During our Colonial period, the enjoyment of belles-lettres, the non-technical side of literature in its classical setting, was especially prevalent in Pennsylvania. Virginia was predominantly political; its thought culminated in the principles of Jefferson and Madison,—based upon Livy and Cicero and Ulpian and all the material which enters into and fuses with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitutional debates. Massachusetts, while almost exclusively political in the hands of John Adams, had been largely clerical and theocratic. The reasons for this situation were partly climatic and partly social. In the North a grim contest forever faced the settlers,—a fight for subsistence with the cold, the sea, and the rock-studded farm; the inspiration for this struggle was the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. In the South, however, a comfortable planter-régime produced the landed squire type, whose education was backed by leather-bound Greek and Latin classics but whose trend was essentially toward the polling-booth and whose ideas were expressed in political form. The clerical class governed by theological training; the squire class by the application of historical doctrine to county and provincial needs. Thus the expert, in each case, controlled the situation both in the forum and in the church during our pre-Revolutionary colonial period.

The stage was set for a different and a more cosmopolitan rôle in the Middle Colonies, and especially in Philadelphia. Here literature was welcomed in a
more catholic sense and more for its own sake. Even the writings of religious leaders or statesmen are more individualistic. Consequently, modern arts and sciences in their widest sense had freer scope for their development hand in hand with the classics. In the first place, there was real intellectual freedom. The Periclean, or Swiss, or Dutch, or Lincolnian theory that every sensible man of good civic standing is capable of taking a prominent part in the government of a state, seems to have worked satisfactorily. Backed by the ideas of Penn, which banned all oligarchy and hierarchy, the system produced a free-minded, uninhibited amateur. The list of early mayors, holding annual appointments, is enough to prove this point: physicians, lawyers, merchants, rotated in quick succession like the Presidents of the Council in the Athenian Republic during the days of Pericles. For example, of the fifteen trustees named in the third or 1711 charter for William Penn’s school, eight were at one time or another mayors of Philadelphia,—Anthony Morris twice, in 1704 and 1739. Business and trade were the normal background of everything; the parson and the squire were not dominant. Consequently there were no sharp contrasts of aristocracy and proletariat; a “loose-construction” civilization resulted, spontaneous in outlook and expressive of cosmopolitan ideas.

There has been a general notion, prevalent in the United States no less than in Europe,¹ that early

America produced no literature of any worth, and that culture was entirely subservient to the pioneer’s axe, to trade regulations, and to the necessities of progress in material things. But such animadversions are easy to make: Cicero was prompted by the same “inferiority complex” to ignore his forerunners when he remarked: “I exhort all who have the necessary qualifications, to wrest the palm in this field also [philosophical studies] from Greece, which is already tottering to its decline.” It is not wide of the mark to believe that nations in their settler stage produce as a rule little great literature, as in the case of Australia or Canada; even England lagged until the days of Chaucer. And while it is fashionable to think of the American Colonial empire as non-creative in the world of art, letters, and thought, and yet potent in hewing a domain from the wilderness, sending over Virginia tobacco or dried fish from the Banks or masts from the King’s Woods,—we are entitled after an examination to ask whether this American group, and especially the Philadelphia settlers, may not be an exception to the rule of literary poverty in pioneers.

The first evidences of classical interest, or any literary interest, in connection with Pennsylvania were devoted to the liberalizing of religion. William Penn, founder and proprietor of the province, whose writings all pointed and led to the “Holy Experiment,” was steeped in the classics, with a Christ Church training and a pen equally at home in Latin and in English. Nor was he alone among the Quakers in this point of view; for the London “Six Weeks Meeting” had founded, in 1674, a free school of which the master was to be “skilled in Latin, writing, and Arithmetic.” Penn, while an undergraduate at Oxford, had composed a memorial Latin ode on the death of the young

*Tusculan Disputations, II. 2.*
Duke of Gloucester; he sent (1675) a Latin epistle to the Senate of Emden in Germany, advocating religious freedom; and from Philadelphia he wrote a letter in the same language to the father of his Germantown friend, Francis Daniel Pastorius. For every one of the general principles of toleration advocated by Penn, he furnishes a classical instance. In *No Cross, No Crown*, appealing to ancient and modern testimonies regarding democratic bases of society, Penn quotes St. Jerome's advice to Celantia: "Heed not thy nobility... Esteem not those of a meaner extraction to be thy inferiors; for our religion admits of no respect for persons." The doctrine of plain living reminds Penn of Seneca, through the medium of Charron's essay on Covetousness: "He is said to have goods as he hath a fever, which holdeth and tyrannizeth over a man, not he over it." The taking of oaths was anathema to the followers of the Inner Light: in his *Treatise of Oaths* he instances Polybius "though an heathen": "Among the Romans oaths were seldom used in judicatures themselves; but when perfidiousness increased, Oaths increased." And so on, with il-

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"Works, 2. 116f; 2. 132, "If virtue then give nobility, which Heathen themselves agree ..." (Seneca, Epist. 44. 2 and Juvenal, Satire 8). Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae, ed. Hilberg, Vienna-Leipzig, 1918, III. 347 (Ep. CXLVIII).

*See Seneca and the Stoics passim, especially the Greek proverb of Aristippus. Also, 2. 185: "Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, etc., have left their disgust to these things upon record, i.e., balls, masques, treats, cards, and dice,"—a whimsical comparison of ancient and modern. In II. 170, a similar appeal is made to the ancients in behalf of simplicity as regards apparel. 2. 257 gives the story from the De Oratore of Cicero (III. 127), where the philosopher Hippias is described as making his own buskins.*

*2. 363, 368. Also 2. 382ff. Hesiod (Theogony, 231): "An oath greatly hurts men." In addition, Theognis, Plutarch, Polycarp, Justin Martyr, etc., 2. 440; a disquisition on υγία and υγεία as "merely asseverations." See also J. W. Graham, op. cit., p. 96.
Illustrations from the "judges of Athens who forbade the tendering of Xenocrates an oath," down to the days of Albertus Magnus.

The Letter from Newgate of February 7th, 1670, refers to Socrates and the ire which after his death was turned against Anytus, with the persecutors of Quakers as a parallel. In advocating freedom of conscience to worship, Penn cites the liberalism of the Romans, who "had not only 30,000 gods, according to Varro," but encouraged foreign cults provided that they were not subversive of national interests. Image-worship, that much-debated problem, is referred to Clement of Alexandria. Plato's banishing of poets from the Republic is partially approved. On property-rights, Penn spreads before the reader testimony from Tacitus the advocate of the freedom-loving Germans, King Alfred's "he who imprisons a native without just cause, shall pay a fine of ten shillings," and the attempts of Agricola to educate the Britons for better self-government. These pamphlets were circulated in America and England, and translated into many European languages, in order to support the theories which Quaker leaders advocated and heralded as the dawn of a new era.

From Hesiod the pagan and Thales the first Greek philosopher Penn parallels the "One God glorious forever,—he who knows hearts and has neither beginning nor end." The Daemon of Socrates corresponds to the Inner Light of the Quakers. The Church Fathers, and the sympathetic tenets of the Stoics, are thoroughly

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1 3. VII. pref.
2 3. 35ff.
4 3. 188.
5 3. 205 208f. 269. Tacitus, Germania, VI. Agricola, XVI.
reviewed; and the author comes to a climax with the lines from Vergil:

When the long years, in finished course of time,
Remove all hardened sin, and leave intact
The sense of Heaven, and eke the fiery source
Of unpolluted aether.

The range of Penn’s reading is astonishing: some of his quotations are evidently from memory and are not recoverable without vast search and some correction. But here is a curious phenomenon,—a follower and advocate of a sect which discards all human learning and apparatus from its religious administration, founder of a colony based on the plainest ideas of human freedom, ransacking ancient tradition and having recourse to all the philosophy and scholarship of the past! Even More’s *Utopia* was consulted when Penn drafted his constitution for Pennsylvania; and Cicero’s *De Officiis* actually formed the framework for his treatise of *Advice to his Children* on leaving for his second transatlantic voyage in 1699. We wonder whether all his offspring absorbed without difficulty that inspired passage on the *Logos*: “that Blessed Principle, the Eternal Word . . . Pythagoras’s great Light and Salt of Ages, Anaxagoras’s Divine Mind, Socrates’s Good Spirit, Timaeus’s Unbegotten Principle, . . . Plato’s Eternal, Ineffable, and Perfect Principle of Truth, Zeno’s Maker and Father of All, and Plotinus’s Root of the Soul . . . A God within, says Hieron, Pythagoras, Epictetus, and Seneca; Genius, Angel, or Guide, say Socrates and Timaeus; the Light and Spirit of God, says Plato.” Furthermore, when Penn published his famous proposal for a League of Nations,—“the Establishment of a European Dyet, Parliament, or Estates,” he suggested either Latin or French for the official language,—“the first very well

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for civilians, but the last most easy for men of quality.” Finally, the Cumaean sibyl’s prophecies, the fourth eclogue of Vergil, and the whole Orphic idea, are applied to the coming of Christ; for, says the former Oxford student, “the heathen had a sight of the coming of Christ.” It would be considered daring in many circles even to-day to write as Penn wrote to his Pennsylvania friend, Thomas Lloyd (April 14, 1691): “I know thou hast better learned Christ and Cato, if I may so say” . . . (than to desert a suffering country).

Penn’s classical efforts, therefore, written mostly in England but all looking forward to his American Commonwealth, served to loosen and set free the minds as well as the spirits of men. Francis Daniel Pastorius, “the most learned man of his day in America, not forgetting Cotton Mather, and far in advance of the New England divine in the breadth of his education,” emigrating to Pennsylvania not long after the founder himself, brought across the Atlantic and domesticated an astonishingly sound classical tradition. His father, Melchior Adam Pastorius, was a prosperous city official in Sommerhausen, Franconia, university-educated and well-known for writing occasional verse, an almanac, Lines in Praise of Thuringia, The Glories of Paris, a manual of religious meditation, and an anagram in honor of William Penn,—all in the language which scholars and men of cultivation in those days knew well as their second tongue—Latin. The mere mechanics of the son’s knowledge of eight languages

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*Works, I. 232. For familiar quotation of Vergil and Horace, see S. M. Janney, op. cit., pp. 455 and 272; and for the term *enchiridion* as applied to Penn’s *Fruits of Solitude* (1693) see ib. id., p. 374.

is astonishing. Francis had studied law and the classics at the University of Altdorf, law and French at Strassburg. To his old school principal Schumberg at Windsheim he sent a charming set of Latin verses in the metre familiar to us in Tennyson’s *Locksley Hall*, rhymed at the end of each line and containing internal rhyme at the end of each first half-line,—the whole was called *De Mundi Vanitate*, "On the Vanity of the World." Like Penn, he uses Christian terms blended with the Pagan; and Christ, as a climax, is preceded by Cato, Plato, and Cyrus the Great. When Francis embarks for Pennsylvania, in 1683, he mixes languages as well as ideas:

Tota domus Codri rheda componitur una . . .
anno 1683 als ich aus Teutschland nach Pensilvanien kam.

On his arrival Pastorius proved by the vigorous integrity of his community life that he was no pedant. They used him as a legal adviser; they gave him two schools to manage (in one of which he lost his temper, beat a pupil too hard, and was asked to resign); he became, in 1693, a Justice of the Peace, and used the Greek title *Irenarcha*. He is full of quips and puns— in his *Missive to the Pietists* (printed 1697) he directs his scorn against H. B. Köster, who came to Germantown and called his "track of land *Irenia* (the home of Peace) . . . which not long after became *Erinnia* (the House of Raging Contention)." Along with others, including Penn himself, he helped to make early eighteenth century Philadelphia a place of real learning and spontaneous culture. Over his housedoor was the inscription:

*Parva domus, sed amica bonis; procul este, profani!*

Like many a man faced with utilitarian problems, he wrote regretting his "unnecessary sophistical argumentationes and arguitiones," wishing that he had studied engineering or printing instead of "Aristo-
telian elenchi." Like Benjamin Franklin, he occasionally uttered doubts regarding the source of his power and style. But his Latin verse was a recreation to him, as was also the *Alvearium* (Bee-Hive),—a sort of encyclopædia of intellectual home products. This storehouse of sweetness contains multitudes of references to the Church Fathers (both Greek and Latin), and sayings in Low Dutch, French, Italian, Latin, and English. The title is in seven languages, including Greek and French.

Penn called him "vir sobrius, probus, prudens, et pius"—"a man of moderation, integrity, common-sense, and loyalty."

John Kelpius, the hermit of Germantown, wrote a sixteen-page journal of his voyage to America, in Latin. A German university student, expelled for piety, he wrote Latin, Hebrew, Greek, German and English. Ephrata, the home of the German Baptist Brethren, some fifty miles north-west of Philadelphia, was for many years a centre of classical learning, not only for members of that sect, but even for many prominent members of the Province. For sixty-one years Peter Miller, a Heidelberg graduate, headed this movement and was a profound influence throughout the Province,—so much so that, in 1768, he was in his old age elected a member of the American Philosophical Society. It will thus be seen clearly that Latin was to these German settlers a flavorer and a familiar by-product of their mental activity, as the classics served William Penn for an incidental tool to transplant religion from the dogmatic specialist into the domain of the average man.

George Keith should properly have settled in New England and enjoyed himself in pamphlet wars with the Mathers and John Cotton. But he chose instead a

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quieter atmosphere which, by its passive resistance, threw him back into the arms of the Church of England. Born in 1639, educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, he edited classical texts at his college, turned from Presbyterian to Quaker in 1662, toured Europe with Penn, came to New York in 1684, became the headmaster of the William Penn Charter School in 1689, and from 1691 on tilted and duelled with the Quakers in letters, speeches and pamphlets on the inadequacy of the Inner Light doctrine of Friends. His weapons were often the classical sources of Penn; but they were used for special argumentation rather than for any non-doctrinal release of the spirit.

This whole early Philadelphia group deserves more notice with respect to scholarship and culture than it has heretofore received. Chief Justice Kinsey's death, in 1750, called forth the following tribute in the Pennsylvania Journal: "What Horace said of his friend Quintilius will with propriety close the article concerning our late public friend: 'omnibus ille bonis flebilis occidit.'" Isaac Norris, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, wrote Latin and French with accuracy and fluency; his home on the outskirts of the city was a "Museion" where arm-chair belles-lettres were open to the leaders of the province. Norris was at home in his classics: speaking of the desire of certain citizens for a governor whose reputation was none too good, he instances the Frogs' Petition to Jupiter. He apostrophizes Penn as "Pater Patriae." Thomas Lloyd the Welsh settler wrote and conversed in Latin with Pastorius as a relief to the cares of state-craft; his training was received at Oxford and he took his Greek and Latin as a thing of pleasure.

James Logan was temperamentally and economic-

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17 We assume an intentional change of multis to omnibus, as a compliment to Kinsey's popularity (Horace, Odes, I. 24).
18 From the fables of Phaedrus. See Watson, op. cit., I. 501; I. 107.
ally a classical scientist. Born in Ireland in 1674, son of an Edinburgh graduate, Logan was well but not systematically educated; reaching America, in 1699, he became, in 1701, Secretary to the Province and Clerk of the Council. Some years before his death, he retired, says Proud,

from the hurry and incumbrance of public affairs and spent the latter part of his time, principally at Stenton, his country seat near Germantown, where he enjoyed among his books that leisure in which men of letters take delight, and corresponded with the literati in various parts of Europe. He was well versed in both ancient and modern learning, acquainted with the oriental tongues, a master of the Latin, Greek, French and Italian languages; deeply skilled in the Mathematics, and in natural and moral philosophy; some of which have gone through divers impressions, in different parts of Europe, and are highly esteemed:

Among his productions of this nature, his *Experimenta Meletemata de plantarum generatione*, or his Experiments on the Indian corn, or Maize of America, with his observations arising therefrom, on the generation of plants, published in Latin, at Leyden, in 1739, and afterwards in 1747, republished in London, with an English version on the opposite page, by Dr. J. Fothergill, are both curious and ingenious. Along with this piece was likewise printed in Latin at Leyden, another treatise by the same author, entitled, *Canorum pro inveniendis refractionum, tum simplicium, tum in lentibus duplicum foci, demonstrationes geometricae—Autore Jacobo Logan Judice supremo et Praeside provinciae Pensilvaniensis, in America*. In his old age, he translated Cicero's excellent treatise *De Senectute*; which, with his explanatory notes, was printed in Philadelphia, with a preface or encomium, by Benjamin Franklin, afterwards Dr. Franklin, of that city, in 1744. He was one of the people called Quakers, and died on the 31st of October, 1751, aged about 77 years; leaving, as a monument of his public spirit and benevolence to the people of Pennsylvania, a library; which he had

20 This library contained, Logan tells us, "about one hundred authors in folio all in Greek ... all the Roman classics without exception ... Archimedes, Euclid, and Ptolemy." It was greatly admired by French visitors during and after the Revolutionary War. Linnaeus named a certain order of trees and shrubs *Loganaceae*. See also N. Penney, *The Correspondence of James Logan and Thomas Story*, Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Association, XV., no. 2, 1926, p. 49. *Ibid.*, p. 57 mentions a projected "Treatise of the Duties of Man as Founded in Nature," "to be considered only philosophically"; pp. 60f. describe the framework of an essay (1737) sent to P. Collinson of London, demonstrating "that man was intended for society (contra Hobbes)." The gist of it was summarized in four Latin lines. See also ib. *id.*, p. 71, where Story tells Logan that he has written "a Short Hypothesis concerning the commencement of Inert Matter."
been fifty years in collecting; (since called the Loganian Library) intending it for the common use and benefit of all lovers of learning. It was said to contain the best editions of the best books, in various languages, arts and sciences, and to be the largest, and by far the most valuable collection of the kind, at that time, in this part of the world.

Penn, Logan and Kinsey, with George Keith, Thomas Story, Isaac Norris and Thomas Lloyd, form a group of cultured and in most cases college-bred men whose learning does not evaporate in nugatory odes or mere old-man’s reading: it becomes a living part of the commonwealth which these men helped to build up. In the case of at least two,—Penn and Logan,—it forms a Latin-backed tradition which has stood the test of time and can compare favorably with that of the transatlantic scholars who in many instances overlooked its existence. *Abeunt studia in mores* might have been their motto; and they bulk up, in their classical power, with the nineteenth-century English prime ministers who took “double first” and applied to current affairs the Plato which they discussed round the tea-tables and in the common-rooms of the two great English universities.

Prophets to right, prophets to left,
The World-Child in the middle.

In this cosmopolitan atmosphere, half-way between the clerical expert of New England and the political specialist of Virginia, there grew up a widely diffused interest in good books and a tradition which encouraged polite letters. The classically cultivated physician has always been a Philadelphia feature, from Griffith Owen the genial Welsh surgeon down to the late Dr. S. Weir Mitchell. Thomas Cadwalader (b. 1707), associated with Franklin in founding the Philadelphia Library, had studied, in line with many others of his profession, in Europe. Dr. John Morgan,\(^{21}\) author of the

\(^{21}\) *Journal of Dr. John Morgan* (Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1907), pp. 18, 22, 42.
dissertation *De Puopoiesi* at Edinburgh in 1763, received his schooling at Nottingham in Chester County, far-famed for its thorough instruction in Greek and Latin. Morgan graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1757, raised money in the West Indies among Colonial merchants and planters for its Medical School, and became surgeon-general of the Continental Army. This tradition perhaps rose to its greatest height during the eighteenth century in Benjamin Rush, a 1760 Princeton graduate, M.D. of Edinburgh (1768), and a member of the Continental Congress. Rush rivalled Franklin in his omniscience,—a profound student of Greek and Latin, author of philosophical papers, advocate of temperance, opponent of negro slavery, and successful combatant of the yellow fever epidemic.

Besides the specialist with his cultural hobby, there were many who tried the vein of creative pure literature. The historian Robert Proud wrote frigid verse on classical lines: inclining toward the Tory side, in 1775, he composed a poem with Vergil's *Nulla Salus Bello* as motto and thereby earned considerable unpopularity. He also quotes Martial’s *ubi amicus, ibi patria* in support of world-citizenship. Two poets stand out in this Philadelphia group,—perhaps two "poetasters,"—Thomas Godfrey and Nathaniel Evans. Godfrey, born in 1736, son of the scientist who borrowed Logan’s copy of Newton’s *Principia* and learned Latin in order to read it, aimed at the pastoral idea. He produced poems in which Lycidas and Damoetas, after Vergil and Theocritus, sing of the

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22 S. E. Morison, *Oxford History of the United States*, I. 21, may be referred to as backing for the idea of Philadelphia's supremacy in "commerce, architecture, and culture in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century."


glories of General Wolfe, whom he elsewhere calls Decius, after the Roman general who heroically sacrificed his life. This coterie imitated Collins, Dryden, and Gray in a pale and faded manner; they echoed Horace; but they carried on the tradition with more success than Mrs. Bradstreet did in Boston in the previous century. Godfrey’s Prince of Parthia was the first American-written play for the colonial stage. Curiously enough, the high level of education, if not of culture, is indicated by the fact that Godfrey was criticized for not possessing “enough classical learning.”

Nathaniel Evans, stoutly maintaining that Pennsylvania was as good shepherd soil as Sicily or Arcadia, produced Pastoral Eclogues; in a volume published just before the Revolution he gave vent to much second-rate verse on the order of Milton and Collins:

Come, thou queen of pensive air,
In thy sable sooted car.

His “Ode in the Manner of Horace” is a watery affair; and these, with other contemporaneous efforts, show that classical models unaccompanied by a strong or beautiful motif became rather thin and flashy stuff. The fathers of the Constitution found Latin a powerful instrument for statecraft; some of these poets could not bend the bow of Ulysses, nor play effectively upon the harp of Horace. This material was not all meant to be taken seriously: Collinson Read’s Sapphics, for example, are “an almost exact translation into Latin of the ordinary declaration or plaint in suits of slander.”

Hopkinson’s Battle of the Kegs, wherein the British hiding-places were compared to the horse housing the Greeks at the seige of Troy, is meant to be the lightest sort of occasional badinage. So also is Hopkinson’s ballad, in answer to Burgoyne’s

28 H. E. Scudder, Men and Manners, p. 229.
braggadocio proclamation, entitled *Date Obolum Belisario*. It is largely,—this light verse,—as airily intended as it is airily composed. The lines appearing in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 1730 are a representative sample of the whole process:27

Invitation to the Bachelor's Hall in Kensington:
Phoebus, wit-inspiring lord,
Attic maid, for arts adored,
Bacchus, with full clusters, come . . .

It is probably unfair for the historian to expect full-dress when the dinner-jacket is in order. The most that we can say is that these were the terms in which the young Londoner and the young Philadelphian expressed their lighter side; that the young Londoner was the more adept at the game. Leigh Hunt set up his new *Reflector* magazine in 1810 because this tendency had gone on long enough and he wished to exclude from circulation these "occasional songs about Phillis."28

In this Middle Colonial atmosphere of cosmopolitanism the French and their ideas were welcomed in crescendo proportions, for political and philosophical reasons. The process began well before the Revolution and continued, especially in Philadelphia, up to the Genet fiasco of 1793, when enthusiasm began to cool. Huguenots, diplomats, army and navy men, visited or settled.29 The classics were the medium of

27 Watson, op. cit., I. 433.
expression. Francis Hopkinson's opera, *The Temple of Minerva*, formed part of a concert given by the French minister in honor of Washington on December eleventh, 1781,—"an allegorical piece in which the Genius of France and the Genius of America sing pleasant things of the alliance." Jefferson's detailed analyses of such Roman buildings as the Maison Car-rée, the use of models from Greek and Roman temples, alcoves, elliptical or octagonal saloons, invisible roofs, and the appointments of Latrobe and L'Enfant as architects for the Capitol about-to-be,—all these were concrete indications of the Roman impress through French channels. The Revolution concentrated this classical tendency into a working and workable myth that had the power to turn an idea into a fact. It was therefore a real Latin revival,—a Renaissance on a smaller and more pragmatic scale, which made itself felt in poetry, politics, architecture, and engineering. Jefferson was the high-priest of the cult, the promoter of the myth, as statesman, student, and artist; but he stimulated many of these "terse educated eighteenth-century gentlemen, who had read Horace and Livy and Plutarch, who had one foot in their own age, and the other in the grave of Rome."30

Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, a Frenchman who settled in the middle colonies before the Revolution, absorbed the essence of the country life, and wrote the *Letters from an American Farmer*, reveals the Latin element as much by his criticism of the ancient tradition as by the use he makes of it and the training in Latin which his writings reveal.31 Like the architect B. H. Latrobe, he was dubious about the domestication of Greece and Rome among the farmers of Pennsyl-

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31 *Letters, etc.* Especially pp. 10ff. (*Everyman Edition*). See also his *Sketches of 18th Century America*, Yale Univ. Press, 1925.
vania. The archaeology of the log cabin and the clearing was more important in his eyes than the importation of Doric or Corinthian columns on the model which Jefferson was to immortalize. "In Italy," he declares,

all the objects of contemplation, all the reveries of the traveller, must have a reference to ancient generations. . . . Here, on the contrary, everything is modern, peaceful, and benign. . . . I am sure I cannot be called a partial American when I say that the spectacle afforded by these pleasing scenes must be more entertaining and more philosophical than that which arises from beholding the musty ruins of Rome. . . . There the half-ruined amphitheatres, and the putrid fevers of the Campania, must fill the mind with the most melancholy reflections. . . . Here, he might contemplate the very beginnings and outlines of human society. . . . I had rather admire the ample barn of one of our opulent farmers, who himself felled the first tree in his plantation, and was the first founder of his settlement, than study the dimensions of the temple of Ceres.

And yet this Franco-American Farmer, who could say: "The wisdom of Lycurgus and Solon never conferred on man one-half of the blessings and uninterrupted prosperity which the Pennsylvanians now possess," or "I wish them no literary accomplishments; I pray heaven that they may be one day nothing more than expert scholars in husbandry," or "we have neither ancient amphitheatres, gilded palaces, nor elevated spires; we enjoy in our woods a substantial happiness which the wonders of art cannot communicate," —this very writer was steeped stylistically and ideologically in classical words and thoughts and reminiscences.32

Others of his contemporaries saw that this was the case: the minister addresses him thus: "Your pencil is not a bad one for the pencil of a farmer; it seems to be held without any labour; your mind is what we called at Yale College a tabula rasa." Like Adams, Crèvecoeur likes to use the word epocha; he notes the

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32 See the Letters (Everyman Edition), pp. 15, 43, 59, 90, 156, 166, 182, 188f., 190, 218, 222, 228.
exuberance in the udders of John Bartram’s cows; he defines red clover as a meliator of the soil; he adopts the Stoic “ubi panis ibi patria” as the motto of the emigrant; he sketches the Roman slave-system and the poverty due to their big landed estates, as an awful warning to the colonists: and he craves the philosophic calm which “Appollonius of Chalcis gave to the Emperor Antoninus.” Proof positive of his training is given by Bartram’s request: “Thee understandest the Latin tongue: read this kind epistle which the good Queen of Sweden, Ulrica, sent me a few years ago.”

Crèvecoeur’s Sketches are more flowery and less sound in style than his Letters from an American Farmer. He defines the collected stores of a preceding season as the “aurum potabile” of a husbandman. “Mellifluous locusts, umbrageous catalpas,” “groves of Tempe,” touches in imitation of Vergil’s bee-republic, diatribes like those of Seneca against artificial life, are too luxuriant for frequent use. Most amusing is the description of a man about to die on the gallows: “The shades of patibulary death began to spread over his face.” And again the same over-dose of Latin-derived words, without the genius of style and the delicate taste manifested in the first-named work of Crèvecoeur’s: fecundated, succedaneum, cacoethes (of preaching),—these words have not the scientific excuse for existence in a prose essay that they have in Bartram’s botanical works. But Crèvecoeur is a real person to be considered in our study of the Latin tradition as well as of Pennsylvania history.

A prominent member of the Philadelphia scientific group, who combined the use of the ancient languages with the most modern application of geology, botany, and ornithology, was William Bartram. Son of a dis-
tiguous naturalist, inheritor of the gardens on the Schuylkill banks which for many years went by his name, Bartram travelled for five years at the request of Dr. John Fothergill of London. His commission was “to search the Floridas (etc.) for the discovery of rare and useful products of nature”; as a result he published, in 1791, his “Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, etc.”

We find throughout Bartram’s book the same style which we have noted in his friend Crèvecoeur. While we must be careful to distinguish the technical terminology from words and phrases which indicate the general taste of the author, as well as his stylistic hobbies, the trend in the latter direction is striking. Spatula of the branchiostega of the red-belly fish, panicles of flowers, villous lingulate leaves, trifid ferns,—all this is Linnaean, botanical, and a part of his research. But Bartram affects a rich, coloured use of words, like the brilliant plumage of the birds which he noted: “the fulgour and rapidity of the streams of lightning,” “arbustive hills,” “circumambient aromatic groves,” “imbrications of tile,” “decumbent branches.”

He describes the upper mandible of the great soft-shelled tortoise as “protended forward”; the river-bed is a “prolific nidus” for rearing amphibious insects; he calls the Manate Spring a “Nymphaeum,” punning on the Nymphaea Nelumbo which lines the banks. We are amused at certain extreme phrases which out-do Dr. Johnson and take us back to some of Cotton Mather’s efforts in Latin-derived English words, such as: “the disorder in my eyes subverted the plan of my peregrinations.”

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84 Published by Macy-Masius, New York, 1928.
85 Ibid., pp. 38, 43, 378.
86 Ibid., pp. 39, 54, 64, 274, 347.
87 Ibid., pp. 158, 195, 196.
88 Ibid., 347. Also (p. 144) when Bartram pushes together the “exfoliated smoking brands” of his camp-fire.
With such word-machinery, it is not surprising that the reader should note an occasional excursus into a combination of ancient philosophy and modern science. The sheer joy of a style which splashes on the colors has no hesitation in drawing upon romance to illustrate the most technical facts. It is entertaining rather than irrelevant to note Bartram's description of the Snake Bird: “If this bird had been an inhabitant of the Tiber in Ovid's days, it would have furnished him with a subject for some beautiful and entertaining metamorphoses.” Our attention has been called to the Neo-Platonism which pervades this book, as in “The more essential principle... which animates the illimitable machines (i.e., the works of Nature), which gives them motion... this must be divine and immortal.” The Sun of Plato's Republic and the perfection of beauty and virtue sketched in the Phaedrus or the Symposium are apostrophized in a passage worthy of Sir Thomas Browne, describing a triumph of sun over storm on the Alatamaha River: “So it is with the scenes of human events on the stream of life. The higher powers and affections of the soul are so blended with the inferior passions.... Thus in the moral system which we have planned for our conduct, as a ladder whereby to mount to the summit of terrestrial glory,... and from whence we perhaps meditated our flight to heaven... some accident surprises us. But let us wait and rely on our God who in due time will shine forth in brightness... and reveal to us how finite and circumscribed is human power.”

It is thus that Plato and Ovid permeate the Atlantic Seaboard. Franklin had experimented with the Socratic dialogue; and Bartram with his Sun-motif pre-

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80 Ibid., p. 126.
81 Cambridge History of American Literature, I. 198.
82 Travels, etc. (op. cit.), p. 66.
83 Franklin's classical interests are reserved for another study by the writer.
ceded the Transcendentalism of Emerson and the Con-
cord School, with no less charm and understanding.

Philip Freneau's only notable poetry was of nature
and fancy, unblended with any of the elements with
which this study deals, except for a style which at its
best is delicate and clear. But his critical and contro-
versial writings, emphatic in their ephemeral and oc-
casional pungency, form another milestone on the
westward journey of Apollo.\footnote{F. L. Pattee, editor, \textit{The Poems of Philip Freneau}, three volumes, Princeton, 1902.} At his Princeton com-
 mencement exercises of 1771 he upheld the affirmative
in a "forensic dispute,"—"Does ancient poetry excel
the modern?" From this time on he clothes much of
his poetry and prose in classical mythology and his-
tory: hence its evanescence. For it is entirely true that
by the last decade of the eighteenth century the clas-
sical element as a flavor to political ambition and as a
concomitant to the construction of a New Republic,
had done its work. It no longer supplied fuel for an
established régime as it had supplied inspiration to
Jefferson, Madison and Adams. In the hands of Fre-
eau it was "framework" or "filling" rather than
really essential material for building.

Furthermore, the classical strains of this energetic
pamphleteer, editor and sea-captain are often ex-
pressed in a key below the force of the events which
they commemorate. Old Cotton Mather knew his ma-
chinery better; so did John Dickinson, author of the
brilliant "Letters of a Farmer in Pennsylvania." Fre-
neau refers the question to Pythagoras to explain,
—how it was that the souls of Marlboro and Eugene
meet again in Washington, and the soul of the sage
Pluto (does he not mean Plutus, god of wealth?) in
Franklin. He very inappropriately calls the Father of
our country "a second Diomede"; or he compares him
with the hackneyed Cincinnatus. Horace’s Odes supply him with much fodder: Arnold’s Departure is a sort of propempticon curse, like the Epode beginning \textit{mala soluta navis exit alite}. His Jersey Chronicle, published at Mount Pleasant, has for its title

\textit{inter silvas Academi quaerere verum.}

To Jefferson he lends his pen: \textit{praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores,}

\begin{quote}
To illume the statesmen of the times to come
With the bold spirit of primeval Rome.
\end{quote}

Much, then, of his reference is adapted quotation: in the Stanzas on Washington he appropriates the 86th Epistle of Seneca: the hero has departed

\begin{quote}
Where Scipio and where Trajan went,
And heaven reclaims the soul it lent.\textsuperscript{45}
\end{quote}

The \textit{Freeman’s Journal} is contrasted with the scattered leaves of the Sibyl. When the Capitol is burned by the British, Freneau cannot hold his pen from quoting the \textit{proximus ardet Ucalegon} of the second book of the Aeneid. While Professor Pattee is doubtless right in stating that “Freneau was the first to catch the new epic note in America,” and while the poet’s \textit{Pictures of Columbus} are an introduction to the long-winded \textit{Columbiad} of Joel Barlow, the material was not transmuted sufficiently to make it original. We grant a certain inspiration to this “Daily Princetonian,” who “dreamed, over his Vergil, of a greater Aeneas who had sailed into the pathless West to dis-

\textsuperscript{44}F. L. Pattee, editor, \textit{The Poems of Philip Freneau}, three volumes, Princeton, 1902, Introduction p. 42; I. 149; II. 228.

\textsuperscript{45}Ibid., Introduction, p. 65: II. 103; II. 336; III. 293, 296; III. 234.
cover a new world”; we hail the patriotic adaptation of the Seneca-Bacon prophecy about a new continent:

The time shall come, when numerous years are past,
The ocean shall dissolve the bands of things,
And an extended region rise at last;
And Typhis (sic) shall disclose the mighty land
Far far away, where none have roved before;
Nor shall the world’s remotest region be
Gibraltar’s rock, or Thule’s savage shore.47

But it is uncharitable to cavil at the machinery of expression of a real patriot. Let him cry out for Virtue:

She stood with Romans while their hearts were true,
And so she shall, Americans, with you!

Let him hark back to Vergil’s Fourth Eclogue in order to describe a Paradise where

the lion and the lamb,
In mutual friendship linked, shall browse the shrub;

or chant, in

“The Rising Glory of America,”
where the Mississippi stream
By forests shaded, now runs weeping on,
Nations shall grow and states not less in fame
Than Greece and Rome of old! We too shall boast
Our Scipios, Solons, Catos, sages, chiefs.

He may collaborate to his heart’s content with John Carey (in 1792), writing Latin verses based on Martial’s “Barbara Pyramidum,—“The Pyramid of the Fifteen American States.”

Clio is called upon to assist in depicting the horrors of a British prison-ship. Zoilus the critic and Sejanus the Philistine merchant-prince, feel his lash. But he descends to bathos and absurdity in two bits of verse, in one of which he uses an ancient simile for the pursuit of the ship Aurora by the frigate Iris:

Thus fierce Pelides, eager to destroy,
Chac’d the proud Trojan to the gates of Troy.

47 Ibid., I. 47.
48 Ibid., I. 148; I. 83; III. 82.
49 Ibid., II. 18; Introduction, p. 38.
This difficulty of saying things simply when he had his mythological harness on, produces some eccentric effects,—as in the verses "On the Ruins of a Country Inn":

Where now these mingled ruins lie,  
A temple once to Bacchus rose.

Brutus, Tyrtaeus, anecdotes of Aristippus, adaptations from Lucian and Lucretius, crowd the pages of Freneau. When Congress moves from New York to Philadelphia, prompted by the graft of a "Timon," the archives are transferred to:

Where Bavius sings,  
Where Sporus builds his splendid pile,  
And Bufo's tawdry Seasons smile.

Connecticut is Terra Vulpina,—which may be jealousy of Yale on the part of Princeton; when he refers to "Iliads begun and finished in a day," he is hitting at the copious work of Dwight.

With a charming inconsistency,—such as classical scholars turned educationists sometimes betray today,—Freneau writes to a student of the dead languages:

Why then your native language not pursue  
In which all ancient sense (that's worth review)  
Glows in translation, fresh and new?  

Philip Freneau is therefore significant not for his expert knowledge of the classics, but for his frequent use of them as a vehicle of expression. His fellow-student at Princeton, James Madison, excelled him in real knowledge of Greek and Latin as the moon excels the lesser stars. But the prevalence of this medium of expression is witness to the keenness of the eighteenth-century mind in the Middle Colonies. We may leave Freneau with his prophecy of the future greatness of

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60 F. L. Pattee, editor, The Poems of Philip Freneau, three volumes, Princeton, 1902, II. 110; III. 406; III. 112; III. 49; III. 9; III. 121; and passim.
his country, and commend him for his copiousness, his verve, and his patriotism:

What Plato saw, in ages fled,
What Solon to the Athenians said . . .
Is now unfolding to our view.\footnote{F. L. Pattee, editor, \textit{The Poems of Philip Freneau}, three volumes, Princeton, 1902, III. 227.}

Other authors who flourished in the environment of the Philadelphia atmosphere, and who are recognized by literary critics as worthy of comparison with the best of Europe are Franklin,\footnote{See p. 87, note 42.} John Woolman, Tom Paine and Charles Brockden Brown. Woolman's \textit{Journal}, so highly praised by Charles Lamb and others, is not couched in terms of indebtedness to Greece or Rome; although the author is supposed in his youth to have taught elementary Latin and is known to have had the highest regard for sound education. This work stands on its own inspiration, like the \textit{Imitation} of Thomas à Kempis. Paine's political pamphlets, which are no whit inferior to DeFoe's, are the product of a burning zeal which has fused and simplified every element in the service of his forcible style. Brown's main intellectual guide was William Godwin; he built up, on a sound classical foundation, a boldly imaginative set of novels dealing with the supernatural and the psychological, as seen in \textit{Arthur Mervyn} and \textit{Wieland}.

Putting together all these authors and trends of literary interest, it is no exaggeration to declare that Philadelphia, a cosmopolitan colonial centre, made a distinctive contribution to the English literature of the eighteenth century. The off-hand remarks of critics and historians regarding this area of American creativity in letters should be revised. And the part played in this development by the tradition of Greece and Rome is outstanding.