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Early American Literature, Volume 35, Number 3, 2000, pp. 309-336
(Article)

Published by The University of North Carolina Press
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1353/eal.2000.0010

THE UTOPIA

ELIHU HUBBARD SMITH

INTRODUCTION[1]

The flourishing condition of the State of Utopia, lately admitted into the Union, renders it an interesting subject of inquiry. The absence of party-spirit; the harmony with which all the internal affairs of that Common-Wealth are conducted; the prompt & satisfactory distribution of justice; the universality of political, moral, & economical information, among people of every condition; the rapid & vigorous extension of agricultural improvement, evident from the most careless survey of the face of the country; these, & numerous other advantages, all possessed in a singular & eminent degree by this happy people, can not fail to inspire every considerate mind with an eager disposition to search into & discover what are the foundations of a prosperity so novel & affecting. It is to gratify a curiosity, at once rational & natural, that the following work has been composed. Herein, the author has endeavored, by a careful history of the Institutions of the Republic of Utopia, to expose to every inquirer the causes of it's [sic, consistently] rare felicity. They who are equal to form a just estimation of things; who are not dazzled by that empty luster which surrounds empires distinguished for their military & naval power, their wealth, their commerce, their luxury & their arts; they, in short, who prefer peace to victory, virtue to power, & tranquil simplicity to the splendid enchantments of magnificence & fame, will thank me for my labors, & will obtain improvement from the picture now presented for their contemplation. I shall exceed the measure of my expectations, & experience the most sincere species of all pleasures, if a single statesman should learn from the perusal, that the perfection of the whole depends on that of it's integral parts; that manufactures, & commerce, & fleets, & armies, & a full treasury, do not, of themselves, solely, constitute the greatness of an empire; & that a nation is not happy & respectable in proportion to the number of individuals it contains, but in proportion to their knowledge & their virtue.

CHAPTER FIRST
OF THE NATURAL SITUATION, & PHYSICAL CONDITION OF UTOPIA

The State of Utopia is a territory of sixty miles square, situated in the interior of the United States, nearly equi-distant from the Atlantic & the Mississippi, between the 39th and 41st degrees of north latitude.[2] The face of the country is very much broken up into hills & vales, a few high mountains, but no extensive plains. As there are no great waters in the whole State, so there are neither any considerable marshes, or tracts of intervale or low land. No country is more abundant in rapid & fertilizing streams, or more delightfully interspersed with little lakes. But tho' it is from these lakes that several navigable rivers derive their sources, & to these mountains that they are indebted for their origin, yet no stream, navigable for vessels of more than forty tuns, is to be found in all this territory. Neither do these streams, or lakes, or mountains, tho' so abundant, any where form a natural division between any particular portion of the territory.

The air of Utopia is pure & healthful, like most of the States in the same latitude. The summers here, as well as there, are warm, & the winters cold. The manner in which the country has been settled, however, affords a sufficient protection from severe heats; & the cold tho' considerable, is steady. The equal cultivation of the soil, & distribution of water & woods, & the absence from the ocean & the great Rivers & Lakes, spares the inhabitants from the effects of sudden transitions of temperature; tho' not from storms of wind & rain, which are as frequent & as violent here as elsewhere.[3]

The soil of Utopia is no wise distinguished for it's good qualities, from that of the neighboring States. Like them, it is adapted for the rearing of cattle, sheep, grains, maize, &c. all of which it yields to diligent culture. Tho' not peculiarly adapted to fruits, there are none, which are of the proper growth of the temperate zone, which may not be raised, by careful attention. Accordingly, they are abundant; for the people are wise & industrious.

Like the rest of the States, Utopia is well-wooded.

Lime-stone, marl, Clay, a sort of coarse marble, well adapted for building, & Iron, are found in great plenty. Veins of Lead and Copper have also been discovered; & Plumbago exists, as in the neighboring territory, in sufficient plenty. Several salt-springs are found in the country; so that it is not indebted to the Atlantic States for this article; & the Sugar=Maple has been made, for several years, a subject of legislative attention, &, as will be shown hereafter, is cultivated in every part of the State.[4]

Such are the natural advantages & disadvantages of Utopia.—From a consideration of the preceeding particulars, it will be evident, that the people can never engage extensively in commerce or manufactures; that

what are commonly called the luxuries of life, must be procured at an increased expense; & that being, from the very nature of their situation, obliged to cultivate the earth, they must of consequence, become a hardy, temperate, frugal, laborious, & enterprising race of men.—The long transportation of foreign articles & defect of water-carriage, obliges them to keep up domestic manufactures, while it prevents the growth of manufactories. The same cause confines consumption of the produce of their own labour, more to themselves than would otherwise be the case; & makes them rather the providers for their neighbours, than for foreign nations.—But I mean to state facts, & leave inferences to others.

CHAPTER SECOND
CIVIL & POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF THE STATE OF UTOPIA

The State of Utopia, comprehending, as has been remarked above, a territory of Sixty miles square, is divided into Nine Counties,—each twenty miles square; each County is subdivided into nine Towns, of equal size—i.e. a little more than six miles & a half square; each town is still further divided into Five Societies—lastly, each of these Societies comprehends Four Districts.[5]

Each County, to a certain degree, is independent of every other County, indued with the necessary powers to regulate it's internal concerns, compel the obedience of it's citizens, &c. &c. Each Town is a lesser community, invested with similar civil, political, & economical authority, so far as relates to its precincts: the Societies are divisions constituted with a more particular regard to the steady maintenance of religious & moral instruction; as the Districts are for the special purpose of general instruction. But the precise objects of these several divisions will be best understood by entering into a minute detail of their powers; which will likewise display the peculiar advantages of this social organization.

CHAPTER THIRD
OF THE LEGISLATIVE POWER, IN UTOPIA

The Legislative authority is vested, by the constitution of Utopia, as by that of the United States, in a General Court, or Congress, or Assembly, of two Houses, & a Governor or President. The Governor is elected, annually, by the citizens at large. It is necessary that he have a majority of suffrages. The Senate consists of twelve members, (beside the Lieutenant Governor, who is president official of the Senate,) chosen from the State at large, annually, by the whole number of electors, & a plurality of suffrages. The Lieutenant Governor is elected as the Governor.[6]

Each Town sends a member to the House of Representatives—so that the number of its members is Eighty-One. This is not an exact apportionment, either as population or property is regarded; but there are advantages resulting from the circumstances of superior population & property, where they occur, which counterbalance this inequality.[7] These will be made apparent in due time: meanwhile, it may be remarked that the House of Representatives is sufficiently numerous.

Sect. 1
Qualifications of an Elector

Females are absolutely excluded from all political privileges.[8]

No male, not a native of Utopia, is allowed the privileges of a citizen, till after a residence of ten years—if a foreigner—i.e. not a native of the U.S. or if a native of the U.S. & not of Utopia, till after a residence of five years; during which time he must have sustained a good moral character and at which time he must be 21 years of age. All male natives of Utopia, who have attained the age of twenty one years, & against whom no impeachment or conviction of immoral conduct lies, are permitted to vote, & be voted for.[9]

No person not a native of the U.S. can hold any legislative, judicial, or executive trust, in Utopia; nor can a native of another State, till after a residence therein of ten years, who is more than twenty one, & of a good moral character.[10]

A public & legal conviction of the commission of any Crime, is a disfranchisement of the person so convicted, for a greater or less number of years,—as hereafter to be shewn.

Sect. 2
Elections in Utopia

The Representatives are chosen semi-annually; of consequence, there are two elections in each year. These are held early in the Spring, & in the Autumn; in April, & in September.[11] The Election for the Governor, Lt. Governor, & Senators, is in the Spring, at the same time with that of the Representatives. At the autumnal election, the Electors vote for three persons, as Governor, three as Lt. Governor, & twenty-four as Senators. It is the business of the Autumnal Legislature, after canvassing the votes of the whole State, to declare who are the three persons who possess the most suffrages as Governor, who the three as Lt. Governor, & who the twenty four as Senators. The List of these names is published; is called the Nomination; & from the Nomination are the Gov. Lt. Gov. & Senators, to be elected, at the spring election of the ensuing year.—This is mentioned in

this place, as it shews what is the business of the Electors at their stated semi-annual meetings. I shall now proceed to describe the mode of doing business at these meetings.

Formerly, when the population of Utopia was inconsiderable, & when many of the Towns scarcely contained fifty electors, it was customary for the whole number of electors in a town to assemble at the same place. Now that the country is well inhabited, & that no town includes less than five hundred electors, the whole number never assemble together, on any business of this kind. Instead of this, the electors meet in their several Societies.

By a Law of the State, passed about fifteen years ago, & occasioned by the disturbances which, even in Utopia, sometimes arose at elections, where the Assembly was numerous, a particular & uniform method of transacting the business of elections is pointed out—any deviation from which vitiates the votes of the Society in which it happens.—Each Society in the State is obliged, at it's own proper cost, to erect a suitable commodious building, for the express purposes of holding meetings for Society, town, County, & State purposes. The principal room of this building is large enough to accommodate all the electors of that Society.—The seats of the Electors are disposed somewhat in the form of an amphitheater. They are numbered, & each marked with the name of the elector who occupies it. Room is always left for new seats—as new members of the electoral body appear. Before each seat is a table—with the necessary implements—pen, paper, &c. At the head of the Hall, on an elevated seat, is placed the Civil Officer, oldest in authority, in the Society. He is official presiding Officer, on this occasion—& is, on this & like occasion, called the Moderator. In his absence, the other Civil Officers of the Society, supply his place—according to seniority of appointment. As each Society has it's Clerk, the Clerk of the Society is Secretary to the Electoral Assembly. In his absence, a secretary for the time is nominated by the presiding officer, & chosen by shew of hands by the electors. The remaining Civil Officers of the Society are seated on either hand of the Secretary; & the Constables of the Society, or Parish, attend, to execute the resolutions of the Meeting & assist the Moderator, if need be, to preserve order.—A particular hour for assembling is fixed by Law. One third of the number of electors is necessary to constitute a legal meeting. To the end of always procuring such a meeting, it was formerly thought necessary to pass several severe laws, & invest the presiding Officer with great authority. These laws are still in force; tho' the virtuous habits of the people have long since rendered them unnecessary.—On the presence of one third of the electors of the Society, business is to be commenced. If within one hour after the period stated by law, a sufficient number do not appear, the Moderator has authority to send & inforce their attendance—& on their refusal, to fine them, not exceeding a certain sum, (to be recovered, for the State, by legal process,)

& even to imprison them. No elector, who for four successive days of election, absents himself, is allowed to preserve his electoral privileges; unless he can shew satisfactory reason, to the Civil authority of the Town in which he resides. But there has occurred no instance, wherein it has been necessary to enforce these laws for several years. As it is probable they had some influence, originally, in bringing about that strict attendance which is now common on occasions of this nature, I tho't it proper to notice them.[12]

The Session being constituted, no elector is permitted to speak out of his place, to vote out of his place, or to quit the Assembly without leave of the electors formally requested & obtained.—In the Spring, as in the Autumn, the votes for the Highest Magistrates, or Legislators, are first taken; next for the Senators,—& lastly for their immediate Representative. There are, also, other officers chosen on these occasions—to be mentioned hereafter.—The mode of procedure is as follows:—in the Spring. The Moderator reads the name of the three persons nominated for Governor. The Constables then go round to each of the electors, & receive his ballot, written by himself, & rolled up, into a closed urn. The ballots being all collected, the Moderator, with the Civil Officers, & the Secretary, count the ballots,—& make out an accurate abstract thereof—declaring, at the same time on whom the choice of the Society has fallen, & the State of the votes. The same is done for the Lt. Gov. & Senators, & the Representative of the Town of which the Society makes part.—When all this has been gone thro', the original ballots for the Govr & Senators are sealed up, left with the Secretary—who is charged to deposit them with the Town-Clerk, of the Town, within three days. The Abstract rests with the Moderator; as do also the original ballots for Representative. This same procedure is had, on the same day, & at the same hour, in every Society, thro'out the State.

Within a week after this general election, the Civil Officers of each town meet in the Town Hall. The oldest in appointment presides, & the Town-Clerk officiates as Secretary. The Abstracts of the votes of the respective Societies are put together, & a general statement is made out—certified by the Officers—which is, together with the original votes of the electors, transmitted to the Legislature. The law renders it necessary that this return be made by the second day of the session.—When this has been done, the votes of the several Societies are counted, for the Representative of the Town. He who has the plurality is elected. A certificate of his election is made out on the spot, signed by the presiding Officer, & countersigned by the Townsclerk; & this certificate is the voucher of the Representative. All this business is done with open doors. Any person may witness the transaction; but none save the magistrates can take any part therein. The Constables attend to preserve order.

Such is the mode pursued on elections. But there are other meetings of the freemen, beside those for election; tho' no other business, save that

of the election, can be transacted on those days.—In all these meetings a rigid order is observed. The manner of conducting these assemblies does not much vary from that of legislative bodies. All business is brought up by motion—duly seconded—& agreed to by a vote of members present. The discussions are regular—strictly confined to the subject—no member is allowed, without special permission, to speak more than a certain number of times—& questions are taken by division. If one third of the members desire it, the ayes & noes must be taken. All proceedings are matter of regular record.

There are galleries to all these Society Halls—in which it is common for the young men to attend, on all particular occasions.[13]

It is unnecessary to be more full here—as the powers of the several Societies, Towns, &c. will come to be afterwards considered.

Sect. 3
Verification of Powers, & Canvassing of Votes

On the first day of the meeting of the Representatives, they proceed to a verification of their powers. A Chairman & Clerk are chosen. Six of the persons present are appointed tellers. The Chairman produces his certificate, & so on, in the legal order of the Towns—till all present are decided on.—This done, they elect, by ballot, a Speaker, & a Clerk.

Meantime, the Senate is formed by those who composed it before. As soon as the House of Representatives is formed, a message is sent thereupon to the Senate. A joint-Committee of the House is appointed, who canvass the votes for Gov. Lt. Gov. & Senator. This is done openly; & their report is final. The old Senate is thenceforth dissolved; the new Senate commences it's session; the houses concur in a message to the Gov. elect; & a time is fixed on for his meeting them. This takes place agreeable to customary formalities; & is always in the morning.—The day is a day of public festivity, which is celebrated in a manner hereafter to be particularly described.

CHAPTER FOURTH
OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS, ACADEMIES, &C.

1. In the center, as near as may be, of each District, is a School,—called the district, primary, or elementary School. In this School children of both sexes are admitted—ordinarily, from the age of three or four to that of seven or eight.[14] These schools are mostly taught by women. The children are learned the alphabet—spelling—simple reading—the elements of Morality & Physics—& the girls are taught plain sewing.

2. Near to the Meeting-House or Church of each Society, is a School,

called the Society or Center School. Children of both sexes are admitted from the age of seven, to that of twelve. They are taught reading, writing, the elements of geography, arithmetic, morals, & Physics. The boys are exercised in certain athletic games—as also are the girls. Certain mechanical employments, suitable thereto, are allotted to either sex.

3. In the central Society of each Town, is an Academy. There, also, under particular regulations, children of both sexes, from ten till seventeen, ordinarily, are admitted. Arithmetical instruction is here completed. Simple Geography is well taught. The rudiments of Natural Philosophy & Natural History are explained. Elocution becomes a subject of attention. Morals, first principles of Politics—as connected therewith—& Economics, still further advanced. Historical & Chronological instruction commences.—Many exercises are admitted. Gardening, preparation of food, sewing, &c. &c. attended to.—The French & German languages taught by speech.—[15]

3. There is a College in every County Town. Under certain regulations, the benefits of collegiate instruction extend to females.—French, German, Italian, Latin, & Greek, learnt scientifically. Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, surveying, Engraving Navigation, & convilection (?)—Natural Philosophy & Astronomy gone thro' with. Teachers in meteorology, Ecology, Hydrology, Mineralogy, Botany, & Zoology, provided; & these sciences taught, elementarily—but not in detail. Rhetoric & Logic, on a simple plan, discoursed on. Astronomical Geography & Chronology taught, & an ample course of History Elocution, & Composition. New & more extensive progress in Morals & Politics. Economics, & especially Agriculture & Domestic economy dwelt upon. Provision made for Drawing, or scientific principles. Youth admitted from sixteen to twenty two, ordinarily.[16]

4. There is an University in the Capital.—Here are professors in the Higher Mathematics—& provision made for the most extensive experimental application of their principles—in Philosophy, Astronomy, &c. Professors in every part of Natural Knowledge—& in Medicine: in the Science of Government, it's History, Positive Institutions of ancient & modern nations, of the Union; & of the State.—Professors in Moral-Ecclesiastical History—the literature of the Church—& Divinity. On Commerce, its history & principles. On the Dialectic; & on Philology. In modern, ancient, & eastern, & on our own languages. On the History, Philosophy, & Detail of Agriculture. On Mechanics & their application to the arts.—On the History, principles, & practice of architecture, sculpture, Painting, Engraving, & Design. In music—& other accomplishments.—Connected with the grand Institution are collections, libraries, gardens, Halls, &c. &c. for carrying them all into effect.—Persons are admitted from twenty to thirty.[17]

5. All these institutions are at the expence & under the immediate patronage of the State. They are supported by tax on the citizens at large[18]—a

small contribution from native students—a contribution somewhat more, but very moderate, from foreign students.[19]

The expence of Education being so inconsiderable, to the immediate subject of it, few men in Utopia are ill-educated. It is unusual for men to enter into public life, or into the exercise of a profession, till after having passed thro' the University: I mean thro' that division of it which relates to his particular business.[20] A general idea of all science is obtained at College—particular instruction is perfected at the University.—It is common for men to continue there till they are twentyseven, eight, nine, or thirty.—

PRIMARY DIVISIONS[21]

COUNTIES

This section contains Smith's five diagrams, each of which is simple but geometrically precise, marking out diagonal boulevards, square divisions of land, public squares, etc.

The State of Utopia is LX miles square. It is divided into nine Counties, each XX miles square. These are denominated, from their relative situations—MidCounty—& North, North East, North West, West, East, South, South East & South West Counties.—The dotted lines may be considered, for the present, as so many grand roads connecting the Capital with every part of the State, & each County town with the other.—

[Diagram]

N. County is selected only as an example. Each Co. is divided into nine equal townships, which are VI2/3 square, or a little more than five miles five furlongs. I have chosen the term Hill merely for the more ready exemplification of my plan: thus the County town, is called Mid=Hill Town; the others, North, South, East, West, Hill Towns, & so on.—The dotted lines in this plan, as in the former, may be considered, for the present, as representing the principle roads, from Town to Town &c.

[Diagram]

North Hill Township merely an example. Each township subdivided into Five Societies. The Central Society constitutes the town properly so called, & has less territory, as its population may naturally be supposed greater than that of either of the other Societies. The four remaining Societies are of equal size. The dotted lines not only shew the principal roads; but also mark the divisions of the several Societies into Districts. This division will be more accurately shewn in subsequent diagrams.

[Diagram]

This diagram shows the simplest division of the central society of a township, not a County town, into School Districts; & is calculated for the ordinary population. When the population is very much increased, the number of Districts may be augmented, by a variety of division; but this is supposed

to be the established division in Utopia, at present. The dotted lines not only mark the boundaries of each District, but also the principal Streets or ways; & their point of union forms a square; on the corners of which the public buildings are supposed to be customarily placed. This will be matter for more minute explanation hereafter. My design is simply to display the fundamental structure of the State.

This diagram is not laid down with minute accuracy; nor is it material that it should be. All that is important is to give a general notion of what is intended. This represents either of the societies, except the central society, of a township, divided into four Districts. No material inconvenience will arise from the unequal extent of these districts. They will be formed about equally populous. The nearer we approach the Center Society, or Town, the more closely will the people be settled, & the reverse. This begets a necessity for allowing more territory for the extreme districts, than for the central ones. Children will have further to travel to school, but being chiefly farmers children, they will be more robust, & better able to encounter the fatigue. After all, this will be very trifling, the greatest distance to school not exceeding two miles—nor to church, for the parents, four miles. The dotted lines, as in the preceding diagram, shew the boundaries & principal road of each district of the Society. Their point of union, forms a square, in the same manner, for parades, exercises, &c. & its corners are devoted to public buildings as hereafter to be particularly mentioned.

[Diagram]

This diagram represents the interior of a central district. The other Districts differ only in form. The dotted lines mark the union of four streets in a common center. The double row of central dots shews that the path does not lead across the central point. That is occupied by the Primary School=House, which is surrounded by an area devoted to the sports of the children; ornamented with shrubs &c. in various parts, & supplied with a pump, or basin, or jet d'eau.—A more particular description is reserved for a future Chapter of the History of Utopia.

OF THE DISTRICT

Every township in Utopia is divided into five Societies for the maintenance of public worship, according to some christian code; & each Society is subdivided into four Districts, for the purpose of bestowing elementary instruction in the english language, in morality, &c.—The Districts are subservient to various other purposes, as will be shewn in the course of this work.

Each Housekeeper in every District of Utopia, is required to cause to be enrolled in the Register of the District, his name, the names & sex & age of each member of his family, every year, in the first week of May;

except that where no alteration has taken place in the previous year, it is only necessary to notify the Register thereof—& if any alteration, wherein it consists. Thus no person can live in Utopia, whose condition is not thoroughly known to some magistrate.

Form of a Notification

Central District of North Hill Township, Central Society—
North County—Utopia.

Edward Carnes's Family 1800.

Names	Age	Sex	Occupation	Remarks
Ed. Carnes	45	Male	Farmer	
Mary Carnes	42	Fem.	Wife	Takes in weaving.
George Jr.	22	M.	Farmer.	Works with his father.
Sally.	20	F.	Weaver.	
Saml.	19.	M.	Apprentice.	Lives with George Cole, Tailor.
Ann.	17.	F.	Dairy Maid.	
Thos.	15	M.	PloughBoy	Assists his father.
John White	30	M.	Laborer	Receives __ per. Mo.—

The above gives a more correct idea than mere words of the manner in which the Register receives information, yearly. Every Housekeeper in the District is provided with printed forms—which he has only to fill up.[22] The Register opens an acct. (if it may so be called) with each—& tho he preserves the original Notes, yet he records them under the name of each House=keeper.

All persons qualified to exercise the right of suffrage in Utopia, are legal members of the District Meetings. The qualifications are the having attained to twenty-one years, & sustaining a good moral character. Women are excluded, & there are additional qualifications required for persons not born within the State.

On the second Monday in May (the dates at present merely for exemplification) the freemen of the district meet. The meeting takes place in an apartment designed for this purpose in the School House. This apartment is on the plan of a Legislative Hall, & is provided with tables, seats, the implements of writing, &c. for each member. The meeting is an assembly of record. The oldest magistrate in the District presides or in his absence, & if no magistrate be present, a presiding officer is elected for the time. He is called the Presider. The Register of the District is clerk *ex officio*. He is an officer chosen annually & at this meeting. In prosecuting the business

of the Meeting, every thing is done by settled rules. No person is permitted to speak out of his place, or vote out of his place. The Presider has perfect authority to maintain order. A Journal is kept of every vote & motion.

The business of this meeting is to hear a Report of the proceedings of the year past, in respect to the District School. The accounts of the treasurer, Register, & Collector of the District are read. Hence they learn what taxes have been laid, how collected, & how applied. Hence also what orders have been given to Committees, & how they have been executed.

This meeting is authorized, in subserviency to general laws, to assess taxes for repairs of the School, for penalties or transgressions of their regulations, for the support of teachers, to appoint a Collector, & inforce the collection. The offices of the District are a Treasurer, a Register, a Collecter, & a Commisioner. This last is appointed to carry into effect the several regulations adopted by the Meeting. He superintends the School. He draws on the Treasurer. He reports concerning the School.

The freemen of the District meet quarterly, oftener if there be occasion. They receive reports & act upon them. They have annual reports, in May. These are authorized by them & delivered into the several towns. As will be shown, hereafter, in this way a general statement is made out of the State of Instruction, in every part of Utopia, to be presented to the Legislature annually, & by them published.

All reports are matter of record. No transaction relative to the business of the District can be concealed, or destroyed.—The Register is open to the inspection of every citizen.

The Districts of all those towns which are situated neither in MidCounty, nor in the County Towns of the Middle Counties will contain from 30 to 60 freemen, or voters. The population of such towns is computed at about 4,000.[23]

The districts in the several County Towns, with the exception of the whole of MidCounty, will contain from 40 to 80 voters. The population is estimated at 6,000.

The districts of the Midl. Townships, with the exception of the Capital, will contain from 40 to 70 voters. Population about 5,000.

In the Capital, the population not exceeding 15,000.[24] The Districts will be more numerous perhaps. This is a question not yet settled. The whole population of Utopia is about 360,000.

In all the preceeding computation it must be kept in view that tho' the Districts in the four internal Societies may be nearly equal in population, yet the central society Districts will always be most populous, so that allowing a given number of freemen to any town, they must not be supposed equally divided into the several districts. All professional men, above the immediate demand of any Society—such as Lawyers—may be supposed to affect of choice, the central Societies. Mechanics of Trading

will also crowd thither. The four external societies will principally consist of farmers. The population, of consequence, will be more sparse.

OF THE SOCIETY

The scheme which I purpose to explain is so simple, yet so complicate that I am surrounded with difficulties in discussing it, at every foot of my way. I find it next to impossible to exhibit a view of the fundamental divisions of my Republic without the mention of purposes to be answered by them, but which can only be comprehended by a connected view of the whole government & economy. Many things must be overlooked for the present; & I must return, at intervals to my single divisions, as my progress will best permit. The present chapters are only hints, or fragments of a whole hereafter to be reunited on paper, as now in imagination.

The great end to be effected by the Society or parochial divisions, is the support of the Ministry. Other valuable objects are accomplished by it; perhaps more valuable.

All freemen are Society voters.—They form annual & quarterly, or more frequent meetings, as in the Districts. These meetings consist of the freemen in the whole Society or four Districts. They meet in a Society Hall—a building devoted to this & other purposes—to be described hereafter. It is material to note only that the meeting is, like that of the District, a meeting of record—& the form of proceeding in all essential respects the same. The presiding officer is called the Moderator—the parish Clerk is Secretary to the Meeting.

In these meetings, the times for which are established by Law, the freemen, regulate the concerns of the Central School (see p. 85 Journal Vol. II) make laws conformable to general principles fixed by the Legislature &c. for the interior order of the Society; determine on their ministerial concerns—i.e. the settlement of a Clergyman, his salary, &c. &c.—& go thro' with the several Elections as mentioned in Chapter. III Sect. 2 Journal Vol. II—p. 77.

The population of no Society in the State is less than 700. The assemblies of the Parish, if all the voters are present, will seldom fall short of 100 or 150, in the least populous Societies.

The Officers of the Society are—a clerk, a Treasurer, a Collector, a Commissioner for the Central School, a Commissioner for transacting all the parochial concerns of the ministry, except such as are purely religious, an Inspecter, a Lister, & a supervisor. The Clerk answers to the Register of the district. The Commissioner of the Central School performs the same duties in relation to that, that are performed by the Com. For the District School. The parochial Commissioner is an officer whose business it is to determine (in conjunction with others to be mentioned by & by) the

part which each individual is to pay of the parish & central School tax— to make all engagements & fulfill them with the Priest, on behalf of the Society—; to abate such portions of the tax on individuals as are unable to pay &c. &c. The business of the Inspector is to examine every part of the Parish with a view to its condition as affecting the health & comfort of the citizens. He presents nuisances, or receives reports of them & makes his examination, & is clothed with a certain authority for their removal. He reports plans for the improvement of the Society in this respect; & superintends, to a certain degree, the execution of those already determined on. //Many explanations remain on this article.// The Lister is an officer whose duty is to receive the account of each individual in the Parish, yearly, of his taxable property—which accounts are made out conformable to law. The Listers of the several Parishes meet—form a List for the whole Town, & thereby apportion town, County, & State taxes. It is by this List that the Parochial Commission fixes the parish tax; by this that the District tax is determined. The Listers, in conjunction with certain other officers, have a discretionary power to exempt to put an amount [?] those citizens who are unable to pay their taxes.—When this is determined, they furnish, each for his parish, the Parochial List to the Parochial Commission, who delivers it to the parish collector, for the Society tax, & to the Register of the District, whose Commissioner thereby makes out for its collector, the District Tax. The Whole List also forms the basis of the Rate Book of the Town Collector, who also collects the County & State taxes. This grand collector may deputize the Society or District collectors—but he alone is accountable for the amount of the tax to the treasurer of the state, town, & county. Copies of the List of each town are annually lodged with the Town Clerk, the Treasurer of the County, & the Treasurer of the State.

The Supervisor is an officer chosen from each Society to act for it, in conjunction with those of the other Parishes, who form a board. They are entrusted with the economical concerns of the town. Each, in his own society, attends to the execution of measures jointly agreed upon. They manage the fund of the town, take care of the poor, have charge of the common lands, timber, &c in short form the Executive of the Town & Laws—& to them all others, except the state officers for each town are, in some sort, only ministers. Their power & duties will be more completely developed as we proceed. They report quarterly to the Societies—their annual report, together with that of all other town officers, is published. They are annually elected. (In New England they are called Select=men.)

Beside these officers it may be found necessary to create others. This will be best seen when the structure of the State of Utopia is more fully developed.

Each Society maintains a clergyman. He may be of what denomination they please. In general the clergy are Calvinistic—some episcopalians,

some Baptists, some few Universalists or Socinians. These last are chiefly found in the large towns. No Quakers, no Methodists, no Catholics are in Utopia. The law, therefore, is not oppressive, but springs out of the condition of Society.[25] Had the people consisted of Quakers, there had been no such law as that which obliges each parish to maintain public worship.[26] The state leaves to the parishes the choice of their clergyman & to a certain extent the amount of his salary. It must, however, fall within certain bounds. A fund is provided for their support, in part. The remainder is to be made up by the Society itself. The same regulation extends to schools. A fund is provided for their support. To this it is intentionally unequal. The deficiency is made up by voluntary taxation on each District; nor can any benefit be derived from the fund, unless the deficiency is supplied, & the school actually maintained. Besides, the failure of any district to maintain a school subjects it to heavy penalties. The district is permitted, under certain restrictions, to select its own teacher; but they can not allow less or more than two points established by law; one to inforce their self-taxation, the other to restrain them from extravagance. The general principles & course of instruction are determined by an authority under the Law.

OF THE TOWN

As we proceed, the embarassments complained of at the commencement of the last title increase. At every step of our progress it becomes more difficult to describe the constitution of each civil division without involving in it some ill=timed account of the institutions which it includes.

The town is an important branch of the State. Every town sends a member to the Legislature. The mode of election has been already described. Each town is a corporation for its own internal regulation—conformable to general laws. It has power to erect or pull down a market-place, to lay out & pave a street, to supply itself with water, to convert certain of its grounds to purposes of pleasure, or improvement, to build mills, to restrain any citizen from the wasteful disposition of his property, to regulate the mode of building, &c. &c. &c.[28] There are enumerated merely to afford some idea of the nature of the power vested in these species of corporation.

Every town has a Clerk or Recorder. He prepares all the records of the town, as contradistinguished from the several parishes of which it is composed. All conveyances of real estate, & evidences of titles thereto, within the town, are recorded in his Office. He is the Clerk at the regular & extraordinary town meetings.

Every town has a treasurer. There is a general Inspector to each town. He is distinct from the Parish Inspectors, who form no Board, but who are all, in some degree, subservient to him. Thus—when any general plan of improvement is adopted by the Legislature, some part of the execution

falls to the share of every town. The Inspector of the town is charged with its execution for his town—under the controul & with the consent of the Supervisors or the town meetings. The town=Inspector, again, allots to each Parish=Inspector his portion of the duty. The Parish Inspector consults the Parish, & receives such Directions from them as are left to their discretion, or procures such assistance, pecuniary or other as he may need & they afford. He is then the executive officer, & is answerable to the Parish, so far as he acted in obedience to their direction, & to the Town Inspector, so far as he is subservient to his authority. It is this last officer who is responsible to the Government, or its officers. He makes the general return & suggests improvements, variations, &c. &c. There are laws regulating these officers—& providing against abuses.

Each town has a Collector. He also collects the State & Co. taxes. He is annually elected.

Every town contains an Academy. They elect an agent for it, on their own behalf. He is under the controul of the general Board of Instruction, & can take no important measure, but in extreme cases, without the concurrence of their agents. He manages the economical concerns of the Institution, & is responsible to the town, or to the Supervisors.

Stated town=meetings are established, by Law, four times a year. They are not like the town meetings in New England. The concourse of voters would be tumultuous—little friendly to order, & the expence of accommodation too disproportionate. The town meetings consist of five deputies from each Society—who are elected for the occasion. Their power lasts one quarter. They may be reelected. This deputation generally includes the various officers of the Town & societies. They elect a Chairman, Clerk, or Recorder, & secretary *ex officio*. It is to their meetings that all Town returns, election returns, &c. are made. They receive the Reports of the Supervisors, appoint auditors to the various accounts, receive all orders and communications from higher authorities, & devise all reparations &c. which affect the town generally. They can pass no law of this kind, without the consent of a majority of the societies. To the Parishes who sent them the Deputies make their report. The voice of the majority decides on each proposition. At the second meeting, which may be by [?] adjournment, the town meetings receive the ratifications & formalize their regulations. Thus they are little more than a Cabinet for the town. Their sittings are in public, in the town hall, but no person can interfear in their business, or speak in the Hall, without special permission, & this never on the general merits of any particular plan. All their proceedings are matters of record.

By this organization of the towns business of all kinds is wonderfully accelerated. The meetings of the several divisions are contrived with such relations to each other that they are always subserviant to each other. The number & distinctiveness of the several Officers, & the minuteness

& regularity of their reports, & their exact responsibility, furnish all the means of judging, & preclude the necessity of long debates & inquiries.[29] The stated meetings, in all the Divisions, are ordinarily sufficient for all the purposes for which they were constituted. The town-meetings seldom fail of accomplishing all their business, at two sessions. I had forgot to observe that they nominate, & the Societies appoint all town officers, not otherwise elected, such as the town-Treasurer, the Town Collector, the Commissioner for the Academy, the Town=Inspector, the recorder &c. All these appointments are annual but the same officer may be appointed during his whole life.

OF THE COUNTY

On this title there is very little to remark, at present. The County is a Corporation for certain purposes. If any measure is to be taken in which the State is not particularly interested but which concerns the County, a meeting of the County may be called. A county meeting will consist of two or three delegates from each Town; authorized to determine finally on the business referred to them. For these meetings always have relation to some particular propositions or subject. The expence is borne by the County. A meeting customarily happens once a year. It will be apparent hereafter what purposes beside those of taxation &c. may be answered by this meeting. Perhaps it may be necessary to have the sessions semiannually, or oftener. On this I have not yet determined.

But the County is a more important division, in various other respects, than as a Corporation merely. It is convenient for the administration of Justice, the communication of instruction to youth, the collection & circulation of Moral, Medical, Agricultural, Jural, & Literary information. It facilitates the transmission of every kind of intelligence, & prosecution of every plan of improvement.[30]

Most of the County officers, are appointed by Government. It is yet to be determined how far their nomination may be left with County meetings. The County, however, have power to appoint Committees for the execution of all plans lawful for them to carry into effect. They, like the smaller divisions, are liable to be fined as well as authorized to fine. They appoint their own treasurer. They collect their own tax.

OF MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS[31]

I have thought fit to put together a few ideas under this title. AS all the parts of my plan must, in some degree, proceed together what is now delivered, like what has gone before, must be considered as no more than memoranda for future use.[32]

Each county has its Medical Society, which is constituted in the following manner.[33] The whole number of Parishes in a County is forty five, & such is the state of professional learning in the Republic, that each Parish may be supposed to possess a Physician, Surgeon, or Apothecary qualified for a place in such a Society.[34] In the County Towns the number will be greater, so that, on an average, we may allow sixty members to all the County Societies, with perhaps the addition of twenty or thirty to the Mid County.

The officers of the County Societies are a Chairman, Clerk, Treasurer, Librarian, & four Censors. The business of these officers is sufficiently designated by their titles.

The Societies have a Hall of Meeting assigned them in their respective Colleges. They meet quarterly. Each meeting continues a whole day, at least. Frequently two. The Chairman is expected to deliver a discourse at the annual meeting. At every meeting the members present such papers as they have prepared. These are read. They are referred to the Censors. At each meeting any member proposes whatever Hint, Doubt, & Inquiry he please. These are registered by the Clerk. If time permit at the same meeting, each member is questioned in his turn, & his communication on the subject, if any, is entered. But more commonly these Inquiries &c. lie over to the next meeting, when the members are supposed to come better prepared on the several subjects. Their replies may be verbal, or in writing. Every thing on these topics is entered into a book denominated the Register of Hints, Doubts, & Inquiries. Beside this there is a Register of Facts. This is composed of solitary facts, verbally communicated, or in writing, at the several meetings. These Registers are under the guardianship of the Censors. The County Societies have each a periodical publication. It appears quarterly, & consists of such extracts from these Registers as the Censors may deem proper to lay before the public. Their discretion is arbitrary, except that the Societies may direct them to publish any particular communication. Nor are these Society publications limited to their own materials. They may extend, by means of Appendices, to all new papers from abroad, as well as in other parts of the United States, & to all articles of Medical Intelligence. Beside, they contain Meteorological tables of every town in the County. These tables are formed by connect [sic] the observations made in each Parish of every town. Another important addition is a quarterly Report of Health from every town, constructed in the same way. These publications are reckoned valuable.

Each County Society has its own Library & Museum. Rooms are devoted to these uses in the County Colleges. They are contrived to lie connected with the Libraries & Museums of those Institutions.

The Societies have power to tax themselves. Their treasurers have legal authority to collect their taxes. These taxes are grounded, like all others in

the State, on the actual ability of the individual, as shewn in the Lists of the several towns.

THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS

This Institution is formed in manner following. Each Medical Society elects five delegates, at its annual meeting—say in April. One is elected for five, one for four, for three, two, one, years; determined by lot. Of consequence, one goes out each year. The successor is for five. The same person may be reelected without end. These forty five representatives constitute the College of Physicians of Utopia; & form the principal body of the College. They are called Fellows. A more proper title may be "The College of Medicine," for the Institution is not confined to Physicians.

Beside the Fellows, there are members of three different denominations. The College have the power to elect adjuncts, within the State, to the number of twenty. This enables them to add to the College the most distinguished characters in Medicine, who, from the limited Representation, were otherwise excluded. Adjuncts are members for life—except that they are liable to expulsion. They have the same authority in the college as Fellows—& to be chosen an Adjunct is the highest medical honour which can be conferred on a physician.

The college may elect twenty Domestic & twenty Foreign Associates. These of course have no authority in the Institution—but are on the same footing with Associates in other Literary Societies.

The Officers of the College are a President, two V. Presidents, two Corresponding & two Recording Secretaries, a Treasurer, a Librarian, a Keeper of the Museum, & a Committee of Publication of five, who are all annually elected. To these should be added a Committee of Examination, likewise of Five.

The College meet semi-annually, as the seat of government, during the Session of the Legislature.

As all communications made to the County Societies are referred to the Censors—(I speak with exception of the Registers)—they are bound to select such as are worthy of being transmitted to the College, to transmit them accordingly to one of the Corresponding Secretaries. It is their duty likewise to make out & forward to the College, a quarterly Report of Health in such cases, & a quarterly Meteorological Report. Two Reports on each subject consequently are presented from every County at each meeting of the college.

The first business of the college is to go thro' with such affairs as were in train at their previous session. Next they receive and hear all communications from Foreign & Domestic Associates, from unassociated correspondents, from adjuncts, & from Fellows. Next the communications from

the several societies. After hearing the first question is, "Shall this Communication be referred to the Committee of Publications?" If answered affirmatively—it goes to them of course—; if negatively, "shall it lie for specific discussion?"—the affirmative reply detains it to undergo a conversational inquiry into the subject. This frequently befalls the most ingenious & interesting essays, & is not a mark of disapprobation. The negative induces a third question—"Shall it lie for general discussion?" If affirmative, an inquiry follows whether it be an essay worthy of impression. This is to allow opportunity for the author to defend his performance, & show cause why it merits publication: If negative—the piece may be withdrawn, or it is preserved in the library of the College—& its title inserted in the Catalogue of mss. Even this has sometimes happened to mss. of merit, which have afterward been approved, and gone thru with applause. Nor is it certain that, when a reference is made to a committee of Publication that they will decree the impression. If they do not, however, they must state their reasons. The College examine them with the piece & affirm or annul their report. In this last case they must publish.

The College publish two volumes—one seminannually. These consist of the Communications from all quarters, analytically arranged—or according to subjects. The semi-annual Reports of the College on the Health of the State, & on Meteorology &c. form part of each volume. The President's annual discourse is inserted in the next proceeding publication.

As it is the duty of the Censors of each Society to make quarterly Reports of Health to the College, so it is the duty of the College to make semi-annual Reports of Health to the Legislature. For this purpose the joint Committees of Publication & Examination are a Commission. These Reports to the Legislature include every circumstance of Meteorology &c. necessary to convey precise ideas on the subject of the Public Health. I shall shew in another place the use made of these important communications by the Legislature.

I forgot to notice that each medical Society has its committee of examination, the use of these committees is principally to save time to the principal Collegiate Committee. Any person desirous of practising Physic, Surgery, or the Apothecary's art, must first apply to some County Committee of Examination. No inquiry is made as to the age, term of apprenticeship, &c. it is only necessary that the applicant bring a certificate or proper evidence of his good moral character. Of the force of his evidence the Committee are judges. If satisfied in this respect, they proceed to careful examination, which always takes place as a quarterly meeting of the Society, & is always public. After the examination, if they are so far convinced of the capacity & knowledge of the applicant, they sign a note to the Collegiate Examiners, importing that the bearer is by them deemed worthy of being admitted to their examination. This note must be presented to

the Collegiate Examiners at the semi-annual meeting of the College. They proceed to examine, & publicly. These examinations are always minute & long. If they are satisfied, a certificate to this effect is given to the President of the College, who, thereupon, recommends the applicant to the University for his final audit. In the University he is obliged publicly to defend, at a commencement, a medical specimen, against the objections of the several Professors. The specimen having been previously printed, in English, at the expence of the University, and distributed to the spectators on the preceding days. Nor is this defence to be merely nominal. The medical part of the Commencement seldom occupies less than one, sometimes nearly two, days. It is not, indeed, expected of every candidate that he completely sustain every part of his doctrines. A candid avowal of their insufficiency will not be construed to his discredit, should the argument of the Professor convince him of it. The defence finished, the Professors ballot. If in favor of the Candidate, the Chancellor of the University declares him qualified to practice the art he has chosen, & permits it in Utopia, & a certificate to this effect issues under the seal, & with the signatures of the Professors of the University, with no expence to the new Licentiate. But no doctors' degrees are conferred. Such has been the abuse of titles of this kind that the University of Utopia is not permitted to institute them, & it estimates its character too highly to place its Licentiates on a level with the doctors *ground* thro' examination, & *diplomad* by a few guineas.[35] The approbation of this Institution conferred on merit only, & guaranteed by this public disposal of it, in the face of so many witnesses, in a language comprehended by all, & after a previous test so strict, is valued as it ought to be. At first the number of Licentiates was small. But now, no youth of generous ambition will content himself, except under peculiar circumstances, without the evidence of having passed this ordeal, & as it is not meanly confined to those who have pursued their studies in Utopia, candidates frequently appear from every part of the Continent. Of this celebrated University I shall hereafter give a full account.

To return to the College. The library of this Institution is composed of the rarest & most expensive works, collected with great care, & at the expence of the State, from every part of the world. It includes no common work, at present, however valuable. Its primary object not being yet accomplished. These are confined to the Libraries of the County Societies & of individuals. The Museum is contrived to aid the purposes of instruction in the University of Utopia.

It seems unnecessary to add that the power of taxation, expulsion of members, &c &c belong to the College.

No person can practice Physic, Surgery, Farriary, or be Apothecary in Utopia, unlicensed by the University.

NOTES

The Utopia is published with permission of Yale University, Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library. I have preserved Smith's idiosyncratic punctuation and spelling, and have inserted a [?] when uncertain about a word.

1. This section through to the heading "Primary Divisions" appears in Notebook 4, between "Memoranda 26" (26 August 1796) and "Memoranda 27" (27 August 1796).

2. Smith's description places Utopia in the Northwest Territory, just west and south of the Connecticut Reserve, on land which would now form part of northern Ohio and Indiana. The area had been well-mapped by the time of Smith's writing; his description, while not egregiously inaccurate, renders the area more like Connecticut and less accessible by water than was in fact the case.

3. Discussions of eighteenth-century views on the relationship between landscape and fever can be found in Pernick 119–27 and in Appel 1–5.

4. Smith, who had close friends in Philadelphia's Quaker community and who was active in the New York Manumission Society, was likely familiar with efforts by Philadelphia Quaker "worthies" to market maple sugar as a way to provide self-sufficiency to settlers and to lessen dependence on the slave labor cane sugar required. See Taylor 115–38.

5. Smith's scheme clearly reflects the influence of the Northwest Ordinance; as he writes, however, he begins to lapse into such New England designations as "county towns" and "parishes."

6. The effective placement of the governor within the legislative branch, the bicameral legislature, and the direct election of the governor and members of the upper and lower houses all are modeled on the Connecticut state constitution. Smith seems entirely to forget the necessity for a judicial branch of government.

7. This differs from Connecticut's system, in which larger towns had two representatives.

8. Given the respect for women's intellect evinced throughout his Diary and indeed in his Utopian plans for education, the placement and aggressiveness of this assertion may suggest uncertainty rather than complacency over the question of women's suffrage. The reasons for his decision can only be guessed at. Whereas individual women such as Idea Strong, Sarah Pierce, Susan Bull Tracy, and Mrs. Lovegrove play enormously important roles in Smith's intellectual life, "woman" and undue interest in courtship do seem to have connoted, for him, a certain lack of order and seriousness; see, for example, his impatience with a friend whose letters tend to discuss romance, his rigorous refusal to admit to romantic feelings for any of the women with whom he spent time, and the banning of women from the Friendly Club. Women's association with individual households, private interests, and competition among men may also have challenged the perfect harmony of interests Smith envisions among Utopia's nonpartisan, public-spirited voters. Smith's decision to ban women from political privileges would not, it is worth noting, have led him to feel he was betraying his intellectual heroine, Mary Wollstonecraft, whose *Vindication of the Rights of Women* emphasized social, intellectual, and moral, but not civic, equality.

9. Here, Smith seems to suggest that there would be no property requirements for suffrage, nor even a requirement that a person pay taxes or serve in the militia (should Utopia, as seems unlikely, have had one.) Kentucky had entered the Union in 1792 with universal manhood suffrage, and it is possible Smith was influenced by that model. Smith does adopt, however, the use of the term "freeman" as he

writes further; according to Purcell (219), that term in Connecticut had been defined in 1796 as referring to all those who "were possessed of 'a free-hold estate to the value of seven dollars per annum, or one hundred and thirty-four dollars personal estate in the general list . . . or . . . of estates by law excused from putting into the list.' " Whether Smith wished for that minimal requirement or, as seems more likely, wished to include "all male natives" and simply fell into the use of the latter term through force of habit, it seems clear that he did not strongly associate wealth with the kind of character he sought in citizens, nor poverty with its absence. His vagueness on the question also, however, demonstrates once again his notable lack of engagement with the kinds of political questions so dominant in 1790s partisan battles.

10. The unusually long residency requirement for voters and officeholders reflects Smith's belief that individuals need be reformed by Utopia's pure institutions. Smith's sense, expressed in his "Letters on the Fever," that immigrants to New York tended to be possessed of habits of food, drink, and hygiene that were disruptive to both civic and personal health likely influenced his views on just how long such reformation might take.

11. This biennial system of elections, like the structure of Utopia's government as a whole, is modeled on that of Connecticut; Smith even changed the date of the fall election from October to September (by striking through the former and writing in the latter) in order to conform to that state's calendar. In Connecticut, it is important to note, procedural rules, influential elites, and voter apathy led to extraordinarily high rates of incumbent reelection; Williamson (166) notes that from 1783 to 1801, a grand total of one assistant was voted out of office. It seems likely that Smith, a visionary who mistrusted change, envisioned this kind of stability—albeit achieved by purer methods—rather than the high turnover a Republican would have desired and expected from such frequent elections.

12. Smith's concern with voter turnout sharply differentiates Utopia from Connecticut; in 1793, Williamson (166) writes, "it was said that the governor was chosen by 5 percent of the legal voters." Purcell (195) explains that town meeting votes were even scheduled for the afternoon, when they could occur largely unencumbered by voters, most of whom would have gone home. Smith seems to wish for the order and decorum of the "Land of Steady Habits," as Connecticut was known, but wanted to achieve it through a benevolently paternalistic democracy, rather than through reliance on a shadow oligarchy.

13. Here, too, women are apparently excluded.

14. Smith's plan to educate boys and girls together but maintain a strict age segregation is, like so much else in his utopia, a testament to both his cosmopolitan reading and his New England experience. In her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, a favorite of Smith's, Mary Wollstonecraft (165) had proposed a similar scheme for the youngest children. Boys, she argued, learned "nasty indecent tricks" when shut up with each other, and girls learned "bad habits"; "were boys and girls permitted to pursue the same studies together," she concluded, "those graceful decencies might early be inculcated which produce modesty without those sexual distinctions that taint the mind." In his "Notes from Recollections of My Life . . .", written in 1797, Smith deplored "the physical as well as moral debasement" which resulted from the fact that, in Connecticut schools, "children of all ages, & educated at home in the most different habits, mingle without restraint." It was to this early influence that Smith traced his own habit of "self-pollution," a "pernicious practice" from which he did not succeed in "emancipating" himself until he was eighteen (*Diary* 26).

15. Smith's plan expands female education beyond what was customary even in New England, and he does not seem to provide for separate institutions for boys and girls. Smith's respect for females' intellect is demonstrated throughout the Diary, and he occasionally made the point directly. Writing to his sister Abigail, a student at Sally Pierce's renowned Litchfield Academy, Smith wrote of the "young women of Lichfield": "Every instance of their assertion of their talents & right to use them, in how small a degree soever, is so much gained. It is a good deal to become convinced of their own powers; it is something more to convince others of their capacity" (Friday, 23 September 1796; *Diary* 222).

16. Although reluctant to mandate that all girls be educated through the collegiate level, Smith seems to imply that all boys will be. This inclusiveness sharply differentiates his scheme from the plans of both Thomas Jefferson and Mary Wollstonecraft. Jefferson's "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," drafted in 1779, had set forth a system of common schools for Virginia that proposed free tuition only for the term of three years and expected only boys of "the best and most promising genius and disposition" to advance beyond the primary level. See Honeywell Appendix A. This Bill was finally passed in 1796, but Arrowood explains that an amendment that left it to each county to determine for itself when to carry out the Bill's provisions rendered it meaningless (23). It's possible that the Bill's fate influenced Smith's thoughts on the need for public education. Wollstonecraft believed that "after the age of nine, girls and boys, intended for domestic employments, or mechanical trades, ought to be removed to other schools, and receive instruction, in some measure appropriated to the destination of each individual" (168). Mrs. Tracy, it's worth noting, was an admirer of "Miss W's sketches of a plan of national education" (SBT to James Morris, 25 January 1794; *Diary* 109).

17. Smith's description of the University of Utopia is not unlike his mentor Benjamin Rush's 1787 proposal for a national university. Smith's insistence on nominal or free tuition and his apparent wish that all or almost all of Utopia's young men attend college and university differentiates his vision from Rush's more elitist one, however, and in fact allies him to the more democratic vision of Noah Webster, who proposed a system of public schools designed to educate all citizens. Rush and Webster's plans are discussed in Robson 229–31. Smith's view that a university education should take ten years, a point he reiterates later, is noteworthy, and perhaps reflects the frustration he felt at his own truncated medical education and at the experience of his friend James Kent, whose courses in the law were poorly attended because, Smith felt, young law clerks were discouraged by their employers from continuing their educations (*Diary* 127; Letter to John Allen, 24 January 1796).

18. Smith's Utopia, clearly, is no haven from taxes; even his Medical Societies, as will be seen below, can levy them. Smith's views on taxes found expression in his 1796 letter to John Allen, of the Connecticut legislature. "In my view," he wrote, "the whole property comprehended in a state, is the State's property; & ought to be apportioned to the necessities, & capacities of doing good, of each citizen" (*Diary* 150).

19. It's not clear that Smith modeled this tuition scheme, which would come to characterize America's state universities, on any existing institution. In 1785, Robson (249) writes, Dartmouth's president John Wheelock had offered Vermont students free education if Vermont's state legislature would aid the college, but he had been turned down.

20. Benjamin Rush's plan for a national university would have made gradua-

tion from the university a legal requirement for office-holding, explains Robson (230); in this instance as elsewhere, Smith preferred to achieve his utopian goals via citizens' virtuous inclinations, rather than laws.

21. Here begins the second section of the utopia, found near the end of Notebook 5, between the entry for Tuesday, 7 September 1797 and a letter to Joseph Dennie of the same date; it continues until the heading "Medical Institutions."

22. The federal government would not use pre-printed census forms until 1830. See Anderson 14. Smith's census is not only more frequent than existing states', but also more detailed than was the only federal census taken during his lifetime; the 1790 census only reported the name of the head of household, the number of free white males over sixteen and under sixteen, the number of free white females, the number of any other free persons, and the number of slaves.

23. Smith's sudden jumps from district suffrage to town population can be confusing; there are several districts in each town, so the proportion of voters to inhabitants is not 60:4,000, as may appear at first glance. It's difficult to generalize about Smith's expectations of suffrage without knowing what proportion of the population he expected to be male, immigrant, of age, etc.

24. This places the capital's population at less than half that of New York City, which in 1790, Rothschild (9) writes, had reached 33,131.

25. This statement neatly captures Smith's intention throughout his utopian project.

26. Smith's belief in the need to clearly establish a limited but important role for religion in the republic, and his eagerness to found a state absent of Methodists, Catholics, and Quakers were likely influenced by the heated debates over establishment that occurred in Connecticut between 1786 and 1795. See Grasso 340–6.

27. This is a cryptic sentence, and may reflect a lapse on Smith's part or my failure to decipher his handwriting.

28. This rushed enumeration is noteworthy not only because it is the first mention of such things as markets and mills, but because Smith casually asserts the government's right to correct citizens' use of their property.

29. This is another moment in which the underlying ethos of the entire utopian project becomes clear. Smith is concerned less with political expression or rights than with an orderly, rationally run government which will permit a virtuous citizenry and society to flourish in peace and prosperity.

30. In these two paragraphs, Smith's greater enthusiasm for the informational, rather than conventionally governmental, aspects of the state can be glimpsed. By his division of the state into units, he apparently wished to achieve intentionally what Connecticut had achieved through historical accident. In his March, 1796 letter to John Allen, Smith noted: "The State of Connecticut possesses uncommon advantages for the ready distribution of every species of information, by means of it's division into so many regularly organized & small Communities. This, which is perhaps as much the effect of chance, as of knowledge, has been the safeguard & preservative of all it's freedom, all it's order, all it's happiness" (*Diary* 150).

31. This final section of the Utopia is to be found near the beginning of Notebook 6, after the "Proem" for the volume and before the entry for Tuesday, 12 September 1797.

32. The lengthy discussion of Medical Institutions that follows contains, it is worth noting, no mention of a hospital, and this despite Smith's own experience as physician at New York Hospital. Medical knowledge, rather than medical treatment or patients, dominates Smith's thinking.

33. Smith was involved in the Connecticut Medical Society and also attempted to found a second society with his friend Mason Fitch Cogswell. See Smith-Cogswell Correspondence, Beinecke Rare Books Library, Yale University; Cronin, "Introduction," *Diary* 10.

34. Throughout this section, Smith elevates the professional status of the apothecary above what was common in his day, when apothecaries, Appel (23) explains, "were mostly shopkeepers and importers of drugs and patent medicines." This move may reflect the fact that Smith's father, a doctor, owned a successful apothecary shop in Litchfield.

35. In his entry of 7 September 1795, Smith had written that he believed degrees to be "impositions," because diplomas "are, & ever have been, bestowed, alike, on bad & good, on the learned & the ignorant; they are, therefore, no actual evidence of skill. . . . He who, knowing this, consents to receive a diploma, or seeks for one, countenances a fraud; & is chargeable with a violation of the duties injoined by morality." (*Diary* 48).

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