EIGHTEENTH CENTURY HUMANITARIANISM:
Collaboration Between Europe and America

The growth of a humanitarian spirit is clearly in evidence in the eighteenth century. Much of its literature inspired it, as well as reflected it, and a number of organizations aimed to ameliorate the sad lot of mankind. One of the hardest fights was against Negro slavery and the slave trade, and the most forceful campaigners in this struggle were the Quakers of England and America. The spirit and the letter of legislation affecting bonded whites was also affected by eighteenth century rationalism and humanity. But even before their influence was felt, a new world community that valued the life of man more highly than the old world demanded less frequently the ultimate penalty. Subject as it naturally was to English precedents, the colonial code reduced the great many offences still punishable by death in England to eleven in Massachusetts. These New England Puritans were more humane, too, in drawing up laws protecting women, children, strangers, servants, and dumb animals. Almost alone among the seventeenth century legislators, Preserved Smith notes, “the Massachusetts General Court forbade any man to exercise any tyranny or cruelty toward any brute creature which are usually kept for man’s use.”

More fundamental changes in the character of the laws did not come until after the epoch-making works of Montesquieu and Beccaria. Stemming from these sources there accumulated a number of plans and discussions that called for a reconsideration of legal systems, particularly with reference to crime and punishment. Jefferson made a careful study of William Eden’s Principles of Penal Law (London, 1772), and into his Common Place Book the young Virginian copied long passages from On Crimes and Punishments and extracts from Montesquieu. To them he was indebted for his sentiment that “capital punishment should be avoided as much as possible, and punish-

ments chosen, which equally with death, restrain the delinquent from committing the like crime a second time"; to Beccaria also, Jefferson owed much for his "Bill proportioning crimes and punishments." At a later date another Italian, Gaetano Filangieri, returned the compliment, and in his examination of the systems of civil and criminal law turned often to Franklin for advice. He sent to the American at Passy, his *Scienza della Legislazion*, which brought the reply that no laws needed reform so badly as the criminal laws. "They are everywhere in so great disorder, and so much injustice is committed in the execution of them," wrote Franklin, "that I have been sometimes inclined to imagine less would exist in the world if there were no such laws, and the punishment of injuries were left to private resentment." From the Economic Society of Berne came an announcement of a contest for a prize essay on a scheme of legislation for criminal affairs, and soon after Brissot de Warville and others scattered over Europe sent to Franklin plans of works on penal laws and prisons which they hoped might be adopted by the Americans.

Franklin exchanged tracts and sentiments on this subject with one of his favorite English correspondents, Benjamin Vaughan, and paid his respects to a pamphlet that urged hanging for all thieves. He favored, with the Frenchman, Dr. Madan, proportioning punishments to offences, and wrote bitterly against capital punishment for minor crimes. At Yale the seniors questioned whether the sentence of death should be immediately executed, and approved the abolition of imprisonment for debt. On another occasion they questioned "Whether Criminal Law, or Punishment of Crimes be too severe & rigorous in the United States for the present Stage of Society." A graduating student at the commencement debate opposed the legality of capital punishment, and his argument, which was taken largely from Beccaria, attracted attention. With a wistful note an English penal reformer wrote to an American, in whose country "old pre-

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*Smyth, *op. cit.*, March 14, 1785.
*Ezra Stiles, *Diary*, April 20, 1784, June 29, 1784, Feb. 21, 1786, Sept. 10, 1788, 328, note 2, March 10, 1789.*
judices do not exist," telling him that his task in introducing a system that would prevent crime would be much easier of accomplishment than in Europe. An evidence of the new public interest in penology is the space devoted by magazines to descriptions of European penal conditions and arguments against public and capital punishments.

On various occasions in the eighteenth century a charitable impulse softened the harshness of a prisoner's existence, particularly if he had been imprisoned for debt. When fortunes were made and lost, sometimes with great rapidity, a debtor's plight might be any one's, and sympathy for these victims of misfortune was more easily aroused. Among the changing values that humanity created in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was a shift from the emphasis on corporal punishment to imprisonment to satisfy society's vengeance. The American Quakers made significant contributions to penology when they substituted imprisonment for corporal punishment and combined the prison and the workhouse. It was a singular idea that imprisonment should be at hard labor and not tortured away in idleness.

It was the Englishman, John Howard, who most strikingly effected a change in the systems of penology in Europe and America, but it was in the young states overseas that the reformer gained perhaps his most enthusiastic disciples. The Massachusetts Magazine printed an article "Of the Cleanliness, order and Economy of Dutch Prisons (By the late celebrated Mr. Howard)"; his descriptions of the more modern prisons in Rome and Ghent were read in Philadelphia by Caleb Lownes and others, and the reforms undertaken in English prisons as a result of continental influence, became in turn the models for Americans. A Philadelphia pamphlet of 1790 which argued for prison reform included lengthy extracts from Howard's works.

But Philadelphia had an earlier tradition of penal reform that dated from the first days of the colony. A local society to assist distressed prisoners had been formed in 1776 but was dissolved during the war that followed. Soon after the conclusion of the struggle, "The

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1 S. L. Knapp, The Life of Thomas Eddy, Patrick Colquhoun to Eddy, 187.
2 New York Magazine or Literary Repository, V. 1794, Saxon state prison; n. s., I, Jan.-July, 1796, punishment of state criminals in Holland; Dr. Rush in American Museum, Aug., 1787, July, 1788.
4 II. 685, 1790.
Philadelphia Society for alleviating the miseries of Public Prisons was formed, and it was this group, a revival of the earlier organization, that followed Howard so eagerly. They sent him their constitution and asked for communications on the subject of prison reform. "With the friends of humanity in Europe," the Pennsylvanians acknowledged their obligations to him for drawing the attention of the public to prisoners and for attacking the problem of crime prevention. Dr. Rush sent Dr. Lettsom his own pamphlet on prisons and told him that the local institution was an outgrowth of Howard's "excellent history of Prisons." Dr. Lettsom kept the Philadelphia society informed of Howard's journeys on the continent, and the latter expressed his willingness to help support the Philadelphia society whose work in changing prison administration was watched by other American states. William Bradford, the attorney-general, who was a leader in the movement for reform of prisons and the criminal code, wrote in 1793 that the religious principles of the Quakers had been opposed to a harsh code, "and as soon as the principles of Beccaria were disseminated, they found a soil that was prepared to receive them." It is a fact of some significance that at least three editions of Beccaria's treatise were issued in Philadelphia between 1778 and 1809; one other edition appeared as early as 1773 in New York.

Dr. Benjamin Rush, who participated in nearly all the reform movements of his day, was also active in presenting modern ideas on penology. A prison, he felt, must serve three purposes; reformation, the deterrence of others from crime, the protection of society from crime. His type of institution would provide for a classification of offenders, a rational system of prison labor, that should meet the expenses of the institution; prisoners were to work outdoors and raise their own food. The idea of an indeterminate sentence, so recent in penology, was another that was familiar to Rush. He exchanged observations and publications with Englishmen, particularly Dr. Lettsom, on this and related subjects. He asked Lettsom to place in

12 Pettigrew, Lettsom Memoirs, II. 429, May 18, 1787.

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a London periodical his tract against capital punishment. He sent Dr. Price his pamphlet on the Effects of Public Punishments upon Criminals and upon Society. Granville Sharp, who also corresponded with Rush, disagreed with the argument that murder should not be punished with death. Rush stuck to his opinion however, and sent a new edition of his essay against capital punishment to Lettsom. He reported, optimistically, that his opinion, once unpopular, was gaining ground everywhere in the United States, and that the fellow Quakers of Dr. Lettsom were openly advocating it. “I wish Christians of all denominations would unite in enforcing it,” wrote Dr. Rush; “Death, for any crime, is certainly as contrary as war, to the spirit of the gospel.”

By common consent, Thomas Eddy, who did his work in New York, was called the “Howard of America.” Eddy, who was a Quaker, visited the Philadelphia prisons, received advice from Caleb Lownes, and corresponded with European philanthropists. In this way, writes a student of penology, he did much “to establish the cross-currents of penological influence between Europe and America that marked the first thirty years of the nineteenth century.” Eddy came back from Philadelphia with a number of copies of the Pennsylvania criminal code which he distributed among the New York legislators. General Philip Schuyler, in the New York Senate, was interested in this problem, and with Eddy’s assistance drew up a bill for establishing a penitentiary system based on that in Philadelphia. Eddy’s plan for single cells was not adopted, but he sent it to his English correspondent, Patrick Colquhoun, a distinguished figure in penology, who was instrumental in having it introduced later by the London Society for improving Prison Discipline. “Solitary Confinement, under certain regulations is excellent,” wrote Colquhoun. From Paris, Jefferson sent plans to Virginia for the construction of a prison on the solitary cell plan which a French architect had suggested.

Eddy informed Colquhoun, who was in charge of the London police, of the many changes that were taking place in the American
treatment of criminals, and Colquhoun answered with news of European accomplishments. Europeans followed American experiments closely. The Philadelphia prison, wrote Colquhoun, "furnishes an irrefragable proof to all Europe, as well as America, that the great desideratum has been accomplished, of rendering the labour of criminals productive [self-supporting] ... and what is more of importance, of restoring them again to society with amended morals ... to become useful instead of noxious members of the community." Eddy's pamphlet on the New York prisons was read by the leading reformers in England, including Jeremy Bentham, who sent a packet of publications to the New Yorker.

Eddy's account of the New York prison included citations from and eulogies for Montesquieu, Beccaria, and Howard. But, he reminded his readers that, while these names should be remembered, "the legislators and philanthropists of our own country deserve not to be forgotten." In the judgment of Eddy, Beccaria's opinions had "the force of axioms in the Science of penal law," and he also praised very highly *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* by his London correspondent, Colquhoun. The latter returned in kind in a note to Lettsom wherein he referred to the valuable work that Eddy was doing in America.

American disciples of Howard were critical of some of the master's teachings. A visitor to the Philadelphia prison from South Carolina, R. J. Turnbull, who urged his state to follow the lead of Pennsylvania, quoted American experience to refute Howard's belief that some corporal punishment might be necessary. Howard was skeptical also about self-supporting prisons, but here, too, Pennsylvania experience had proved it possible. The Frenchman Volney, who was then in the South, wrote to a Charleston paper indorsing the sentiments of Turnbull. A review in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of Turnbull's tract, noting that solitude was the main idea of the Philadelphia prison, observed that an important principle of Quakerism was the silence of solitude. "If this produces reformation," the reviewer continued, "it is

20 An Account of the State Prison ... in New York (1801), 64, 88.
21 Pettigrew, op. cit., II. 361, Jan. 19, 1803.
22 Turnbull, "A Visit to the Philadelphia Prison" (1796); this appeared originally in the Charleston Daily Gazette.
an experiment worth trying... There is... a wide difference between speculative and practical reformation." 23 A review of Turnbull's publication in the Monthly Review led to self criticism of English criminal jurisprudence, which the writer felt was barbarous in continuing to exact the capital penalty "for mere violations of property." 24

It was another Frenchman who made the Walnut Street prison better known to Europeans. The Duke de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt published an account of the criminal jurisprudence of Pennsylvania and noted that the chief reformers were Quakers. The results that they achieved were compared with European systems, and in Rochefoucauld's opinion Europe came off second best. The Americans had gone further than Howard who, it was noted, had a more inclusive list of crimes punishable by death. William Bradford had written a pamphlet opposed to capital punishment except in case of premeditated murder, and the noble visitor believed that Bradford's ideas had gained wide circulation in America. To the new world he paid an eloquent tribute, and called upon her to reverse the process of borrowing "illumination" from Europe, and to "serve in her turn as a model to reform the criminal jurisprudence and establish a new system of imprisonment in the old world." He recalled that the ideas were originally European, but "the attempt at an almost entire abolition of the punishment of death, and the substitution of a system of reason and justice, to that of bonds, ill treatment and arbitrary punishment, was never made but in America." 25

English interest in progressive penal legislation in America was in part satisfied by a notice in the Gentleman's Magazine of details in Pennsylvania's new code of 1794. It singled out especially the facts that murder, only in the first degree, was punishable by death, and that "benefit of clergy was forever abolished." 26 English publications on America, especially the reports of travelers, often noted the superiority of American criminal codes. A Short View of the Administrations in the Government of America by George Henderson, observed that some of the states, especially Pennsylvania, had codes "far

23 LXIX. 504.
24 Enlarged series, XXIII. 356, 1797.
26 LXIV. 850.
less sanguinary than most known in other countries," and this had resulted in greater rather than less security for society. For particular commendation he singled out the laws for the relief of imprisoned debtors. An authoritative descriptive geography said that in the South, in the middle of the eighteenth century "few or no debtors [were] confined in prison above twenty-four hours." The example of Massachusetts in making minor offenders engage in profitable work while in prison, was held up for emulation to European nations by another writer. John Walker who was so bitterly critical of the Liverpool slave dealers, rejoiced with "the friends of humanity" that the American States were discarding the "barbarous and sanguinary code of laws which they derived from Europe." The example of Massachusetts in making minor offenders engage in profitable work while in prison, was held up for emulation to European nations by another writer. John Walker who was so bitterly critical of the Liverpool slave dealers, rejoiced with "the friends of humanity" that the American States were discarding the "barbarous and sanguinary code of laws which they derived from Europe." The Edinburgh Bee, mindful of conditions at home, in 1791, was surprised to find that an American newspaper reported "not a single robbery or murder" for four months. Young's Annals of Agriculture reprinted Roche- foucauld's description of the prisons of Philadelphia. There was a London reprint of William Bradford's Enquiry how far the Punishment of Death is necessary in Pennsylvania, which contained also an account of the Philadelphia prison by Caleb Lownes. The advertisement to this London edition indicated its value to an English audience, which was asked to "observe with pleasure the principles of philosophy and humanity practically combining their influence to enlighten the ignorant and to reform the vicious." A notice in the Monthly Review of Roche- foucauld's Travels mentioned "with peculiar approbation," the prisons in Philadelphia.

A more tangible indication of American influence on English penal reform came as a result of the meeting of the two Quakers, William Savery, of Philadelphia, and Elizabeth Fry. It is the belief of Rufus M. Jones that it was most likely Savery who awakened Elizabeth Fry, later a most valuable servant in this work, to the condition of the degraded prisoner. Other Americans supplied arguments for

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27 London, 1802, 35-36.
28 D. Fenning, J. Collyer, etc., A New System of Geography (1765, 1766), II. 670.
30 Elements of Geography and Natural and Civil History (2d ed., 1795), 567.
31 V. 239.
32 XXVII. 572-623, 1796.
33 Enlarged series, XXXV. 121.
34 Later Periods of Quakerism, 356-57.
European reformers. A radical publication, The Complaints of the Poor People of England, was critical of capital punishment, and quoted in support Joel Barlow's remark in his Advice to the Privileged Orders, which pointed out that capital punishment was absent from Connecticut for 130 years after the founding of the settlement. The English writer credited such blessings, which included the absence of poverty, to the existence of representative government. "The American government," he continued, "has settled into a system of mercy." A French publication on English criminal law included a letter from Franklin which criticised the disproportion between the penalty and the crime, and a footnote to the text observed with favor the new name, more human, given to Philadelphia prisons, now called "Bettering Houses" [maisons d'amélioration]. Franklin's support of the Masonic Lodge of the Nine Sisters in a campaign to moderate the French criminal law was very welcome.

A German periodical devoted to criminal law included articles on American penal legislation, frequently based on writings by American authors. One article "Ueber die Amerikanische Criminalverfassung," pointed out that the states modeled a good deal of their legislation on that of England, but that many changes had been introduced. G. A. Kleinschrod, the writer, was certain that no American state had as good a system of criminal legislation as Pennsylvania. He noted how the total of criminals had fallen by comparing the last four years under the system formerly in use in Pennsylvania before 1790, with the total in the first four years of the new system.

Slavery and antiquated penal legislation were objects of strong attack by social reformers but their critical pens were also directed against many other social evils. Pro-slavery writers reminded reformers of the "superior hardships of our own poor at home." The title

87 Faÿ, op. cit., 230.
88 E. F. Klein und G. A. Kleinschrod, Archiv des Criminalrechts (1799), bk. 2, ch. 1, 10-27; see also bk. 1, ch. 4, 35.
89 Hoare, Memoirs of Granville Sharp, II. 189; Sharp to Bishop of Salisbury, May 21, 1789.
of one of Benezet's publications suggests the wide range of interests these humanitarians had: An extract from a treatise on the Spirit of Prayer. . . . with some Thoughts on war; Remarks on the Nature and bad effects of the use of Spirituous Liquors and Considerations on Slavery within the growing circle of influential humanitarians was Dr. Thomas Percival, of Manchester, whose Moral and Literary Dissertations treated many phases of reform, including the question of duelling. Franklin was one of his readers, and agreed with Percival in condemning the "murderous Practice of Duelling." Granville Sharp took time off from his anti-slavery crusade to tell Benezet that he had composed a tract strongly opposed to duelling; this was published with Beccaria's treatise in Philadelphia in 1778. Although illegal, duelling in England and America was condoned by social convention. Throughout the eighteenth century, many individuals, including Paine and Jefferson, voiced disapproval of the practice but the social conscience in America was not profoundly stirred until after the tragedy of the Burr-Hamilton duel.

This group also believed with Franklin that there never was a just war. Benezet sent his Thoughts on the Nature of War to many people in America and Europe, including Frederick the Second. Franklin confided to his friend Richard Price, in the midst of the Revolution, the hope for a plan "that would induce & oblige Nations to settle their Disputes without first Cutting one another’s Throats." Somewhat despairingly he wondered if men would ever be convinced that "even successful Wars at length become Misfortunes" to those who begin them. Another friend Dr. John Fothergill, writing to Franklin a few months later, looked for the establishment of a College of Justice where the claims of sovereigns could be weighed and war would then be levied only on those who refused submission to its decrees. While still at Passy, Franklin was astonished to receive from Toulon, "A Project of universal and perpetual peace written by Pierre-André Gargaz, a former galley slave," which he then printed

40 Smyth, op. cit., July 17, 1784.
41 Hoare, op. cit., I. 210, Jan. 7, 1774.
43 Vaux, op. cit., 62, 71.
44 Smyth, op. cit., Feb. 6, 1780.
45 Hays, op. cit., Dec. 25, 1780.
at his private press. When Jefferson succeeded Franklin, Gargaz corresponded with him also.  

Franklin was quick to suggest the example of the federated states of 1787 to Europe’s notice. He sent the Federal Constitution to one correspondent, and added that if it succeeded he saw no reason why Europe could not carry out the project of Henry IV by forming a federal union of its different states and kingdoms. Robert R. Livingston, inspired by the peaceful settlement of the bitter boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, even went so far as to prophesy European imitation of this American precedent: “The great cause between Connecticut and Pennsylvania has been decided in favor of the latter,” he wrote Lafayette. “It is a singular event. There are few instances of independent states submitting their cause to a court of justice. The day will come when all disputes in the great republic of Europe will be tried in the same way, and America be quoted to exemplify the wisdom of the measure.”  

James Wilson of Pennsylvania, the Scottish lawyer whose learning so impressed such travelers as Chastellux, likewise saw in the federal Constitution and in the Supreme Court an example to the nations of the world for the peaceful adjudication of war-provoking disputes, and set forth his views to his students at the University of Pennsylvania. Franklin sought to forestall criticism and a plea of insuperable obstacles to be overcome by pointing out that the Americans also had many interests to be reconciled. Holding up the American states as an example, a Frenchman, Rabaut Saint-Etienne in an Adress aux Anglais asked for a Constitution of the United States of Europe. The European Magazine drew the attention of its readers to some interesting provisions in the treaty concluded between the United States and Prussia in 1785; the contracting parties agreed that in case any power were to go to war with either of them “the free intercourse and commerce of the subjects or citizens of the party remaining neutral with the belligerent
Powers Shall not be interrupted.” “There is another clause in this new compact which does honour to humanity,” the magazine went on to say. “In case of war, no women, children, men of letters, farmers, artisans and fishermen, who are not found in arms and who live in unfortified cities, towns and villages, i.e., all whose vocation tends to the subsistence and general good of the human race shall have liberty to continue their respective profession unmolested.” Were any of these to suffer loss they were to be reimbursed by the offending state. Vessels not carrying ammunition were to be protected; nothing was to be done on either side to destroy or even interrupt the freedom of commerce.51

A number of questions of a humanitarian character suggested in part by the liberalizing influence of the new world brought this answer to one on the usefulness of America to mankind: “The discovery of America in substituting the spirit of commerce for the spirit of conquest and invasion has undoubtedly, rendered peace infinitely precious to all the governments, but national egoism has not as yet permitted the delicious fruits of this spirit of peace to be reaped.”52 The exchange of communications on the methods of attaining peace led in the nineteenth century to an organized cooperative movement in its behalf, supported by noted figures on both sides of the Atlantic.53

The growing concern for human life was expressed in yet another manner, the organization of “humane societies,” or life guards to resuscitate people apparently drowned. The British Royal Humane Society was formed in 1774, seven years after its model in Amsterdam. Americans were interested in this movement, for the Royal American Magazine printed an account of “Dr. Tissot’s Method of Recovering Drowned Persons,” and one Bostonian was in correspondence with Dr. W. Hawes of the Royal Humane Society. Ten years after the formation of the British Society, one of its active spirits, Dr. Henry Moyes, came to America to organize similar groups. In a short time he wrote to a London friend of his success in Boston,54 other cities along the Atlantic coast likewise formed such societies. Chastellux gave Benezet a box of apparatus and instructed him in French methods of resuscita-

51 X. 133.
54 Gentleman’s Magazine, LVII. 1154, Dr. Moyes to Dr. A. Johnson, Nov. 12, 1785.
A member of the Massachusetts society, on a visit to London asked the Royal Humane Society for assistance in setting up a lighthouse on Cape Cod; on another occasion the English group sent a description of a new type of life boat which was then copied by Americans.

Americans who were interested in life insurance corresponded with Dr. Richard Price whose writings on the subject attracted wide attention. Price wrote to President Willard of Harvard College, on the expectation of life among its graduates, and gave advice to Massachusetts ministers on the organization of a plan to provide annuities to their widows. Ezra Stiles told one correspondent that plans of this nature would require more complete records of births and deaths than New England had been accustomed to keep. Franklin had suggested that Price include in his volume on Annuities the example of an arrangement in Holland, where a pension fund was accumulated so that in old age people would be freed of poverty and have a place to live. From a village in Saxe-Weimar a plan for pensioning widows and orphans was sent to Franklin. Plans to eliminate poverty, for founding alms houses or state institutions for the indigent and homeless, were also sent to him. Another philanthropic gentleman acquainted Franklin with a plan to gather together all the poor and transplant them to America. The orphan house that Whitefield had established in Georgia before the middle of the century and which one visitor observed "had made such a noise in Europe," was based on the work of A. H. Francke in Germany. Over £5,000 were contributed by England and Scotland, in addition to large sums by the colonies themselves for Whitefield's orphan house. The Gentleman's Magazine judged highly of a Connecticut plan to prevent poverty, which it believed, however, unworkable in a large community. It seems that in New London a strict watch was kept by the people over each

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55 Vaux, op. cit., 104.
59 Smyth, op. cit., Franklin to Francis Maseres, June 17, 1772.
60 Hays, op. cit., April 7, 1780, April 14, 1778, July 29, 1778.
61 Ibid., A. F. Rühle von Lilienstern (circa 1733).
other's business affairs, and if any one neglected his business and became involved in "ruinous projects," he was judged unfit to manage his affairs any longer, and they were then taken over by the legally constituted authorities. A notice signed by three select-men of the town told of a sort of guardian-ship that had been placed over a local business man until his concern was once again put on its feet, thus preventing him and his family from becoming charges of the town.64

The question of poverty was attacked in a vigorous way by that versatile American expatriate, Count Rumford, who had entered the service of the Elector of Bavaria. The city of Munich was divided into sixteen districts, every dwelling place was numbered, a committee of charity named for each district, and a doctor, a citizen, a priest, a surgeon and an apothecary were assigned to look after the poor without pay.65 In a suburb of Munich, he established a beggars' home by refitting an old house, and his fuel economy in the kitchen attracted unusual attention throughout Europe. Social improvements everywhere in Bavaria were stimulated by Count Rumford, and as a result of his experiments he wrote the *Fundamental Principles on which General Establishments for the Relief of the Poor may be formed in all Countries*. He realized that his chances of success would be much greater if he could keep the costs down; so he turned his attention to studies of foods and their nutritive values; he urged the use especially of the inexpensive American Indian corn.

Rumford planned kitchens in Italian cities, and in 1795 he went to England to publish some of his writings hoping thereby to draw attention to his reforms already effected in Germany. In England and Ireland he supervised changes in many philanthropic institutions. A Boston edition of his works appeared 1789–1799, although two years earlier some copies of the London edition had found their way to America. When he was leaving for the states in the early part of 1799 Rumford asked his English publishers to send him a dozen copies of his essays for gifts, "bound in the best manner."66 The future American historian, George Bancroft, was brought up on dishes recommended by Count Rumford.67

64 XXXV. 123 (1765).
66 BM. Add. MS., 34045.
gave an enthusiastic reception to Rumford's *Essays Experimental, Political, Economical and Philosophical.* The reviewer believed that property owners would be interested in Rumford's measures to benefit the poor and abolish beggary especially since he had shown that no rise in taxation would result. A later issue of the magazine contained an account of Rumford and suggested that many of his plans might be adopted in Great Britain "to the benefit of every class"; some of them, it said, had already been cordially received. One of Rumford's strongest supporters was Thomas Bernard, son of the colonial governor, Francis Bernard, of Massachusetts. The son, who became a friend of Rumford, was a leader in English humanitarian movements, especially the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, and as a director of the Foundling Hospital he introduced Rumford's plans for diet and fuel.

The problem of poverty was closely related to the question of temperance. The vast toll in money and misery that excessive drink demanded in the eighteenth century, particularly in the early decades, is well known. Arguments for temperance were fairly common in the middle of the century but they grew in volume toward its closing years. In this, as in other movements, the American Quakers led the opposition to the increasing use of hard liquor, and after 1736 frequent warnings were issued to Friends against excessive use of strong drinks. The Mathers, in New England, at an early day had favored temperance, and the trustees of the Georgia settlement sent to the colony one hundred copies of an English pamphlet, Dr. Hale's *Friendly Admonition to the Drinkers of Brandy* which urged the use of malt liquors. An attempt at prohibition of the sale or importation of ardent spirits in Georgia led to abuse and repeal of the Act. Woolman advised Quakers against intemperate drinking, and Benezet, who was more vigorous in his attack, wrote a pamphlet against the habitual use of hard liquors. In his *Pennsylvania Spelling Book* he included a list of questions which were in the nature of a catechism to promote the idea of temperance among children. Benezet influenced the Quaker Yearly Meeting to resolve that members should not deal in spirituous liquors. The Methodists also took steps to discourage their members from par-

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* XXIX. 320–24.
* XXXI. 83.
ticipation in the hard liquor business. In Connecticut a few influential men formed a group in 1789 that was the “first organized abstinence from ardent spirits.” Although newspapers still advertised liquors, more and more, they were printing items critical of their sale.\textsuperscript{71}

English attention to American temperance statements indicated a concern over conditions at home. The \textit{Scots Magazine} printed an extract from Belknap's \textit{History of New Hampshire} which attacked the very free drinking of hard liquor and an earlier issue printed Dr. Rush's \textit{Enquiry on the Effects of Spirituous Liquors upon the Human Body}. An extract from this essay was published again in a later issue of the \textit{Scots Magazine} with much flattering comment.\textsuperscript{72} Another periodical in Scotland, \textit{The Bee}, gave a favorable review to Lettsom's \textit{History of Some of the Effects of Hard Drinking}.\textsuperscript{73} A London newspaper printed a letter from Boston telling of a tax to be laid on retailers of liquors to curb this evil.\textsuperscript{74} An American newspaper printed an extract from one of Lettsom's writings against spirituous liquors which won the commendation of Dr. Rush. Rush told Lettsom that a campaign in the newspapers against spirituous liquors in 1788 had caused a drop of one-third in their use in Pennsylvania, but his co-workers in this campaign of education were less enthusiastic. Quakers, Methodists and the local College of Physicians opposed their use, Rush wrote, and added that no object lay nearer his heart than the extirpation of spirituous liquors.\textsuperscript{75} The memorial of the Philadelphia College of Physicians to the legislature, largely inspired by Rush, urging the substitution of malt liquors for hard drinks, was reprinted in the \textit{Scots Magazine}.\textsuperscript{76} The temperance movement that was to gain increasing strength in the nineteenth century owed much of its original force to the vigorous Dr. Rush.

Americans would have termed premature, the enthusiastic English judgment that their young government had “settled into a system of mercy” in its penal legislation. In this, as in so many other respects, hopeful Europeans saw what they wished to see in the American states. It is true they did see there some substance whose greatly en-

\textsuperscript{71} J. A. Krout, \textit{The Origins of Prohibition} (New York, 1925), 51–83.
\textsuperscript{72} LVII. 82–85 (1795); XLVII. 469–74; LVI. 202–203.
\textsuperscript{73} X. 71–72, July 18, 1792.
\textsuperscript{74} \textit{The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser}, Jan. 7, 1784.
\textsuperscript{75} Pettigrew, \textit{op. cit.}, II. 435, Aug. 16, 1788; Goodman, \textit{op. cit.}, 274–78.
\textsuperscript{76} L. 562.
larged shadow blotted out for them the glaring faults that still existed in American society, but such vision has always been vouchsafed the pessimist at home who looks optimistically abroad. The uncertain human spirit seeks support wherever it thinks it finds buoyancy, and Americans and Europeans found it in each other in the generation after the War for Independence.

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