Mices to take them at the Rominal Value. Some few are burnt now & then to falisty the People, but \_ new ones are ipued on various Pretences. In this lisch of Imposition have the allaris of

Involve States run one contantly fince the Peace, the' fucespively under the Direction of Men profet. ing different Principles & Maximo of Government. Manyland, the' it kept free from the Imposition of Paper Maney, has however suffered as much as the set, by the Operation of a villanous Banknent Law , made by Deblon for their own Purpoles , which has been lately sepealed . the' not lill the -Stale was brought to the Brink of Ruin, The Bankruget Laws in the other Stales appear from their Effects to be no lef favourable to Fraud & Injustice . An Oath indeed is required in all, but that has no Weight with People who boatt of believing whatever they please, & who for the most Carl never think of a Supreme Being. In this state any one may get free of all their Debb by going to Gaol for a little time, & relitioning the Membly for their diberation, which is no Difgrace how, & is granted as a Thing of lowste. A Stranger would imagine the Gool of Phila. delphia to be the Seal of Government, from the great Multitudes of well-doch it People which he las conflomly coming in & going out of it. The licentiousnets of Turics & the little Regard ~ paid to Daths & Promites, is one of the great Grievances of this lownby. I have been allund that in Virginia, where they pretend to give the Agents of British Merchants Acces to their Courts for the Recovery of their Debts, that a Tury will forselimes apprehiale upon Dath, a Heap of dimetiones on the lands of the Debtor, & tolemnly adjudge that the British Mor. chant as an Equivalent for his Debt. Matters are not much better in this state, where then lours of Enguing conveys the half of the dands of the Deblor to the Creditor for ferran years, & this is all the Payment he can expect. If the Court of Enquiry is of Opinion that the Dobt. or, by the ulmoft Occonomy, may discharge his Och in seven years, they give no Sentence against his Lands, but the locditor must wait his deiture for that Poriod, My greatell Fran with Regard to the New Government is the Nant of Men of Monour & Public Spirit to manage Public Concerns, & the little Probability that such will be chapen by the People. Our prefert (on greb , the on its last degs , is agitaled by all the Fory of Party Spirit & local Prejudice They have little now in their Power except the appointment of the temporary Repidence of the Now longrep, till the federal lapital is fix'd, & the Appointment of the Election of the Menn. ben of the New Government. They have delayed this Election will the Month of December, infload of conjoining it with the General Elections held annually in Oclober, which will be both hurtful to the Industry of the loundry, & give an Opportunity to the Enemies of the New Conflictution to Avengthen thempelves by Alliances in the mean time. The federal Capital ought to be lixe'd at this Place, as king near the middle of the Tarritory, lecure from In. lult by Sea, & within Reach of the Neflern beenbry, which will soon be the most populous & important Part of the States. The Voles are equal at prefent, Size for New York, & Six for Chiladelphia as the temporary Scal of the tulux longsets, Both Parties havever pretend ~ that they mean only a temporary Appointment, as their Powers extend no farther. But if they carry this, they with to continue the Scal of Government as near as pollible to themselves the Southern States whing for Philadelphia, & the Eaftern for New York. There is a Report that they intend to admit the palley Diffrict of Vermont into the Union, to call the Bal. lance in lawours of New Mork, as Rhode Illand has forbidden their Representatives to give any Vole in this Auction. If the Capital is not fixed at this Place, & the Allegiance of The Western Country lecured by good Gampons, they will either become independent, or fall off to the English & Spaniands, in any of which later the States would loke a large and Jertile Country, & have an Enemy much more terrible than the Indians, to encounter, But public While weight to title, & privale Gain to much, with the People of this lour Ing, that the deal of hovernment may probably be fix'd at a Seaport, which mult both expole it to Infull, & lose the greatest Part of the Territory perhaps in me year. The Inhabitants of Mentucke are faid at present to be about offering their Allegiance to the Court of Spain, on condition of being allowed the free Mavigation of the Missippi.

Il this thould take Place, as the longues have hitherto declined to admit thenlucke into the Union as a feparale State, it will produce buch confequences as mult for involve this Infant Country in . War, which would be almost mortal to it in its prefent State. Some Species of Industry have begun to be introduced into this tountry, but the People are to unfleady in their Purpoles, & to diffiones all their Dealings , that no Underlaking can be of any Continuance , The Manufachung of Mails has Increaded by coming into private hand, but till the Farmors increase their Breed of Sheep, there san be no Wooken Manufactories. The dand is pollels'? molly by Men without Throw ledge, Sonte on public Spiril, & incapable of Union with each other, loaded with Debts, occupied only about Poli lies, of which they know nothing, & ready to they to the Well as loon as any German will buy their dands, which mult be much neglected by Man that to not mean to felle on them. Janes are merely nominal to People of this Sort, at there are many that have held dands twenty them who never paid a Farthing of Jacon, either to the former or prefent Government. No public of. licen or lottectors are accountable, & all of them are of the Mind of Ownicles , the they never heard of him, chuping rather to make Interest with the People that they may never be called to Account, & those is not mainterpole in Behalf of the Public. It the Jaces & Detto already due by this bunky wore exacted , the whole Broperty behaved to pake into other hands , to that the New Government will have a difficult ~ Game to play, in compounding Marcy with Juffice, & obliging Mon by the Jerron of daw to be frugal & induffrious, but without an army they can neither execute any daw, nor collect any Jax whatever. I hear that two ~ Man of Letters from France are arrived at New York. They will be qually ditappointed in finding to little Mnowledge in this Country. The French-Fleck is arrived at Bofton, & if Rhode Illand continues separate from the rest, that Place may soon become a French Garrison, & be relained on . Account of the Debt owing them by longreps, unles the English Filed now at Jamaica, lake the start of them, & leize it for the Dobh due to their Merchants, which are of a much greater amount. In either late, the longsch could neither complain nor refill. I have been some specimons of a yellow Flint of which the Indians made heads to their Spears. They are about ten Inches long, & tharp pointed, & extremely hard. They were tound, to the Number of eighty or nincly, in a Morah in Virginia, twenty lect under Ground. Those defign I for Arrows were of a Green Mone, & pointed like the others, The Inhabitants of Junbury on the Sulquehanna, in culling a Road along the Banks of that River, difcovered a Hum. ber of Ochilactions, such as Field Mice online, Beaks, Legs & Claws of Biris, att of a hand grey stone. A Gorman tearching for dead Mines at Muntingdon in this Stale, difeovered Shalls, Sconia, & other Velliges of a Mine formerly wrought in that Place, which occapions much Speculation, as the Country has been but a thost time out of the Oottepion of the In. dians, & we never heard that any Spaniard, had Ibrayed to lar to the Rorth. This Seminary Will languithes, & the Implees do nothing for its Jupport. Any hopes we have, are from the neighbouring States to the South, or if the federal lapital thould be Mathithed here. Mnowledge is deprifed, & People chuse rather to find their Jons to the Wellward, with any little Me. ney they can give them, than give them an Education that can procuse them no Advantage. Another Age, I am apaid, mult pap, before theoreledge, Industry or Vistue can have any tooling in this loundry. I have upwards of live Hundred Dounds Starling due to me in this country, but as the Daymont of it doyson to on the faith of man who have thous that they have none, it can not be reckoned tor any thing . I am, with unferiqued Repect, My dord Mour Lordthin's very humble Servant Cha. Nisbel.

#### Carlisle, 16th September, 1788

## My Lord,

From a Country of so little Curiosity, & so barren of Events as this is, little Information can be expected, but as it is now in a Singular & interesting Situation, & the Accounts in the public Papers may be defective or partial, I imagined that a brief Account of its present State might not be unacceptable to your Lordship, as a Citizen of the World, & a lover of Mankind. Last Year a Convention of the Representatives of the thirteen States drew up a Constitution or Plan of Government for this Country, which was submitted to the Conventions of the Several States, & agreed to be carried into Execution, if adopted by Nine States. This Constitution, tho' imperfect, defective, & in some Respects impious, was judged however to be the best Form of Government that could be adopted by a People in our Situation, & is Still thought to be so, by all that love Order, Justice & the Happiness of Society. Eleven States have now adopted this Constitution, tho' those of Virginia & New York appear to be least Sincere in this Business. Rhode Island has not called a Convention to consider it, & North Carolina appears to be disposed only to accept it conditionally. Your Lordship may easily imagine how few good things can be expected to be agreed to by three Millions of ignorant Peasants, under factious Leaders, & loaded with Debts at home & abroad, habituated likewise, as they have been since the Peace, to the uniform Practice of Injustice to their Creditors & to one another. Wicked Men in this situation, must be Enemies to an Efficient Government, which would oblige them to pay their Debts and Taxes, & put it out of their Power to make Laws against the Practice of Justice, which is all that the State Governments have done hitherto. Accordingly, the Opposers of the New Constitution consist almost wholly of Men of this Description, & considering how much they abound here, it is surprising that the Opposition has not been greater. I hope that no Violence will be attempted, but the Malcontents in every State are Setting up Committees of Correspondence in Hopes of ruining the Constitution by Amendments, which they could not hinder by force or Numbers. What they principally point at is to deprive Congress of the Power of imposing general Taxes, & to prevent their keeping a Standing Army in time of Peace. Many likewise contend for a Bill of Rights, & that the Congress should not have Power to appoint the Time & Place of the Election of their own Members, but that it should be left to the Direction of the State Assemblies. If they should prevail on the Legislatures of Nine States to agree to these pretended Amendments, or even any of the two first, they would effectually defeat the Intention of the New Constitution, & prolong our present Anarchy. All the Operations of the State Assemblies since the Peace have been only to make laws for preventing the Payment of British Debts, & to cheat one another with Paper Money, & if no New Government is introduced they will go on as they have begun. The Opportunity of imposing on one another, by a Currency depretiable at Pleasure, is considered by the most of the People of this Country, as one of the most Sacred & unalienable Rights of Mankind; & tho' Numbers have been ruined by it, yet as others have been great Gainers, they are still fond of it, & all the States except Maryland have entered deep into this Species of Villany. The People are first stimulated by their leaders to clamour for a Paper Currency. The Assembly grant it, & assign the Redemption of it upon some Tax that is never to be collected, as there is not the most remote Intention of Payment. The Monied Men Receive this base Currency at the Treasury at thirty per Cent Discount. They lay it out in Circulation at the nominal Value, & as soon as all the Bills are out of the Treasury, they begin to depretiate, & the Monied Men refuse to take them without ten, twenty or thirty per Cent. Discount, as they can agree, even tho' they gained thirty per Cent. at the Emission. The Treasury receive the Bills indeed at the nominal Value, for the few Taxes that are paid, but to indemnify themselves, they oblige their Creditors & their officers to take them at the Nominal Value. Some few are burnt now & then to satisfy the People, but new ones are issued on various Pretences. In this Circle of Imposition have the Affairs of

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twelve States run on constantly Since the Peace, tho' successively under the Direction of Men professing different Principles & Maxims of Government. Maryland, tho' it kept free from the Imposition of Paper Money, has however suffered as much as the rest, by the Operation of a villanous Bankrupt Law, made by Debtors for their own Purposes, which has been lately repealed, tho' not till the State was brought to the Brink of Ruin. The Bankrupt Laws in the other States appear from their Effects to be no less favourable to Fraud & Injustice. An Oath indeed is required in all, but that has no Weight with People who boast of believing whatever they please, & who for the most Part never think of a Supreme Being. In this State anyone may get free of all their Debts by going to Gaol for a little time & petitioning the Assembly for their Liberation, which is no Disgrace here, & is granted as a Thing of Course. A Stranger would imagine the Gaol of Philadelphia to be the Seat of Government, from the great Multitudes of well-dress'd People which he sees constantly coming in & going out of it. The licentiousness of Juries & the little Regard paid to Oaths & Promises, is one of the great Grievances of this Country. I have been assured that in Virginia, where they pretend to give the Agents of British Merchants access to their Courts for the Recovery of their Debts, that a Jury will sometimes appreciate upon Oath, a Heap of Limestones on the lands of the Debtor, & solemnly adjudge that to the British Merchant as an Equivalent for his Debt. Matters are not much better in this State, where the Court of Enquiry conveys the half of the Lands of the Debtor to the Creditor for Seven Years & this is all the Payment he can expect. If the Court of Enquiry is of Opinion that the Debtor, by the utmost Oeconomy, may discharge his Debt in Seven Years, they give no Sentance against his Lands, but the Creditor must wait his Leisure for that Period. My greatest Fear with Regard to the New Government is the Want of Men of Honour & Public Spirit to manage Public Concerns, & the little Probability that such will be chosen by the People. Our present Congress, tho' on its last Legs, is agitated by all the Fury of Party Spirit & local Prejudice. They have little now in their Power except the Appointment of the temporary Residence of the New Congress, till the federal Capital is fix'd, & the Appointment of the Election of the Members of the New Government. They have delayed this Election till the Month of December, instead of conjoining it with the General Elections held annually in October, which will be both hurtful to the Industry of the Country, & give an Opportunity to the Enemies of the New Constitution to strengthen themselves by Alliances in the mean time. The federal Capital ought to be fix'd at this Place, as being near the middle of the Territory, secure from Insult by Sea, & within Reach of the Western Country, which will soon be the most populous & important Part of the States. The Votes are equal at present, Six for New York, & Six for Philadelphia as the temporary Seat of the future Congress. Both Parties however pretend that they mean only a temporary Appointment, as their Powers extend no farther. But if they carry this, they wish to continue the Seat of Government as near as possible to themselves the Southern States voting for Philadelphia, & the Eastern for New York. There is a Report that they intend to admit the paltry District of Vermont into the Union, to cast the Balance in favour of New York, as Rhode Island has forbidden their

Representatives to give any vote in this Question. If the Capital is not fixed at this Place, & the allegiance of the Western Country secured by good Garrisons, they will either become independent, or fall off to the English & Spaniards, in any of which Cases the States would lose a large and fertile Country, & have an Enemy much more terrible then the Indians, to encounter. But public Utility weighs so little, & private Gain so much., with the People of this Country,, that the Seat of Government may probably be fix'd at a Seaport, which must both expose it to Insult, & lose the greatest Part of the Territory perhaps in one Year. The Inhabitants of Kentucke are said at present to be about offering their Allegiance to the Court of Spain, on condition of being allowed the free Navigation of the Mississippi.

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If this should take Place, as the Congress have hitherto declined to admit Kentucke into the Union as a separate State, it will produce such Consequences as must soon involve this Infant Country in a War, which would be almost mortal to it in its present State. Some Species of Industry have begun to be introduced into this Country, but the People are so unsteady in their Purposes, & so dishonest in all their Dealings, that no undertaking can be of any Continuance. The Manufactury of nails has succeeded by coming into private hands, but till the Farmers increase their Breed of Sheep, there can be no Woollen Manufactories. The Land is possess'd mostly by Men without Knowledge, Sense or public Spirit, & incapable of Union with each other, loaded with Debts, occupied only about Politics, of which they know nothing, & ready to fly to the West as soon as any German will buy their Lands, which must be much neglected by Men that do not mean to settle on them. Taxes are merely nominal to People of this Sort, & there are many who have held Lands twenty Years who never paid a Farthing of Taxes, either to the former or present Government. No public officers or Collectors are accountable, & all of them are of the Mind of Pericles, tho' they never heard of him, chusing rather to make Interest with the People that they may never be called to any account., & there is not interpose in Behalf of the Public. If the Taxes & Debts already due by this Country were exacted, the whole Property behoved to pass into other hands, so that the New Government will have a difficult Game to play in compounding Mercy with Justice, & obliging Men by the Terror of Law to be frugal & industrious, but without an Army they can neither execute any Law, nor collect any Tax whatever. I hear that two Men of Letters from France are arrived at New York. They will be greatly disappointed in finding so little Knowledge in this Country. The French fleet is arrived at Boston., & if Rhode Island continues separate from the rest, that Place may soon become a French Garrison, & be retained on account of the Debt owing them by Congress, unless the English Fleet now at Jamaica, take the Start of them, & seize it for the Debts due to their Merchants, which are of a much greater amount. In either Case, the Congress could neither complain or resist. I have seen some specimens of a yellow Flint of which the Indians made heads to their Spears. They are about ten Inches long, & sharp pointed, & extremely hard. They were found, to the Number of eighty or ninety, in a Morass in Virginia, twenty feet under Ground. Those designed for Arrows were of a Green Stone, & pointed like the others. The Inhabitants of Sunbury on the Susquehanna, in cutting a Road along the Banks of that River, discovered a Number of Petrifactions, such as Field Mice entire, Beaks, Legs, & Claws of Birds, all of a hard grey Stone. A German searching for Lead Mines at Huntingdon in this State, discovered Shafts, scoria, & other Vestiges of a Mine formerly wrought in that Place, which occasions much Speculation, as the Country has been but a short time out of the Possession of

the Indians, & we never heard that any Spaniards had strayed so far to the North. This Seminary still languishes, & the Trustees do nothing for its support. Any hopes we have, are from the neighbouring States to the South, or if the federal Capital should be established here. Knowledge is despised, & People chuse rather to send their Sons to the Westward, with any little Money they can give them, than give them an Education that can procure them no Advantage. Another Age, I am afraid, must pass, before Knowledge, Industry, or Virtue can have any footing in this Country. I have upwards of five Hundred Pounds, Sterling due to me in this Country, but as the Payment of it depends on the faith of Men who have shown that they have none, it can not be reckoned for any thing. I am, with unfeigned Respect,

My Lord, Your Lordship's very humble Servant,

Cha.s Nisbet.

Carlifle, 20th March, 1790.

My Lord, I am quite alhamed that I have not hitherto been able to anpoor your Lord. thin's friendly Letter of Dec." 4th 1788, which I received in the Beginning of May laft. The Difficulty & Uncertainty of all Conveyance in this Country is quite incredible to those who have not been it. I was in hopes of procuring a Rumber of Petrifactions in his than a Month after receiving your Lordfrip's Letter, but have only received them within thefe for Weeks af. ler many Lotten & Mehages . A Parcel of Books was lent me by Dr. Erthine by the Way of -New York , which reached Philadelphia in August laft , I law it there in Oclober , but it is not yet come to my hand, because of all the Variety of Faiths that we have in this Country, good Faith is by far the rareft to be found, the' of what is called American Faith these is very great Abundance. - Your Lordthip's Prophecies of an approaching thange in this Country to the beller, gave me much confolation for a time, & I used to read them over to myself to diffipale the gloomy Auguries of my own Mind. But altho 'it is to long a time line they were emitted, I confet I can be nothing that lends in the least to their fulfilment. The Esta Shment of a new Government, which now comprehends Invelve of the Stales ( Ahode Sland Hill Randing out) was supposed by many to be able to give a new Spring to the Minds of the People, or to excite them to improve their natural advantages. But now that I have read the account of all the Proceedings of the new longues, I confet I be little hopes of any Reformation. They had great Debales on chasting a Place for the Seal of their Government, which they left undecided at their first Recep, but what is nost melancholy, it was difeavered that their Division was not owing to Difference in Opinion to much as perfonal Interest, all of them. having speculated largely on Lands, on the Dellawase, the Sugachanna, & Polonmack, I they voled & debaled for the Place that would contribute to raife the Value of their sepredice Surchafes , Their hectent Bufinch is the Bayment of the Debts of the leveral States in which it is faid that these who have got a Humber of State lertificates in their hands are keen for paying the full Sum to the Molden of the Certificates , & other who ere in a different Silua. lion in fift for a Diferimination of Perfores, & that they thould receive only what they paid for. them, but the list are likely to carry it . It may be affed indeed how they are to pay them, as they have laid no internal Jaxes , but it is apprechended that a vall Quantity of depochat ing Paper will be emitted, which will revive all the trand, & Requesies of former years. There is no Jalk of reviving the Credit of the Old longues Money. I hear of no Improve. ments worth mentioning in any Carl of this tountry , but what we most want is Men of -Uprightness, lapacity & public Spiril, of which I do not hear that any Members of the pre. lent longsch are in the least inprecied. They have got into the forms of Butisch neelly well, the ' not a little of the Sharper, appears new & then, Men who are difficult in -

their Dealings in privale Life, are but ill qualified to act the Part of Palrich & Legiflaloss. They have proposed a Plan for raising an army from the Militia of the States, but it cannot meet with much Encouragement if the Rople dilcover that they will be paid with depresiating Da. per, & that the Bookers & Money-jobbers will get all their Profile. This State has lately affembled a Convention to amending their tormer conflictution fout the Clan they have published has Will many Defects, especially as they have left the Election of the Governor & fundry executive Officers to the Ocopole at large, & continued the vile luftern of voting by Ballot, which is permissions to the Mo. rats of the Ocople & reduces Elections to a more farce, as in this Manner the fame Perfons often vole three low or five limes over under feigned Names, as I have been affund by many Electors, & by lowe of the elected. The new longitution is left open low Difcupion till angust need. The Dec. ple are fill locking wellward. Hentucky has received ten thousand Ensigrants som the other -States loft Hear, & it any internal Jax is imposed by longsels, it would occurin thill quater Emi. grations. The Manner in which People live here does not leave it in their Pewer to pay any Jazes, as every one prend, all his Income, and the most Part are likewife in Dell. The Dearth of Grain in Europe tall year has brought a great real of Money into this toustry, but it leeves to 20 no good, as they thill complain of its Scarcily. The general Want of Virtue is the great Cause of This Poverby & Misfortunes, There is no built or Monchy in mutual Dealings, & even those who per. form their Engagements, often delay leveral years. These can be but lew Transactions in a low. by where one Bargain requires the time that would be requipte for fulfilling twenty before it is Julibled, Indolence is the general Vice of the People, & the Mother of a Multitude of others. Thence they will momile or prear any thing whalfower, but never think of Performance, and those who call them lelves Gentleman, & Will the State Offices, are nothing better than the ordi. nany Sort of Roques. I will not be furnited it your Lordthing thould think that this account is exaggerated, but to a Perton living in the Country it is impossible to think otherwiter I me had public Men who had a Scale of honour, & were defirous of effablishing a Character to themplace by agright Dealing, their Example might have lome Elled on others. But as no honour is to be got in this toustry by the Practice of Virtue, very low have any Regard to il. Their public Main are as full of Roquery as their privale, as they have no proper Reponsibility wery Deficiency being uniformly excused. Judges are appointed for brying the Caules of Forreigness , but pour all that I can bear of their Characters , very tille Juffice is to be expected from them. The Prefident of the United States recommended to the Members of the degittature to be honeft in their privale Dealings, but I do not hear that it has had any Effect. Could any in Great Britain believe that a Perfor melending to be a Gentleman would break up pri. vale Lellers , & tell that he had done to , without being in the leaft athamed ? But I have not only experienced this, but have heard Men who have tal in longrep, allemblies & lonven lions, declare that they & others did to. & I cemed to have no Rotion that there was any ~ harm in it, and not only letters entrufted to private Outons, but those tent by Doft, are often opened in this Manner . hum a mean & impertinent Curiopity , White our leading

Men are to mean, & the Poll-mapless lame enough to suffer it, what can be expected of the com mon People ? I have never indeed found any of my Letters from Great Boilain opened, as the Curiopily of the People is not led on things abroad, but on what is patting among them places. an English Cachel Boat has been in Philadelphia, for what Purpole I do not hear, but the is faid to have carried off about 250 poor People to Ireland, giving them their Pallage bee, with a Defign, I puppole, to check the Spirit of Emigration in that Thing Jonn. The Rage for liberty lecons to be preading in Europe, but it they know how little good it has done hose , they would not be to languine in Purpuit. Mankind in the wild state are at best dilagreeable, & tometimes terrible animals , as many in France have lately lell to their loft , There is no Profuel of in. troducing a Jake for Learning into this tountry as the Sominances are mostly in the Manage ment of mere Gotho & Vandals, & the Jeachers very noor & puperficial Scholors, dependent & ill-paid, & lome Truflees of Colleges are profet it Emmises of Letters. Dr. Ruth has become an Enemy to Scarning on my Account, & endeavour to min this Seminary, to gratify his new friends of the Epilcopal thurch , who have very little Scaming among them . The loolith Indulgence of the People here to their thildren is another ~ lante of the great Want of learning. Even those who bring their ~ Children here Ino, three, or five hundred Miles, will lomelimes lell them in my hearing that they may beave of their learning whenever they please, and the People of this Jown nut away fun. dry young Men from their Studies by letting them that dearning is ulelop. Dr. Ruth has published a long Differtation in the american Merferen, to diffuade young Men from the Shidy of the Languages, & to prove that no Man of any Protettion ought to have more learning than another Man / Met he is a Ind. ice of two Colleges, & receives Jubleriptions for both , wherever he can obtain them , but I will not affirm that he accounts faithfully for what he receives . It is a Irade here to receive Jule. leriptions, of which many are lond, for wident Reafons. My affain are thill in a bad state & those is no Propped of any amendment of them . I thruggle against the Sheam , but with little Effect. I have been pupported almost by Miracle, & do my Duly in the best Manner I can, the I know that other Deople seccive my Wages . This is hard , but as god is pleased to give me Mealth, I must thruggle with my bad to have as well as I can, It is in vain for me to complain, as my late admits of no Remedy in a Country to void of Inth & Tuffice . -I ever am with great Repeal, My Low your Lowthins mill obliged '

humble Servant Cha. " Nisbel.

## Carlisle, 20th March, 1790

## My Lord,

I am quite ashamed that I have not hitherto been able to answer your Lordship's friendly Letter of Dec.r 4th 1788, which I received in the Beginning of May last. The Difficulty & Uncertainty of all Conveyance in this Country is quite incredible to those who have not seen it. I was in hopes of procuring a Number of Petrifactions in less than a Month after receiving your Lordship's Letter, but have only received them within these few Weeks after many Letters & Messages. A Parcel of Books was sent me by Dr. Erskine by the Way of New York, which reached Philadelphia in August last. I saw it here in October, but it is not yet come to my hand, because of all the Variety of Faiths that we have in this Country, good Faith is by far the rarest to be found, tho' of what is called American Faith there is very great Abundance. Your Lordship's Prophecies of an approaching Change in this Country to the better, gave me much Consolation for a time, & I used to read them over to myself to dissipate the gloomy Auguries of my own Mind. But altho' it is to long a time since they were emitted, I confess I can see nothing that lends in the least to their fulfilment. The Establishment of a new Government, which now comprehends twelve of the States (Rhode Island still standing out) was supposed by many to be able to give a new Spring to the Minds of the People, & to excite them to improve their natural Advantages. But now that I have read the Account of all the Proceedings of the new Congress, I confess I see little hopes of any Reformation. They had great Debates on chusing a Place for the Seat of their Government, which they left undecided at their first Recess, but what is most melancholy, it was discovered that their Division was not owing to Difference in Opinion so much as personal Interest, all of them having speculated largely on Lands, on the Dellaware, the Susquehanna, & Potowmack, & they voted & debated for the Place that would contribute to raise the Value of their respective Purchases. Their present Business is the Payment of the Debts of the several States in which it is said that those who have got a Number of State Certificates in their hand, are keen for paying the full Sum to the Holders of the Certificates, & others who are in a different Situation insist for a Discrimination of the Persons, & that they should receive only what they paid for them, but the first are likely to carry it. It may be asked indeed how they are to pay them, as they have laid no internal Taxes, but it is apprehended that a vast Quantity of depreciating Paper will be emitted, which will revive all the frauds, & Rogueries of former Years. There is no Talk of reviving the Credit of the Old Congress Money. I hear no Improvements worth mentioning in any Part of this Country, but what we most want is Men of Uprightness, Capacity & public Spirit, of which I do not hear that any Member of the present Congress are in the least suspected. They have got into the forms of Business really well, tho' not a little of the Sharper, appears now & then. Men who are dishonest in

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their Dealings in private Life are but ill-qualified to act the Part of Patriots & Legislators. They have proposed a Plan for raising an Army from the Militia of the States, but it cannot meet with much Encouragement if the People discover that they will be paid with depreciating Paper, & that the Brokers & Money-jobbers will get all their Profits. This State has lately assembled a Convention for amending their former Constitution, but the Plan they have published has still many Defects, especially as they have left the Election of the Governor & sundry executive

Officers to the People at large, & continued the vile Custom of voting by Ballot, which is pernicious to the Morals of the People, & reduces Elections to a mere farce, as in this Manner the same Persons often vote three, four or five times over under feigned Names, as I have been assured by many Electors, & by some of the elected. The new Constitution is left open for Discussion till August next. The People are still flocking westward. Kentucky has received ten thousand Emigrants from the other States last Year, & if any internal Tax is imposed by Congress, it would occasion still greater Emigrations. The Manner in which People live here does not leave it in their Power to pay any Taxes, as every one spends all his Income, and the most part are likewise in Debt. The Dearth of Grain in Europe last Year has brought a great Deal of Money into this Country, but it seems to do no good, as they still complain of its Scarcity. The general Want of Virtue is the great Cause of their poverty & Misfortunes. There is no truth or Honesty in mutual Dealings, & even those who perform their Engagements, often delay several Years. There can be but few Transactions in a Country whose one Bargain requires the time that would be requisite for fulfilling twenty before it is fulfilled. Indolence is the general Vice of the People, & the Mother of a Multitude of others. Hence they will promise or swear any thing whatsoever, but never think of Performance, and those who call themselves Gentlemen, & fill the State offices, are nothing better than the ordinary Sort of Rogues. I will not be surprised if your Lordship should think that this Account is exaggerated, but to the Person living in the Country it is impossible to think otherwise. If we had public Men who had a Sense of honour, & were desirous of establishing a Character to themselves by upright Dealing, their Example might have some Effect on others. But as no honour is to be got in this Country by the Practice of Virtue, very few have any Regard to it. Their public Affairs are as full of Roguery as their private, as they have no proper Responsibility every Deficiency being uniformly excused. Judges are appointed for trying the Causes of Foreigners, but from all that I can hear of their characters, very little Justice is to be expected from them. The President of the United States recommended to the Members of the Legislature to be honest in their private Dealings, but I do not hear that it has had any Effect. Could any in Great Britain believe that a Person pretending to be a Gentleman would break up private Letters, & tell that he had done so, without being in the least ashamed? But I have not only experienced this, but I have heard Men who have sat in Congress, Assemblies & Conventions, declare that they & others did so, & seemed to have no Notion that there was any harm in it. And not only letters entrusted to private Persons, but those sent by Post, are often opened in this Manner, from a mean & impertinent Curiosity. While our leading

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Men are so mean, & the Poll-makers tame enough to suffer it, what can be expected of the common People? I have never indeed found any of my Letters from Great Britain opened, as the Curiosity of the People is not fed on things abroad, but on what is passing among themselves. An English Packet Boat has been in Philadelphia, for what Purpose I do not hear, but their said to have carried off about 250 poor People to Ireland, giving them their Passage free, with a Design, I suppose, to check the Spirit of Emigration in that Kingdom. The Rage for liberty seems to be spreading in Europe, but if they knew how little good it has done here, they would not be so sanguine in Pursuit. Mankind in the wild State are at best disagreeable, & sometimes terrible Animals, as many in France have lately fell to their lott. There is no Prospect of introducing a Taste for Learning into this Country as the Seminaries are mostly in the Management of mere

Goths & Vandals, & the Teachers very poor & superficial Scholars, dependent & ill-paid, & some Trustees of Colleges are profess'd Enemies of Letters. Dr. Rush has become an Enemy to Learning on my Account, & endeavors to ruin this Seminary, to gratify his new friends of the Episcopal Church, who have very little Learning among them. The foolish indulgence of the People here to their Children is another Cause of the great Want of learning. Even those who bring their Children here two, three, or five hundred Miles, will sometimes tell them in my hearing that they may leave off their learning whenever they please. And the People of this Town put away sundry young Men from their Studies by telling them that Learning is useless. Dr. Rush has published a long Dissertation in the American Museum, to dissuade young Men from the Study of Languages, & to prove that no Man of any Profession ought to have more learning than another Man. Yet he is a Trustee of two Colleges, & receives Subscriptions for both, wherever he can obtain them, but I will not affirm that he accounts faithfully for what he receives. It is a Trade here to receive Subscriptions, of which many are land, for evident Reasons. My Affairs are still in a bad State & there is no Prospect of any Amendment of them. I struggle against the stream, but with little Effect. I have been supported almost by Miracle, & do my Duty in the best Manner I can, tho' I know that other People receive my Wages. This is hard, but as God is pleased to give me Health, I must struggle with my bad fortune as well as I can. It is vain for me to complain, as my Case admits of no Remedy in a Country so void of Truth & Justice. I ever am with great Respect,

> My Lord, Your Lordships most obliged humble servant

> > Cha.s Nisbet

Lastifle, August 18th, 1790.

I am alhamed at having to long delayed the sending over thete Follich & Petrifactions , which I promited to land laft year I was nut in hopes por many Quarters, of obtaining a tolkchion worthy of being last to your Lasthing but the talkacy of American Faith, which prevails in the Higheler & common, as will in the most fairer Trantactions of Life here, has need it out of my Power . What I for at nucleul can only neove my Inclination, & the Render Inculs of my Endeavours to the nature of my Bufinch newonth me how havelling. I am obliged to buff to others, who generally lait me. Many falle Reports provail in this tountry with the Ined to natural Europities, as well as other things . I have bean' of antive tels being lound petrified in the Sulquehanna, but on bacing the Report, I hind it to be laffe. a Jalpharrow Ining has been lately dilcovered within litteen Miles of this Olace which is faid to perform great lunes, & was to exclimate lances, which are become more biquent in this touring than herelatore. It has been chickly torvicable in alancens Diterias, & was diferred by the Refert of the lattle to it from a great Dillance. It appears that lowe other Mineral is mingled with the Julphan, as the a hilphuncus Small is to be fell at the Dillance of one hundred yards from it, yel the Water does not lings a Picce of Silver when put is it , as all timple helphuncers Walow do. The Petroleum or Noch Vil, which is gathered on the Surface of -French luck , begins to be celebrated for awing di Man id culancous Eruptuni & is theways laid to be taken internally, with great Success, to Indigettions & Weakingto of the Momach. It is thismail how the Water with a feather, & tours in to great Quantilies , that it is told at Pittsburgh for Six Thilling, Sterling . ner English Gallon. I expected to have been Englishman bavelling thes' this loustry from hurstily, but have been only one as yet, a Mr. Fielder, of den. don, who has been in this tountry to billen Months. He has gene how Bottom to alexandria, along the laut, & lett out from thence in the Beginning of Tune laft, on an extensive Four to the Wellward, how which he is now return ing. The has walked more than Swar bundred Miles on this Jour, & has wifet. a lome of the Indian Initis. The goes to the Well Indias this tall, & propotes to setum to the continent in the entring Winter. He has collected a Variety of Folis & Petrifactions, & camined way natural lumobily that tell in his

My Lard,

Way, & keeps an accurate Mournal of his Ofernations. It is probable that if Inc. villess of this Denomination come bequeutly among us the tountry may be more indetted to their Obtervalions than to those of the Ratives , who have in general too little turistily & Adivily, the' there are tome Exceptions. A Son of General Rober. deau of Virginia, accompanied Mr. Fielder in his Jour, & carried a Kille of Twelve Pounds Averdunsile, a Shot Bag, Janahawk & Icalping therite all the Way & hept an accurate Hournal as well as the other. A low hunderds of French Ens. grants have were to Alexandria this Hear, but they were dilgutted on hinding them Telves cheated by Whole People who had told them Lands to that the chief of them re burned to France with an Evil Report of the Country. the the quater Part of them have remained, being unable to may for their Pallage to Europe, It is Billy that Duplicity & thursday theuld be to integrarable from the Dealings of Americans, as they give to bad an Imprepion of the Country to proving the Intur of ulchel People of whom we have to much Meed. But as many of the Frenchmen who have some over are Mechanics , norhaps they may be whele by inhoducing lunday Incia of Industry, by bring diperted over the townby. The predant Mis. tostunes of France might have occapioned the Emigration of many thoulands, to the great Emplument of themstation & of this townby, it the hill Division of them had not been to vilely imposed on. The War which is tikely to beak out between qual Britain & Ipain gives krines Alarm to the low that are capable of thinking among us. This tountry may proper in Peace but a War would undenticity min it in a little time. and if the English thank' take thew Isleams from the Inaniand, all the tourney beyond the allegany, would be obliged either to helmit to England, or to tole the only Voul for their Produce. It is thewile laten as a bad Omen here, What General Arnold is come to Debroit. It is excerciting the Militia once a Week, within the Territory coded by Treaty to the United States. I hope Great Britain will never again think of louquering this lountry, as it is too poor to afferd Olun der. I loo large to be hept in Subjection by lorce. The longues have agreed to leave New York where they were come to be very much deprifed. & to felle at Philadelphia tor lon Means, to as to remove at the tommencement of neset tentuny to the Patowmack, on which however they have fixed in no particular Place. But as they have broke this way Kick & Form of Balinch which they themplos had enail. ed for conducting their Proceedings, Incuding longaches will follow their Secomple

& Take the tame liberty to aller all that they have refoloed, and time doubt whether they will was lise on a permanent Kepidence, They appear to be Men of a small Size of Kinderthanding, & incapable of extending their Views beyond their private Inte. with , & the Prejudices of their perticular States . Their Divition on the Relidence of Government was determined by their having Lands near the River on which propoled to lix'il . & their Division on the hunding of the States, was presidely autor ing as they had a had not an Interest in the Matter. When Men in public Chice are to little able to conceal their private attachments, il augues 1 porta nublic Interest. The Play & Governon int has been very poorly acted among us hitherto, & I confets that when I confider the Electors & Elected, many of whom I have been this I never law any of their public Meetings I can not help suchecting the Perform that whi to be decked Robin Mood, Lille Tohn, Matter of Mipule, a about of Unnafors, in the Statesonatia that which formarty to be hat in Scotland, about the chriftmas Moto days & the Beginning of May , which buttom is abolithed by Ad of Lucan Mary, in 1555. For indeed one would imagine that They had been cleabed for the Jake of the Toke , rather than for any foring or public Ourpole. It is probable that they will not dare to impole any Jaxes for sear of leting their Seals, but they may illue a large Quantity of dependiable Bills of bridit, which will be a popular Measure, as it will give the litizen the unexprehible Satistaction of cheating one another which they tore above all things . I have enclosed a low Incomment of Jacds, for an Experiment, as they might mobably in Scotland's The Bours are of helve different Species, & are amazingly scholified and the take a being of the origing Mind on popported by Sticker, I have like. wife added a low Saids of the ledar & Societ huis, & a Specimen of the Water-Melon, a low legitals which are found in this Reighbourhood , & a pair of Mocabons which my Son had in a Rectant from the Chief of the Senecca Indians, a Specimen of the Mails that are cut out of the cold Iron , & of the Alberton of this lowsby , But I am long that my tituation did not permit me to land tomathing of more twoidhily , to tellity with how much Sincerity I am,

your Lord thin's moth obedient

My Lord ,

humble Scovant Cha! Nisbel.

## Carlisle, August 18th, 1790.

## My Lord,

I am ashamed at having so long delayed the sending over those Fossils & Petrifactions, which I promised to send last Year. I was put in hopes from many Quarters of obtaining Collection worthy of being sent to your Lordship but the fallacy of American Faith, which prevails in the slighter & common, as well as in the most serious Transactions of Life here, has put it out of my Power. What I send at present can only prove my Inclination, & the slender Success of my Endeavors. As the nature of my Business prevents me from travelling, I am obliged to trust to others who generally fail me. Many false Reports prevail in this Country with Respect to natural curiosities, as well as other things. I have heard of entire Eels being petrified in the Susquehanna, but on tracing the Report, I find it to be false. A Sulphurous Spring has lately been discovered within fifteen Miles of this Place which is said to perform great cures, & even to extirpate cancers, which are become more frequent in this Country than heretofore. It has been chiefly serviceable in cutaneous Disorders, & was discovered by the Resort of the Cattle to it from a great Distance. It appears that some other Mineral is mingled with the Sulphur as tho' a sulphurous Smell is to be felt at the Distance of one hundred Yards from it, yet the water does not tinge a piece of silver when put in it, as all simple sulphurous Waters do. The Petroleum or Rock Oil, which is gathered on the Surface of French Creek, begins to be celebrated for curing old ulcers & cutaneous Eruptions & is likeways said to be taken internally, with great Success, for Indigestions & Weakness of the Stomach. It is skimmed from the Water with a feather, & found in so great Quantities, that it is sold at Pittsburgh for Six Shillings Sterling per English Gallon. I expected to have seen Englishmen travelling thro' this Country from Curiosity, but have seen only one, as yet, a Mr. Fielder, of London, who has been in this Country for fifteen Months. He has gone from Boston to Alexandria, along the Coast, & left out from thence in the Beginning of June last, on an extensive Tour to the Westward, from which he is now returning. He has walked more than Seven hundred Miles on this Tour, & has visited some of the Indian Tribes. He goes to the West Indies this fall & proposes to return to the continent in the ensuing Winter. He has collected a variety of Fossils & Petrifactions, & examined every natural curiosity that fell in his

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Way, & keeps an accurate Journal of his Observations. It is probable that if travellers of this Denomination come frequently among us the Country may be more indebted to their Observations than to those of the Natives, who have in general too little Curiosity & Activity, tho' there are some Exceptions. A Son of General Roberdeau of Virginia, accompanied Mr. Fielder in his Tour, & carried a Riffle of twelve Pound, Averdupoite, a Shot Bag, Tomahawk & scalping Knife all the Way & kept an accurate Journal as well as the other. A few hundreds of French Immigrants have come to Alexandria this year but they were disgusted on finding themselves cheated by those People who had sold them Lands, so that the chief of them returned to France with an Evil Report of the Country, tho' the greater Part of them have remained, being unable to pay for their Passage to Europe. It is Pity that Duplicity & Knavery should be so inseparable from the Dealings of Americans, as they give so bad an Impression of the Country to foreigners, & prevent the Influx of useful People of whom we have so much Need. But as many

of the Frenchmen who have come over are Mechanics, perhaps they may be useful by introducing sundry Species of Industry, by being dispersed over the Country. The present Misfortunes of France might have occasioned the Emigration of many thousands, to the great Emolument of themselves & of this Country, if the first Division of them had not been so vilely imposed on. The War which is likely to break out between Great Britain & Spain gives serious Alarm to the few that are capable of thinking among us. This Country may prosper in Peace, but a War would undoubtedly ruin it in a little time. And if the English should take Now Orleans from the Spaniards all the Country beyond the Allegany, would be obliged either to submit to England or to lose the only Vent for their Produce. It is likewise taken as a bad Omen here that General Arnold is come to Detroit & is exercising the Militia once a week, within the Territory coded by Treaty to the United States. I hope Great Britain will never again think of conquering this Country, as it is too poor to afford Plunder, & too large to be kept in subjection by force. The Congress have agreed to leave New York where they were come to be very much despised, & to settle at Philadelphia for ten Years so as to remove at the Commencement of the next Century to the Patowmack on which they have fixed on no particular Place. But as they have broke thro' every Rule & Form of Business which they themselves have enacted for conducting their Proceedings, succeeding Congresses will follow their Example

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& take the same liberty to alter all that they have resolved, and some doubt whether they will ever fix on a permanent Residence. They appear to be Men of a small size of Understanding & incapable of extending their Views beyond their private Interests, & the Prejudices of their particular States. Their Division on the Residence of Government was determined by their having Lands near the River on which they proposed to fix it, & their Division on the funding of the States, was precisely according as they had or had not an Interest in the Matter. When Men in public Office are so little able to conceal their private Attachments, it augurs very poorly for the public Interest. The Play of Government has been very poorly acted among us hitherto, & I confess that when I consider the Electors & Elected, many of whom I have seen, tho' I never saw any of their public Meetings I can not help recollecting the Persons that used to be elected Robin Hood, Little John, Master of Misrule, & Abbot of Unreason in the Saturnalia that used formerly to be hold in Scotland, about the Christmas Holiday, & the Beginning of May, which Custom is abolished by an Act of Queen Mary in 1555. For indeed one would imagine that they had been elected for the Sake of the Joke rather than for any serious or public Purpose. It is probable that they will not dare to impose any Taxes for fear of losing their Seats, but they may issue a large Quantity of depretiable Bills of Credit, which will be a popular Measure, as it will give the Citizens the unexpressible Satisfaction of cheating one another, which they love above all things. I have enclosed a few Specimens of Seeds, for an Experiment, as they might probably grow in Scotland. The Beans are of twelve different Species & are amazingly prolific. They [one word illegible] late & being of the creeping Kind are supported by Sticks. I have likewise added a few Seeds of the Cedar & Locust trees, & a Specimen of the Water-Melons, a few Crystals which are found in this Neighbourhood, & a pair of Mocassens which my son had in a Present from the Chief of the Senecca Indians, a Specimen of the Nails that are cut out of the cold Iron, & of the Asbestos of this Country. But I am sorry that my Situation did not permit me to send something of more Curiosity, to testify with how much Sincerity I am,

My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant

Cha.s Nisbet.

My dord, In Exaggeratio account of Carlille, Tune 22, 1791. Affairs. 73 I had the Monaur of your Lordthin's Letter of 21st Dec." latt by Dr. Erfhine', Packet, on the 10th May laft, at Philadelphia. & am fory it my Obfer. vations on my Situation & the general State of this bunky have given any Offence. I acknowledge that I am apl to complain, specially when separated to lar from my friends but all I war meant by it was to lepon my Griebs by Communication , & not to give bour ble to my biculs. your dardthin has laid enough to make me filest with Regard to my own Alfairs, as in an Age to forlike in Revolutions, when the Earl of Buchan is relived to a Convent, & the Ring of France imprisoned in the Juillerics, without being allow. is to lay with Triffram Shandy's Starting, "I can't get out, I can't get out, "it would be most attuming in me to make the smallest Complaint of my Siluation. I have leen a Perton who not long lince was Secretary to the Arch-billiop of Paris, & Almoner to the Prince of Salm, employed as a Common Mulic Maker in Philadelphia, I not being able to live these, obliged to relive to this Reighbourhood. The World is going to be lumed upfide down, without undergoing any Refermation, & the the Light of Scepticity & Alheifm has made great Brogses in France, il does not appear from Mr. Buske's Calculations, which are not questioned by any of his Antwerers. That the Mation has gained any thing by it, but greatly the contrary. The Ways of Meaven are dask & intri. cale." But if the Divine Providence has Blepings in Store for Julux Generations, I to not tec how Mankind can be put in Pollepion of them. Will they are delivered from their prefent pretended Reformers. Mr. Paine's Pamphlet terms intended for exciting a Revolution in England, rather than for defending that of France, & for investing the Ocople at large with that "Divine Right of ruling Wrong", which gave to much of. Jence when it was claimed by Things , & certainly does no fet Milelich when exercised by the Ocopile, who represt the Right of Oroperty & dife as little as the most arbitrary Orinces. The French Mational Allembly learn to think that they are the Proprietors of the whole Thingdown, as not only the Clergy, who have been seled to Fillage in all ages. but the Orinces of the Blood of the Robility are daily thipp'? of their Oseperty by these Milescants. No Rights are faced in their Account, except the Claims of the pul. tic Creditors, most of which I fuppole. They will take lave to invest in their own BDy, in Imilation of our Leading Men here, The Affignats are an excellent Trap for calching the Money of Simpletons, effectially when pepperted by the Depotitum of the Mational affambly. Our longers here were not to Depudie. They made the of the plain Arts of Cheating & Lying only, for pulling of their Walte Paper, and completely gull'I the People, by giving them a Chunce for couring in for a

Share of the general Plunder, M. Mirabeau & Dr. Price have gone off too locas, la re. ceive any thing confiderable, but the Mational affembly & the army, who purvive them. will no doubt have it in their Power to live in Clover for the place. Dr. Prieting does not dislown the Delign of abolishing the Clergy, I withan that it may be adopted in England. This Country is engaged at prefent in an exterminating War with the Indiano . the 'I with that it may not end in a Quiamol with Great Britain , as it is faid they intend to erect a Fort on the Great Miami, a few Miles diffant for Detroit, which may produce Quarrels betwich the Soldiers of the different Gamilons. Mallachules, New Manythine and Those Illand, have not contributed their Lucka of Men, nor to I hear that any of the Southern States are thiring in this Matter, except Virginia & Rentucky, The Orefi. dent is in Georgia, receiving the Compliments of the Ocople, & caring for none of thefe things . The Deeple of Oillsburgh have officed an hundred Dollars for every Scalp that thall be brought them with the two Eass , but as this Reward will not be paid , I have that their Advertifement may do tille Harm. Seven hundred and fifty Herfemen have marched from Rentucky into the Indian Country, with a Refolution to pass neither Man, Noman nor thild. No loden are needed for any thing, because no Body here is wer called to an Account. I am formy to hear that General Sinclair who has the Command of this Expedition, is as great a Trunkard as Harman, who milcarried to transfalously in the Expedition of last year, but has never been called to account. I am In that there is much Anavery & unlair Dealing in other Countries, but I thill think that there is far more in this Country, where the Senfe of Honour & Shame, as well as all Regard to Religion & Morality, been to be molthly extinguisticd. This Seminary is dif. poled to encreale, if accommodation could be procured for the Students that arrive, but but punday go away for Want of Lodging. I left a Memorial on this thead, with Mr. Bingham, a lenependent of your Low this 's . who is one of our Inches, but the' it was al his own Defice , I lear it may have little Success , as I have left the like Memorials with other Men in Cower here, who never thought more of the Matter. The bad Repu lation of molt other Seminaries here has no doubt been of Advantage to this. It is inconceivable to what a low State Learning is now reduced in this Country, these prevailing Ignorance, Want of able Icachers, the Indolence of youth, & the Indul. gence of Perents for their Childrens. Young Men here are fent to Kudy with ex. preh Orders to return if they are in the least weary, to that we always lot bundry Students at very Vacation. But were those Parents who with their thildren to learn Jomething, expect that they thend become harned all at once, without begance, Time at application. The Exceptions are very lew, & even busidily is very faint

here, as nothing except Money is in the least represted among us, Perhaps the Inundation of East India Mabobs of late may have produced a parallel Effect in Great Britain. I hear that the Farces of Mathings's Irial & the Abolihion of the Slave Irade are again to be brought on the Stager but if they are as ill acted as the farce of Liberty & Independency is here they will give little Satisfaction . I hope that fince Dr. Onice's Death no Bedy will think of acting the Revolution of France among you , the your authors have a lufter of teal. ing French Plays. - a low Scraps from Vollaise, Moulefquien, Thume & Roufleau, are rechourd a complete Education here, I il a Man can freak for an hour at a lime, no Mat. ter what, if he only mentions diberty, Independency & the Rights of Manhind, he will be rechand a proligious Scholar. Dr. Ruth, the has given up, all lencern with this ld. lege, is now at War with Dr. Smith, Provot of the College of Philadelphia, Intaken away his children from that Seminary, which is now to Hourithing as to have only thirleen Students, befides the Grammar School, Mathematical & Charity Schools. I know not the Number of their Medical Students . but an informed that they mend only one year before they practite. The Students of Law found two or these years in an Money's Office, & the Epileopal Miniflers who are or. dained fine , are generally Irith Schoolmafters who can not get Employment. your dord this may capily judge what Sort of Divines they must be, who ne. ver have Mudied any thing in Relation to their Brokhien. Our public Men are Lawyers, Merchant & Farmers who have Rudied the pleasant and of Meney. cality with Succeps. to that it enables them to rival one another in long Speecher, & to predict The queatiff Propriety to the Scople, providing only that they will continue to chute them for their Representatives. I have no Interest in painting things work than they are , & daily do my utmore it promote the Subsects of Scarning Religion & Monthity among these low that are entrupted to my line, amidt a thousand Obflactes. Oreguinices & Inconveniencies, & not allogether without Success, & in an age of Degeneracy we mult not depoile the Day of Small things . I do not longed Senece nor S' Paul, & lake more Robics of both of them than they did of one another at the Court of Nero, the' the Roman Catholics produce many of their Letters. God grant that the melant Jake for Revolutions may at last produce one in lavours of common Senk, Religion & good order in Society, of which however there is title Appearance at profent. The low that perched on the Capitol in the Keign of Domitian, taid that all would be well, but I did not hear that the Coon that neftled in SI Nicholas's Sleeple in Newcalle a few Years ago, made the like Communication to the Sublic. My bell Wither allend dady Buchan for remembering a poor Exile, 9 am, advertis ionum immerfaltilis Undis, my dowd, + Principal of Carlisle College your derdhips way humble Screant. + Principal of Carlisle College + Cha. " Nishel.

## Carlisle, June 22d, 1791.

## My Lord,

I had the Honour of your Lordship's Letter of 21st Dec.r last by Dr. Erskine's Packet, on the 10th May last, at Philadelphia, & am sorry if my Observations on my Situation & the general State of this Country have given any Offense. I acknowledge that I am apt to complain, especially when separated so far from my friends, but all I ever meant by it was to lesson my Griefs by Communication, & not to give trouble to my friends. Your Lordship has said enough to make me silent with Regard to my own Affairs, as in an Age so fertile in Revolutions, when the Earl of Buchan is retired to a Convent, & the King of France imprisoned in the Tuillaries without being allowed to say with Tristram Shandy's Starling, "I can't get out, I can't get out," it would be most assuming in me to make the smallest Complaint of my Situation. I have seen a Person who not long since was Secretary to the Archbishop of Paris, & Almoner to the Prince of Salm, employed as a common Music Master in Philadelphia, & not being able to live there, obliged to retire to this Neighbourhood. The World is going to be turned upside down, without undergoing any Reformation, & tho' the Light of Scepticism & Atheism has made great Progress in France, it does not appear from Mr. Burke's Calculations, which are not questioned by any of his Answerers, that the Nation has gained any thing by it, but greatly the contrary. "The Ways of Heaven are dark & intricate." But if the Divine Providence has Blessings in Store for future Generations I do not see how Mankind can be put in Possession of them till they are delivered from their present pretended Reformers. Mr. Paine's Pamphlet seems intended for exciting a Revolution in England, rather than for defending that of France, & for investing the People at large with that "Divine Right of ruling Wrong," which gave so much offense when it was claimed by Kings, & certainly does no less Mischief when exercised by the People, who respect the Rights of Property & Life as little as the most arbitrary Princes. The French National Assembly seems to think that they are the Proprietors of the whole Kingdom, as not only the Clergy, who have been used to Pillage in all Ages, but the Princes of the Blood & the Nobility are daily stripp'd of their Property by those Miscreants. No Rights are sacred in their Account except the Claims of the public Creditors, most of which I suppose they will take care to invest in their own Body, in Imitation of our Leading Men here. The Assignats are an excellent Trap for catching the Money of Simpletons, especially when supported by the Despotism of the National Assembly. Our Congress here were not so Despotic. They made Use of the plain Arts of Cheating & Lying only, for putting off their Waste Paper, and completely gull'd the Peoples by giving them a Chance for coming in for a

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Share of the general Plunder. M. Mirabeau & Dr. Price have gone off too soon, to receive anything considerable, but the National Assembly & the Army, who survive them, will no doubt have it in their Power to live in Clover for the future. Dr. Priestley does not disown the Design of abolishing the Clergy, & wishes that it may be adopted in England. This Country is engaged at present in an exterminating War with the Indians, tho' I wish that it may not end in a Quarrel with Great Britain, as it is said they intend to erect a Fort on the Great Miami, a few Miles distant from Detroit, which may produce Quarrels betwixt the Soldiers of the different Garrisons. Massachusetts Vermont New Hampshire and Rhode Island, have not contributed their Quota of

Men, nor do I hear that any of the Southern States are stirring in this Matter, except Virginia & Kentucky. The President is in Georgia, receiving the Compliments of the People, & caring for none of these things. The People of Pittsburgh have offered an hundred Dollars for every Scalp that shall be brought them with the two Ears, but as this Reward will not be paid, I hope that their Advertisement may do little Harm. Seven hundred and fifty Horsemen have marched from Kentucky into the Indian Country, with a Resolution to spare neither Man, Woman nor Child. No Orders are needed for any thing, because no Body here is ever called to an Account. I am sorry to hear that General Sinclair who has the Command of this Expedition, is as great a Drunkard as Harmar, who miscarried so scandalously in the Expedition of last Year, but has never been called to account. I am sure that there is much Knavery & unfair Dealing in other Countries, but I still think that there is far more in this Country, where the Sense of Honour & Shame, as well as all Regard to Religion & Morality, seem to be mostly extinguished. This Seminary is disposed to encrease, if Accommodation could be procured for the Students that arrive, but sundry go away for Want of Lodging. I left a Memorial on this Head with Mr. Bingham, a Correspondent of your Lordship's, who is one of our Trustees, but tho' it was at his own Desire, I fear it may have little Success, as I have left the like Memorials with other Men in Power here, who never thought more of the Matter. The bad Reputation of most other Seminaries here has no doubt been of Advantage to this. It is inconceivable to what a low State Learning is now reduced in this Country, thro' prevailing Ignorance, Want of able Teachers, the Indolence of Youth, & the Indulgence of Parents for their Children. Young Men here are sent to study with express orders to return if they are in the least weary, so that we always lose sundry Students at every Vacation. But even those Parents who wish their Children to learn something expect that they should become learned all at once, without expence, Time & Application. The Exceptions are very few, & even Curiosity is very faint

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here, as nothing except Money is in the least respected among us. Perhaps the Inundation of East India Nabobs of late may have produced a parallel Effect in Great Britain. I hear that the Farces of Hastings's Trial & the Abolition of the Slave Trade are again to be brought on the Stage, but if they are as ill acted as the Farce of Liberty & Independency is here they will give little Satisfaction. I hope that since Dr. Price's Death no Body will think of acting the Revolution of France among you, tho' your Authors have a Custom of stealing French Plays. A few Scraps from Voltaire, Montesquieu, Hume & Rousseau, are reckoned a complete Education here, & if a Man can speak for an hour at a time, no matter what, if he only mentions Liberty, Independency & the Rights of Mankind, he will be reckoned a prodigious Scholar. Dr. Rush, tho' he has given up all concern with this College, is now at War with Dr. Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, & has taken away his Children from that Seminary, which is now so flourishing as to have only thirteen students, besides the Grammar School, Mathematical & Charity Schools. I have not the number of their Medical Students, but am informed that they spend only one year before they practice. The Students of Law spend two or three years in an Attorney's Office, & the Episcopal Ministers who are ordained here, are generally Irish Schoolmasters who can not get Employment. Your Lordship may easily judge what sort of Divines they must be, who never have studied any thing in Relation to their Profession. Our public Men are Lawyers, Merchants & Farmers who have studied the pleasant art of money-catching with Success, so that it enables them to rival one another in long Speeches, & to predict the greatest Prosperity to the People,

providing only that they will continue to chuse them for their Representatives. I have no Interest in painting things worse than they are, & daily do my utmost to promote the Interests of Learning, Religion & Morality among those few that are entrusted to my Care amidst a thousand Obstacles, Prejudices & Inconveniencies, & not altogether without Success, & in an Age of Degeneracy we must not despise the Day of small things. I do not forget Seneca nor St Paul, & take more notice of both of them than they did of one another at the Court of Nero, tho' the Roman Catholics produce many of their Letters. God grant that the present Taste for Revolutions may at last produce one in favour of common Sense, Religion & good Order in Society, of which however there is little appearance at present. The Crow that perched on the Capitol in the Reign of Domitian, said that all would be well, but I did not hear that the Crow that nestled in St Nicholas's Steeple in Newcastle a few Years ago, made the like communication to the <u>Public, My best Wishes attend Lady Buchan</u> for remembering a poor Exile. I am, adversis iorum inmersabilis Undis. My Lord,

Your Lordship's very humble servant,

Cha.s Nisbet.

My Lord, " although I have duly an Iwend all the Setter with which I have been honoused by your Lorothip time my Removal to this Country, yet reflecting on tome Words in your laft, & finding that there is a Ship in the Delaware, bound to noncaptle, I take this opportunity of accounting for the Stile of my former detters . I was not formiled to lind that your dorothing on observing the Difference betwist my Accounts of this Country & those that are pompously relaited in the new Paper, thould have populad that I owed It a Patinode for what I had laid, & that my Accounts were linged with the Ellects of Difappointment & Milanthropy, as I have been told the lame things by fundry who refere in this buintry. I am confisous to myfelf I no Maleoolence to America , nor to Mankind in general, & with Repuel to Dilappointment , I have les lo complain of than formerly, having received dix years Salary, the' I have not been feren years in the loundry. The Legislature of this State have granted a Sum equal to one thousand three hum. doed & lifty Counds Storting to this Seminary, & it vilos daily in Reputation , chiefly on Account of the bad tharaster of lundry other. I & my tamily have been bleb 'd with good health fince we came hillion , after Sizleen Months Affliction at the Beginning . I mention these lineum flances mesely to convince your Lordthip , that what I have now to lay can not be attributed to a Jumper found by Dilappointment. A general Want of Morality prevails in this townby, in Confequence of the loop & Seculical Duchines which prevail among us . A promile or were an Dath is little regarded , it a queriral Loolands & Ancolainly prevails in all the Iransactions of Mankind . I never imagined that I was wate breaked than others, the' a Brindice against the Sech prevails in this State, mall of the Inhabitants of which are Isthe I fullend only the Effects of the general Immorality in common with others. and notwith flanding the pompous accounts of the Proposity & Orospects of America, with which our Payers abound, & which no Doubl are bransmitted to great Britain, I am lit of Opinion that this country is in a very prearious State. We have, it is bue, got a Government two Stories high , I mean a general & a State Government , but these two are apt to interfere with each other, & belong fuch a Spinil of Tealouty as thereatens a Ruplure. Conques have not been able to execute any one tel as yet, except that relating to the Impost & the Post Office. The Legista. lun of Virginia have negatived their ad with Respect to the public Securities , & the Grand Tury of Charleston have prefented their Excile Ad as a Ruifance . Sunday of their Excile office can have been land & leathined in this state, in the greatest Part of which they dave not then their faces . When a Quota of Irrows were ordered by longress for the Defence of the From. lier, the loveral States of whom they were required, being Severeigns, fent just what they play ed, the confequence of which has been that we have received two leandulous Defeats from the Indians, one last year, & a much quester on the 4th Nov." last, in which about Seventy Officen & Seven hundred Men were hilled or wounded, & Seven Pices of Cannon, with Seven tion hundred Mand of arms, & a confiderable Value in Meney Baggage, Jente & ammunition was gained by the Indians, with little or no dob on their Side . Our Bronties are experted & the People in the ulmost Difuse. The Commany of the high Expedition was given to one Marman, a notorious Imukand, & that of the last to general S'llair our lowerly

10 Carlifle, 10 the Manusony, 1792.

man, a much greater Drunkand than the other, & labouring under a Complication of Dog. lempons. The Ruph complain of the Scontany al War, as they dan not blame the Prefident, yet lome body or other mult be to blame. The Indians who were friendly to us have lent the. lice that they are called to join their Countrymen, & thecalened with immediate Extimation in late of a Refutal, & what may happens toon to the poor defence let Inhabitants of the Frontier God alone knows. In the mean time the Befordent in his Mellage to Conqueto locals this Misferture as one that many the attiley sepained by their Wildows , & they have been debaling for hundow Weaks how many Representations in longers may be railed in addition to that we have already, Those who depend on the People for their Election can not be expected to ad with firmings nor dase they complain when any thing milcarries , to that our affairs are all wring , & no body to blame, as no Reponsibility in public Men has over yet been into duced among us . The People may decline chasting any where they diffike , but this is all the Presilinent that any have to docad here. and on those who are in Power on always defirous of continuing in it, they endeavour to hold such a Conduct as may keep this in Place, & what is most succeptul for this Primale is always to affirm that all fraught it in a hopeful Way, & that a face longlitution comprises in it all the Blefings of the World, Manhind will always encourage that who prophety towooth things & represent these who decad will as too akens of Sedition . But it is certain that the Monour of This country, it one may whe fach an Experipion , has fullered highly in the Eyes of foreignen, by the two kandalous Defeats that we have fuffered in these two last lapeditions , to lay nothing of what our Frontiers may lafter before another army can be raifed. Our deaders Matter the People by declaiming against Manding annies, & prelending to believe that the Mistilia is the best Security of a Habion , but they are not in cornell , & their own Experience may convince them of the publicity of this Robion . Mall of the Man in the late army were entitled for Six -Months only, & that time appired a few Days before the Engagement, at the Contractors did their Duly to well that most of the Men were in Rags, & without Show a Stockings when they were Mached by the Indians. These Matters fill to with fear be another Comparison , the' it is laid that the Prefident threatens to head the Troops in Porton , but as the Conflictubion gives The Senate a Power of refraining lim, he is in no Magand of being taken at his Ward, the if he does not go out, I am afraid no thomy will be varifed. The Prefident has been diverted from attending to military affairs by the Project of the federal lity , which is his Mobby. norte, & will vender his dands in the Reighbourhood, of immente Value, & he was busied during the Jummes in receiving whole Magshends of compliments & Addrehes from the Southern Ilder, to that 4000 then were warding to compleat the Mumber required for the Expedition. It is have that the States ought to have sailed them, but their Reputantatives in longues will make Excesses for them, which will be the End of the Matter, a Collipion of Journighties from to be a Solecifm in Polities , but both the Sovereignty of the longues a that of the Several States are expressly fecund by the Federal Complibution. The there. hees & back Indians have begun Irregilions into the Southarn States, the' a Treaty was made with this at a wall Expense last year, but an yourmon had to bad Intelli.

gence , that they did not know that these very Tribes had at the lame Time a Deputation in Europe, negoliating a Treaty with England & Spain for very different Ourpoles, lit they were informed of it by the English Popois, to that after all their Expense they are now told that Mc Gillwray & thek who beald with in war only privale Perfors , but that Mr. Bowles and these who wond with low to donden , were the buc Representatives of these Mations . Some of them are now faid to be on their Way to Philadelphias where perhaps they may get more Mos noy to comable them to make War againft us . Now if our Rules are not competent to manage one Indian War as fam, to be abundantly wident dready . I know not how they will ma. nage two of them it once opprecially if they get a Negroe War into the Bargain , which is pully probable from the Jucech of the Magroes in S' Domingo . This affair has rendered every Nequese in this Continent a fool faller than before, & they are attentive to the Successor of their Brethren , & as lond of Mr. Cayste's Pamphel as Dr. Prickley himfell, or any of the Matino al Alanthy in France . What this may and in i hod only knows , but the Time kuns to be come when all Marshind with infill to be face , which will be the Rain of more than the half of our free states , as they contain more than Six hundred thousand Slaves, & mull give over babbling about the Right of Man , shonewer their own Blacks pretend to be of that Mounter. Mr Pagne will be obliged to write another Parightel. to prove that Magaves are not Man, which will not be to much admined by those of that lolour as his ball Ocar. formance. The public Securities of our States are in good ledit among Monay Mobles , but may fall to nothing in a Day. I can not fay that Aquiculture is inspraving in this State as I am affund that time dands in the old loumlies, nigh to Philadelphia, are to achauft ed , that they produce much lefs than the Soid , & fome whole Townthips are almost uncul. livaled. dabour is dear, the' the complaint of the Scarrily of Money, no larger prevails . Regross will not work & cleans daily. A Gentleman shortately vilited Virginia, allune me that he say such Masks of Poverly as he could not have oredited. The Eastern States are I believe in a licker Situation , I Manufactures begin to be introduced among them. It God has any Good in Store for this Country, Religion & Morality mult be more regarded, Industry pregation by & Pahiolips mall be introduced, & the States as well as private Man mult learn to bab. mit to the laws , But all these things are much out of Sight at preferent . I have no Prejudice against any Man, & know nothing of our Rules except from their Actions, I pray to God daily for their Properity, but I can not holp thinking that our Mains are in a very entical & unpromiting Silvation , willow God in his infinite Moray thould had us to Reportance & amendment of our londnes both public & privale. Withing your devilhing & daily Bachan many happy years, I remain with unloigned Respect, My dord, your Lordflip's mall obedient

ip's mall obedient humble Scroant, Cha: Nisber.

## Carlisle, 10th January, 1792

## My Lord,

Although I have duly answered all the Letters with which I have been honoured by your Lordship since my Removal to this Country, yet reflecting on some Words in your last, & finding that there is a Ship in the Delaware, bound to Newcastle, I take this Opportunity of accounting for the Stile of my former Letters. I was not surprised to find that your Lordship on observing the Difference betwixt my accounts of this Country & those that are pompously retailed in the News Papers, should have suspected that I owed it a Palinode for what I had said, & that my Accounts were tinged with the Effects of Disappointment & Misanthropy, as I have been told the same things by sundry who reside in this Country. I am conscious to myself of no Malevolence to America, nor to Mankind in general, & with Respect to Disappointment, I have less to complain of than formerly, having received Six Year's salary, tho' I have not been seven years in the Country. The Legislature of this State have granted a sum equal to one thousand three hundred & fifty Pounds Sterling to this Seminary, & it rises daily in Reputation, chiefly on Account of the Bad Character of sundry others. I & my family have been bless'd with good health since we came hither, after sixteen Months Affliction at the Beginning. I mention these Circumstances merely to convince your Lordship, that what I have now to say can not be attributed to a Temper soured by Disappointment. A general Want of Morality prevails in this Country, in Consequence of the loose & Sceptical Doctrines which prevail among us. A promise or even an Oath is little regarded & a general Looseness & Uncertainty prevails in all the Transactions of Mankind. I never imagined that I was worse treated than others, tho' a Prejudice against the Scots prevails in this State, most of the Inhabitants of which are Irish. I suffered only the Effects of the general Immorality in common with others. And notwithstanding the pompous Accounts of the Prosperity & Prospects of America, with which our Papers abound, & which no Doubt are transmitted to Great Britain, I am still of Opinion that this Country is in a very precarious State. We have, it is true, got a Government two Stories high, I mean a general & a State Government, but these two are apt to interfere with each other, & betray such a Spirit of Jealousy as threatens a Rupture. Congress have not been able to execute any one Act as yet, except that relating to the Impost & the Post Office. The Legislature of Virginia have negatived their Act with Respect to the public Securities, & the Grand Jury of Charleston have presented their Excise Act as a Nuisance. Sundry of their Excise Officers have been tarred & feathered in this State, in the greatest Part of which they dare not show their faces. When a Quota of Troops were ordered by Congress for the Defence of the Frontier, the several States of whom they were required, being Sovereigns, sent just what they pleased, the Consequence of which has been that we have received two scandalous Defeats from the Indians, one last Year, & a much greater on the 4th Nov.r last, in which about Seventy Officers & Seven hundred Men were killed or wounded, & Seven Pieces of Cannon, with seventeen hundred Stand of Arms, & a considerable Value in Money Baggage, Tents & Ammunition was gained by the Indians, with little or no Loss on their Side. Our Frontiers are exposed & the People in the utmost Distress. The Command of the first expedition was given to one Harmar, a notorious Drunkard, & that of the last to General St. Clair our Country

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man, a much greater Drunkard than the other, & labouring under a Complication of Distempers. The People complain of the Secretary of War, as they dare not blame the President, yet some body or other must be to blame. The Indians who were friendly to us have sent Notice that they are called to join their Countrymen, & threatened with immediate Extirpation in Case of a Refusal, & what may happen, soon to the poor defenceless Inhabitants of the Frontier God alone knows. In the meantime the President in his Message to Congress treats this Misfortune as one that may be easily repaired by their Wisdom, & they have been debating for Sundry Weeks how many Representatives in Congress may be raised in Addition to those we have already. Those who depend on the People for their Election can not be expected to act with firmness nor dare they complain when anything miscarries, so that our Affairs are all wrong, & no body to blame, as no Responsibility in public Men has ever yet been introduced among us. The People may decline chusing any whom they dislike, but this is all the Punishment that any have to dread here. And as those who are in Power are always desirous of continuing in it, they endeavour to hold such a Conduct as may keep them in Place, & what is most successful for this Purpose is always to affirm that all is Well & in a hopeful Way, & that a free Constitution comprises in it all the Blessings of the World. Mankind will always encourage those who prophesy smooth things & represent those who dread evil as Croakers of Sedition. But it is certain that the Honour of this Country, if one may use such an Expression, has suffered highly in the Eyes of foreigners by the two scandalous Defeats that we have suffered in these two last Expeditions, to say nothing of what our Frontiers may suffer before another Army can be raised. Our Leaders flatter the People by declaiming against standing Armies, & pretending to believe that the Militia is the best Security of a Nation, but they are not in earnest, & their own Experience may convince them of the futility of this Nation. Most of the Men in the late Army were enlisted for Six Months only, & that time expired a few Days before the Engagement, & the Contractors did their Duty so well that most of the Men were in Rags, & without Shoes or Stockings when they were attacked by the Indians. These Matters fill us with fear for another Campaign, tho' it is said that the President threatens to head the Troops in Person, but as the Constitution gives the Senate a Power of restraining him, he is in no Hazard of being taken at his Word, tho' if he does not go out, I am afraid no Army will be raised. The President has been diverted from attending to military affairs by the Project of the Federal City, which is his Hobby Horse, & will render his Lands in the Neighbourhood, of immense Value, & he was busied during the Summer in receiving whole Hogsheads of Compliments & Addresses from the Southern States, so that 4000 Men were wanting to compleat the Number required for the Expedition. It is true that the States ought to have raised them, but their Representatives in Congress will make excuses for them, which will be the End of the Matter. A Collision of Sovereignties seems to be a solecism in Politics, but both the Sovereignty of the Congress & that of the Several States are expressly secured by the Federal Constitution. The Cherokees & Creek Indians have begun Irruptions into the Southern States, tho' a Treaty was made with them at a vast Expence last Year, but our Governor had so bad Intelli-

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gence, that they did not know that these very Tribes had at the same Time a Deputation in Europe, negotiating a Treaty with England & Spain for very Different Purposes, till they were informed of it by the English Papers, so that after all their Expence they are now told that McGillwray & those who treated with us, were only private Persons, but that Mr. Bowles and

those who went with him to London, were the true Representatives of these Nations. Some of them are now said to be on their Way to Philadelphia where perhaps they may get more money to enable them to make War against us. Now if our Rulers are not competent to manage one Indian War, as seems to be abundantly evident already, I know not how they will manage two of them at once, especially if they get a Negroe War into the Bargain, which is pretty probable from the Success of the Negroes in St Domingo. This affair has rendered every Negroe in this Continent a fool rather than before, & they are attentive to the Successes of their Brethren, & as fond of Mr. Payne's Pamphlet as Dr. Priestley himself, or any of the National Assembly in France. What this may end in God only knows, but the Time seems to be come when all Mankind will insist to be free, which will be the Ruin of more than the half of our free States, as they contain more than Six hundred thousand Slaves, & must give over babbling about the Rights of Man, whenever their own Blacks pretend to be of that Number. Mr. Payne will be obliged to write another Pamphlet, to prove that Negroes are not man, which will not be so much admired by those of that Colour as his Last Performance. The public Securities of our States are in good Credit among Money-Jobbers, but may fall to nothing in a Day. I can not say that Agriculture is improving in this State as I am assured that some Lands in the old Countries, nigh to Philadelphia, are so exhausted, that they produce much less than the Seed, & some whole Townships are almost uncultivated. Labour is dear, tho' the Complaint of the Scarcity of Money no longer prevails. Negroes will not work & escape daily. A Gentleman who lately visited Virginia, assures me that he lay such Marks of Poverty as he could not have credited. The Eastern States are I believe in a better situation, & Manufactures begin to be introduced among them. If God has any Good in Store for this Country, Religions & Morality must be more regarded, Industry frugality & Patriotism must be introduced, & the States as well as private Men, must learn to submit to the laws. But all these things are much out of Sight at present. I have no Prejudice against any Man, & know nothing of our Rulers except from their Actions. I pray to God daily for their Prosperity, but I can not help thinking that our affairs are in a very critical and unpromising Situation, unless God in his infinite Mercy should lead us to Repentance and Amendment of our Conduct both public & private. Wishing your Lordship & Lady Buchan many happy Years, I remain with unfeigned Respect,

> My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

> > Cha.s Nisbet