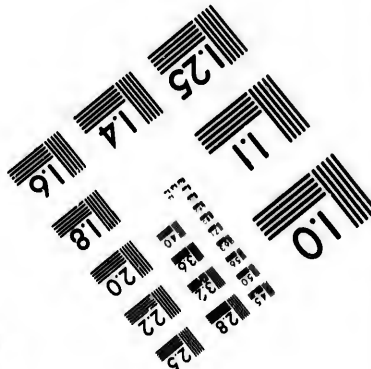
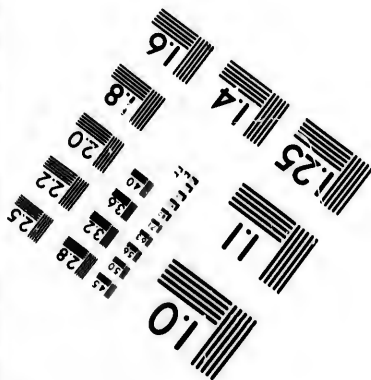
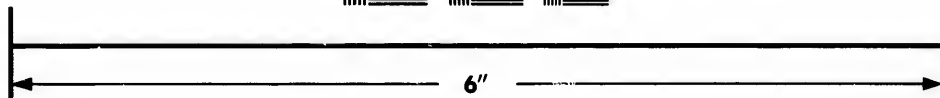
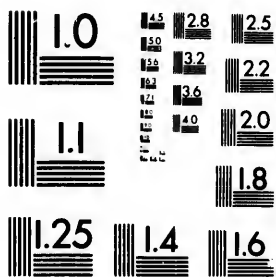


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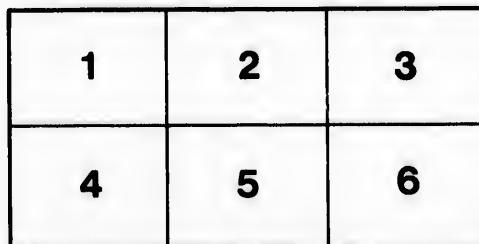
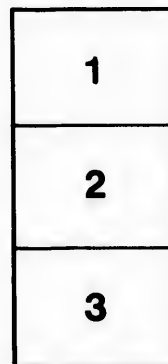
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RESIDENCE AND TOUR
IN THE
UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

VOL. II.

G. WOODFALL, ANGEL COURT, SKINNER STREET, LONDON.



JOURNAL
 OF
 A RESIDENCE AND TOUR
 IN
 THE UNITED STATES
 OF
 NORTH AMERICA,

FROM APRIL, 1833, TO OCTOBER, 1834.

BY E. S. ABDY,
 FELLOW OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

"As far as experience may shew errors in our establishments, we are bound to correct them; and, if any practices exist contrary to the principles of justice and humanity, within the reach of our laws or our influence, we are inexcusable if we do not exert ourselves to restrain and abolish them."—D. WEBSTER, *Discourse at Plymouth on the second centenary of the settlement of New England.*

"The distinction of color is unknown in Europe."—*Speech of Chancellor KENT in the New York State Convention.*

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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NOVEMBER 5th, being the second of the three days of election for the State and county officers, I went round with one of the voters to the different polling places, to see how the system "worked." We found every where the utmost quiet and order prevailing; and nothing to indicate any exception to the ordinary state of things, unless it were a national flag or two, outside the house where the business of making law-makers was going on, and here and there a group of persons assembled at the entrance. In each room, set apart for the purpose,

were three inspectors, and a secretary or clerk to register the names as they were given in. In addition to the choice of a senator and eleven representatives, as well as that of the county functionaries, the opinion of the electors was to be taken on two constitutional questions, in reference, one to the election of mayor for the city, and the other to the salt duty. There were therefore four boxes appropriated to the State, the county, and the constitution; the last having two. Each voter had supplied himself with small slips of paper; the subject of his vote being printed on one side, and its object on the other:—such, for instance, as the following: “Proposed amendment to the constitution of this State (Mayor)”, for the outside: “*Against* electing the Mayor of the city of New York by the electors thereof,” for the inside. These were doubled up and presented to the inspectors, who immediately deposited them in the boxes, corresponding to the labels. If any doubt was entertained of the qualification, an oath, on taking the name, would be administered. This is occasionally done, at the suggestion of some friend of the candidates; for whom, when party feeling runs high, there are generally scrutineers present; though a friend as well as a foe may sometimes be hit by this sharp-shooting*. Two or three Irishmen,

* In some of the States, the qualification is previously ascertained by registering the names of the voters.

whose garb and dialect betokened the freshness of their importation, were called upon to "smack the calf-skin." At night the boxes are all sealed; and when the election is over, the inspectors take the "tottle of the whole," and report to the Board of Canvassers, composed of certain official personages, sitting at the city hall, as a sort of centre, to which all the returns from the various wards converge, and from which the decision on the contest of "the three days" ultimately emanates.

We visited at least a dozen of these polling booths; and I found at every one the same sentiment in favor of the ballot—a mode of voting very general, if not universal, throughout the middle and eastern States. In Rhode Island it is customary, I have been told, for the voter to write his name on the billet, and thus defeat the object for which it was adopted. If the boxes were so constructed (as they are in our club-houses) that the hand, when thrust in horizontally, could, by a turn of the wrist to the right or the left, deposit a billet or a ball, for or against the candidate, into an aperture made for the purpose, no one would know how the vote was given.

This way of exercising the elective franchise is considered a very simple thing. No one thinks it more unmanly to vote in secrecy than to be shut up in a jury-room; or that open voting would add to his consequence what it would take from his independence. There must have been a time when the

ballot was un-American, as it was not long ago un-French, and as it is still un-English; but that was no more admitted as a valid objection to its adoption in either country, than an opposite epithet would save it from abolition, if it proved injurious. John Bull is more easily duped. He votes uniformly with his landlord:—but then he votes like a man, openly and fearlessly. He is not allowed to have an opinion:—but then he has a voice; and, while he bawls out for the squire, he may boast that he does not sneak, like a Yankee or a Frenchman, to the ballot box.

The ballot has long been in use in North America. Oldmixon, in his *History of Pennsylvania*, in 1708, says that in the early periods of that colony, this mode of taking the votes having been laid aside, great inconvenience arose from its disuse. “Mr. Penn”, says he, “had all the laws so framed, that no difference was made in opinion, where property made no difference. All elections were by ballot; and the form of this government which, &c. . . . But such is the weakness of human nature, that being itself imperfect, it cannot relish perfection; and the nearer anything approaches to it in this world, the more likely it is to disgust the people. This form was too fine for the heavy intellects of some of the gross vulgar. They valued themselves, and with good reason in the main, on being Englishmen; and scorned, as they said, to give their opinions and votes

in the dark: they would do nothing which they durst not own, and their foreheads and voices should always agree with one another. Thus they clamoured against that part of the constitution which secured the rest, —the election by ballot; and never gave over clamouring till it was abolished, and the first order of government broken in upon in the most essential parts of it. Upon which factions of course commenced, and discontents and tumults followed, to the great disturbance and detriment of the colony.”

Colonel Napier observed the same effects from the same causes in the Ionian islands. “While the ballot existed”, such are his words in his work ‘On the Colonies’, “elections passed quietly, there was no canvassing; rough natures grew rather more civil at such periods; the thermometer of urbanity ranged higher: no bribes were thought of, &c. . . . But when the open vote was established, the fiercest passions burst forth, &c. . . . Old and steady men regretted this disorder; they attributed it all to the loss of the ballot. I have often said to my acquaintance, ‘What! are you and such a one enemies?’ ‘Yes! the accursed elections cost me his friendship. The vivà voce Colonel!—he cannot pardon my vote; yet, had I given it to him, men, as dear to me as he was, would have cursed my children. We owe that to you, Englishmen: it perhaps suits your country; it don’t suit ours.”

Though the elections in New York State are an-

nual, it is not found that the average period of service is less in the case of public functionaries thus chosen, than where a longer duration of tenure has been conferred by the constitution. It frequently happens in common life, that tenants at will hold their farms or houses longer than those who have a lease for a term of years. It is the landlord's interest that determines the renewal of the trust. A year will hardly suffice to injure the former; while it is quite enough to shew a man worthy of the latter.

Some years ago, a man of the name of Samuel Wyllis was elected, for the sixtieth time, to the annual office of town-clerk of Hartford, (Connecticut,) having been appointed secretary of the State for the same number of years successively. His son succeeded him in the same way for sixteen or seventeen years. I was told of a case, where a person was elected annually for twenty years in succession to the office of supervisor,—the most trustworthy and not the least honorable office in the district. His brother, from whom I had this fact, and who was a staunch advocate for the ballot, assured me that he never knew an instance of influence having been used at elections in his part of the country. He once canvassed two of his tenants for a friend; when they both declared that they could not, however great their obligations to him were, vote in opposition to what they considered their duty. If secret voting admitted of such duplicity as its opponents impute

to it, they might easily have satisfied their landlord and their political conscience at the same time, by promising one way, and voting another.

As New York is the most populous city, not only in the State, but in the Union, one would expect that its political importance in both would bear some proportion to its commercial ascendancy. But its wealth is no measure of its influence in either. When it is stated that it has not had for many years a Senator in Congress; that it has not a Chancellor, a Judge of the Supreme Court, Attorney General of the State, Comptroller, Secretary of the State, Treasurer, Canal Commissioner, Bank Commissioner, nor any State officer, (to say nothing of the Executive and his Lieutenant,) it certainly looks as if something were "rotten in the State." The Evening Star, from which the above remarks are taken, ascribes this singular series of exclusions to a junto at the seat of government, known by the name of the Albany Regency. It would seem that politics were a trade at Albany, and trade were politics at New York; for it is hardly to be imagined that any Regency could control such a powerful body of merchants as the latter city possesses, were it to exert its strength.

In New York State, colored men of the qualified age, and possessed of 250 dollars in freehold estate, are entitled to the elective franchise. It is singular, that, where no political privileges are connected with

property, an exception should be made in favor of those with whom vice, not virtue, is supposed to be hereditary; and that the parchment on which the pedigree is written is the skin of the claimant. Equality of civil rights is granted where equality of social rights is denied; and the same man who is admitted to the ballot-box, is thrust out of the dining-room. Let the "African" carry off the palladium of the constitution; but he must not disturb the digestion of its friends. Plutus must be highly esteemed, where his rod can change even a negro into a man. If 250 dollars will perform this miracle, what would it require to elevate a monkey to this enviable distinction?

In 1813 the federal party obtained the ascendancy in the legislature, through the votes of the colored electors. Hence it was, probably, that the qualification of this class was restricted by the other party, who had the majority when the New Constitution was formed in 1821. Among those who distinguished themselves on that occasion by the liberality of their opinions, was R. Clarke, who repelled with just indignation the excuse for exclusion from voting which was found in the exclusion from military duty. "It is haughtily asked", said he, "who will stand in the ranks, shoulder to shoulder, with a negro? I answer, no one in time of peace:—no one when your musters and trainings are looked upon as mere pastimes. But when the hour of danger approaches,

your 'white' militia are just as willing that the man of color should be set up as a mark to be shot at by the enemy, as to be set up themselves. In the war of the revolution, these people helped to fight your battles by land and by sea. Some of your States were glad to turn out corps of colored men, and to stand 'shoulder to shoulder' with them. In your late war, they contributed largely towards some of your most splendid victories. On Lakes Erie and Champlain, where your fleets triumphed over a foe superior in numbers, and engines of death, they were manned in large proportion with men of color. And in this very House, in the fall of 1814, a Bill passed, receiving the approbation of all the branches of your Government, authorizing the Governor to accept the services of a corps of 2000 free people of color. . . They were not compelled to go, they were not drafted, they were volunteers—yes, Sir, volunteers to defend that very country from the inroads and ravages of a ruthless and vindictive foe, which had treated them with insult, degradation, and slavery." I never knew a man of color that was not an anti-Jackson man. In fact, it was their respectability, and not their degradation, that was the cause of their disfranchisement. The Albany Camarilla limited the suffrage to the blacks, and opened it to the Irish;—a pretty good proof that the former were not likely to be their tools.

During the greater part of October and November,

the weather was delightful. It was what is called the Indian summer; and certainly, if a clear sky, a mild air, and a bright sun enter into our ideas of that season, it was well entitled to the appellation. I generally had my window open during the day; and frequently the whole night. On one occasion of the latter kind, I was alarmed about one o'clock by a strong smell of fire. On going to the window, to find out the cause, I was met by a cloud of smoke, accompanied by large flakes of fire. The first impression on my mind was that the next house was in flames; and that we should soon share its fate. When we got out into the back yard, (for I immediately called up the family,) we found that the fire was raging in some outhouses, belonging to our neighbors, and was rapidly bearing down upon us. Great, as well may be supposed, were the consternation and confusion:—the adjoining houses pouring out their inhabitants overwhelmed with their fears and their furniture:—the church-bells ringing the alarm; and cries of "Fire! fire!" resounding through the streets. Soon after, the firemen with their ladders and engines arrived; and, water having been speedily procured, set to work like men who understand what they are about. They poured in streams of water so judiciously and effectually upon the different houses,—for there were three or four in flames,—and directed their efforts with such promptitude as the change of the wind and the combustibility of the materials re-

quired, that, in about two hours, the enemy was subdued, after having destroyed one dwelling house, damaged very considerably two others, and consumed several wooden buildings in the rear. It was here that the chief danger lay; as there were many houses constructed of mere boards at the back, running between parallel streets, and presenting an unresisting front to the increasing fury of the flames. There are prohibitory regulations against buildings of this description; but they are not sufficiently comprehensive, or are easily evaded by those who care more for high profits than that their neighbors should be burned out, because obscure plots of ground give facilities for running up combustible tenements to be crowded with all sorts of people from all parts of the world.

I had leisure and opportunity enough for witnessing the zeal and courage of the New York firemen; and, as the house I was in was, I conceive, indebted to them for its preservation, I feel bound, in gratitude, to bear testimony to their merits. Some of them, who had mounted the houses, were literally surrounded by flames. It was a most wild and picturesque scene. The windows of the opposite houses were filled with anxious spectators. The street was lined on each side with furniture that had been brought out for safety: and the groups that had assembled were eagerly looking on, and expressing their hopes or apprehensions as the flames seemed to be arrested or strengthened in their progress. There were but few

spectators immediately in front, for barriers had been put up at each entrance; and the police were stationed there to prevent an irruption of the crowd, who might have obstructed the efforts of the firemen or plundered the inhabitants. The whole was extremely well organized; and, considering the late hour and the progress made by the fire before it was discovered, the period was surprisingly short between the arrival of the firemen, and the moment when all was over, and the affrighted citizens had resumed their slumbers.

Fires are so frequent in New York, that scarcely a night passes that its citizens are not warned of their occurrence by the roar and rumbling of the engines and the shouts of those who attend them through the streets, while the church-bells are calling upon them to hasten their march. I once saw no less than fifty or sixty houses all in flames at the same time. No wonder the engine-companies are expert, with such constant demands upon them for the exercise of their talent. The members that compose them are all volunteers, and serve gratuitously;—the only remuneration they receive being exemption from military duty and from serving on juries. There is a sort of rivalry and emulation among them, that keeps alive the enthusiasm which first led them to enlist in the service, and which is sustained in full vigor and influence by the excitement their splendid apparatus and daring exploits produce among the boys who follow them or assist in dragging the machines.

The advantages of this system are not without a considerable mixture of alloy; as the young men, who are enrolled in these companies, not only suffer much in their health from exposure to wet and cold, at all hours and in all seasons of the year, but are too apt to contract bad habits and become dissipated or irregular.

The corporation has made many fruitless attempts to discover the cause of such frequent fires. It is supposed to be connected, in a great measure, with the carelessness and negligence of lodgers, and the inflammable nature of the materials, with which the houses in the outskirts and narrow lanes of the city are built. These accidents occur almost as frequently by day as at night. It will be found, perhaps, on inquiry, that "spoiled children" have something to do with the matter. It is natural that the parent, on leaving the room, should beg her children not to touch the fire; and equally natural that the children, as soon as the mother's back is turned, should begin to poke in the grate; disobedience being as habitual on one side, as want of discipline on the other. Prohibition is sure to encourage what it suggests, when the penalty it threatens is never enforced. We constantly hear of children being burnt to death by their clothes catching fire; sometimes the delinquent escapes and the house alone suffers—of course the mother never suspects her darling, whom she brings up in such excellent order;—for it is a well-known

fact that those who most neglect their parental duties, like hen-pecked husbands, are the last to find out what every body else knows.

The insurance offices at New York have entered into a sort of combination against the public interest by depositing each, in a common fund, the sum of 500 dollars, to be forfeited on granting insurance below a certain amount of premium. The person, from whom I received this information, was about to insure in London his property in New York. Even with the heavy duty so injudiciously laid by our government on this necessary species of prudence, he could get insured in England for half the sum it would cost him on the other side of the water. "Why do you not go to Boston or Philadelphia for the purpose?"—I asked. "Because I should get nothing by doing so. If such a practice were to become general, some retaliatory measure would be adopted by our companies, and their competitors would gain nothing by charging a lower price." This sort of monopoly could hardly be continued without the collusion of the legislature in granting charters of incorporation. As it is, however, it seems, like bounties and other kinds of protection, to carry its own punishment with it; since it tends, by inviting capital, to sink those profits it promises to raise.

The average rate, indeed, is already below what is to be made by investments in other commercial

associations. If there were more fires, there would probably be more applications for insurance; as was found to be the case when our barns and ricks were destroyed by incendiaries. The same effect was produced by the numerous piracies from which the mercantile marine of the United States suffered so much some years back. The premium upon marine insurance was not increased by the risk, as the additional number of policies indemnified the insurance companies for any demands upon them.

The corporation of New York, wishing that the offices, which seemed to reap all the benefit of the fire-engines, should pay their share of the expense attending them, applied to some of them, with the view of entering into an arrangement upon the subject. The answer to the proposal was, that so far from contributing to the support of the establishment, the insurance companies would much rather give 10,000 dollars to the corporation if they would lay aside their engines altogether. The greater the destruction of private property by fires, the less unwillingness to pay for protection against the loss they occasion.

Nov. 27, I went to the city gaol to see some men who had been confined there some time as runaway slaves: that is, they were accused of having committed the heinous crime of stealing their own bodies. There were three of them: the first, a

very decent good-looking man, about thirty years of age, had been living in New York for four years; having been in prison during the last twelve months. His case, as well as that of the other two, was then in course of adjudication. These poor creatures had no means of support, but what they obtained from casual charity or by waiting upon the other prisoners. Whatever any of them got to eat, by their own industry or the bounty of others, was shared equally between them. Upon inquiry of the keeper, I was told that there was no legal provision—no allowance of any kind, made for persons under these circumstances. This regulation reflects little credit on the humanity of the government;—whether the matter rest with the State or the corporation. A horse or a cow, if seized for rent, would not be suffered to starve; but these unhappy men, who have committed no crime that those who thus punish them would not themselves have committed, and most probably not even that, must depend upon chance—for justice has nothing to do with the affair—for a meal. In this respect they are worse off in the free, as they are called, than in the slave States; since it is the interest of those who keep them in gaol, as well as of those who claim them, that they should be supplied with food; as, in the event of their failing to prove their right to freedom, they would be sold, to defray the expense

of keep—an event by no means uncommon on the south side of the Potomac;—whereas they would be discharged in the non-slave holding States, if declared innocent of self-robbery.

By an act passed in 1826 by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a fugitive slave, when committed to gaol for safe keeping, is—"there to be detained, at the expense of the owner, agent, or attorney, for such time as the judge (committing) shall think reasonable and just," &c.

The second case was that of a man who had been within the walls sixteen weeks. He had made his escape four years before from New Orleans. He honestly confessed to me that he was a slave; the other was less frank; and so disheartened by the prospect before him, that he declared he would destroy himself, if taken back to his master in Virginia.

The third had been confined six weeks only. His story, though long and involved in incidents spread over many years, was clearly and distinctly narrated. He had purchased his freedom three or four times, and had been as often defrauded of it. It is required in North Carolina, to which he belonged, that a specific declaration of "meritorious services" performed, should be made by an owner, as a condition of emancipation to his slave; and as no such plea could be urged in favor of Damon Jones, (that was the name of the man,) these successive sales were

null and void ; and the buyers had been most shamefully imposed upon.

It happened, that his master, to whom I had been particularly introduced a few days before at a party, was then in the city ; and I determined to call and inquire of him whether Damon's account was to be relied upon. I questioned all these men closely and separately upon the condition of the slaves ; and they concurred in the same declaration,—that the general treatment was most barbarous and inhuman. One can easily see why a slave's evidence is not received in a court of justice against a white man. The disqualification affords presumptive proof against the law-maker, who well knows that he would lose more by the truth than the witness could gain by a falsehood.

While I was conversing with the fugitives, I was told that ex-sheriff Parkins had been very kind to them ; I accordingly called upon him to inquire about them. He had a room above stairs in the gaol ; where he had been for some time incarcerated for contempt of court for an alleged assault—having refused to find bail, and thereby acknowledge, as he thought, that the charge had any foundation. He had been unfortunate in some speculations into which he had entered, and had lost a great deal of money in a way that certainly told as much against the fair dealing of others as his own prudence. He could not hold land as an alien ; and yet, if I

understood him rightly, he had been involved in a purchase of the kind. He had been made to pay too very severely for the license he had given his tongue, or the defamatory expressions attributed to him*. He generally pleaded his own cause; and, whatever sort of client he might have as an advocate, he undoubtedly had not a temperate advocate as a client. His opponents, and their name was truly "legion", had accused him of insanity; but, in the course of conversation I had with him upon different

* Not long after, a report was spread that the ex-sheriff had assaulted a fellow-prisoner, and cut his head open with a hatchet. It turned out, however, that the attack was made upon, and not by, him. That he had a hatchet in his possession is true: for I saw it in his room both before and after the rencontre. The unanimity with which the press gave full credit to an ex-parte statement, adducing it as a proof of derangement, could hardly have originated in any honorable feeling. I was myself witness to a piece of brutality towards this old man, which all his abuse of the country and its people could not have excused. As I took my leave of him, he was told he might go down stairs to see some men who were waiting for him on business. He approached the door with the intention of passing through; when the turnkey stopped him, and desired him in a harsh manner to wait. Some words passed between them; and the man suddenly shut the door in his face with such violence, that had his arm been caught between it and the post, it must have been broken. He had a narrow escape. It was disgusting to see a young athletic man insult an old man of seventy with a degree of violence that a stout villain would not have required, and the greatest criminal would not have deserved.

topics, I could perceive no indications of any tendency that way in his mind, except what might be found in great volubility of language, and the frequent use of that figure which Shenstone says is the forerunner of madness. He dealt largely in the parenthesis,—not here and there merely,—but one within another, like an involution of chinese ivory balls. He had written several letters in behalf of his sable clients, and had shewn a degree of benevolence and zeal in their behalf high'y creditable to him. His lawyer very impertinently remonstrated with him on the imprudence of interfering in behalf of these wretched men. “Why do you trouble yourself about these blacks?” said he. The reply was such as he merited. So indignant was the warm hearted ex-sheriff, that he afterwards dismissed him. The man might think it imprudent to interfere in favor of humanity—he was taught to feel that it is sometimes impolitic to interfere against it.

The decision of the court was unfavorable to the three prisoners. The Virginian was to be taken back for the purpose of being exhibited to his master's slaves, as a warning to them not to attempt their escape. He had previously been offered ten dollars, as an addition to a subscription he was told some friends were raising for him; and, when he consulted his lawyer whether he should accept the conditions, he was told that he must judge for himself. The object was to sell him for a distant market; prices having

lately risen twenty per cent. The intention was obvious from the terms of the agreement. He was to have the money, providing he accompanied the donor into Virginia. That any lawyer should hesitate about the propriety of trusting a man, whose oath would not be valid, with a stranger who could have but one motive for giving his time and his ten dollars for such a purpose, shows how completely the blacks in the south are at the mercy of the whites.

A case occurred in this very gaol, not long before, illustrative of the whole system. A negro, who had escaped with a boat from Virginia to New York, was reclaimed; and was condemned, on his return, to be hanged for stealing the boat. It was exactly as if a man whose horse had been stolen had gone off with the horse, and had afterwards been executed for stealing the bridle that happened to belong to the thief. He had a wife and eight or nine children in New York. A message was sent to her that a petition had been got up in his favor; but there was little chance that he would be pardoned.

There were some circumstances in the case of one of the remaining slaves that rendered it probable he might eventually obtain his freedom. As for the other, Damon Jones, his story abounded in such singular turns of fortune, that I took it down from his own mouth: it is too long, however, for insertion here. It was a good specimen of the harassing and

insecure life a slave leads, even when he has friends to assist him, and is desirous of gaining his liberty by unremitting industry.

When I called on his old master, Mr. Gaston, who was chosen about that time a Judge of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, I found the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society with him. He had come upon the same errand. Mr. Gaston then repeated to me what he had just stated to Professor Wright;—that the man was a worthless fellow, and had no right whatever to his freedom. I was much struck with one observation he made. He said he took great blame to himself for having indulged his slave too much:—he had treated him too kindly. They were nearly of the same age, and had been brought up together. What an opinion must this man have of human nature! or how must it be perverted by slavery, if that which produces gratitude in other men, produces estrangement in the slave!—that those “compunctious visitings of remorse”, which are elsewhere known to vice and crime alone, should be the effect of virtue and benevolence in the breast of a slave-owner!

When informed that there were persons willing to buy the man's freedom, if he could say any thing in his favor, he answered that he could not do so conscientiously. The Secretary and myself then took our leave; and, on returning to my lodgings a few hours afterwards, I found that a person, at whose house I had a few days before met Mr. Gaston, had,

with another acquaintance, called, and, finding me out, had communicated to my landlady the purport of the visit, adding that they would call the next morning early. The next morning about nine o'clock one of them made his appearance, with a letter from Mr. Gaston in his hand. The substance of what the latter had written was merely, that some one,—he knew not his name,—he believed he was a lawyer—whom he had met at the house of this gentleman—had been with him that morning about a slave. He was sorry he could not give the man a good character. He was willing, however, out of former regard, to give fifty dollars to the fund for purchasing his freedom. The writer (singular enough!) had totally forgotten that I had been particularly introduced to him as an Englishman. It was but incidentally that I had told him I should have been called to the bar, had the state of my health been favorable. He had forgotten, too, that it was the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, not I, who had spoken to him about the subscription for Damon's freedom. He was perhaps anxious to quiet any uneasiness I might feel on the subject; and so lost no time in writing to his friend, who seemed to enter with great tact and promptitude into his feelings:—as he related, during the very short stay he made, an anecdote of a slave who had run away, and, having obtained his freedom, either by donation or a judicial decision, declared that he would rather go back to his former condition

than remain where he was. I was left to infer from this that slavery is no such bad thing after all; and, indeed, this view of the subject may perhaps explain why Mr. Gaston gave fifty dollars to redeem "a worthless fellow" from bondage. Slavery was too good for him. This piece of liberality was not quite so intelligible to my visitor. He earnestly asked if I had any idea why the gift was made, and was highly pleased at the answer he received. I understood, I said, that the parties had been brought up together as children. It was rather silly in me to ask a slave-owner if his slave was to be trusted, when his own character was concerned in the answer; and still more so to apply to a judge of a slave-State for testimony in support of a colored man's veracity; since the latter is legally incompetent to testify against a white man. If his word is good for anything in New York, why is it good for nothing in North Carolina? It was placing the judge in a very awkward dilemma. He must have stultified either himself or the law he administers. How could the same person tell me to believe a man's word, when he himself will not take his oath? I was led into this error by a letter Damon Jones had received from a man whom Mr. Gaston admitted to be respectable. It was as follows:—

" Raleigh, 14 Nov. 1833.

" I received your letter to-day, which I ought to have received some days ago; and am very sorry to

find that you are in such difficulty. I write now to say that fortune seems disposed to favor you, as Mr. Gaston is now in New York, and will be willing and able to see justice done to you. I have written to him by this mail to let him know your situation. You should lose no time in sending for him. Tomorrow I shall shew your letter to Mr. Gales, and endeavour to do what is right for your relief; though I presume Mr. Gaston's presence will supersede the necessity of any other.

“ Yours,
“ GEORGE E. BADGER.”

Mr. Gaston's address was added at the bottom of the letter.

When I informed Damon of Mr. Gaston's intention to advance fifty dollars for his liberation, he replied very mildly but very firmly,—“ I would rather not accept Mr. Gaston's money, Sir! He has used me extremely ill; and I do not wish to be under any obligation to him. If those gentlemen, who have so kindly taken my part, will purchase my freedom, I will work at my trade and repay them as soon as I can do so.” Subjoined is the answer Mr. Parkins received to the application he had made in behalf of his colored protegé.

“ SIR,

“ In answer to your note, which I have this moment received, I hasten to say, that I would not he-

sitate to comply with your request, and call to see Damon Jones, if I could render him any service. My recollection of facts, however, is, in many important particulars, at strict variance with the statement which he has given you. My testimony, instead of supporting, would destroy the claim which he sets up to freedom. I pity him—have on former occasions put myself to no slight inconvenience to help him; but the time has gone bye during which I could render him aid.

“ Your obedient Servant,

“ WILLIAM GASTON.

“ State Street, Nov. 12, 1833.”

It should be observed here, that the man had not the shadow of a claim to freedom, because the grant was not in accordance with the law of the land, which, as the judge himself told me, requires a formal allegation from the owner of “meritorious services” rendered by the slave, before he can obtain his emancipation. Now this allegation Mr. Gaston could not make. He had sold him because he had found him troublesome, and again bought him for the purpose of facilitating his escape. And yet, as we shall see by the following letter, he had received from the poor fellow himself the price of a contract which he well knew was neither legal nor binding. The letter alluded to is one from Dr. Caldwell to Mr. Parkins. Dr. Caldwell is President of the College of Chapel

Hill, in Orange County, North Carolina, and is highly respected for his attainments and personal character. I have omitted to state that Damon was, when making his way to the north, advised by Mr. Sneyd, (a nephew-in-law of Mr. Gaston,) to put himself under the care of a man who promised to take him with him to Alabama in search of his wife. By this man he was sold at Mobile in that State.

“ Chapel Hill, Nov. 22, 1833.

“ SIR,

“ I received a letter some time ago from Professor Denison Olmstead, of Newhaven, respecting Damon Jones, who, it seems, was there in confinement, and under legal process at that place *. I answered the letter as far as it was in my power to do so. Damon, in a letter which he sends to me now, says he wrote to me formerly. If he did, I never got his letter as I can remember. I shall have to say now the same things in answer to your inquiries as I formerly said to Professor Olmstead.

“ I am acquainted with Damon Jones. He acted as a barber for a number of years in this State, to my certain knowledge. Nearly about the last time I

* Damon was brought by sea to New York in chains, and would have been carried, in that condition, into North Carolina, had not some members of the Anti-Slavery Society interfered for him, and brought the matter before the legal tribunals of the country.

saw him he was at this place, and he shewed me a paper, in which Mr. Gaston, his former master, subscribed a declaration made by himself, that he gave full and entire permission to Damon Jones to go as far north as he should wish to go. Knowing something of the circumstances, I considered it as a total and final release of Damon Jones from a state of slavery to him William Gaston*. It certainly was intended to be so understood.

“ It must now be explained, that by the laws of this State, a slave cannot be thus emancipated. Other conditions and forms are required by law, that the emancipation may be legal. If Damon had taken the paper given to him by Mr. Gaston, and travelled directly northward, it would have served him as a pass, by which he might have enjoyed his freedom unmolested the remainder of his days. This, however, I suppose he did not do. I heard of him afterwards, as having gone to the south-west. Being in that part of the State, perhaps at or near Salisbury, some man, it seems, availing himself of the power given by the law of North Carolina, probably got out legal process against Damon; took him up, and sold him again into slavery:—if, indeed, it could be said that he could be free without the sanction of the law. My intelligence was, that he was conveyed away into Alabama, perhaps to Mobile. The next thing

* This document would have been no bar to a seizure for debt or to a sale by an executor.

I heard of him was by Mr. Olmstead's letter, asking for information, to know whether his right to freedom could be established against the claims of any one who had arrested him as a fugitive slave at New-haven. These are the circumstances, so far as I am informed of them. Whether my information of the circumstances and events after he left this place is correct or not, I am unable to ascertain. Damon is well known here to all the persons he mentions in his letters:—Mr. Mitchell, Professor of Chemistry at this College; Mr. Chalmers; Judge Nash, of Hillsborough; Judge Martin, of Salisbury; Justice Ruffin, and a multitude of others whom he might name. These are most of them at some distance from this place, and I cannot see them.

“Some time before Mr. Gaston gave Damon his indefinite pass, there had been an understanding between Mr. Gaston and Damon, that Damon should go abroad, make such money as he could in his profession as a barber; and, upon paying a certain sum, his master was to make him free. Damon acted on this understanding for some time. Mr. Gaston had passed a note to John Lewis of this place for about 290 dollars. Damon was expected by Mr. Gaston to pay this note; and, should he do so within a time probably understood between them, Damon was to be a free man. The note was passed by Lewis to me. Damon made payments to me at different times. He paid me personally twenty-eight dollars,

and left with Stephen Moore, of Hillsborough, sixty-seven dollars, eighty-two cents, which I received. It was a considerable time after this that Damon shewed me permission from Mr. Gaston to travel northward as far as he should choose to go. Mr. Gaston paid the balance, and took up the note.

“ I am yours, &c.

“ JOS. CALDWELL.

“ Mr. J. W. PARKINS.

“ P.S. Damon Jones has written to me a letter on the same subject. If I write to him, I can say nothing else. Will you shew this letter to Damon?—and it will prevent the necessity of my writing to him.

“ Yours, &c.

“ JOS. C.”

What a scene of iniquity is here opened to the view! As white men in the slave States consider labor disgraceful, wages are high:—an unprincipled master may thus avail himself of the ignorance and credulity of his slave;—work his price out of him;—and then give him an empty title of which a rascally confederate may take advantage; and the victim of their villainy has no redress. The more skilful he is as a workman, the less likely he is to obtain his freedom legally, and the more likely is he to be plundered of the fruits of his industry while he is endeavoring to gain it indirectly. Where there is no law to restrain cruelty or protect innocence, it is evident

that cases similar to that of Damon Jones must be of frequent occurrence.

The sequel of Damon's story, as it was afterwards narrated to me by those who had watched his conduct, confirmed the good opinion they had entertained of him, and gave ample corroboration to all that he had stated of himself. He was put in possession of the valuable prize he had so often been cheated of:—he became free, and was placed in a barber's shop; where his steady habits of industry and good behaviour gave fair promise that he would continue to do well. Want of health and a bad master combined to keep him down; and he was unable to raise sufficient money for the liquidation of the debt he had contracted. He had saved a trifle; and his benevolent friends, who never intended to accept any pecuniary return for their bounty to him, were fully satisfied that he had been calumniated because he had been injured. His manners were very superior to what are generally found among men of his rank in life, and his disposition was characterised by frankness and simplicity—qualities which in him so far predominated, as to render him the dupe of the designing and the prey of the unprincipled.

A few days after this little incident, I called at the house of a colored woman, who had been mentioned to me as a most remarkable instance of generosity and benevolence. Her name was Hester Lane; and

her age between fifty and sixty. She was at home, and received me without affectation or reserve. The object of my visit was soon explained; and the request I made as readily complied with. She informed me that she had redeemed eleven human beings from slavery, in Maryland, having purchased them at different times with the savings she had made out of her hard earnings. She had never had twenty dollars given to her, nor benefited by inheritance or bequest to the amount of a dollar. The house she lived in was her own; and the room in which we sat was well furnished. The first purchased by her was a girl of eleven years of age:—the price was 100 dollars. She had been present when she was born, and afterwards assisted at her marriage, at the birth of her four children, and ultimately at her death and her funeral. The next she liberated was a boy of fourteen, for 200 dollars. The third a man about thirty, for 280. The fourth case was that of a man, his wife, and one child. As the parents were sickly and no longer young, she was charged but 140 dollars for the family:—the former she had in a great measure to maintain. The fifth case occurred about eight years previously, and was that of a woman and three children. For these she had to pay 550 dollars. They were bought at a public auction in Maryland, whither she went for that purpose, having received several letters on the subject. She afterwards purchased the husband for

200 dollars, with great difficulty and trouble, as the owner insisted upon having 300. She had the children properly educated, and instructed to gain their own livelihood. The greater part of the purchase money was refunded by the objects of her bounty, when they were enabled to repay her. This account, which I had from her own lips, was confirmed to me by Mr. Curtis, of Crosby Street, a person of great respectability, and well known for his kind feelings towards the descendants of Africa. Most of the cases he himself knew to be as I had heard them: for the rest, he said, he would without hesitation vouch; as her word was as good as any other person's oath. When I was with her, she was teaching herself French. She was a woman of strong religious feelings and principles. By her own exertions, she had obtained a comfortable competency for herself; having been successful in discovering a new mode of coloring walls, by which, and the assistance of a shop, she had realised sufficient to provide for her own wants, and those of her less fortunate fellow creatures. Like all of her race, with whom I had any communication, she was deeply affected by the numerous humiliations to which she was exposed. She never for a moment doubted, she said, that the designs of Providence were wise and good. Yet it was mysterious and afflicting to think that whole nations and tribes should so long have been doomed to unmitigated and un-

merited bondage ; and when free, should still be subject to contempt and reproach. Her windows looked into the street, and it was most painful to her to witness the savage way in which the blacks were treated by the people, and by none worse than by the Irish ; some of whom, not long before, would have murdered a man of color, if some persons, who were passing in a carriage at the time, had not assisted him to escape.

The American Quarterly Review upbraids the Spaniards of South America for pursuing, towards the Creoles, precisely the same conduct as its readers still observe towards men equally inoffensive, and equally entitled, with themselves, to a participation in political and personal rights. "Even as late as 1811," says the Reviewer, "they (the Creoles) were represented in the Cortez of Cadiz as a race of monkeys, full of vice and ignorance, and automata, unworthy of representing or being represented."—The Hispano-Americans were perfectly justified in resenting the calumny : the Africo-Americans must submit without a murmur. The same journal, (for June 1830,) in describing the effects of Spanish pride in Mexico, draws a complete picture of a very large portion of the United States. "The settlers scorned to be placed on a level with the wretched Indian ; their color ennobled them in their own opinion ; and the poorest white man would have perished with want, rather than lose caste by working in the fields,

or by any other laborious occupation in which the Indians were habitually employed. Thus, then, was wanting that portion of a community which forms the strength of a nation—a hardy and virtuous peasantry.”

When power had changed hands, these silly people were driven out of the country. Their neighbors might profit by the example, if it were possible for oppression to count the cost of its gratification; or if fatuity were not the necessary precursor of that destruction which tyranny brings with it, by blinding its instruments and emboldening its victims.

The overwhelming importance of this subject, was now beginning to force upon the public attention the deep impression it had made upon the minds of many who could think and feel like men. A meeting was held in Philadelphia, on the 4th of December, and continued by adjournment till the 6th, for the purpose of forming a national anti-slavery society. There were delegates from ten of the States to this convention; and the proceedings, I was told, (for illness prevented my attending,) were exceedingly solemn and affecting. Several who were present shed tears, and all were animated with one spirit of firmness and resolution. In the declaration of sentiments unanimously adopted on this memorable occasion, was the following: “We further believe and affirm, that all persons of color, who possess the

qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be forthwith admitted to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them, as to persons of a white complexion." The force of these expressions would hardly be felt in England. The unmanly prejudice against which they are aimed, is so deeply seated in the public mind, that its complete eradication is an indispensable preliminary to the abolition of slavery, which is as much the offspring of this feeling, as it is the parent of the slave trade. In striking at the latter, while we left the other in full vigor, we mistook the effect for the cause, and reversed the relation in which demand and supply stand to each other. By combining these two objects, the transatlantic philanthropists are proceeding towards their object in the most direct and the clearest path; for the negro will always be treated as a brute, till he is acknowledged to be a man.

CHAPTER XIV.

Law-suits.—Arbitration.—Commercial Morality.—Greek Frigates.—Tricks of Trade.—Heroism of a black Boy.—Stage-coach Law.—Schoolboy claimed as Property.—Sympathy of African race.—Bordentown.—American Honesty.—Philadelphia.—Baltimore.—Whites purchased by Blacks.—Expatriation.

It has been said, that there are more law-suits in the United States than in England. There are some reasons why there should be less ;—at least, in New York and other northern States. By the laws of the former, disputes upon money matters may be settled by arbitration ; the parties agreeing as to the mode of decision,—which may be put upon record, and become as binding as the judgement of a judicial court. The chamber of commerce, by reference to arbitrators chosen for the express purpose, and paid for their services by stated fees, or so much remuneration per day, (generally two dollars,) adjusts any difference that may arise among its members. The merchants have thus a choice of judges ; and may bring disputed claims before a lay or a legal tribunal ; the former being empowered, if the

parties agree to comply with the necessary forms, to settle the matter in dispute as definitively as the latter, and much more expeditiously and cheaply. This mode of adjudication is usually employed by the insurance offices, when any doubt arises with regard to their liability.

There is little ground for the assumption, that litigation has been encouraged by making justice less costly and more accessible ; or that the cheapness of law has increased the consumption. There is no doubt that its high price has had a contrary effect, and promoted fraud by checking the inclination to prosecute. The costs of suit in New York above fifty dollars, fall on the losing party. Though this rule does not obtain in the lower courts, which have exclusive jurisdiction in causes involving sums below fifty dollars, yet, as either party can plead in person, and the decision is regulated rather by principles of equity than by legal technicalities, unjust or vexatious claims, with the view of saddling an opponent, though triumphant, with costs, are not likely to occur ;—so that the low price of admission to the temple of justice holds out little inducement for any but those who really stand in need of her protection, to enter.

By the Revised Statutes of New York, arbitrators are sworn faithfully and fairly to examine and make a just award ; and witnesses may be compelled to appear before them *sub pœnâ*, &c.

“ Whenever any submission to arbitration shall be revoked by a party thereto, before the publication of an award, the party so revoking shall be liable to an action by the adverse party, to recover all the costs, expenses, and damages which he may have incurred, in preparing for such arbitration. But neither party shall have power to revoke powers of the arbitrators, after the cause shall have been finally submitted to them, upon hearing of the parties, for their decision.”
—Rev. Stat. New York, II. 541.

I wish I were equally convinced that the imputations thrown upon the national character, as somewhat lax in matters of commercial faith, were unjust; and that the standard of feeling in money transactions were higher than I have reason to think it is. I was frequently advised by the Americans to be cautious in my pecuniary dealings with their countrymen. Every Englishman I conversed with on the subject told me that he had met with repeated instances of the same friendly warning. The universality, with which the necessity of a prudent circumspection is inculcated, appears to every foreigner as something unusual and worthy of notice;—hints of a similar kind being rarely given or received in Europe. It would be thought a strange proceeding in an English merchant to place a French gentleman in a clergyman’s house as a single boarder at 400*l.* a year; and still more that two or three of the most respectable members of the mercantile class in London should

recommend and sanction such a proceeding. Yet this was done in New York, where the humble and retired manner in which the clergy live makes such a charge the more glaringly unjust. The comforts and expenditure of the establishment could not have borne a fair proportion to the sum demanded;—as the master of the house borrowed 500 dollars of his guest, and did not return the loan, without any interest, for upwards of two years.

So little satisfied was our unsuspecting countryman (from whom I had the anecdote) with the bargain made for him by his munificent friends, that, after three or four months had expired, he quitted the house; having compromised the affair by paying down 1000 dollars—half of what he had agreed to pay for the whole year—and one quarter of what the Governor of the State receives for his salary. None of his Episcopalian brethren stood higher in public estimation than this reverend rector. If public opinion were not anything but rigid on these matters, the Recorder would hardly, in open court, have officially palliated a fraudulent transaction which was brought before him while I was at New York. The party implicated was clearly convicted of having sold goods by misrepresenting their quality. It was urged in his favor, by the charitable judge, that no imputation could be laid upon his character; as such little manœuvres were commonly practised in trade. The jury thought otherwise; and the defendant, like the

Spartan youth, detected in theft, would learn prudence from the sentence, if he did not learn justice from the punishment. If the practice or maxims of commercial integrity were drawn from strict moral principles, could such an affair as that of the Greek frigates have taken place?—or, if it had taken place, would it have been permitted or countenanced? In the case alluded to, ten per cent. was charged by the commission merchants on the whole expenditure,—five per cent. for disbursements, and the remainder for responsibility: 50,000 dollars were demanded for the use of the ship-yards: 10,000 were paid to Captain Chauncey for superintending the work: 45,000 for the arbitrators, to whom the disputed claims were ultimately submitted,—being upwards of 78 dollars per diem for each—nearly ten times as much as the National Representatives in Congress receive for their services. The arbitrators called these mercantile houses, “diplomatic agents in a very difficult and delicate affair with our (the United States’) government”;—though it does not appear, nor is it probable, that the general government had anything to do with the business,—except sharing the spoils, by purchasing one of the vessels at half its value;—Costauiolos, who had been dispatched to New York on the subject by the Greek Government, having been obliged to sell one of the frigates to raise money for the purchase of the other. It was “Tros, Rutulusve” with the federal administration. The whole trans-

action was of such a nature, as to be little creditable to a community that could tolerate such proceedings.

Among other instances of loose morality which came to my knowledge, were two that occurred to an Englishman, with whom I was well acquainted. He had written to Washington about some goods he had imported; and, not having received any answer, applied to the comptroller of the customs, who recommended him to a lawyer, that the necessary papers might be prepared,—naming at the same time a professional man, as a proper person to be employed. It came out afterwards, that the comptroller had, at that moment, in his possession, a letter from Washington, granting the prayer of the very petition he suggested. The lawyer he had recommended was his partner, or connected in business with him. The other had unfortunately procured the documents in question, and had paid for them, when he discovered the fraud that had been practised upon him. A similar case occurred to another Englishman of my acquaintance. These, however, may be considered instances of individual conduct. The other implied a more general feeling. The former of the two just mentioned was conversing one day with an American on the subject of a factory he had just set up; when a suggestion was made to him that he should extend his views by engaging in a joint-stock company. “We can manage this matter easily among ourselves,”—said

he. "We can have a committee of our own, and arrange it so as to keep every thing in our own hands. If we succeed, we can declare a low dividend, and so buy in shares for ourselves as they fall;—if things do not go on well, we can pursue an opposite course, and adjudge high dividends, so as to raise our stock in the market, and keep ourselves afloat." Now this sort of hint from a man who was nearly a stranger, evinces an extraordinary indifference to character;—unless that sense of honor is wanting in society, which, however inoperative any where, is so far admitted every where else, that few would dare to propose its violation even to an intimate friend.

I was once asked, with a sarcastic smile, by an American lady of Hibernian descent, if I had met with any interesting blacks in the course of my tour. The winter I passed in New York furnished what this woman, with all her contempt for a race more persecuted and less fortunate than that from which she herself sprang, would acknowledge to be most painfully interesting. During the frost, some ice, on which several boys were skating, in the outskirts of the city, gave way; and several of them were drowned. During the confusion and terror, occasioned by this accident, a colored boy, whose courage and hardihood were well known, was called upon to render assistance. He immediately threw himself into the water with his skates on, and succeeded in saving two lads; but, while exerting

himself to rescue a third, he was drawn under the ice, and unable to extricate himself. No one would risk his life for him. Soon after, the details of this melancholy event appeared in one of the newspapers, (the New York American,) with an offer to receive subscriptions for the mother, who was left, with a sick husband and a young family, deprived of the support which she had derived from her son's industry. As reference was made to a medical man in Park Place, I called upon him, and received a very favorable account both of the boy and his poor mother, who was employed to wash for him. I immediately proceeded to her house, and found that she had three children left;—the eldest about ten years of age, and the youngest an infant at the breast. In addition to these, she had undertaken the care of a little girl, five years old, the daughter of a deceased friend, whose husband had deserted his child, and refused to pay anything towards her support. "I consider her as my child," said the generous woman; "and, while I have a crust left, she shall share it with my children." I made inquiries about the boy she had just lost, and was told, what I had heard in Park Place, that his conduct had always been most exemplary;—that he had carried to her every cent he could save from his earnings, and had often expressed a wish that he might obtain sufficient to save her from working so hard;—her business sometimes keeping her up nearly all night.

Such was the history of Susannah Peterson and her heroic boy. It was told in the most simple and natural manner; without any display of grief, or the slightest attempt to exhibit feeling or excite commiseration. There was an expression of dejection, however, in the countenance that could not be mistaken; and an effort to suppress the workings of a mother's heart, that I never saw so striking in any one. Every thing, in the furniture of the room, the decent behavior of the children, and the general deportment of the parent, bespoke full as much propriety and respectability as I ever met with in the same class of life, whatever might be the occupation or complexion. Mrs. Peterson was a member of one of the numerous societies for mutual assistance, which exist among the colored inhabitants of New York. That, to which she belonged, is called "The Benevolent Daughters of Zion," and contains about 200 members. The entrance money is one dollar, and the subscription money one shilling (about sixpence of our money) per month. The benefits to be derived from it are an allowance of twelve shillings a week for six weeks during sickness; with any addition after that period that the state of the funds may admit of; and, in case of death, the payment of funeral expenses (generally ten dollars). There is another society, to which she once subscribed,—"The Benevolent Assistant Society." The entrance to this is two shillings, and the subscription four cents monthly.

These contributions, with occasional donations, enable the society to assist poor persons who do not belong to it, as well as its own members, when in distress. Mrs. Peterson's brother, who is known in England as the African Roscius, had occasionally sent her remittances of money, and had expressed, in one of his letters from this country, an intention to provide for her unfortunate boy's education.

It would hardly be credited, that attempts could be made to send this excellent woman,—in bad health herself, with an infirm husband, and a young family, to the pestilential climate of Africa. Yet the fact, cruel as it is, is too true. A person, under the pretence of employing her to wash for him, had been two or three times at her house, with the object of persuading her to emigrate to Liberia; where he assured her she would meet with every comfort she could desire. Just at this time, the disgraceful manner in which the affairs of the colony had been conducted, had transpired at the annual meeting of the Colonization Society at Washington, when it came out that the Society was in debt to the amount of 40,000 dollars; and no authentic account could be given by the managers, of the situation of the settlement, with respect to numbers, morals, health, or, indeed, any details which an ordinary share of attention or honesty might easily have obtained. Such was the wretched prospect exhibited to all present, that it was resolved not to send out any

emigrants during the ensuing year, and to use every effort for replenishing the exhausted exchequer.

I had frequent opportunities of seeing Mrs. Peterson ; and my respect for her character increased with my acquaintance. When I settled a little account I had with her for washing and other work, I had some difficulty in prevailing upon her to take what was strictly her due ; such was her gratitude for the few services I was enabled, with the assistance of my friends, to render her. Three months had elapsed since the death of young Peterson, and not one of the relatives of either of the boys, whose lives he had saved at the cost of his own, had been near his bereaved mother ; and the subscription did not amount to 70 dollars. This, at least, was all she had received. Two English ladies, who had been with her six or eight weeks before, had informed her that they had collected 20 dollars for her. When we consider that the population of the place amounts to more than 250,000, including Brooklyn, it is little to its credit that the gratitude it felt for the preservation of two of its citizens could find no better way to exhibit itself, than by a paltry donation to the self-devoted preserver's afflicted parent of a sum scarcely exceeding one fourth of what he might have been sold for, when living, in the slave market at New Orleans.

On the very day that this generous act was performed by a poor lad of color, another example of

humanity was given by a man belonging to the same "degraded caste." This case did not excite the same attention, though it well deserved commemoration and recompense. The latter it had, in the shape of five dollars, from the father of the boy who had been rescued from a watery grave. The name of the man who thus distinguished himself was Jones. He declined receiving any remuneration; and the money was given to another colored man, (Austin,) who had carried the child home with him, put him into his own bed, and restored him to life from the state of exhaustion in which he was when taken out of the water. Several white men were standing near, when the accident occurred; but none of them ventured to quit dry land. Two months elapsed before the father of the boy visited the man to whom he was indebted for the life of his son.

It is remarkable that the prejudice against these people increases as its injustice becomes more apparent; one of them, on his way to Philadelphia, about the same time, suffered so much by exposure to the cold on board the steam-boat, that he was detained at that city some days by severe illness. He was not permitted, though an invalid, to go into the cabin. Seven or eight persons, who knew him to be a highly respectable man, petitioned the captain to grant him this slight indulgence in vain. Another case, almost as bad, occurred near New York. A man had taken his place by the Newark stage,

and had got inside, with the permission of the driver; but was compelled, after crossing the ferry, to get out and walk nine miles from Jersey city to Newark, which he did not reach till some time after dark. On his refusal to alight, he was dragged out by force. I was acquainted with the man, and can vouch for his respectability, and for the truth of this story. I need not say what was his pedigree. The matter was carried into a court of justice; when the judge put a leading question, "Whether a stage proprietor or driver has or has not a right to order his passengers to sit in or on any part of the stage, to suit his own convenience." After a delay of four days, a verdict was given for the defendant. Thus, it appears, a stage coachman in America can "turn out" any one from his "place," at his own will and pleasure; and "the man wot drives" the Andrew Jackson, is more despotie than Andrew Jackson himself.

A short time after this, a boy of color, only seven years of age, was taken by force, in open day, from a public school in the city, on a charge of being a fugitive slave. As soon as the outrage was known,—for what, after all that has been said about the rights of property, was this seizure of a child, but an outrage upon humanity?—a meeting of this ill-treated race, consisting of seventy or eighty men, was held; and a subscription was raised to defray the expenses, which the maintenance and legal defence

of this poor child would occasion. In the mean time, such was the sensation produced among the children, both of this school and of others, that penny subscriptions were entered into, by the scholars of both sexes. I was at the Anti-slavery Society's office, when the contributions were paid in. There were two or three deputations from the schools with their bags of copper; one containing two dollars and three shillings; another thirteen shillings:—four dollars were obtained from the school-mates of the poor little fellow.

A man who had presided at the meeting alluded to, and who witnessed the sympathy exhibited by these innocent victims of a prejudice, from which he had himself suffered, and which falls on the young and the old indiscriminately, was so much affected, that he could not refrain from tears—a weakness, of which he said he felt himself ashamed, but which I assured him, did him the highest honor. The whole scene, connected as it was with feelings and practices for which the people, among whom it took place, ought to hang down their heads with shame, was one of the most interesting I ever saw.

One of the boys, who had come with the contributions of his school, had one of the finest heads and most intelligent countenances to be seen on human shoulders. The complexion was African, but the features were European. He was the brother of a boy, whom I had examined—with others of the same race—some months before,

in Latin :—on which occasion they all acquitted themselves beyond what the shortness of the time, in which they had been engaged in the study of the language, could have warranted any one to expect. Some essays, which they had composed in English, were read by them at the same time. A few of them were particularly well written; and all of them as deserving of praise as any compositions by persons of the same age. I should add, that it was by mere chance that I was present during the recitations. It may be remarked here, that the sum advanced, on the spur of the moment, by a few Pariahs, in a small district, to redeem an infant brother from bondage, was about one third of what was obtained from the most populous and wealthy city in the Union, after the delay of several months, to relieve a poor woman, whose son had saved the lives of two of its favored inhabitants, and sacrificed his own in trying to preserve that of a third.

The boy, whom I examined, was very diligent and industrious. He would rise, in the depth of winter, at four or five o'clock in the morning, to read, before the business of the day, which began with him at an early hour.

On the 4th of April, having a few days before taken leave of my English friends, who were then on their way back to London, I left New York at six A.M. by the steam-boat, for Philadelphia, and arrived there at half past two. The distance is eighty-five miles.

At Amboy, twenty-three miles from the city, the passengers left the boat, and proceeded (thirty-four miles) by the rail-road, through an uninteresting country, to Bordentown, (New Jersey,) where we again embarked for Philadelphia, twenty-eight miles further. The accommodations and arrangements on board were extremely good. The luggage had been previously placed on cars made for the purpose; so that on entering and quitting the State of New Jersey, we were not detained five minutes; each passenger being directed by a ticket he received when paying his fare, to his proper car on the rail-road, while the luggage was removed by a crane from the vessel to the road, and, on arriving at the end, from the road to the vessel, without difficulty or delay.

We passed by the chateau of Count de Survilliers, the ex-king of Spain. The former house was burnt down about fourteen or fifteen years ago; when the inhabitants of the neighbourhood not only assisted in extinguishing the flames, but exhibited a degree of honesty that deserves to be recorded. The following is extracted from a letter written by the proprietor to W. Snowden, judge and justice of the peace at Bordentown. "All the furniture, statues, pictures, money, plate, gold, jewels, linen, books, and in short everything that was not consumed, has been most scrupulously delivered into the hands of the people of my house. In the night of the fire, and during the next day, there were brought to me

by laboring men, drawers, in which I have found the proper quantity of pieces of money, and medals of gold and valuable jewels, which might have been taken away with impunity."

I staid but one night at Philadelphia; and reached Baltimore, partly by steam-boat and partly by railroad, the next day. I was anxious to get on to Washington; and had no opportunity of seeing anything of Baltimore.

On the evening of my arrival I called on Mr. Levington, the colored preacher whom I had heard at Boston. He was living in a wretched hovel: his room, however, was better furnished and more comfortable than the external appearance of his dwelling indicated. It is disgraceful to the Episcopal Church, that one of her most praiseworthy and disinterested ministers should be so ill provided for. In his way home from the East, he had preached at Peter Williams's church, and obtained sixty-five dollars forty cents from his auditors; while from Christ Church (Boston) he had received but thirty-five. As the gallery on that occasion was nearly filled with persons of color, some deduction must be made from the "white" contributions; and it may fairly be said, that the "degraded race" to which he belongs are twice as rich or twice as generous as the supercilious whites. After all the trouble and anxiety he had undergone, during an absence of six months, he had not cleared 600 dollars. He had paid over the

proceeds to the creditors of his church; and the remaining 600 due were to be received by them in instalments. The testimonials he had brought back with him from the clergy in New York and New England had in some measure compensated the incomplete result of his mission, by conciliating the public favor, and inducing one of his clerical brethren to promise him the assistance of an annual sermon in aid of his exertions to liquidate what remained of the debt. One testimony to his worth might well have been spared; Elliott Cresson (the well-known agent of the Colonization Society) offered to provide for his wife and children, and arrange the affairs of his church, if he would go to Liberia. But he was too shrewd to accept a proposal which he knew was never made to any one from a generous motive. When those who are likely to do honor to themselves and their race are uniformly selected as fit objects of expatriation,—when solicitations and entreaties and inducements of all sorts are held out, not to the reprobate and ignorant, but the honest and well-educated, to quit the country,—suspicion is naturally excited that a preconcerted scheme, of a very extensive co-operation, has been brought into action, with views and objects directly the reverse of those professed by its artful agents.

The next day being Sunday, I went to Mr. Levington's church, the congregation at which was very small, but very decent in their dress and de-

meanor: the rest of his flock having been kept away by the weather, which was very boisterous; the wind and the rain seeming to vie with each other in violence. The service was performed with propriety and devotion; and the responses made with decorum and regularity. Most part of these people at Baltimore are of the Methodist persuasion; and the opposition their preachers make to Episcopacy, renders it a matter of no small difficulty to find occupiers for the new pews in the new church, in spite of the attraction of comfortable seats and a handsome building.

There are a good many free blacks in Baltimore, the merchants of which prefer them to the whites as porters and carmen. So well known are they for their superior honesty and civility, that the storekeepers and tradesmen are used, as I have been informed by more than one reputable person, to tell their customers that they will not be answerable for any goods they may send out, when entrusted to white people. No such proviso is made in the case of a colored porter. Some of them possess property, and the whole class is sufficiently numerous to have excited the jealousy of the whites, who endeavored, some years back, to procure a law for excluding them from some of the most lucrative employments in the city. The attempt failed; for the citizens had the good sense to see that they would be sure to suffer by the monopoly which

concession would have granted to the claimants. A very singular fact is mentioned in a work published in 1818, by a person (M. de Fürstenwather) who was sent from Germany, to make inquiries into the condition of the emigrants from that country to the United States: "There arrived," he says, "this summer a ship from Amsterdam, addressed to Mr. Graff—one of the richest merchants in this place. A greater part of the passengers had not paid their freight. Two families were *bought by free negroes*, of which there is a large number in Maryland. This disgusted the Germans in Baltimore to the degree, that they, and among them Mr. Graff himself, though consignee of the ship, without whose knowledge the thing had taken place, immediately re-bought them, and formed an association to prevent the recurrence of any such degrading abuse."

In the session of 1830-31, the legislature of Maryland passed an act of expatriation against the free blacks. 20,000 dollars were voted for the purpose; and a power of raising ten times that sum, by loan, if necessary, was granted. Compulsion was to be used in the case of those who refused to quit the State. Such wanton cruelty is almost without an example in the annals of human tyranny; which in other times, and in other places, has at least endeavored to conceal its crimes under some sort of cover—some plea of religious or poli-

tical expediency. Another act, of the same date, prohibits, under the severest penalties, the introduction of any free negro or mulatto from other States. An infringement of this law, the penalties of which have fallen so severely on Levington, by depriving him of the pupils he might have otherwise had, is visited with a fine of fifty dollars for every week of its continuance; and, in default of payment, subjects the offender to be sold for a length of time necessary to pay the mulct:—that is, in fact, to perpetual slavery: for who is to protect him against a further sale, and a removal to the remote regions of the south for life?

CHAPTER XV.

Washington City.—Gadsby's.—Capitol.—Two Houses of Congress.—Interview with Cherokee Chiefs.—Treatment of Slaves by Indians.—Causes of Extermination of Aborigines.—Indian Character misrepresented.—Gold Mines.—Motive for removing Indians.—Insuperable Bar to incorporation with the Whites.—Despotic Laws of Georgia.—Protest against Emigration.—Religious Persecution in Georgia.

IN the afternoon I left Baltimore by the stage, for Washington (thirty-eight miles). The coach was filled with young men, who seemed to pay more attention to their rings and brooches and gold watches, than to the cleanliness of their hands, or the purity of their language. It rained in torrents, and the road was in a wretched state. About seven in the evening we entered the capital of the greatest slave-holding nation on the face of the globe; I speak of commercial, not of feudal, slavery:—of a system *forced* upon society, not springing naturally from its progress:—a disease engendered by the vices of its maturity, not an infirmity incidental to its infancy.

I put up at Gadsby's hotel—an establishment

upon an immense scale:—between three and four hundred persons having been at one time accommodated there. At Baltimore, the bed-room doors were locked, at the hotel; and the guests requested to leave their keys at the bar of the house. Here, on the contrary, I was informed that no precaution of the kind was necessary. As the servants at the one were white, and at the other black, I was curious to learn the cause of this difference. I asked, therefore, one of the waiters at the breakfast-table how many servants there were; and whether they were free. “Sir,” replied the man, “there are seventy or eighty of us; and not one freeman.” My heart sunk within me at this unexpected piece of intelligence. I felt shocked beyond description at the idea of being surrounded by slaves. “Do you belong to the master of the house?” I inquired. “No,” was his reply: “my owner lives at Alexandria:—I am let out, as many others are, to the landlord:—there are many here who do not know each other, even by name.” The man spoke in a dejected voice, but his language was good—much better than what I had heard the day before in the stage. I conversed with him some time;—as long, indeed, as I remained the only white in the room;—and felt deeply convinced, by what he told me, that his fellow bondsmen, as well as himself, were unhappy and discontented.

If slaves are all thieves, why does Gadsby allow

his doors to be left unlocked, and so much valuable property exposed? Is the whip a better preventive of crime than the penitentiary? Or is he who is compelled to labor more honest than the man who is hired? Gadsby's treatment of those under his care is, I was told, mild and considerate,—this is the more to his credit—for he is an Englishman, long resident in the country; and it is generally observed that the English slave-owners are more cruel masters than the Americans; and of the latter, the southerners are less severe than those from the north. It is well known that those habits, which are most repugnant to our nature, are, when once they have obtained the mastery, the least easily subdued; while they are more severely condemned, from their supposed indication of innate depravity.

The rain continued to pour down as abundantly as the preceding day; and rendered it impossible to explore the topography of this infant metropolis. There was nothing going on in the Halls of Congress particularly interesting to a stranger. I went, however, to the Capitol, which is situated on a commanding eminence, and has a very imposing appearance, from the form of the edifice and the material of which it is built. The latter is white free-stone; and the approach is by three or four flights of steps. As the decorations are of the Corinthian order, the whole, though perhaps somewhat too splendid for republican simplicity, is calculated to

produce a strong impression on the mind of the spectator.

The rotunda, which occupies the centre of the capitol, and is placed between the two chambers, where the Senate and the House of Representatives hold their sessions, is composed of marble, and lighted from the dome above. It is a noble room. Its various ornaments, whether in painting or in sculpture, are illustrative of those historical events which are most interesting to the country. Near each is placed a small sketch in outline, with the names of the figures introduced in the original. As it is drawn on paper, and intended for the hand, a stranger is saved the trouble of asking for a guide, and the still greater trouble of listening to his mechanical explanation of the different objects before him. In front of the paintings were various wooden boxes, that attracted my attention; and it was some time before I could make out what they were. They contained some vegetable production, like mustard and cress. Upon a closer inspection, I discovered they were placed there for the accommodation of those who are addicted to tobacco in its various forms; and who, "cun pituita molesta est," might, for want of such conveniences, forget the sanctity of the place, and the respect due to the departed worthies whose images are around them. It would be as well, I thought, if Chantrey's beautiful statue of Washington, in the State House at Boston, had

some protection against a beastly practice, which had so disfigured and debased the pedestal, that, were the artist to see it, "by Jove 'twou'd make him mad." The whole has since been railed in, and is now out of the reach of the spitters. To attempt a description of the disgusting habits here alluded to, would be to sin against that delicacy which they outrage. The very remembrance of what I have seen is inexpressibly disgusting.

The Chamber of the Representatives is semi-circular in its form, and rather gaudily furnished. The gallery, appropriated to the public, commands a full view of "the House"; above which it is sufficiently elevated to separate the members from the audience, and afford the latter an opportunity of seeing as well as of hearing what is going on below. Each member had his chair and desk; and most of them were busily employed in writing or reading, while one of them, who was presenting a petition, was dilating upon its contents;—they were of a local nature, and of no general interest. The appearance of the members was much the same as that which our House of Commons would present. It seemed to me, however, that there were not so many young men among them as are to be seen in the latter. Twenty-five is the minimum age allowed by the constitution.

From the House of Representatives I proceeded to the Senate. The room in which the latter

sits is of similar form, but smaller and more plainly furnished. The galleries were very full; and, as I could not get a seat, I staid but a short time, during which some matters of form were going on.

While waiting to see one of the members of Congress, for whom I had a letter, I was accosted by a man to whom I had been introduced the preceding summer. He was one of the representatives from that part of New York State where I had been staying. Having informed him of my object, he very civilly offered his services; and, going into the chamber, returned in the course of five or ten minutes with the person I wanted,—Mr. Edward Everett. The introduction was followed by a reception the coldest and most constrained I ever experienced in any country. The letter I put into his hand was from a friend in London, with whom he had had, I believe, some correspondence on the subject of the Cherokees. I gave him my address, and told him I should be happy to take back to England any answer he might wish to send to his correspondent, who, I knew, was particularly anxious to obtain from him some information relative to the Indians. I neither heard nor saw any more of Mr. Edward Everett.

Finding that some chiefs of the Cherokee tribe were in the city, I called at their hotel, and had a long interview with two or three of them. They were all dressed in the same style as the whites. They had the manners and language of well-educated

men. One of them had no mark of the Indian about him; and all were of mixed blood. The former had been imprisoned by the Georgians for a violation of their despotic laws. Upon my asking him whether the tribe did not hold slaves, he replied that they did so; but that they considered and treated them rather as free laborers*. He was himself, he said, a friend to universal liberty, and would always use what influence he had in its favor. He had lately bought a slave, to whom he was giving wages, on condition that he should return his master the purchase-money as soon as he could earn enough for that purpose. The negro was willing to perform his part of the bargain; but the whites in the neighborhood were much displeas'd at the arrangement, and tried to get the man away from him. It will be seen from this anecdote, as well as from the nature of existing circumstances, that the Indians who are settled in the slave States could not employ the blacks as hired

* "Another trait in their character is their great indulgence to their slaves. Though hunger and want be stronger than even the *sacra fames auri*, the greatest pressure of these evils never occasions them to impose onerous labours on the negroes, or to dispose of them, though tempted by high offers, if the latter are unwilling to be sold." Notices of East Florida, with an Account of the Seminole Indians, by a recent traveller, &c., published at Charleston, S. Carolina, 1822.

The description here given of the Indians, corresponds exactly with one I had from a Florida planter, (Mr. Kingsley,) whom I met both in New York and at Philadelphia.

laborers, however much they might prefer free to forced work. The whites would not probably condescend to be employed by them.

The Cherokee told me that his people raised a good deal of corn, and had plenty of cattle. Some of them were wealthy; and most, if not all, were sufficiently civilized to form a quiet and respectable society. Had it not been for the discovery of the gold mines on their lands, they would probably have been allowed to remain a longer time in the State*. They were all strongly opposed to the scheme of removing beyond the Mississippi; as they could have no security against the recurrence of that injustice from which former treaties had been unable to protect them. There was no rancor or resentment perceptible in their language. It was evident, however, from what they said, that they had little hope of receiving, at the white man's hand, an equitable adjudication of their claims.

After I had been with them some time, their chief, (Ross,) who had been to the Capitol, returned; and, hearing the object of my visit, received me very

* The gold district, which now spreads over six or seven States, was supposed, in 1824, to be confined to a portion of N. Carolina. It produced in that year but 5,000 dollars; whereas the amount of what was obtained from it last year, was expected to be nearly 2,000,000 in value: 868,000 dollars in coined, and about as much in uncoined gold, having been the product in 1833.

cordially. He was a plain farmer-like looking man, about fifty years of age, with the shrewd thinking countenance of a Scotchman: his father was from the "land o' cakes." Both he and Mann, to whom I have before alluded, might pass anywhere for white men. Having left some letters with him that I had brought from England for one of the Cherokee chiefs, (John Ridge,) with whom he was well acquainted, I took my leave of him.

A few days afterwards I had an interview with some of the tribe, who had migrated to the other side of the Mississippi. They had come on a mission to the seat of government with the object of obtaining some guarantee for their present possessions; but they entertained little hope of succeeding in their application. I asked them why they did not settle in the Texas, where the Mexican government would find it good policy to grant them an asylum. They replied, that they should, in all probability, adopt that measure, if the prospect before them did not improve. The party of which John Ross was the head, were strongly inclined to pursue the same course; and subsequent events must have given further strength to the intention. The Georgians, during their absence from home, proceeded to employ violent means to compel their removal; and the plantation of Ross had, according to a statement I saw in the public papers, been taken possession of by some one who had purchased it at an auction.

From the first day when the New World was discovered to the present, the Indians have been marked out as a spoil and a prey to their more civilized brethren. In a new country, where labor cannot be had but at too high a price to leave a profit upon its products, what respect would be paid to the rights of those who were looked upon as doubly inferior,—as savages and pagans? As the aborigines, however, if reduced to a state of slavery, might run off to the woods, they were, when convicted of crimes by men who would never want a pretence for the accusation, sold, in exchange, for negroes. In the Connecticut code of 1650, “it is ordered”, that those Indians who are guilty of “willful wrongs and hostile practises” shall be delivered up by the magistrates, when “seized by the partye or partyes endannaged, either to serve or to bee shipped out and exchanged for neagers, as the case will justly beare,” “onely women and children to bee sparingly used, unless knowne to bee somewhat guilty; and because it will be chargeable keeping Indians in prison; and, if they should escape, they are like to prove more insolent and dangerous after.” That they were used as slaves formerly, may be proved by allusions in old statutes and books. In the collection of the New Jersey laws is an Act of 14 March, 1798, to this effect. “Be it enacted, &c., that every negro, Indian, mulatto or mestee, within this State, who, at the time of passing this Act, is a slave for his or her life, shall

continue such during his or her life, unless he or she shall be manumitted, &c., in the manner prescribed by law."

Knowing how the whites have behaved towards the colored races, most men, possessing but a common share of good sense, would make considerable deductions from any unfavorable representations the former might make of those whom they had injured. Yet authors of the most recent date, when juster notions are entertained of the value to be placed on the evidence of interested witnesses, have not scrupled, under the garb of science and religion, to copy these ex-parte statements, and vilify their unfortunate subjects. Lord *, in his work on "Popular Physiology," assures his readers, that the Ame-

* Extract of a Letter from General Calvin Jones to the Editor of the Raleigh Register.

"When I visited the Cherokee nation lately, I had no predilections in its favor. I had known something of two tribes of Indians, and that all attempts to civilize one of them had been unavailing, and had every where seen the various tribes recede and melt away at the approach of the white people. I had always believed the enthusiastic zeal of good men led them to expect human means would effect what had been denied by an interdict of nature; that there were physical as well as moral causes which would for ever prevent the civilization of these savages, until the capabilities of their minds were improved, &c., by the long continued existence of their race and species. But I have seen the nation, and have witnessed the attempts, &c., and am no longer sceptical."

rican Indians "have never learned any thing from an approximation to civilized life, further than to participate in its vices." With the same regard for truth, he says of the whole African race:—"The reflecting powers seem dormant, or little exercised, the moral sense is weak and obscure, the animal propensities alone seem to have reached maturity; and, under their unchained influence, the negro is capable of the warmest attachments, the bitterest enmities, and the most horrible revenge." He adds, that the negroes despise the Indians, and the Indians despise the negroes, and quotes a vulgar proverb among the Indians, that proves nothing but the facility with which the aborigines borrow ideas from their narrow-minded neighbors. "God make white man first, then red man, then dog, and then nigger."* The red man is not likely to place himself second in the scale.

The Indians feel no antipathy to persons of African extraction; or, if they do so, they have imbibed the disgraceful prejudice from the whites. In the

* The classification is different in the Western States; where to shoot an Indian is thought by many "fair game." Even in Kentucky, my friend, Mr. Crawford, heard the driver of a stage call out to a ferryman (a slave) who had kept him waiting—"You d——d nigger, I would sooner send a ball through you than through an Indian." The difference was in the driver's pocket. A slave belongs to "a preserve," an Indian is *fera naturæ*.

New England Magazine, (one of the best of that class of periodicals,) is an account of Indian habits and manners, under the title of "Life beyond the Frontier." It appears to be actually drawn from nature, and to be descriptive of scenes and events that have real existence. "There was an old colored woman in the village," says the writer, "whose five sons had never heard that they were inferior beings, either from the Indians, or the Canadian French. Therefore, having never considered themselves degraded, they were not degraded. On the contrary, they were ranked with the most respectable inhabitants of the place. We knew them well:—one of them was the village blacksmith, the others were substantial farmers. Their father was a Frenchman, and their name was Gagnier. One of these men owned a farm, three miles from Prairie du Chien, where he lived with his wife, (a white woman,) two children, and a hired man, named Liepcap. Thither the Red Bird repaired, with his three companions, sure of a fair reception; for Regis Gagnier had always been noted for his humanity to the poor, especially the Indians."

What sort of contempt it is the aborigines of America feel for their darker fellow-sufferers, may be seen by the following extract from a letter, dated June, 1819, and written by the Indian agent at Piqua, in the State of Ohio:—"A great reformation has taken place amongst the Wyandotts, through

the instrumentality of a colored preacher, named Stewart. About sixty-one of these Indians now make profession of Christianity. Many more of them appear seriously inclined; and they all seem attentive. I have encouraged Stewart to open a school, as soon as possible; but we have no means to forward it. He has been three years among the Wyandotts; is of the Methodist profession; and, from the account I received from himself, appears to have been led to embark in this labor by a providential intimation. He was married about nine months ago to a woman of his own color. They are plain people—very poor, and in need of almost every thing. I think them deserving; and the Indians have become much attached to them.”

I was assured by a Scotchman (Mr. Z. Kingsley) of remarkable intelligence, and one of the most benevolent men, though a slave-holder, I ever met with, that there was no sort of antipathy or repugnance observable between the black and red races in Florida; where, as well as in the greater part of the Union, he had had opportunities enough to exercise an observing and shrewd mind;—an amicable intercourse, when circumstances admitted of it, was kept up between them. He invited me to his plantation in Florida, as Ross invited me to Georgia, that I might judge for myself upon this particular point. I regretted that I was unable to visit either at his own home.

It is chiefly for the sake of the gold mines, which are said to be productive, and to spread over a great extent of country, that the Cherokees are to be dispossessed of their lands:—and what is the character of the miners? “I can hardly conceive,” says a correspondent of the *New York Observer* a few years back,—“I can hardly conceive of a more immoral community than exists around the mines. Drunkenness, gambling, fighting, lewdness, and every other vice, exist here to an awful extent. Many of the men, by working three days in the week, make several dollars; and then devote the remaining four to every species of vice. The colored people—slaves—are generally the most moral.” The “*Observer*” is not, I may add, an abolitionist.

In 1825, at which time there were, according to official documents, throughout the States and territories of the Union, sixty-four tribes and remnants of tribes of Indians—amounting to 129,266 souls, and claiming about seventy-seven millions of acres of land,—Mr. Elliott, Senator in Congress for Georgia, made, as one of the committee on Indian affairs, the following statement:—“Some of the South American Indians, although conquered and reduced to slavery by the Spaniards, were not destroyed. Their tribes are still extant; and, having commingled their blood with that of their conquerors, they are, at this time, an improved and powerful people;”—and such would have been the case, had the aborigines been treated

like men, in the North American States; but it suited the purposes of their citizens to combine with the superiority that civilization had given them the accursed prejudice of color, and thus to crush that tendency to assimilation which juster feelings in the southern portion of the continent had encouraged; but which would have marred their base—their all-engrossing object,—the possession of the Indian lands. Mr. Elliott stated to the senate that, as it was “idle to look for any solid or extended improvement in the Indian population within the States,” it was proposed “to purchase a tract of country, lying between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, as a permanent possession for these people” —under the protection and guardianship of the federal government; “all white men, except missionaries, teachers, and artisans, engaged in their instruction and improvement, to be rigidly excluded from this territory.” The motive for this suggestion comes out afterwards. “The removal of the Indians beyond the limits of the State, would leave us in possession of all the lands they now occupy; and these, from their situation and extent, must be very valuable. Almost all the Indian reservations have been of the best lands; and, surrounded as they are, at this time, by a white population, and improved by roads and other facilities of intercourse with the adjacent country, they would command comparatively a high price. But these lands form an aggregate of

no less than 77,500,000 acres. Now deduct 9,500,000, as lands belonging to Georgia, when the Indian title shall have been extinguished; and 144,000 in possession of the Catawba Indians*, but which, if surrendered, would belong to South Carolina;—and you will have 67,856,000 acres, subject to the disposition of the United States. Suppose this immense tract sold at only two dollars per acre;—a fund would be created of 135,712,000 dollars!—which, after reimbursing the treasury for all expenses incurred in carrying into effect the provisions of this bill, would not only be adequate to the extinction of the national debt, but leave an immense amount

* The following is a copy of a petition sent, some years ago, from an Indian of the Catawba tribe “to the Councils of South Carolina.”

“I am one of the lingering embers of an almost extinguished race:—our graves will soon be our habitations. I am one of the few stalks that still remain in the field, when the tempest of the revolution is past. I fought against the British for your sake.—The British have disappeared, and you are free. Yet from me the British took nothing; nor have I gained anything by their defeat. I pursue the deer for my subsistence:—the deer are disappearing, and I must starve. God ordained me for the forest; and my habitation is the shade:—but the strength of my arm decays; and my feet fail in the chace. The hand which fought for your liberty is now open for your relief. In my youth, I bled in battle, that you might be independent. Let not my heart, in my old age, bleed for the want of your commiseration.

“PETER HARRIS.”

at the future disposal of government." After enlarging on the benefits to be derived to the whites from the projected removal, the speaker concluded thus: "About 130,000 souls of this unfortunate race now await their destiny at your hands! Pass this bill (For the preservation and civilization of the Indian tribes) and you elevate their character, and impart new hopes to their future prospects. Reject it, and you set your seal to their degradation; although their fate may be delayed, I consider it inevitable as the march of time." There is no government in Europe that would dare to commit such an act of bare-faced iniquity.

The old world is divided into communities that check and restrain each other in their career of guilt. In this portion of the New there is no powerful neighbor to awe or control the wrong-doer, whatever scheme he may adopt to enrich or aggrandize himself at the expense of humanity and right. There is no public opinion to which the red and the black man may look up for protection or redress. "The world is not" his "friend, nor the world's law." It is only by bringing into closer communication those nations that are separated by the Atlantic, that the principles of religion and equity can be made to bear upon consciences not fully amenable to the jurisdiction of civilized society. President Monroe, in his message to congress the year preceding, bore testimony to the improved condition of the Indians,

who could have hardly undergone so rapid a process of degeneration as that insisted upon by the Georgian senator*. “It affords me great satisfaction”—such are his words—“to add, that they (the Indians) are making great advances in civilization, and the improvement of their condition. Many of the tribes have already made great progress in the arts of civilized life. This desirable result has been brought about by the humane and persevering policy of the government; and particularly by means of the appropriations for the civilization of the Indians. There have been established, under the provisions of this act, thirty-two schools, containing 916 scholars, who are well instructed in several branches of literature, and likewise in agriculture and the ordinary arts of life.”

In 1830, the Cherokee nation moved the supreme

* John Heckiwelder, (in a statement written about the year 1763, and laid before the senate of the United States in 1822 by the President,) says of those Indians who had been under his charge at Nain in Pennsylvania:—“So much is certain, that, during the whole of their stay in this part of the country—in all twenty years—not one single complaint had been brought against them, or any one of them, for any crime committed, that would have come under the cognizance of a magistrate and punishable by law. There is nothing of the kind to be found on the docket of the magistrate who officiated during that period, as can be seen, it being yet extant, and in the hands of his venerable son, Joseph Horsfield, Esq., now upwards of seventy years of age.”

court of the United States, for an injunction to restrain the State of Georgia in its proceedings against them; but the application was refused on the ground that the court had no jurisdiction in the case; a mere quibble on the word "foreign" having been employed to deprive them of all hope of redress. The very lands, of which it was sought to deprive them, were allotted to them in 1787 by the commissioners plenipotentiary of the general government, "for their hunting grounds;" and an act of congress in 1802 prohibited, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, any attempt to survey any of their lands by marking trees, &c. Yet, in the teeth of this enactment, the legislature of Georgia has appointed, by its sovereign authority, surveyors to lay off this very territory into districts and sections. Mr. Justice Johnson, in delivering his opinion on the case, declared that "the general policy of the United States always looked to these Indian lands as a certain future acquisition." Compared with the *Punica fides* of this Federal Republic, the conduct of Russia's autocrat towards Poland is honest and humane!

The Indians are disqualified from incorporating with the whites under the existing laws. "The act of Congress, (says Kent, Commentaries, Vol. I. p. 72,) confines the description of aliens capable of naturalization to 'free white persons.' I presume that this excludes the inhabitants of Africa and their

descendants: and it may become a question, to what extent persons of mixed blood, as mulattoes, are excluded; and what shades and degrees of mixture of color disqualify an alien from application for the benefits of naturalization. Perhaps there might be difficulties also as to the copper-colored natives of America, or the yellow and tawny races of Asiatics; though I should doubt whether any of them were white persons within the purview of the law. It is the declared law of New York, that Indians are not citizens; but distinct tribes, living under the protection of the government; and, consequently, they never can be made citizens under the act of Congress." The greater part of the human family is thus excluded from this "asylum of the unfortunate." Because Africa has been robbed and wronged, Asia and America are to be insulted; and the exiles of a petty island in Europe are to set up their own pale faces as the standard of excellence for all who have been "made in God's own image." One thing, however, is plain:—the original owners of the soil are systematically excluded from the privileges of civilization, by the very persons who pretend that they have endeavored to reclaim them from their barbarous habits. They are worse treated than were ever the Irish by our ancestors. They are driven from their lands, and have no "pale" to flee to. "But what can we do?"—the whites will say:—"we must not violate the constitution." Then are they

as much enslaved as were ever the Medes and Persians; and have thrown off the yoke of "Parliament," to put on the chains of a "Convention." The king's little finger has been removed to make way for the loins of the framers of the constitution. Great Britain declared at Ghent, that the covenant of the United States not to purchase any more lands of the Indians, was considered by her as a *sine quâ non* to the treaty. But what does such intercession amount to? The government is not bound by it, or finds some way to evade it.

Though the State of New York will not allow Indians to become its citizens, yet the federal government was more liberal in 1817. By a treaty made that year with the Cherokees, (one of the Commissioners being Andrew Jackson,) it was stipulated, by the 8th Art.,—"To every head of an Indian family, residing on the lands ceded by the Cherokees in this treaty, shall be allowed a section of land, i. e. 640 acres; provided he wishes to remain on his land, thus ceded, and to become a citizen of the United States. He shall hold a life-estate, with a right of dower to his widow; and shall leave the land in fee simple to his children." There was a similar provision in the treaty of 1819, with the same tribe.

The treatment of the aborigines has become more harsh and unjust as their numbers have diminished. In a treaty, made with the usual forms, with the Delawares, at Fort Pitt, in 1778, is inserted a clause,

the purport of which, if extended to the other tribes, and carried fairly into effect, might have preserved this unprotected people from extermination. " Art. 6. Whereas the enemies of the United States have endeavoured, by every artifice in their power, to possess the Indians in general with the opinion, that it is the design of the States aforesaid to extirpate the Indians, and take possession of their country. To obviate such false suggestion, the United States do engage to guaranty to the aforesaid nation of Delawares, and their heirs, all their territorial rights, in the fullest and most ample manner, as it hath been bounded by former treaties, as long as they, the said Delaware nation, shall abide by, and hold fast the chain of friendship now entered into. And it is further agreed on between the contracting parties, (should it for the future be found conducive to the mutual interest of both parties,) to invite any other tribes, who have been friends to the interest of the United States, to join the present confederation, and to form a State, whereof the Delaware nation shall be the head, and have a representation in Congress." The same privilege of citizenship was held out to the Cherokees by the treaty of Hopewell.

In reply to the charge of having formed a government of their own within the State of Georgia, (an *imperium in imperio*,) the Cherokees, in their memorial to Congress in 1830, say, "The great Washington advised a plan, and afforded aid, for the

general government of our nation in agriculture, science, and government. President Jefferson followed the noble example, and concluded an address to our delegation in language as follows: 'I sincerely wish you may succeed in your laudable endeavours to save the remnant of your nation, by adopting industrious occupations, and a government of regular law. In this you may always rely on the counsel and assistance of the United States.'

Deserted by the general Government, which, down to the last intelligence, (the President's message to Congress,) has evinced an undeviating determination to "expel" them; and, left to the mercy (if such word be not a mockery) of Georgia, the original owners of the soil have now no hope left, nor a certainty of retaining one rood of land throughout the vast domains of the North American confederation, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. "An Act more effectually to provide for the government and protection of the Cherokee Indians," passed by the legislature of Georgia but a short time before I was at Washington, has set the seal to their fate*. A

* Georgia affords equal "protection" to the Indian and the "African." An Act of her legislature in 1818 having declared in the preamble, that "the exercise of humanity towards the slave population" required the measure, decreed as follows: "Every will, deed, or contract or agreement, whether written or verbal, made for the purpose of manumitting a slave, either directly by conferring freedom, or indirectly by giving to such

few extracts from it will place the condition, in which they now find themselves, in its true light.

“Sect. 3. And be it further enacted, that if any Indian, or descendant of an Indian, or white man, the head of an Indian family, claiming the privileges of an Indian, shall employ any white or person of color other than the descendant of an Indian, as tenant, cropper or assistant in agriculture, or as miller or millwright, they (he) shall, for such offence, upon the same being established by the testimony of two respectable witnesses, forfeit all right and title that they (he) may have to any reservation or occupancy within the limits of this State; and that, upon the certificate of the agent to be hereafter appointed, grants may issue for the same, as if such improvement had never been occupied by such Indian, descendant of an Indian, or white man having an Indian family.”

It would be needless to ask what sort of witnesses would be considered “respectable” by the agent “to be appointed.”

The 6th section is, if possible, still more iniquitous. “No Indian or others having the privilege of an

slave the right of enjoying the profits of his or her labor or skill, free from the control of the owner, is hereby declared null and void; and the person, concerned in giving effect thereto, shall be severally liable to a penalty, not exceeding 1000 dollars; and every slave, in whose behalf such agreement shall be made, shall be sold as a slave at public sale.”

Indian, shall, under any pretence whatever, set up any claim or demand against any member of the same tribe, after such member shall have enrolled his or her name for emigration, so as to detain such emigrant from removing at the time stipulated," &c.

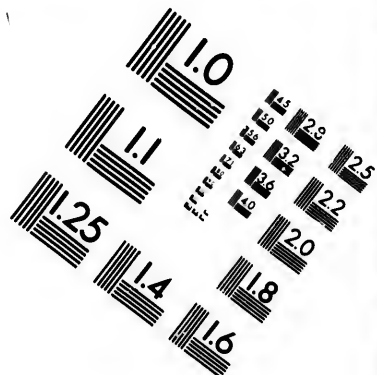
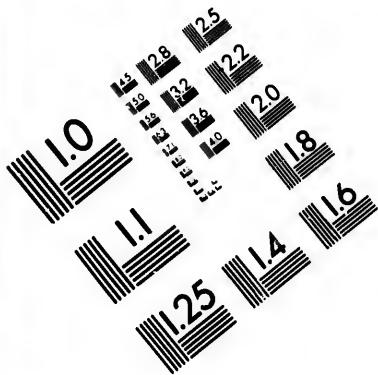
The 7th section will shew the value of this proviso: "No contract, either verbal, or written, alleged to have been made by a white man and an Indian, shall be binding, except the same can be established by the testimony of two *respectable* witnesses."

The last section, like the postscript of a letter, contains the predominant feeling which dictated the composition to which it is attached. "And be it further enacted, that if any person shall, by threats or menaces, or otherwise, deter or prevent any Indian or Indians from enrolling for emigration, he or they shall be held and deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, upon conviction, fined not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than five, or imprisoned in the penitentiary, at the discretion of the court."

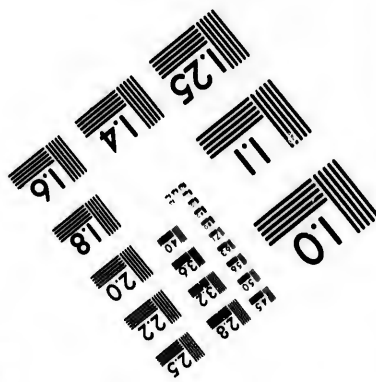
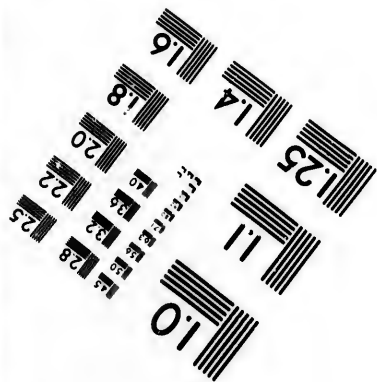
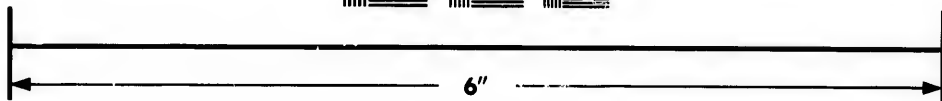
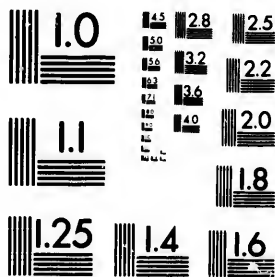
Unfortunately, as this clause indicates, there are dissensions among these people. It would be singular, indeed, if there were none, when so many would profit by fomenting them.

President Jackson, in his message of 1831 to Congress, says, "Time and experience have proved that the abode of the native Indian within their limits (the States) is dangerous to their peace, and injurious to themselves. In accordance with my recommend-





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ation at a former Session of Congress, an appropriation of half a million of dollars was made to aid the voluntary removal of the various tribes beyond the limits of the States. At the last Session I had the happiness to announce that the Chickasaws and Choctaws had accepted the generous offer of the government, and agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi river."

What is meant by the word *voluntary*, may be seen in an "Address to the American People," by George W. Harkins, chief of the Choctaw tribe. It was written with a pencil on board the steam-boat that conveyed these unfortunate emigrants towards the place of their exile, and was sent to "the Natchez," the editor of which inserted it in the columns of that paper. "Although your ancestors," says the writer, "won freedom on the field of danger and glory, our ancestors owned it as their birthright; and we have had to purchase it from you as the vilest slaves buy their freedom. Yet it is said that our present movements are *our own voluntary acts*:—such is not the case. We found ourselves, like a benighted stranger, following false guides, until he was surrounded on every side with fire or water. The fire was certain destruction; and a feeble hope was left him of escaping by water. A distant view of the opposite shore encourages the hope: to remain would be inevitable annihilation. Who would hesitate? or who would say that his plunging into the water was his own *vo-*

luntary action? Painful indeed is the mandate of our expulsion. We regret that it should proceed from the mouth of our *professed friend*, for whom our blood was co-mingled with that of his bravest warriors on the field of danger and death. But such is the instability of profession. The man who said that he would plant a stake, and draw a line around us that never should be passed, was the first to say he could not guard the line, and wiped out all traces of the line. I will not conceal from you my fears that the present grounds may be removed, I have my foreboding. Who of us can tell, after what has been done, what the next force may be? I ask you, in the name of justice, for repose for myself and my injured people. Let us alone. We will not harm you. We want rest. We hope, in the name of justice, that another outrage may never be committed against us; and that we may, for the future, be cared for as children, and not driven about as beasts, which are benefitted by a change of pasture."

The Cherokees, and indeed every other tribe, are thus left, like the slaves, to the justice of the authorities of the State where they reside;—the very worst security they could have for their rights; since those who make the laws, and those who are to be bound by them, are identified. The republican form of government affords the best check on the selfishness of those who compose it against each other, and the

worst against their dependants. The federal system is not more protective of the citizens than it is oppressive to the slaves and the aborigines. It is curious to observe, in the treatment they have both received, the same principles in operation, and the same professions put forward. Under the plea of kindness they are plundered of their lands and their labor, and driven from their native country to find a grave in the waves of the Pacific, or the pestilent marshes of Africa. The legislature of Georgia uses the same sort of language, when speaking of the Indians, that the Colonization Society employs to describe the descendants of Africa. "Year after year the tribes within the States have been seen to decrease in numbers, and to sink lower and lower in depravity and sin. The parental arm of the government has been extended to their relief; and the federal and State governments have united their efforts to remove them from their present habitations, and locate them beyond the Mississippi: there, under the protection of the government, and free alike from the crimes and cupidity of the white man, to live in their own peculiar way—the happy and lordly masters of the forest."

The wrongs of the Cherokees excited a strong feeling in their favor throughout the free States,—a feeling that seems to have cooled down very much at present. As it was not, however, accompanied with

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any wish to restore them to their rights as men, or dictated by a conviction of their claims to equal consideration with the whites, it never was of much value. It is worse than idle to declaim against oppression, and yet support the principle on which it is founded.

CHAPTER XVI.

Slavery and Slave Trade in the District of Columbia.—Robey's Pen. — Kidnappers. — Soul-drivers. — State of Morals.— Free Blacks.—Country impoverished.—Principles of Constitution.— Claim for Impressed Slave.—Wages and Mileage of Members of Congress.— Mr. Clay.—Juvenile Depravity.—Funeral of Member.—Average Age of Members.—President's Protest.— Mr. Leigh's Speech.

THE day after my first visit to the Cherokee chiefs I renewed my conversation with the slave in the breakfast-room of the hotel. I asked him how it was that he spoke English so correctly. He said that he had travelled about a good deal with different gentlemen, and had taken great pains to improve his language. He regretted much that he could not read and write. He had been married three times ;—not that he had been twice a widower,—but such is the state of morals among the slaves, that the purest and most constant attachment does not wait for death to dissolve it. Connexions of this sort are necessarily but physical in their motives, as they are uncertain in their

duration: the most endearing ties which can bind the parties together by tokens and objects of mutual affection being liable to be torn asunder at a moment's warning. "If the owner of my wife," he observed, "should endorse a bill, and the drawer fail, he would perhaps sell her to obtain money; and we should never see each other again."

I asked him whether the slaves in the house were allowed to keep what they might receive as presents from the guests; and was glad to find that, though legally disqualified from holding property, what was given to them became their own. "The times," he added, "are not so good for us as they were. I remember when we could accumulate something: but we are not so fortunate now." The Colonization Society, he thought, had done them great injury, by lessening the little interest that was before felt for them, and increasing the wish to get rid of them. While conversing with me, he used the word "gentleman," in what might be thought a singular manner, if the term were less indefinite in its meaning. Not being able to answer a question put to him, he pointed to another slave, and said: "that gentleman will tell you better than I can." I have often known the expression less appropriately applied. If the idea of any thing just or honorable be associated with the phrase;—if it imply a disposition to render to every man his due, I doubt not the person he referred to had at least an equal claim with his master to

the appellation. Two or three persons from the free States had been trying to convince this unfortunate man that he was more happy as a slave than he would be as a free man*. The reasons given in support of this assertion, carried with them an indelible stigma upon the national character. What a country, where injustice lays her persecuting hand upon those who have escaped from oppression!—where the brand of infamy is stamped on the scars that cruelty has left; and the bond are told to find motives for resignation in the wrongs of the free!

The manner in which the parental tie is disregarded here, is such as to render indifference to the best feelings of a parent's heart a matter of self-defence. The farmers in the neighborhood of Washington, breed slaves, as our graziers breed cattle, for the market; and a mother's agony for the loss of her child is no more regarded than the lowing

* If so, why are free blacks, when convicted of certain crimes, sold as slaves? It is an odd way of preventing crime to place the criminal in a better situation than the innocent. "Slavery," said Governor Giles to the legislature of Virginia, in 1827, "must be admitted to be a punishment of the highest order; and, according to every just rule for the apportionment of punishment to crimes, it would seem, ought to be applied only to crimes of the highest order; but, under the existing laws, in case of free people of color only, it is extended to crimes not involving capital punishment." "It seems," he adds, "but an act of justice to this unfortunate degraded class of persons, to state that the number of convicts compared with

of a cow for the calf that is carried off to be fattened for the butcher. We may judge of the anguish felt by the mothers, when they are "weeping for their children, and will not be comforted," by an event that occurred in 1828 at Yorkville, in South Carolina. A negro woman was executed there for the murder of her own child. "We are informed," says 'The Pioneer' of that place, "that she made a confession of the crime with which she was charged, and assigned as her reason for doing so, that her master intended to sell her." She would have been separated, perhaps for ever, from her child. The thought of this drove her to madness.

It is not sufficient for the national dishonor, that the district marked out for the residence and immediate jurisdiction of the general government should be polluted by slavery. Here, under the eyes of Congress,—in defiance of public opinion,—and as if courting the observation of assembled legislators and ambassadors, a traffic, the most base and revolting, is carried on by a set of ruffians, with whom it would be the greatest injustice to compare our resurrection-men. They are called slave-traders, and their occupation is to kidnap every colored stranger they can lay their hands on. No matter whether he be free the whole population, exceeding 35,000, is extremely small, and would serve to shew, that even this description of our population is less demoralized than is generally supposed."

The truth will come out occasionally.

or not, his papers, if he chance to have any they can get at, are taken from him; and he is hurried to gaol, from whence, under pretence that the documents he has in his possession are not satisfactory, or that he is unable to pay the expenses of his arrest and detention, he is sent off to the southern market. Men, women, and children, indiscriminately, who come to Washington in search of employment, or to visit their friends, are liable to be carried off by these land-sharks; one of whom boasted to a man, from whom I had the statement, that he had just made forty dollars by a job. Proprietors of slaves would be ungrateful if they did not connive at the iniquities of the kidnapper. The net that is laid for the unfriended free man is pretty sure to catch the runaway. These villains deal with the drivers and agents, and sometimes with the planters themselves. A poor fellow, whose claims to freedom were pronounced defective, was purchased by one of them, not long ago, for a dollar, and sold the next day for four hundred. About the same time, a colored young woman was entering the city from the country, when she was pursued by one of these blood-hounds; and, to escape, threw herself into the river, and was drowned. No notice whatever was taken of this horrible occurrence by the public papers, though it was a matter of notoriety. Another woman, to save her children, who would all have been doomed to slavery, if her claims to freedom had been rejected,

precipitated herself from the top of a house, where she was confined, and was so dreadfully mutilated and mangled that she was suffered to escape, because she was no longer fit for sale. There was no doubt that she was a free woman; but she knew a whole family of young slaves was too valuable a property not to turn the scale against her.

“Not long since,” (see Niles’s Reg. for July 1821,) “a negro man, at the moment of his transfer to one of these blood-merchants, cut his own throat on a public wharf at Baltimore; and, a few days ago, a negro woman, near Snow-hill in this State, (Maryland,) on being informed that she was sold, first cut the throat of her child, and then her own,—by which both of them immediately died.”

Another, in the same year, at Baltimore, having been “sold to a dealer in human flesh for transportation, cut his own throat, and died at the moment when he was about to be delivered over to the blood-merchant through his agent, a peace-officer.”—Niles.

Many cases of extreme atrocity were related to me. One was that of an unfortunate girl, whose mistress, from ungrounded jealousy, employed some of her slaves to hold her down, and then, with her own hands, cut off the fore part of her feet. This was done during the absence of her husband. She was then carried bleeding into an adjoining wood, and left there to perish. It happened to be a frosty night, and her wounds were stanchd by the cold.

Her life was eventually preserved by a good Samaritan, who, hearing her groans, went to her and carried her to his own home, where she continued to live;—her master, who had by chance discovered the place of her retreat, having presented her with her freedom,—partly in consideration of her sufferings, and partly to shield her from the resentment of his wife, who tried every art to get her into her power again. Were it not for the noble exertions that a few kind-hearted men, of whom I had the happiness to know two or three, are ready to make, as they have already made many, for the protection and defence of these helpless creatures, by far the greater part would be for ever deprived of their freedom; as it is very difficult for them, unfriended and unpitied, to establish a claim, which so many find it their interest to defeat or deny. Here, as in most, if not all, slave countries, the presumption is against liberty; and, contrary to every principle of moral and municipal law, a man is pronounced guilty because he cannot prove himself innocent. The onus is thrown upon the accused; and he is declared to be a slave, if he is unable to shew that he is free.

The committee of the House of Representatives on the district of Columbia, reported, in 1827, that this presumption, founded on immemorial usage, and sanctioned by judicial decisions, was so necessary to the security of slave-property, that, “although it may occasionally operate as a temporary hardship

upon free persons of color, migrating to slave-holding States, from States in the Union where there exists no provision of law for the register of the evidences of emancipation or of freedom, they cannot recommend an abrogation of this long established principle." No doubt the Arabs and Algerines, the pirates of Cuba and Sumatra, have the same usages and principles: and what traveller or merchant would be allowed to dispute their justice, when once they have got him into their clutches?

Frequent petitions have been presented to congress, praying for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia:—nothing however has been done; and the memorials are no more respected than the subject or the signers. There is no part of the Union, from which the road to Washington leads through the temple of Liberty.

I was led, from seeing a great many advertisements in the papers, offering rewards for runaway slaves, more particularly in the case of a woman and three children, to infer, that with such facilities of escape, this species of property must be of a very precarious and evanescent nature. Upon inquiry, however, I found I had judged very erroneously of the vigilance exercised in its protection. Many of those, I was assured, for whose apprehension these rewards are offered, have already been sold by their owners; who have recourse to this expedient, either to escape public censure, or, as is more probable, to conceal

the distress which has compelled them to part with a sort of property that is not easily replaced. Nearly all menial services are engrossed by this portion of the population, more especially in the hotels, where the free blacks are not likely to seek or to find employment. The latter are obliged to register their names at the proper offices in the district, and to give security for good behavior to the amount of 500 dollars. The fee for registration is one dollar and a quarter—about five shillings. Electors with us pay a shilling for this form. Personal liberty under a republic is thus five times as dear as political liberty under a limited monarchy.

Slaves on the farms are allowed a peck of Indian corn per week each, with the addition of a daily herring—a luxury which is far from being universal. Tavern-keepers and others who hire them of their masters, pay a certain sum per month, and feed them; the latter finding their clothing. One day I went to see the “slaves’ pen”—a wretched hovel, “right against” the Capitol, from which it is distant about half a mile, with no house intervening. The outside alone is accessible to the eye of a visitor; what passes within being reserved for the exclusive observation of its owner, (a man of the name of Robey,) and his unfortunate victims. It is surrounded by a wooden paling fourteen or fifteen feet in height, with the posts outside to prevent escape, and separated from the building by a space too

narrow to admit of a free circulation of air. At a small window above, which was unglazed and exposed alike to the heat of summer and the cold of winter, so trying to the constitution, two or three sable faces appeared, looking out wistfully to while away the time and catch a refreshing breeze; the weather being extremely hot. In this wretched hovel, all colors, except white—the only guilty one—both sexes, and all ages, are confined, exposed indiscriminately to all the contamination which may be expected in such society and under such seclusion. The inmates of the gaol, of this class I mean, are even worse treated; some of them, if my informants are to be believed, having been actually frozen to death, during the inclement winters which often prevail in the country. While I was in the city, Robey had got possession of a woman, whose term of slavery was limited to six years. It was expected that she would be sold before the expiration of that period, and sent away to a distance, where the assertion of her claim would subject her to ill-usage. Cases of this kind are very common.

There was at the time a man in the gaol, who had been taken up on suspicion; and, as no one claimed him, he was to be sold to pay his fees*. On these

* By the following law, which prevails in the State of Mississippi, it will be seen that the same person, whose testimony is rejected on the presumption of dishonesty, may be punished

occasions, free papers would be of little avail to the accused; as the gaoler has it in his power, and frequently takes an opportunity, to destroy them, unless some person appears personally to give evidence in his favor.

The Benevolent Society of Alexandria stated, in 1827, that they had, in the first nine or ten months of their existence, wrested twelve people of color from the grasp of the slave-traders; and that they had reason to believe there were several others, entitled to their freedom, who had been sold: "If on the presumption of integrity; and, while he is no more than a brute in the witness box, is, in prison, responsible as a man.

"When any slave or slaves shall be committed to any jail in this State, as a runaway, &c., it shall be the duty of the jailer, &c., to interrogate him, &c., as to his, &c., owner's name, &c., and the account thus received, together with a description of the slave, &c., the jailer shall forthwith transmit by mail to the owner, &c., named by the slave; and, if the statement made by said slave, &c., shall prove to be false, it shall be the duty of the jailer, without delay, to give the said slave, &c., twenty-five lashes, well laid on, and interrogate him, &c., anew; and transmit the intelligence obtained, together with a description as aforesaid, to the owner, &c., again named, and whip as before directed, if a second false account is given; and so on, for the space of six months, it shall be the duty of the jailer alternately to interrogate and whip as aforesaid, whenever the said slave, &c., may give a false account, &c.,"—that is, whenever he shews he is, what the man who flogs him, tells you he is—not to be trusted.

it were not," they added, "for this detestable traffic, those who have a large number of slaves upon poor land," (such is most of the soil near Washington,) "would not long be enabled to hold them; as it generally takes the whole produce of their labor to clothe and support them; and the only profit of the owner is derived from the sale of the young ones."

A most flagrant instance of cruelty occurred a year or two ago. A married woman, with a family, who had left her free papers in charge of Judge Hooper, of Centreville, in Maryland, was persuaded by a man, to whom she had hired herself, to accompany a fellow, who was to assist her in procuring these documents as a security against those outrages which so often happen, but who proved to be a kidnapper—a confederate of her employer. This man brought her to Washington, on her way to New Orleans, here he intended to sell her. Here she was purchased by a notorious fellow of the name of Simson, and imprisoned in a room destined to such purposes in Robey's tavern; where she was brutally flogged, because she would not give up the name of a friend, (a white,) who had been to see her. The person from whom I had this account, the wife of one of those benevolent men alluded to as the friends of the oppressed, obtained an interview with her; and a letter having been dispatched to Centreville in Virginia, an answer was received that no such person was known there. It was too late when this

mistake was rectified. A corroboration of her statement was sent by the postmaster of Centreville in Maryland, on being applied to.—She was on the road to New Orleans.

It is customary, when a sufficient number of slaves is obtained by the traffickers in this horrid business, to send them to the South, under the care of the soul-drivers, as they are called, who receive so much per head. If there are any good-looking mulatto girls in the gang, their charges are diminished. I need not say how they are remunerated. Lest there should be any difficulty on the road, they themselves qualify their victims. The person, from whom I had these details, heard one of these wretches boast of this expedient, as a constant practice with him.

In the district of Columbia, but one person has suffered for a capital offence during a period of twenty years; and he was a colored man, for a felonious attempt: the accuser being a white woman. Absence of punishment, however, is far from proving absence of crime; for, during that time, not a single year elapsed that did not witness the murder of one or more slaves in the ten miles square.

Every stranger must observe a marked difference in public morals between Washington and the principal cities in the non-slave-holding States. Disproportionately greater as the population is in the latter, respect is had to external decency; nor would it be easy to know what is passing within any house

in New England by the display at the windows in open day and in the most frequented streets.

As industry is dishonored here, one of the greatest auxiliaries to female virtue is removed where it is most required;—at the seat of gaiety and idleness, the resort of the profligate, the wealthy, and the luxurious, the great centre of attraction to the intriguer, the place-hunter, and the political adventurer. The consequences are such as might be expected from a combination of influences so ruinous to unprotected youth.

As Congress is empowered to regulate commerce between the States, and has exclusive jurisdiction in the district of Columbia, to abolish slavery in the latter and to prohibit the internal slave-trade, through the federal government, are the chief political objects of the “fanatics” in the North.

* A motion lately made in the legislature of Vermont, to dismiss a resolution on the system of slavery in Columbia, was carried by a majority of 103 to 90 only. It will probably be contended, that these matters are to be regulated by the laws of Virginia and Maryland, some of which are still in force here. Such a principle seems to be the only way of explaining an expression used some years ago by Mr. Adams, to a deputation from Philadelphia to Washington:—“You have no more right to interfere with Columbia than I with Pennsylvania.”

At Washington, the pride of color is in full opera-

tion. Wherever, among the objects of its scorn, there are any who, by their talents or respectable conduct, are silently advancing those claims which force alone can put down, the utmost efforts are made to draft them off to another hemisphere. I found this to be invariably the case, whatever part of the country I visited. I was in company for two or three hours with several of this description here; and their observations all tended to the same conclusion. In those States where slave labor is unprofitable, (as I have before observed,) the transportation scheme is warmly supported, as it was at first started; where "great gain" is made out of the system, it is as warmly opposed, because it tends to keep up the price of what they deal in. The buyer, of course, says "it is naught": the seller knows better.

The changes that impend over communities may generally be seen in the expedients which those in power have adopted to counteract or retard them. The more absurd the plan, the more perplexed, it may be presumed, are the schemers, and the more certain is their discomfiture. It is the proper punishment of those who have not pursued "the best policy", that reason should desert those who have deserted justice. Never was this truth more clearly or more forcibly exemplified than in the conduct of Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky. They are dying under "a sore disease", and they have recourse to a

nostrum that compels its continuance, while it holds out the hope of its removal. They have overtraded in iniquity, and they are mortgaging their children's well-being by a fresh loan of wickedness. "Why", says a writer in the *Southern Agriculturist*, "has mirth deserted the halls of our forefathers? and why has the halloo of boyish revelry ceased to be heard through the spacious walks of our country gardens? Could those walks speak, or the shrubbery answer, they would tell us it was prodigality and bad management: it was because our fathers neglected to plant corn, pease, potatoes, and pumpions. Our forefathers had always raised enough of them on their plantations for all domestic purposes, without sacrificing their indigo crops to buy those essentials at an exorbitant price, when they were most needed; as our fathers often did afterwards in bartering their cotton for corn." If they had raised Indian corn, or any other essential, the result would have been the same; while the allurements of a high price for the staple they were raising was absorbing all the capital they could obtain into the vortex of speculation, without the possibility of withdrawing it. If a farmer or a manufacturer has hired machinery, whether inanimate or not, he can get rid of it when he can no longer employ it with a profit to himself. If he has bought it, he loses what it cost him, together with the interest, when he cannot find a purchaser. What is he to do, if it will not work, when his eye is not

upon it; and, whether it work or not, must be fed and clothed?

The disastrous effects produced by forced labor on the condition of the cultivator, were pointed out to me, unintentionally, by a Southerner whom I met one day at our Ambassador's table. I was observing to him that our law of descents, to which he said (I think erroneously) we are all so much attached, and with which he did not seem inclined to find fault, had not, I had good reason to believe, secured a longer duration of possession to our landholders than the farmers of New England enjoyed. "It often happens that one of the family takes the estate; and the others, receiving an equivalent for their sake, go off to the West." "It may be so in the East," was his reply. "Here the family and the estate both go off together. After an absence of twenty years, I found, on my return from Europe, that most of my friends had disappeared: their property had been sold—they were ruined."

The framers of the American constitution seem to have studiously avoided the use of the word "slave," while they took special care that the property and political power annexed to its possession should be secured. They retained the *thing* while they discarded the *term*, as if they were ashamed of proclaiming their inconsistency to the world. In the 2d Sect. of the 1st Art. of this celebrated document, it is said, "Representation and direct taxes shall be

apportioned among the several States, which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers; which shall be determined by adding to the whole numbers of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other *persons*." Again, alluding to the slave trade, (Sect. 9.) "The migration or importation of such *persons* as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person." This was drawn up and signed in 1787. Pretty well this for a people who complain that their ancestors forced slavery upon them! A singular way of shewing their abhorrence of the "fatal legacy entailed" upon them!

The only other allusion of the same kind is similarly guarded. It forms part of the 2d Sect. of the 4th Art., and is as follows: "No *person* held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, shall be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." To talk of a slave's labor being "due" to his master, is to insult common sense and common decency. While the latter can coin dollars out of the sweat and tears of his victim, he will do so. "The law allows it, and the court awards it." It is this clause, however, in

the constitution, which renders the free States tributaries to the ambition of the slave States, and accessaries to all their guilt;—makes the boasted asylum of the persecuted the prison-house of the unfortunate, and converts the guardians of liberty into the turnkeys of its assassins.

Such is the nature of that instrument of independence which is founded on the assertion and the refusal of the same equal rights; which guarantees the enjoyment of freedom on the condition of its violation, and requires, as the price of political union, the sacrifice of all that can make political existence honorable. It is literally and truly, “*propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas*”—to build the republican form on the destruction of the republican spirit.

The Hartford Convention, which was called to deliberate on what were thought executive usurpations during the last war with England, recommended a revision of the constitution. Speaking of the federal basis of representation, its report says, “It has proved unjust and unequal in its operation. Had this effect been foreseen, the privilege would probably not have been demanded;—certainly not conceded. Its tendency in future will be adverse to that harmony and mutual confidence, which are more conducive to the happiness and prosperity of every confederated State, than a mere preponderance of power—the prolific source of jealousies and controversy—can be to any one of them. The time may

therefore arrive, when a sense of magnanimity and justice will recommend those States to acquiesce in a revision of this article ; especially as a fair equivalent would result to them in the apportionment of taxes."

A long and memorable discussion on the meaning of the word " person ", took place in the lower house some seven or eight years back. A claim had been brought before it, by one Marigny d'Auterive, for compensation ; one of his slaves, who, with a horse and cart, had been impressed by General Jackson at New Orleans, having been wounded. The damages were laid at 230 dollars, or some such sum. The claim for the horse and cart was granted, but that for the man refused by the committee on claims. The house, however, decided in its favor, by a majority of four—just the number of members from the State of New York who voted on that side. From the time occupied by this debate, which was carried on, day after day, with extraordinary heat and pertinacity by both parties, it may fairly be calculated that it cost the nation 10,000 dollars, and probably nearly twice that sum, to ascertain the nature and extent of that property which can be given by human laws to one man over another ! The advocates for unmitigated and unqualified tyranny, pleading, for eight dollars a day, before the greatest and freest people under the sun, the right of placing a rational, immortal being, on the same level with an ox or a

jackass! The southern members displayed more than their usual sensitiveness on this occasion. Mr. Livingston was particularly indignant at the imputed attempt to deprive them of their most valuable "property." "Allow the claim," he said, "and you do no more than justice:—reject it on these principles and you shake the Union." Mr. Gurley said:—"Gentlemen say a master cannot kill his slave as he can his ox. This depends entirely upon the laws of the State in which he lives; and in no case can be urged against the right of property. Gentlemen should not forget, that the civil law, somewhat modified by statute, is the common law of Louisiana; and that, by the law of Rome, the master had absolute dominion over his slave, as he had over his child." "Slavery," exclaimed Mr. Mercer, "is as much a part of the constitution as the great right of representation; for though the word 'slave' is not used in that instrument, the condition is admitted. It is clothed with rights, and protected; and the laws of Congress, and the decisions of the supreme court, are practical and living illustrations of its being an integral part of our system of government."

Some of the northern members were inclined to "go the whole hog," as the phrase is. Mr. Everett, who had vindicated the system of slavery on a former occasion, and had, like the great enemy of human liberty, shewn that he could "quote Scripture

for his purpose," said:—"The claim is founded on that amendment to the constitution by which it is provided, that private property shall not be taken for the public service, without full compensation. If it had been suggested to introduce into this amendment of the constitution the words, "except slaves," it would certainly have prevented the adoption of the amendment, and might have proved destructive of the constitution itself. By rejecting this claim, we virtually introduce such a qualification into the constitution." He added—"If this service had been hired and not impressed, would not his owner, in letting him, have said—"this is no ordinary service * : I cannot consent to yield my slave on the common terms of compensation, as if

* This cold-blooded calculation is well illustrated in the following advertisement, which I found, among many others of the same kind, in a southern paper.

"Five hundred laborers wanted. We will employ the above number of laborers to work on the Muscle Shoals Canal, &c., at the rates of fifteen dollars per month, for twenty-six working days; or we will employ negroes by the year, or for a less time, as may suit the convenience of planters. We will also be responsible to slave-holders, who will hire their negroes to us, for any injury or damage that may *hereafter* happen in the progress of blasting rock, or the caving in of banks. For information in regard to the health of the men, the fare, &c., we would refer, &c.

"HENRY and KIBBE.

"May 24th, 1833."

The word "*hereafter*" seems to imply, that complaints had been made, or suspicions existed, against these contractors.

he were to work in a plantation or a garden. You are going to put him in the lines—within the fire of the enemy, where the risk of life is imminent, and my loss is likely to be in proportion.’ Such unquestionably would be the language of the owner; and, if he made the contract at all, it would be on condition of being indemnified for the risk.” Still stronger language was used;—but it is sickening to go through the details. Enough has been quoted to make an honest man blush for his species—for that part, at least, which, in spite of its folly and wickedness, still calls itself civilized and Christian.

“Society,” said one of the debaters, “has a right to the military services of a slave; because it protects his life by the punishment annexed to his murder.” The tie that connects duty and right is altogether wanting here. For whom—against whom is the slave to fight? The enemies of the community are not his enemies. He has no enemies out of his own country, and no friend but the Almighty. The past has no claim on his gratitude; and the future can excite no hope in his bosom. The isthmus that separates them is too narrow for a “Yankee” even to make a “notion” out of it.

The decision, to which the house came, gives, it may be observed, a direct bonus to slave-holding; as the owner thus obtains for his slave that indemnity which a master would not obtain for his apprentice.

What was the ultimate decision on D’Auterive’s

claim, which was returned to the committee, where it remained, for reconsideration, during the remainder of the session, I know not—I believe it was, subsequently, in its favor.

In addition to the letter with which I was entrusted for Mr. Everett, I brought one for Mr. Polk; who called on me the very day I left it at his house, and invited me to drink tea with him that evening. I was received with that urbanity which I experienced from every well-bred American, to whom I had the slightest introduction. One of his guests was the serjeant-at-arms of the senate; and to him I was indebted the next day for an introduction into the house; where I remained listening to a discussion which a long-standing claim of two or three hundred dollars elicited from the members. Whether anxiety to save the public money, or a wish to earn their wages by a commensurate quantity of words, were the moving cause of so much debating, the time spent on the question was amply sufficient to satisfy any reasonable demand for economy or eloquence. If so much talking were allowed in the State legislatures, the session, if protracted to twelve months, would hardly suffice for the business of the year. The federal government has comparatively but little to do; and oratory finds a double stimulus, which a long session produces in the shape of fame and dollars. No wonder, therefore, that three days are sometimes allotted to one speech,

and three months to one subject; since all parties have an interest in delay; and the speaker is not more pleased with the "golden opinions" he wins, than his listeners with the treasurer's draft for a more solid specimen of the same metal. What with the eight dollars a-day, and the mileage money, the honorable members of congress, if so disposed, might make a "pretty thing" of their attendance at Washington. Living is reasonable at the hotels, and still more so at the boarding houses;—so that it is easy to calculate the advantages of combining thrift with patriotism, and serving one's self, while one is serving one's country.

Mr. David Bucl, while delegate to the New York Convention, in 1821, declared that it had been an object with citizens in that State to obtain a seat in the legislature, for the purpose of making money out of the wages received for their public services.

By changing the mode of computation, one member of congress obtained more mileage by one half than another, who came from the same section of the country. In 1825, one senator from Missouri received 1700 dollars, while the other had 3300; though they both came from the same part of the State. Mr. Benton, of the senate, made a "constructive" journey from Washington to St. Louis and back during the night of March 3, 1825,—while lying in bed at the former place; and charged and received for his mileage about 2600 dollars. Mr.

Lyons from Kentucky "bagged" 276 dollars more than his due :—the difference arising from a charge for journeys by steam-boats on rivers, the sinuosities of which exceeded the usual distance by the road. As eight dollars are allowed per day for attendance, and the same sum for every twenty miles, which ought to be measured by the most usual road, it will be seen that long journeys and long speeches are equally profitable; and to deviate from the subject is as good a job as to deviate from the route.

In addition to wages and mileage, there is another source of gainful speculation for honorable legislators. It is the practice, it seems, from what passed in debate while I was at Washington, for government to favor them, occasionally, with a donation of certain works for their instruction and edification. Mr. King said, "Being determined not to have a library at the expense of the public, he had negotiated for the purchase of a work, which had been voted to members at the cost of 55,000 dollars. The bookseller offered him an order on the clerk for a copy, which he had purchased from a member. Still further to prove his assertion, he referred to a notorious instance—for there had been no concealment—of a senator (not now a member of the house) having sold for 900 dollars, to a foreign minister, the books he had received in this way for a single term of services."

After all, the representatives are probably worse

paid than lawyers and physicians ; as the remuneration for their services is below the ordinary profits of professional and commercial business ;—the interruption to which ought not to be omitted in the calculation.

A few days after, I had an opportunity of hearing Mr. Clay speak in the Senate on presenting a petition from the city of Troy, in the State of New York. The subject was the removal from the bank of the Union by the Secretary of the Treasury of the public moneys. He spoke for about three quarters of an hour in a clear and manly voice, with much facility of expression and energy of manner. He had a good head and an erect person, with no great degree of dignity or grace. His style was not that of a man who has much imagination himself, or thinks it worth his while to set that faculty to work in his hearers. I do not, indeed, remember having ever heard so little of metaphorical or allusive language employed under the excitement which a favorite topic might be expected to produce, during the same period, on an orator whose aim is persuasion as well as conviction. It would be unfair, however, to judge of the orator from a specimen upon a topic that had been worn thread-bare by frequent repetition during several months. Mr. Clay alluded very happily to the recent election at New York ; where the utmost efforts of the government party had resulted in a majority too contemptible to claim the

honors of a triumph. Out of 35,147 voters, (a greater number by 4621 than ever polled before,) the majority was but 170, or some equally insignificant amount; the anti-Jackson candidate for the mayoralty having a majority of more than 2400 in those wards where the greater part of the commercial wealth to be found in the city is situated. The Jackson majority of 6000, formerly carried, had melted away. The speaker congratulated (ironically) the president of the senate (Mr. Van Buren) on the great change in public opinion indicated by the circumstances attending this important struggle. The people, he said, would no longer submit to that power which had seized the sword and the purse—the chief instruments of despotism. One fact he mentioned was very remarkable, and of such a nature as to sink all party feeling in anxiety for the constitution. Two months before congress met, the executive had displaced the secretary of the treasury, (Duane,) to make room for one more obedient to his will (Taney); yet, though the legislature had been sitting for four months, the appointment had not yet been referred to the senate for their approval—an unprecedented omission on the part of the chief magistrate. In the course of the speech, what had passed in the other house was cited; and its members were emphatically declared to have evaded the question. The senator grew more impassioned as he proceeded, and exclaimed, in a voice of thunder: That he would

never confirm the appointment to office of any member of congress, till the constitution was restored; nor of any one, however high or humble, who had been an active partisan, or an abettor of those arbitrary acts, under which the commerce of the country had suffered so much and so long. Mr. Clay contrasted the flourishing condition exhibited, but a few months before, by those cities which grace and enrich the banks of the great north river, with the deranged and discontented state in which they then were; and alluded to the recent failure of no less than three banks in the district, within view of the dome, which rises above the halls of legislation. Mr. Clay's determination with regard to official appointments bestowed on the members of congress was strictly in accordance, as he stated, with the principles professed by the president, before his accession to office: but men in power have proverbially short memories. The orator trusted, in conclusion, that the house would concur with him in excluding from office all who had lent their aid to the wicked deeds of the administration.

The population of Washington, which amounted to 13,247 in 1820, exceeded 18,000 at the last census in 1830.

As commerce is not likely to desert Baltimore for the seat of the federal government, or encounter a successful rival at this point of the Potomac, it will be long before the original plan of the city is filled

up. Nor is it desirable that the healthy action of a body so vast, and expanding so rapidly, should be impeded or deranged by too great an influx to the heart.

I question whether a whole life, spent in the crowded streets of New York or Philadelphia, would be marked by one such occurrence as I witnessed at the Capitol. I was conversing with a man who had accosted me with the observation that it was a noble building; adding, on my assent, that there was nothing, since the time of Solomon's temple, to be found like it on the face of the earth. I remarked that the edifice was suited to the people. "True!" he replied, "we are the greatest nation under the sun. At the revolution we were but a handful of men: we are now as countless as the sands of the sea." While we were talking together, two boys, about twelve or fourteen years of age, stationed themselves in front of us; and one of them exhibited a drawing that he evidently wished us to take notice of. I did not at first pay any attention to what he was doing; when, happening to direct my eyes towards him, I saw but too plainly his intention. The subject of the painting he held was the most indecent—the most detestable it is possible to imagine. It cannot be described in proper terms. I remonstrated with him upon the enormity of his conduct; but he was so totally devoid of every feeling like modesty or shame, that he burst out into a laugh,

and withdrew with his companion, who was as depraved as himself. As for the man, he seemed to care very little about the matter or not to think it of any consequence.

There is a greater regard for decency even in Paris. A man in that city who offered for sale to myself and another Englishman some prints, which, from his manner, I conceived to be of a similar description, pleaded in excuse, when reproved for his conduct, that he wanted bread, or he would not be engaged in such a trade.

I discovered, soon after the lads had left us, that my companion had come to Washington from North Carolina for the purpose of buying slaves. He was about 600 miles from home, and it would take him about a month, he said, to get back: at an average cost per head of two dollars for his "coffle".

Soon after my rencontre with the North Carolinian, I was fortunate enough to get admittance into the body of the house of representatives; where the funeral service was performed for one of the members; the body being afterwards carried thence to the burying ground, which is upwards of a mile from the Capitol. Temporary deafness prevented me from deriving benefit from the prayer or the sermon. This inconvenience had so completely baffled the object of two or three visits I had before made to the gallery, as to convert the eloquence below into mere gesticulation. Its partial removal,

and a favorable position in the other house, enabled me to catch distinctly both the tones of Mr. Clay's sonorous voice, and much of what was said by others. On the present occasion I had no resource but patience.

It was about midday, when the members of the two houses of Congress, the President and his "cabinet" were assembled; the body having been placed in front of the speaker's chair. There were not many visitors; an unusual number of deaths in the legislature having deprived the ceremony of its novelty. One of the events alluded to was the very shocking manner in which a member had terminated his existence with his own hand, under the influence of temporary derangement of mind, brought on by habits of intemperance that had obtained an uncontrollable mastery over his will. The greater part of the audience, exclusive of those who attended officially, consisted of females; some of whom were below, and some in the gallery appropriated, with more Gallic than British gallantry, to the fair sex. The average age of the members appeared to be about forty. I was told it was forty-five. Taking either, or a lower number, as the correct one, it shews how unnecessary it is to require any qualification of the kind. Twenty-five is the minimum age in the house of representatives, as thirty is that in the senate. Matters of this sort are best decided by the electors, who need not look into

a man's rent-roll or registry of birth for his intellect and integrity. Out of 126 delegates who composed the New York Convention, there was but one under thirty years of age:—there were forty-five between forty and fifty; and the same number between fifty and sixty: while between thirty and forty, the number was twenty-three only. The rest were from sixty to eighty.

As the procession was moving off towards the place of interment, I fell in with the serjeant-at-arms of the Senate, and went with him to the ground in one of the hackney coaches provided for the day. There were about 100 of them. In the coach with us, I recognised a lad, who had very politely given up his seat to me a short time before. As such marks of courtesy are not of very frequent occurrence in the country,—I had not been fortunate enough to see an instance of the kind before,—I took the opportunity of expressing my acknowledgements to him, and regretting that the rising generation were not taught the propriety of paying more attention to the minor duties of social life. I found he was in the same office with this gentleman, who made it a point to encourage the laudable habit; I may add, not less by example than by precept. It would be as well if there were more of these school-masters abroad. After the customary rites at the grave had been performed, the spectators and auditors dispersed.

The burying ground is neatly laid out with ever-

greens and monuments. Those erected for the members of congress are plain, and all in the same style. It might be seen, by the paucity of them, that the ceremony I had witnessed is not often performed.

I was again attracted to the Senate by the expectation of hearing the renewal of an unusually animated debate on a still more unusual message from the President; who had sent a sort of protest against the resolutions of the House on the absorbing question of the deposits: rebuking it for having, as he asserted, gone beyond the limits of its legislative functions; and insisting on his own prerogatives. The lobby and galleries were crowded long before twelve o'clock,—the hour of commencing business. There were a great many women in the former:—I beg their pardon!—I should say, ladies*. I observed to a lady with whom I was conversing, that I thought the American women dressed with greater taste than the English. Her reply reminded me of the distinction I have just pointed out. I do not know whether she understood the purport of my remark.

* A similar affectation prevails in England. There are no women among our higher classes;—they are all “persons”; and the men are fast disappearing in the same manner. Why do not the Americans laugh at our follies, instead of wincing at the exposure of their own? A Yankee Juvenal might find more employment for Democritus in London, than his prototype could have found for him in Rome.

I spoke of the sex in general. I am equally at a loss to know whether her observations were limited to the species. I changed my ground, and varied the phraseology with the subject. The same word responded to every variation. I meant nothing disrespectful; and if the phrase so constantly used by my fair neighbor be more appropriate to "Nature's last best work", be it so: I should be the last man to refuse the title, while I am the first to acknowledge the claim.

But I am forgetting President Jackson, while touching upon a much more agreeable subject.

After some preliminary matters had been gone through, Mr. Leigh, of Virginia, the expected orator of the day, rose from his seat, within a few yards of which I was standing, and addressed the House. His manner was mild, but forcible; and his person, though plain and unpretending, commanded attention. He seemed to be deeply impressed with the importance of the subject before him; and to be more influenced by a sense of duty to his country than by any party-feeling of hostility, or predilection. He drew a distinction, at the commencement of his speech, between the respectful moderation of language and the arbitrary spirit in motive and purport, exhibited in the protest which the executive had thought fit to make against the resolutions passed by the House upon his conduct in removing the public deposits from the custody appointed by Con-

gress, and declared by them to be secure. He pointed out the inconsistency of denying the right to blame him, while he accepted with pleasure the resolutions of the same body in his favor. While one House had exceeded its legislative limits, the other was strictly within them; though both had passed judgment upon the chief head of the government,—the sole difference being that the latter had eulogized and supported him. Allusion was made in the message to some of the senators, who had voted contrary to the instructions they had received from their constituents. This interference with the privileges and duties of the House, was at once to influence its deliberations and shackle its independence; and when it was asserted that “Congress could not take out of the hands of the executive department the custody of the public property, without an assumption of executive power, and a subversion of the first principles of the constitution”, the sovereign power, if the attempt were not resisted, would be placed in the hands of the president; and the other parts of the government would have nothing to do but to register his edicts, and confirm his appointments. Such a prerogative was never claimed by any king of England; and no minister would dare to take down such a message to either House of the British legislature. “When Dunning’s memorable resolutions were passed,” exclaimed the senator, “did the elder Pitt,—one of the proudest men that

ever existed,—did *he* come down to the House of Commons, and tell them from his master that they had wandered from their legislative functions, and had condemned, without an impeachment, their sovereign? There was no man but one who would venture upon such a step; and that man was Andrew Jackson.”

Mr. Leigh, having very successfully exposed the fallacies and false principles which the document in question contained, and its tendency to subvert the constitution, expressed his entire concurrence in the motion that the message should not be received. There was something so impressive in the tone of his voice, the unaffected order in which he arranged his ideas and his language, the ease with which he delivered his sentiments, and the solemn manner in which he expressed his conviction of the great emergency the nation was placed in, and his resolution to defend the constitution by defending the privileges of the senate,—that my ideas of the importance of this branch of the legislature, and the dignity which attends its proceedings, were much more highly raised than by what I had heard from Mr. Clay, or any other member.

Mr. Leigh succeeded Mr. Rives, as one of the senators from Virginia, the latter having resigned his seat in consequence of a declaration from the legislature of that State in opposition to the measures of the federal administration. Mr. Leigh, however,

had previously declared his resolution to obey the dictates of his own judgement as a legislator, and not to consider himself the mere "agent and advocate," as Burke calls it, of those whose interests he was to take care of.

An incident took place while Mr. Leigh was on his legs, that shewed how sensitive the supporters of the government are to any thing like the loss of popularity. An allusion made by him to the bill, by which Mr. Clay had, for the time, pacified the nullifiers, elicited from the gallery the mixed sounds of applause and disapprobation. The former, it is to be presumed, predominated, since Mr. Benton—as closely united by personal and political friendship to the president, as he was formerly separated from him by the most deadly hatred—rose abruptly from his seat, and ordering the galleries to be cleared by the proper officer, moved that the disturbers should be taken into eustody by the serjeant-at-arms. This was as promptly opposed; it being impossible to discover the offenders, and to issue a general warrant would be an odious measure. The gallery was cleared, not without remonstrance or resistance; as dirks were drawn on the occasion, and Mr. Benton hoped he should not be represented, by the gentlemen he saw taking notes, as a friend to general warrants. If any one present dared to throw such an imputation upon him, he called upon him to come forward with the charge.

The senate subsequently refused, by a majority of twenty-seven to sixteen, to place the President's protest on the journals of the house. This rejected reproof was aimed at the following condemnation of the reprover by the Senate:—"Resolved, that the President, in the late executive proceedings, in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both." The above was offered by Mr. Clay, Dec. 26, 1833, and passed March 28, 1834, by a majority of 26 to 20.

CHAPTER XVII.

Bank Deposits.—System of Credit.—Mercantile Failures.—Principle of Federal Bank.—Paper Money.—Safety Fund of New York.—Fallacies about Bankers.—Whigs and Tories.—Mr. Van Buren; rejected by the Senate.—Reasons.—Senate not aristocratical.—Party Feeling.—Post Office.—Purity of Bag secured.—Franking.—Assaults upon Members.—Duelling.—President Jackson a Soul-driver.—Abolition of Slave-trade.—Principles of Federal Union illusory.

THE government deposits were removed from the custody of the Bank of the United States about the beginning of October 1833. From that time to April 1st, 1834, the Bank reduced its loans to the amount of rather more than five millions and a half of dollars; while it underwent, during the same period, a reduction of the public moneys of 7,778,403 dollars.

According to Mr. Hardin, (representative from Kentucky,) the whole amount of deposits removed or withheld from the bank was 11,485,525 dollars. The "pet" banks (as those were called to which they were transferred) had but 3,386,309 dollars in

specie in their vaults, while the notes they had issued amounted to more than ten millions. It was objected to the Bank of the United States, that there were ten millions of dollars lying in its vaults, at the time when the removal of the public revenues took place. It seemed as if the executive indignation increased with the security of the treasure he wished to protect, and could only be appeased by its destruction. The Manhattan Bank, at New York, which is under the influence of a foreigner, (Lord Carmarthen,) got the largest share of the government favors, though its specie was but 208,545 dollars, while its notes were 468,422—a sorry equivalent for 2,149,011 dollars, which were entrusted to its custody by the guardian of the national purse.

The president, in his veto message, after declaring that the Bank of the United States makes by its monopoly, greater profits than any other corporate establishment; and that more than one-fourth of the stock-holders are foreigners; infers, from the competition which had recently led almost to riots, in order to obtain shares in the local banks, that there is abundance of capital in the country, sufficient to obtain subscriptions for two hundred millions of dollars to a national bank on constitutional principles. If this be the case, how comes it that American capitalists are contented with smaller profits to be had from other investments? And why should it be said, that “it would seem expedient to pro-

hibit the sale of United States' bank stock to aliens under penalty of absolute forfeiture?" That capital should be abundant in a new country, possessed of boundless tracts of fertile land still unoccupied—where profits are high, population is increasing with a rapidity hitherto unknown, and every brick and every clod are mortgaged, to bring its physical powers into immediate exercise, involves a contradiction that implies either sinister design or extraordinary confusion of ideas. The appeal to vulgar prejudices that would reject capital because it is supplied by foreigners, is unworthy of a statesman, who ought to know, that to deprive the lender of the benefit he expects is to punish the borrower, who gains, in the difference between the interest he pays and the profit he makes, what the merchant finds in the increased value of the goods he imports beyond what he has given in exchange. In the one case the foreign capital is in the money; in the other in the merchandize. In both it is accumulated labor from without, setting dormant labor to work within,—the products being shared between the respective proprietors. It is singular, that to lend capital to foreigners, is thought by many as inconsistent with true patriotism, as to borrow it of them appears to be to the President; as if it were not both natural and just, that those who suffer by having too much of a good thing, should send it to those who suffer by having too little;—thus esta-

blishing a commerce of reciprocal accommodation and relief.

The "kitchen cabinet" and the colonization society emulate each other in absurdity. The latter would send away nearly three millions of its best hands, while the country is looking to Europe for fresh importations of labor; and the former would refuse capital from abroad, though every one is crying out that the suffering is intolerable for want of it at home.

The business of England may be said to be carried on by stored labor, and that of the United States by contingent labor; the one being as much characterised by an excess of capital, as the other by the want of it. The results in each correspond with these peculiarities; and the competition to escape from low profits, is as great as that to make high profits. The system of trading upon credit has, in the latter country, been carried to a ruinous extent. The facility with which bills are endorsed, and mutual accommodation procured, has exposed commerce to reverses and expedients unknown in the old world; and the tendency to erect mercantile enterprise on the basis of borrowing, is such as to present the spectacle of a nation, composed, in a great degree, of individuals who have mortgaged their bones and muscles to the exigencies and speculations of the moment.

It will be apparent to every one, that the slightest

shock given to any part of such a system, would be communicated with electric rapidity throughout the whole. What, then, must have been the confusion and consternation, when the great sensorium, by which the action of every bank, and the movement of every member of the commercial body, corporate or individual, are regulated, was suddenly and violently attacked? No sooner was it known that the government had withdrawn its cash and its confidence from the federal bank, than a curtailment of discounts, an inability to meet existing engagements, and an unwillingness to afford the usual accommodations, produced an universal demand for money, and a necessary enhancement of its price. Every day announced the fall of some establishment or some house, that in other times might easily have extricated itself from its difficulties. The frequency of failures was such as to become the first subject of inquiry and the chief topic of conversation. The resentment of the president increased with the indignation his conduct excited every where, and the unflinching firmness exhibited by the enemy. The bank would not submit to be his tool; and the merchants would not sacrifice themselves to his anger and his ambition. The capitalists and shopkeepers could not see the advantages of his great "experiment"—they did not believe that banks grow wealthy at the expense of the community—that the rich oppress the poor, and that a

metallic currency is alone suited to a young and commercial country.

As each State has its own banking system, the inconvenience arising from the diversity of value that difference of situation, of industry, or of prudence, stamps upon their respective currencies, is such as to require some common standard, the fluctuations of which may vary with the general condition only of the country, and not be subject, like local notes, to a discount in one place, while it is at par, or at a premium, in another.

There is some sort of analogy between the Bank of the United States and the supreme court; the former performing similar functions towards the local establishments, that the latter does towards the States themselves. The paper of the one, and the decisions of the other, are current throughout the Union; because the one is received in payment of taxes, and the other admit of no appeal; while the banks and courts peculiar to each member of the confederation, put forth nothing binding, beyond their respective limits, upon the citizens of their common country. A superintending power is required, as much to balance fluctuating values, as to regulate conflicting claims; and a standard, by which the rights of all, whether political or pecuniary, may be definitely adjusted and assimilated, is equally indispensable. Before the present Bank of the United States was organized, the exchanges in

Philadelphia were, with Boston seventeen per cent., with New York nine and a half per cent., with Baltimore four and a half, with Washington seven, and with Charleston six and a half per cent. They have since been either at par, or below one per cent. Such was the Report of the Board of Directors in 1831. An instrument better fitted to consolidate and harmonize the jarring elements of the commercial world could hardly have been invented; and the constitution will be no longer worth preserving, when it falls by a weapon of its own creation.

Though President Jackson and his organs of the press, both high and low, are declared enemies of paper money, yet his chief supporters not only maintain the system he attacks, but derive the principal means of the strength they exert in his favor, from a most cunningly devised scheme for the perpetuation of what he professes to detest. I allude to the safety fund of New York; a sort of political lever, by which the Albany regency can move the whole State at its pleasure. This was adopted in 1819. All banking corporations, subsequently created or re-chartered, are obliged to contribute to it. The amount of their aggregate capital is 22,730,264 dollars. Sixty-nine banks are subject to it, and ten not so. Nearly twenty-eight millions of capital belong to the State banks. Since these calculations, however, were made, new establishments have been formed, and the number of applications to the legislature for

a charter seems to be increasing. Each of the tributary banks pays one-half per cent. on its capital, till the whole contribution amounts to three per cent.; and, in case of failure, it has a claim on the fund for all its debts beyond its assets. The interest of this fund belongs to the contributors, in proportion to what they have advanced; and all deficiencies in the capital, arising from the discharge of its obligations towards insolvents, are made up by further levies, according to the former ratio. The whole fund is about 300,000 dollars.

Of course there is much diversity of opinion with respect to the expediency and justice of this system; and party feeling is imputed alike to its advocates and its opponents; the latter viewing it as a dangerous instrument in the hands of the Albany regency, and the former representing it as a weapon of defence against the "*Mammoth*" Bank of the United States. It would require a more intimate knowledge of the position and politics of the country, than a stranger may be supposed to possess, to strike the balance exactly between these conflicting accusations, and decide whether Nicholas Biddle is more likely to upset the constitution, by awing the State banks, and corrupting the Congress, than Martin Van Buren by giving charters to the one, and sending members to the other, as may best serve the objects of his ambition. It seems, however, to be a fair objection to the system, that the benefits of this "mu-

tual insurance" are all on one side;—that the rich are made to pay for the poor; and the weakest establishments are supported at the expense of the strongest. The paternal interposition of government has thus the usual effect of producing the very evil it was intended to prevent or remedy; by making the protection it offers an inducement to the speculation it professes to limit, and checking the natural check to over issues, which would have been found in the fear of loss it has removed, and the jealousy of rivals it has disarmed.

A statement made, about the time of these discussions upon the bank questions, in the legislature of Massachusetts, by one of the members, (Mr. Cushing,) affords a sufficient answer to the assertion, so confidently made by the Jackson party, that banking establishments are made to enrich the wealthy by the plunder of the poor. Out of 10,000 shares in a bank, the books of which he had himself inspected, Mr. Cushing found that 2834 belonged to women, trustees and guardians;—2247 to public institutions;—1551 to capitalists;—and the remaining 3360 to persons in the industrious classes of society.

The two great parties, by which the country is rather distracted than divided, are known by the appellation of Whigs and Tories;—to designate the opponents and the friends of the existing administration. They are animated with as much rancor

towards each other as their prototypes;—but not with equal benefit to the community, who have no privileges to gain as the price of siding with either.

The hostility that exists between them is embittered by considerations of a personal nature; more particularly those connected with the change of ministers that followed their declining to visit the wife of one of them, (Mr. Eaton,) and the refusal of the senate to confirm Mr. Van Buren's appointment as minister to England. The influence of the latter "at court" appears to have been strengthened in both cases; though he was but a mediator in the one, while he was the principal actor in the other. The president, no doubt, found an additional reason for his favor and support in the injustice which his party loudly proclaimed had been done to his secretary on this occasion. Yet the objections, upon which the senate's refusal was grounded, were of such a nature as to place them beyond the limits of mere party feeling. It was alleged against Mr. Van Buren, that he had compromised the dignity of the republic, by exposing the dissensions which existed in it, and by claiming a sort of merit with a foreign power for the adoption of a more conciliatory tone on the part of the government, for which he was acting, than had been shewn by its predecessor.

In allusion to the protracted difficulties to which the trade between the United States and our West

Indian possessions had given rise, the secretary of state (Mr. Van Buren) had instructed Mr. McLane, the American minister at the Court of St. James's, to comply with the conditions proposed. The following language was employed by him, while speaking of the course pursued by the former administration on the subject of the colonial trade:—"Their views upon that point have been submitted to the people of the United States; and the counsels by which your conduct is now directed, are the result of the judgment expressed by the only earthly tribunal to which the late administration is amenable for its acts. It should be sufficient that the claims, set up by them, and which caused the interruption of the trade in question, have been explicitly abandoned by those who first asserted them, and are not revived by their successors. If Great Britain deems it adverse to her interests to allow us to participate in the trade with her colonies, and finds nothing, in the extension of it to others, to induce her to apply the same rule to us, she will, we hope, be sensible of the propriety of placing her refusal on those grounds. To set up the acts of the late administration as the cause of the forfeiture of privileges which would otherwise be extended to the people of the United States, would, under existing circumstances, be unjust in itself, and could not fail to excite their deepest sensibility. The tone of feeling, which a course so unwise and untenable is calculated to produce, would

doubtless be greatly aggravated by the consciousness that Great Britain has, by order in council, opened her colonial ports to Russia and France, notwithstanding a similar omission on their part, to accept the terms offered by the act of July, 1825.

“ You cannot press this view of the subject too earnestly upon the consideration of the British ministry. It has bearings and relations that reach beyond the immediate question under discussion.”

In another passage the secretary says:—“ I will add nothing as to the impropriety of suffering any feelings that find their origin in the past pretensions of this government, to have an adverse influence upon the present conduct of Great Britain.”

Mr. Van Buren now presides over the deliberations of that very body which declared him unworthy of representing the nation at a foreign court, and acts as the head of an assembly, which his party have denounced as aristocratical and arbitrary: not that there is any ground for the imputation, but because it stands in the way of their designs. The senate represents the States as the other house represents individuals; and the federal equality could no more exist without it, than the constitution could be impartially and equitably administered without a judiciary of ultimate appeal in the supreme court of the federal union.

Among the resolutions which were passed by the seventh ward of the city of New York, preparatory

to the charter elections, was the following:—"That in Martin Van Buren, Vice-President of the United States, elected by the people in REBUKE to preside over the aristocratic branch of our government, not elected by the people, we place entire confidence, and we have no fears but that the vessel of the State," &c.

There is no analogy whatever between the Senate of the United States and the British House of Peers; nor can there be a grosser imposition upon the public mind, than that which is involved in the attempt made by the Van Burenites to convict it, whether in its structure or its functions, of aristocratic tendencies. It is essential to the stability of an union between independent republics; as, by equality of State representation, it confers on the citizens, taken collectively, the same equality which they have individually through the other legislative body. With respect to rights, the States are thus placed in the same relation to each other, as their constituent parts stand in among themselves: and the whole body is balanced by the same principle that regulates and controls its members. The mode of their election cannot confer a new nature upon the members of the senate, or convert the representatives of democratic legislatures into aristocratic functionaries.

Party feeling is the bane of the country; and its tools are purchased at the expense of the commu-

nity. Its lamentable effects may be seen in the embarrassed state of the post office; the appointments to which are too often decided by political preferences. "Every deputy postmaster is directed"—such was the assertion publicly made by Mr. Burges, at a dinner given to him at New York, in 1831,—"to insert in his return the title of every newspaper received at his office for distribution." When Mr. M'Lean, in 1829, left the department, in which he was not thought sufficiently pliable, and was promoted to the bench of the supreme court, the duties of postmaster-general, during the vacancy, which continued a month, were performed by Mr. Bradley, who had been the senior-assistant for thirty years. Mr. Bradley was displaced from his office, without any cause being assigned, and after the nomination of Mr. Barry to the head of the department. In a letter to the president, after his dismissal, among other charges of prodigality which he alleged against Mr. Barry, the late assistant postmaster accused him of having made an extra allowance to a mail-contractor without warrant of law. The charge was retorted on the accuser; and upon inquiry, it came out, before a sub-committee of the Senate, that no less than thirty-six cases of the same kind, involving an amount of nearly 40,000 dollars, existed. In all of these, erasures had been made in the book of "Abstracts of Allowance"; and the name of Bradley substituted for those of M'Lean

and Barry, by whom the allowance had, in fact, been made, and who had been, long before this, presented to the president for extravagance on this very account. The Senate, finding that the postmaster-general had, in answer to their call, sent them mutilated and false documents, refused to print the report of the committee on the post-office department, as it contained unfounded aspersions on the character of a public servant—Mr. M'Lean having declared that he had never made an allowance while he was in the office of postmaster-general. Mr. Clayton, a member of the post-office committee, observed in the Senate, last session, that the abuses in that department were too numerous to be ever ascertained. The fire at the Treasury office was found very convenient as an excuse for the non-production of papers and documents; though the president had stated, in his message to congress, that none were lost which would materially affect the public interest.

More public functionaries are said to have been displaced by the present administration than by all the preceding presidents collectively.

The rapidity with which the post-office has extended its fibres over the body politic of the Union, and the increase of returns, which has marked its circulation, are truly astonishing. At the commencement of the century, there were but 903 offices attached to this department. In 1833, there were

10,127. At the former period, the distance travelled over by the mails was 20,817 miles ; and the amount of postage, 280,804 dollars,—leaving a net revenue of 66,810 dollars. At the latter period, the number of miles had increased to 119,916 ; and the receipts to 2,616,538 dollars ;—leaving, thanks to the liberal management of Mr. Barry, a balance against the Treasury of 192,135 dollars. On the 1st of July, 1833, the whole ground annually passed over by the mail had nearly doubled itself in four years, being 26,854,485 miles. The amount of the receipts for the year ending with March, 1833, was, according to a report laid before Congress by the postmaster-general, 1,701,332 dollars. Of this sum the city of New York alone paid more than one tenth ; and the State nearly one fourth. The number of post-offices was 9550.

Congress is as suspicious and distrustful of the colored people as Canterbury. The following is a copy of a letter from the postmaster-general, in 1828, to one of his subordinates in Connecticut :—
“ Sir,—The mail must not, in any case whatever, be in the custody of a colored person. If a colored person is employed to lift the mail from the stage into the post-office, it does not pass into his custody ; but the labor is performed in the presence and under the immediate direction of the white person who has it in custody : but if a colored person takes it from a tavern, and carries it himself to the post-office, it

comes into his custody during the time of carrying it,—which is contrary to law. I am, &c. John M'Lean."

Who would believe that there existed a civilized nation, where it is illegal for any but a "white person" to carry a heavy bag, locked, chained, and studded with nails!—*Nimium ne crede colori!* While the black man is prohibited from carrying the mail, the white man plunders its contents. Instances were frequently mentioned in the newspapers, of postmasters who had been detected in embezzling money from letters entrusted to their care. No less than twelve cases, it was stated, occurred within six months to the east of Portland, in the State of Maine.

There was a deficit in the department of nearly 40,000 dollars in 1823. The postmaster attributed it to the delinquencies committed by the lower functionaries. "It is expected," he said, in his circular to the contractors for the mail, "that those postmasters who have appropriated the public money to their own use, and have for years exhibited but little disposition to refund it, will pay their respective balances without delay." This is almost as bad as if the unhallowed hand of an "African" had laid hold of the bag!

The postmaster-general has the appointment of all the subordinate postmasters throughout the Union. This patronage gives him immense power

and influence; and, as he is removable by the Executive, the latter has in his hands an instrument, which a man, who is disposed to put his own arbitrary spirit into the letter of his prerogative, will not scruple to use, to strengthen his party. These "dovecotes" have been terribly "fluttered" under the present administration:—a summary mode of persuasion to "all in authority under them." A man must have a pure skin to carry the bag; but will a pure conscience keep him in the place where it is deposited?

Members of both Houses of Congress have, during the session, and for both the periods of six weeks that precede and follow it, the unlimited privilege of franking letters; and are, many of them, as little scrupulous in converting what was granted for public purposes, to objects of private benefit, as their brother legislators in England. Mr. Barry, soon after his appointment to the office he now holds, stated in his circular to those under him, that it was a subject of no little regret, to observe, on entering upon his official duties, that much loss had been sustained by the abuse of the franking privilege.

Among those who fell victims to the cholera last year at Huron, in the State of Ohio, was a lawyer of the name of Robinson, from Vermont. Among his papers were found forty sheets of blank letter-paper, bearing the frank of the Honorable Mr. Plummer,

Member of Congress from Mississippi. In his trunk there were political letters, addressed to him by various correspondents, all franked by the same honorable member. "It was ascertained" (says the Albany Evening Post, Aug. 1834) "that Mr. Robinson had put in, and taken out of, the post-office several letters, all bearing the same frank."

Liberty of speech can hardly be said to exist in a legislative body, which cannot, or will not, protect its members from insult and outrage, whether within or without its walls. In the summer of 1832, the Globe, a government paper, publicly accused Mr. Poindexter, and others of the "Calhoun side of the coalition," of having, during the winter preceding, sent challenges to their fellow members while sitting in their places in the house. A short time before, William Stanberry, a member of the house of representatives, was, to use his own words in his letter to the Speaker, "waylaid in the street, near his boarding-house, about eight o'clock, and attacked, knocked down by a bludgeon, and severely bruised and wounded by Samuel Houston, for words spoken in his place in the house of representatives; by reason of which beating he was confined to his bed, and unable to discharge his duties in the house, and attend to the interests of his constituents." On investigation, it appeared that two or three persons were present when the assault was made; and though the beating was continued, with the consequent struggle, for some

time, no one interposed to separate the parties engaged; of whom the one attacked drew forth a pistol, with which he was provided in anticipation of the outrage, and snapped it, without effect, at his aggressor. The matter was laid before the house, and, several long and adjourned discussions ensued, during which the accused (who had been formerly a member of the house) was permitted to cross-examine the witnesses upon points, bearing not only upon the assault, but upon matters which might be presumed to have led to it; and the other party endeavored to remove, by testimony, any impression that circumstances "calculated to throw disgrace and ridicule" upon him, as they were said to have occurred during the rencontre, might have left. The whole resulted in a reprimand from the Speaker, and a discharge from the custody of the sergent-at-arms, to which the assailant had been committed. During the examination, the prisoner was allowed to put the following question from the bar of the house to one of the witnesses, an intimate friend of Mr. Stanberry, whose feelings must have been much hurt by the answer given:—"Did or did not Colonel Buckner remark to you that Mr. Stanberry behaved very cowardly, and begged very much; and that he deserved a good whipping for not making a better fight,—or words to that effect?—and did you not express to Colonel Buckner your regret at the conduct of said Stanberry, as related by Buckner in that affair?"

The following protest, from Mr. Houston, was entered on the journal of the house; Mr. Archer having assured the members, before it was read, that it contained nothing disrespectful:—

“ To the Honorable the House, &c.

“ The accused, now at the bar of the House, asks leave respectfully to state:—

“ That he understands he is now brought before the House to receive a reprimand from the Speaker, in execution of the sentence pronounced upon him. Was he to submit in silence to such a sentence, it might imply that he recognized the authority of the House to impose it. He cannot consent that it shall be thus implied. He considers it a mode of punishment unknown to our laws; and if not forbidden by the prohibition of the constitution against ‘ unusual punishments ’, yet inconsistent with the spirit of our institutions, and unfit to be inflicted upon a free citizen.

“ He thinks proper to add, in making this declaration, that he has been unwilling to trouble the House. That, though he believes the whole proceeding against him, as well as the sentence he now objects to, unwarranted by the constitution of his country; yet circumstances may exist to justify or excuse a citizen in determining (as he has done on this occasion) to suffer in silent patience whatever the House may think proper to enforce. Samuel Houston.”

After this business had been disposed of, Mr. Cooke, of Ohio, produced the following letter, which was read to the House at the clerk's table.

"HON. E. COOKE.

"Brown's Hotel, May 12, 1832.

"SIR,

"During my examination before the House of Representatives, in the case of General Houston, you very impertinently asked, among other questions, my business in this city. Whilst the trial of General Houston was pending, I deferred calling on you for the explanation which I now demand through my friend General Demitry.

"I am, &c.,

"E. S. DAVIS."

Mr. Arnold, of Tennessee, having said, in answer to certain remarks which this communication had elicited, that "he believed the letter and the threat preceding it, were intended to overawe the House, which had, by its own act, virtually invoked insult and outrage from every ruffian in the land; and that the decision in the case of Houston amounted to a call, an invitation to all ruffians and assassins that could be collected, and were propelled by a secret power that was irresistible;" Mr. Stanberry rose and said, that "he had on a former occasion declared that the President of the United States had

encouraged assaults of this nature; and there was not a gentleman on the floor, who had ventured to contradict the assertion. He had then offered to prove it: he now reiterated that offer. He was prepared with witnesses; and, in half an hour, would have them before the house." Mr. Stanberry wished that an inquiry into the president's conduct should be one of the objects of the committee proposed on this occasion; but he was defeated by a call for the previous resolution,—which, when modified, stood thus:—"Resolved, that the communication of the Honorable E. Cooke, a member from Ohio, be referred to a select committee, consisting of seven members, to report the fact, and their opinion whether the same establish a contempt and breach of privilege of this house or not; and that said committee have power to send for persons and papers." This was negatived by eighty-seven to eighty-five; as was also, on a subsequent day, an effort made to pass certain resolutions, of which one was, "that a select committee should be appointed, with instructions to inquire and report what measures are necessary to protect the lives and persons of the representatives of the people in this house, and to secure to them their constitutional privileges of freedom of speech and deliberation." The majority here was ninety-five to eighty-one.

On the 15th of May, Mr. Arnold was assaulted by a man of the name of Heard, who had, a few days

previously, accosted him and threatened to " whip" him, for having abused his friend Mr. Houston so severely. On his way home, according to the United States' Telegraph, " he was assaulted by Morgan A. Heard, who aimed a blow at his head with a large stick. Mr. Arnold dodged the blow, and immediately struck the stick from his adversary's hands; whereupon Heard drew a large duelling pistol, cut down to about eight inches in the barrel, carrying an ounce ball; and, after taking deliberate aim, fired; the ball passing through the sleeve of the right arm, just above the elbow, ranging up to the shoulder, and carrying away part of the coat and shirt, and lacerating the arm. Mr. Arnold, finding Heard armed with a pistol, followed up his blows with a light sword-cane, until the scabbard flew off; and, having several times knocked him down, was in the attitude of piercing him with the sword, when his arm was arrested by General Duncan, of Illinois."

Bills of indictment were found by the grand jury for the county of Washington, against Houston and Heard for assault with intent to kill; but what was the result I know not.

Severe laws have been passed in the different States against duelling; but they are constantly broken or evaded. Difficulty of procuring evidence, or change of territory, shelters the offenders. And it will always be so while public opinion, however wrong, has more terrors than remorse for acknow-

ledged guilt. Besides, the punishment that the law inflicts falls on the wrong object. It is not he who fights, but he who would condemn him for not fighting, that ought to be its victim. Though very common in the South, duelling is scarcely ever practised in the North, where no laurels are to be gained, and no danger to be arrested, by an exhibition of physical courage. The melancholy sacrifice of one of the best public men, by the hand of one of the worst, has not tended to lessen the disinclination of settling disputes by single combat. Hamilton left on record the disapprobation he had always felt against a practice which Burr turned into a weapon of destruction against him. Who is to blame, if a degraded statesman seeks to wash his character in the blood of an opponent, and picks out the most estimable citizen as the object of his vengeance? The world will give him credit for personal bravery, when he has lost his character for political principle or consistency. The distinction between public and private virtue is fatal to both, by covering the loss of either with the semblance of the other. Hence it is that convicted swindlers become patriots, and a corruptionist blusters about his honor, or cants about his religion.

When Mr. Clay had fought with John Randolph, he said publicly, "I owe it to the community to say, that, whatever heretofore I may have done, or by inevitable circumstances may be forced to do, no man in it holds in deeper abhorrence than I do, the

pernicious practice of duelling. Condemned, as it must be, by the judgment and philosophy, to say nothing of the religion, of every thinking man,—it is an affair of feeling, about which we cannot, although we should, reason. The true corrective will be found when all shall unite, as all ought to unite, in its unqualified proscription." In other words, no one will practise it when—no one will practise it. Public opinion will triumph then, as it does now, and for the same reason,—because those who are falsely supposed to direct it will not dare to oppose it. To defer the exercise of moral courage till it is not wanted, is to encourage the weakness, against which it should be directed:—a weakness that will never cease while men condemn it and yield to it at the same time, without fear of being laughed at.

Hamilton, before he went out with Burr, who shot him, declared that his religious and moral principles were strongly opposed to duelling. After he had received the fatal wound, he said, "I view the late transaction with sorrow and contrition." This cowardly fear of being thought cowardly, is like our vulgar fear of being thought vulgar.

The accusation of encouraging assaults upon his political opponents, is not the only, or perhaps the most unfavorable, imputation upon the character of the president; though an expression he once used, in speaking of these or similar quarrels, that they ought to be settled in "red ink," implies an atrocity

of disposition that may set at defiance any act of his life. I allude to a letter which appeared in May 1828, in the National Journal of Tennessee. The following is a copy:—

“ I have been charged with dealing in slaves, by the partizans of General Jackson. They know not on what slippery ground they tread. To them this should have been a tender point. They did not surely know that their own idol was himself once engaged to a considerable extent in this traffic of human flesh,—in the buying and selling of slaves for profit. And I can say with tenfold emphasis, in their own language, ‘ this charge is not lightly made.’ Deny it if he dare.

“ A. ERWIN.”

The above letter was dated from Union Town, in Ohio, and was followed in June by a repetition of the charge, through the columns of the Nashville Banner. These were his words:—“ I now repeat that, as soon as it is denied by General Jackson, or any authorised person on his behalf, that he has been concerned in the buying and selling of slaves, I hold myself in readiness to sustain my statement by evidence which cannot be denied; and, to correct false imputations as to my informant, I will further state that the first information I ever had on the subject of General Jackson’s dealing in slaves, was from himself, about the year 1811, in the town of Nashville.”

In another journal, the Political Examiner, appeared a communication from Major M'Ilhenny. "In the year 1811," says the Major, "I was stationed with the troops at Washington cantonment, Mississippi territory. General Jackson spent three or four days in our cantonment in quarters with Colonel Purdy, who commanded a battalion of the 7th regiment of infantry from Tennessee. The General was then a militia officer; and, during his stay, was exceedingly attentive to our drills. Some time after the visit of General Jackson to our cantonment, being in the village of Washington, (Mississippi territory,) where the legislature had convened, and in company with C. Meade, Speaker of the house of delegates; Silas Dinsmore, Choctaw agent; and several of my brother officers,—the good effects resulting from an arrangement to carry passports, when passing through the Indian nation, was spoken of. A number of deserters from the army, runaway negroes, kidnappers, horse-thieves, and many others, fugitives from justice, had been arrested at the agency, or in the nation; and it was stated by some gentlemen present, that the members from the upper part of the territory, who had taken their seats in the legislature, had carried their passports with them, in conformity with this happy arrangement. Mr. Dinsmore then related the following anecdote of General Jackson; who, he said, in passing down with a drove of negroes, halted at the agency to refresh. Being about

to proceed, Mr. Dinsmore observed that it was necessary for persons passing through the nation to shew their passports. General Jackson replied, that "General Jackson required no passport to travel through the Indian nation." Mr. Dinsmore said that he did not know General Jackson from any other man; and that demanding his passport was in conformity with instructions from the war department. By this time the General, having sent forth his negroes, had mounted his horse; and, laying his hand upon his pistols, significantly replied, "these are General Jackson's passports."

Most of the presidents have been slave-owners:—the present is the first slave-driver.

These facts, while brought forward to serve an electioneering purpose, shew both the character of the chief magistrate, and the low estimation in which his former employment is held by the public.

The slave-trade was abolished by Congress in 1808:—on the first day of which year, the act for its suppression came into operation. It was not, however, till 1819, that the power previously given to the States, into which slaves should be illegally introduced, to dispose of them according to their good will and pleasure, was withdrawn; and the president authorized and required to restore them to their country*. As the Americans claim credit for putting

* Up to the year 1830, 252 Africans had, in pursuance of the act suppressing the slave-trade, been sent to Liberia, at an ex-

a stop to the traffic, it may not be amiss to ask, what they did for the protection of its victims? When we find that they were placed at the mercy of the very persons who were most interested in abusing the trust, we are compelled to doubt either their good sense or their sincerity. The act of Congress, which prohibited the introduction of slaves from abroad into the United States, declared that, in case of infraction, all title in the importer should be null and void; and every person thus imported, should "remain subject to any regulation, not contravening the provisions of this act, that the legislature of the several States or territories (into which they shall be introduced) at any time hereafter may make for disposing of such negro, mulatto, or person of color." The effect of this clause was such as ought to have been foreseen. One case will be sufficient to place its tendency in its true light. In 1817, a slave-ship that had been sent to Africa by a Spaniard at the

pense of 264,710 dollars. Though the authority given to the president was limited to the support of the captured slaves till their return to Africa, yet it had been the practice to furnish them with provisions, &c., during a period varying from six to twelve months. The navy department, however, resolved, as the secretary stated in his report for that year, that the law would, in future, be executed according to its restricted acceptation; and that every effort would be made to confine the application of the funds destined for this purpose within the pale of its provisions.

Havania, of the name of Madrazo, was returning to Cuba with her cargo, when she was captured by an American vessel, which had been fitted out at Baltimore, and the negroes on board were sold by Commodore Aury to a man of the name of Bowen. By the latter they were taken to Georgia, and delivered over, by the custom-house officer who had seized them, to the State government. And here we shall see how these miserable beings, who had thus escaped from the Charybdis of the middle passage, fell into the clutches of this merciless, murderous Scylla. The legislature immediately placed them at the disposal of the Governor, authorizing him to sell them for the benefit of the State, or transfer them on certain conditions to the Colonization Society. Part of them were sold; and the State had the benefit of 38,000 dollars by the sale. The rest, about twenty in number, were claimed by the Colonization Society. Thus stood the affair, when, at three different periods in 1820, and the following year, three applications were made to the district court of the State, by the Governor, Madrazo, and Bowen; the former requesting authority to make over the slaves that remained to the Society,—and the two latter claiming, under suitable pretences and allegations, their right to the “property” thus seized and disposed of. The district court having directed that the Governor’s former acts should be confirmed, and his application granted, dismissed the claims of the others. An appeal was

then made by the latter to the Circuit Court, which affirmed the decree affecting Bowen's case, but reversed that bearing upon Madrazo's, declaring him to be entitled to the whole,—both the slaves that remained, and an equivalent for those that had been sold. The matter was ultimately brought, by appeal, before the Supreme Court of the United States; where, after a discussion about jurisdiction, the judgment was against both Madrazo and Bowen,—and the “thirty pieces of silver” remained in the treasury of the commonwealth of Georgia. The decision was in 1828.

When, in 1824, a convention was agreed on between Great Britain and the United States, for the suppression of the slave-trade, by granting a reciprocal right of search between the vessels of the two nations, the good faith of the latter, in their efforts to put a stop to this piratical traffic, was fairly put to the test. The second article of the convention purported that “the commanders and commissioned officers of each of the two high contracting parties, duly authorised, &c., to cruize on the coast of Africa, of America, and of the West Indies, for the suppression of the slave-trade, shall be empowered, &c., to detain, examine, capture, and deliver over for trial and adjudication, by some competent tribunal, of whichever of the two countries it shall be found, on examination, to belong to, any ship or vessel concerned in the illicit traffic of slaves, and carrying the

flag of the other, or owned by any subjects or citizens of either of the two contracting parties; except when in the presence of a ship of war of its own nation," &c. The words "of America" were struck out in the Senate by a majority of 23 to 20; while a motion that was made to strike out the words "and of the West Indies", was negatived by 29 to 14. With two or three other "amendments", the ratification of the convention was agreed to. After this alteration, however, our Government declined acceding to the treaty. It is a memorable fact, that the first person convicted of having been engaged in the slave-trade, which an act of Congress had declared to be piracy, was pardoned by the president.

If the Southerners are not much belied, this execrable traffic is still carried on by them. It can hardly be otherwise, considering the high price of slaves, and the facilities afforded to smuggling by the vicinity of Cuba. During the discussions which the Missouri questions gave rise to, it was openly stated in Congress, that 12,000 slaves had been brought illicitly into the southern States during the course of one year. "We have," said Mr. Justice Story, in his charge to the grand jury, at Boston, in 1819, "but too many melancholy proofs, from unquestionable sources, that it (the slave-trade) is still carried on with all the implacable ferocity and insatiable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more

subtle in its evasions, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather than suppressed by its guilty vigils. American citizens are steeped to their very mouths (I scarcely use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity. They throng to the coast of Africa, under the stained flags of Spain and Portugal;—sometimes selling abroad ‘their cargoes of despair,’ and sometimes bringing them into some of our southern ports; and there, under the forms of the law, defeating the purposes of the law itself, and legalising their inhuman, but profitable, adventures.”

The way in which this traffic is carried on, is as follows:—An agent is despatched to Cuba or to Africa, for the purpose of purchasing slaves for the United States. As soon as the vessel arrives with its cargo off the Balize, the agent proceeds to New Orleans, and gives notice to the authorities of her arrival with an illegal freight. Proceedings are instituted against her, and, on her condemnation, the slaves are sold by public auction at a price considerably below their real value. The purchaser is, by previous agreement, the importer; and half the proceeds are pocketed by the informer; the other belonging to the general government. Not less than 10,000 were thus introduced in one year (1818). The statement was contradicted by a writer in the “Federal Republican,” though his admission that one

sale had taken place in pursuance of the law on the subject, at prices amounting to 1000 dollars a-head*, fully justifies any suspicion with regard to the fraud and collusion practised. In June 1821, no less than 109 negroes, that had been captured from a slave-ship in 1818, were held as slaves in Alabama, subject to the decision of the Supreme Court, which had taken recognizances from their owners to produce them when demanded. In 1818, the collector of the customs at Darien delivered over to the Governor of Georgia 91 captured slaves; the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Crawford) not having favored him with any reply to a letter he wrote to him on the subject.

Since the law has undergone an alteration, evasion must find some other way to defeat its intentions.

That the destruction of human life in the South, whether from insufficient food, a pestilential climate, or severe labor, is so great as to keep up a constant demand from without, may be inferred from a statement in the "New Orleans Argus" of September, 1830. In order to shew that the cost of raising sugar is greater in Louisiana than in Cuba, the writer says, that a slave in the latter requires little or no clothing, and is fed for a trifle; whereas his food and clothing in the former cost fifty dollars per annum. He then adds: "the loss by death in bringing slaves from a

* These prices were most likely nominal only.

northern climate, which our planters are under the necessity of doing, is not less than twenty-five per cent." If this estimate be correct, how can it be with truth asserted, that the slaves are happy, and well-treated? If it is not correct, what credit is to be given to any evidence from the same quarter? Why should the planter spare his "cattle", when the difference between the cost of rearing and of importing will more than cover the loss from "wear and tear"? Humanity has no place on the creditor side of his ledger. He will find it some day on the other.

While Louisiana turns smuggler, Virginia is seeking new markets. "Perhaps", says a citizen of the latter State, in a note to the *American Quarterly Review* (Sept. 1832), "one of the greatest blessings (if it could be reconciled to our consciences) which could be conferred on the southern parts of the Union, would arise, from the total abolition of the African slave-trade, and the opening of the West Indian and South American markets to our slaves. We do not believe that the deportation to any other quarter, or in any other way, can ever effect the slightest diminution." What a horrible suggestion! As for the scheme lessening the numbers, he who recommends it must well know, it would have a contrary effect. They would be *exported*, on one side, because the trade was profitable; and the profit would be a bonus upon production. They would be

imported, on the other, because the price of the foreign article would be less than that of the home-grown; and the difference would be a bonus upon over-working. Hence destruction of life in the latter case would be at once the effect and the cause of its increase in the former. What a detestable circle of crime and cruelty! Is it possible that a system, thus opposed to the best feelings of our nature, and destructive of those principles on which the wealth and welfare of nations depend, can much longer continue?

Nothing can be imagined more perfect than the political mechanism of this republican confederation; whether you look at the complexity of its structure or the simplicity of its action. Each body moves in its own orbit, with periodical changes adapted to its magnitude and condition; and all revolve together round their common centre, without confusion or collision. The federal form seems to secure the best check to the personal and social infirmities of man. In his individual capacity, he is amenable to the State; in his collective, to the general government. An analogous development is given to his good qualities; and the same virtues which, when separately exercised, might have created discord and bloodshed, produce, in conjunction, peace and harmony. Such is the aspect presented by a distant and general view. Upon a closer inspection, however, you discover a principle that menaces the system with de-

struction or dissolution: you see the unequal division of light and liberty between the North and the South; and approaching separation casts her gloomy shadow before your eyes. You turn from the prospect with the bitterest feelings of regret and disappointment.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Speeches in Congress.—Claims on the French.—Visit to President.—Alexandria.—Discontent among the Merchants.—Mount Vernon.—Judge Washington's Slaves.—Establishment of Slave-dealer.—Slaves half starved.—Virginia.—Depopulation.—New kind of Entail.—Stage Adventure.—Warrenton.—Election Speeches.

MR. LEIGH'S speech was not published while I remained at Washington. If it appeared at all, it must have been a long time after it was delivered. It is not the custom for the reporters to take down the speeches in Congress at length, as with the French and ourselves. The inhabitants of Manchester or of Rouen may read the next day the whole of what has been said in the House of Commons or the Chamber of Deputies; but the good citizens of Washington itself may wait for weeks, and even months, before they know, unless they were present, what has been uttered within the walls of the Capitol. The honorable members frequently prepare their

own speeches for the press ; and a long time sometimes elapses between the delivery and the publication. It happens occasionally that the latter takes place without the former, as in the recent case of Mr. Adams, the ex-president, who was prevented from speaking, as he had intended, in the House of Representatives, on the deposit question ; the debate having been brought, by a manœuvre, to a speedy conclusion, in order, as it was said, to influence the New York elections, by passing resolutions approving of the measures of government. The very circumstance of having had no hearers would probably procure more readers for Mr. Adams. The speech, when published, contained sentiments that would appear to an European reader very singular in the mouth of an ex-president against a successful competitor for "the throne."

"Strip Andrew Jackson and Roger B. Tancy of the little brief authority which invests them with the privilege of slandering their fellow-citizens with impunity, and neither of them would DARE to charge any of those men I have named, (the United States' bank directors,) neither (either) before their places, or anywhere in the presence of credible, impartial witnesses, with dishonesty or corruption—either in general terms or by any one specification. Neither of them would dare to go to the city of Philadelphia, and there, in any possible manner, avow a charge against any one of those men which could make up

an issue for a test of character by a verdict of their peers."

The president, like his brother potentates in Europe, seems to be less popular at the seat of government than elsewhere. The citizens of Washington, having no vote, except for the corporation, complain that the removal, by which the present president's accession to power was marked, of functionaries from the public service, has rendered the tenure of office so precarious, that a spirit of prudent economy has succeeded to the former expenditure; and a proportionate diminution in the demand for many things previously supplied by the tradesmen has taken place:—while fewer houses have been built, and other checks have been given to commerce, in addition to the distress which the shock to credit, occasioned by the sudden change in the disposal of the public revenue, has effected. They think it hard to be disfranchised and impoverished too;—to lose the compensation which their political insignificance received from the circulation of the government money:—to have neither their birth-right nor their mess of pottage.

The president appears to understand the limits of the legislative power as fully as he observes those of the executive; and to be as much "at home" abroad, as his enemies say he is "abroad" at home. He is no less conversant with the French charter than he

is with the constitution of his own country ; and is equally competent to lecture the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate of the United States. Hence, in his message at the opening of the session, in allusion to the difficulties that had arisen from the non-payment by France, at the stipulated time, of the money due from her to the United States, he expressed his conviction that the French legislature would confirm what the French king had done ; though subsequent events made it appear that there was as little coincidence of opinion between them, as between two of the co-ordinate powers they had to deal with ; the Chamber of Deputies refusing their sanction to the treaty in question, and the bill drawn on the French treasury, on the faith of it, having been protested. The following are the words alluded to in the message : “ Notwithstanding it has been supposed by the French ministry that the financial stipulations of the treaty cannot be carried into effect without an appropriation by the Chambers, it appears to me to be not only consistent with the charter of France, but due to the character of both governments, as well as to the rights of our citizens, to treat the convention made and ratified, in proper form, as pledging the good faith of the French government for its execution, and as imposing upon each department an obligation to fulfil it ; and I have received assurances, &c.

that the delay has not proceeded from any indisposition on the part of the king and his ministers to fulfil the treaty," &c.

Whether this dispute was preconcerted between the Tuileries and the "white house"* to divert public attention from what was going on at both; whether it was affection for Nicholas the autocrat of Russia, or fear of Nicholas † the autocrat of the bank; or whether it was for the "glory and honor" of an insulted nation and their chivalrous chief, that the peace of the world was threatened, the excitement produced by this paltry claim proves the sensitive state of the public mind in both countries, and the influence it may be made to exercise upon collateral subjects. The wily diplomatists of Washington will pause before they drive France into a complete acknowledgment of Haytian independence, or an adoption of measures that may affect Cuba by emancipating Martinique.

On the 24th of April, I left Washington; having, previously to my departure, been introduced to the president by Major Smith, to whom I had brought a

* A familiar term applied to the president's official house.

† Nicholas Biddle, the rival president, of the Mammoth bank; which is destined to swallow up the constitution, after having bribed the members of both houses of Congress, deluged the country with foreign gold, and bought up all the newspapers and reviews.

letter of introduction from New York. The residence, appropriated to the chief magistrate of the Union, is a handsome, but not a splendid building, similar, in the size and arrangements of the rooms, to the private house of a country gentleman in England of ten or twelve thousand a year. It is furnished with much taste, and in a style sufficiently costly for a man whose official income is little more than five thousand pounds sterling—the same amount of salary as it was when fixed in 1793. But the president of the United States is not a Scotch judge: he is not obliged to follow the fashions of the day, and teach the worthy citizens of Washington how to spend their money.

We found the president, on our entrance to his sitting room, with two persons in close conversation. He rose from his chair, and received us with the usual ceremonies of the country; and, having requested us to be seated, resumed the discourse with his other guests. The topic, which lasted the whole time I remained,—about half an hour,—was entirely political, and referred to the agitation which his message to the senate had produced; digressing at intervals to the conduct of the bank party, the unjust imputations thrown out by the opposition upon his character, and the purity of motives by which he had been ever actuated. Though the greater part of what was said I had frequently heard before, in

the shape of accusation or reply, I could not but be interested in the recital of wrongs, and the assertion of principles, through which the character of the man before me stood out in bold relief. It was plain enough, that strong personal feeling had been mixed up with no small portion of what had been publicly done or said; and that any weakness connected with either, presented vulnerable points both to foes and friends. One or two things, during this short interview, struck me very forcibly. I saw clearly that a man's good opinion of himself is the best handle by which you may lead him; that truth has as little chance of a familiar acquaintance with republican presidents as with imperial potentates; and that an American need not go to St. Petersburg or St. James's to find a courtier. I was, indeed, not a little surprised at the gross flattery with which this old man was fed; and I much doubt, whether Washington would have allowed any one, if such a person could have been found, to tell him that his visitors had spoken of him, as possessed of the most courteous gentlemanlike address, exhibiting the most perfect candor and good sense, and inspired with a love of truth that must impress every one with respect, and convert opponents into friends. Such was the sort of language used, on this occasion, by men who professed the highest regard for their chief magistrate, while they

were doing their utmost to sink him in the estimation of a stranger. Oxenstiern's well known remark to his son recurred to my mind; and I perceived that as little wisdom was required to govern in the new as in the old world.

The president, among other things, said, that that august body, the Senate, had disgraced itself by its personal attack upon him; and that Mr. Clay had asserted what he must have known to be false, as the expression attributed to him was never uttered. Mr. Clay, however, did not say what was false in fact; as he spoke merely of what had been a rumor; adding that the credit given to it was an evidence of public opinion, and the fears it had excited were now realized. He alluded to what was said to have passed between the president and Joseph Buonaparte; to whom the former is represented as having declared that he should take Napoleon for the model of his government. It was on the occasion of another message, a sort of postscript to the protest, disavowing any intention on the part of the president to assume an uncontrolled power over the public revenues, that Mr. Clay, who had been absent for a few days, expressed himself in a manner so offensive to the former. My companion seemed anxious to turn the conversation; and repeated to General Jackson something I had said, on our way to the house, about the state of Europe. It soon, however,

reverted to its former channel; and the slight interruption gave greater violence to the current. For my part, I was altogether astonished at a scene for which I was quite unprepared. When the "rabble" that had followed Mr. Webster was spoken of with derision; when the exploits at New Orleans were adduced as a proof that there would be no yielding to the menaces and threats that were said to have been made: and a joke of Mrs. Gadsby was related, that "she would head the ladies of Washington in defence of 'old Hickory'":—the attentive auditors filled up each pause with a smile of approval, or an hysterical laugh, as forced as their attachment, and as hollow as their hearts. What a subject for Lucian or Le Sage! Here were the vices of a court in all their deformity;—arrogance without dignity, and adulation without refinement—a burlesque upon every thing exalted and manly!

In the afternoon I left Washington by the stage for Alexandria; the distance of which from the former is six miles.

In the evening there was no small degree of dissatisfaction exhibited against the government by several persons who had assembled at the hotel where I put up. Had the president heard what was said, he would have perceived how grossly he had been imposed upon by those who told him that the excitement, of which so much was said, was

confined to the large cities, and kept up by the worst portion of their inhabitants. It would be no subject of wonder to any one that much violence and resentment prevailed among the mercantile classes, as there was no remedy for their sufferings. Whether the seizure of the public revenue were right or wrong; whether the secretary had acted constitutionally or not in obeying the orders of his master, who had turned his less pliant predecessor out of office, and had not obtained from the senate a confirmation of the appointment, neither censure nor approbation could touch him. Such is the nature of the government, that any difference or dispute, which may exist between the two legislative chambers, admits of no adjustment by the intervention of the executive; who can neither dissolve the one, nor put fresh materials into the other. A conference would have been useless between them. The matter therefore must stand over till the next election; when, if the executive should obtain a majority in the lower house, the same sort of conflict will be renewed, with little chance of an harmonious action upon a question so differently viewed by them. In the mean time, the national patience is put to a severe trial; credit is slow in returning; "and Commerce sickens at the long delay."

A comparison of the expenditure for two years, under his predecessor's administration, with that for

the same period under his own, will shew that President Jackson's promises of retrenchment and reform are yet to be performed :—

In 1827 the expenditure was 13,062,316 dollars.

In 1828 12,653,096

While in 1832 it was..... 16,516,389

And in 1833..... 22,086,064

The chief indictment against him may be seen in certain resolutions passed at Philadelphia in 1832, by a meeting of naturalized Irish, who, to the number of more than 2000, had seceded from Jacksonism. One of them was, as follows :

“ That the total disregard of his solemn pledge to serve but one term, as President of the United States, and of his repeated promises not to appoint members of congress, nor to be lavish in the expenditure of the public moneys, have so entirely shaken all confidence in the truth of his declarations, that we feel warranted not only in refusing credence to his most clear and unequivocal declaration, but are called upon to look, with a weary and a jealous eye, upon his ambidextrous declarations in relation to subjects such as the tariff and the bank, which vitally affect the independence and interests of the United States.”

The next day I went over from Alexandria in a gig to Mount Vernon (about nine miles). The man who accompanied me was the son of the hotel-keeper,

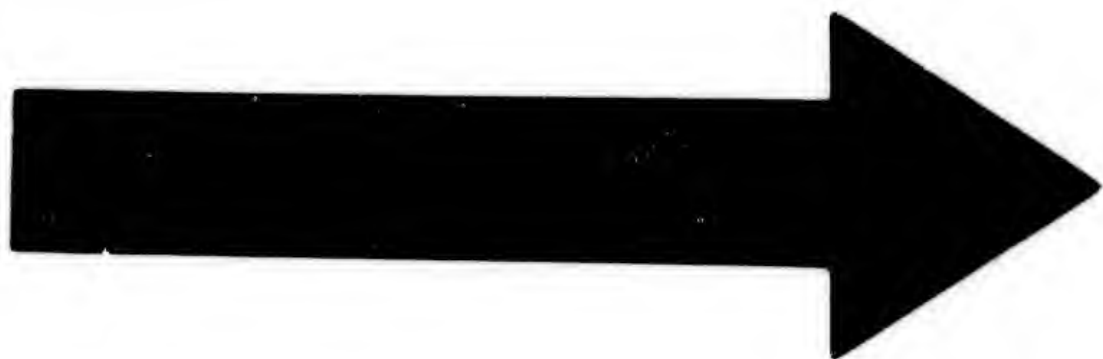
a very smart lively fellow. As his horse was very spirited, yet docile, I asked him how he had been trained. He said, the whip was seldom or never used. If a man were to beat a horse with a cudgel, he added, he would be fined severely by a magistrate. Soon afterwards, the conversation turned upon the system of farming. The laborers, he observed, were all slaves. Those who hire them of their owners pay fifty or sixty dollars a year for them, and find them in food and clothing. "Are they industrious?" I asked. "If they were not, we should soon make them so: we should tie them up, and give them a good flogging." He seemed to think they were naturally a lazy set. If he were to treat his horses in the same way, he would find nature had been equally perverse and unkind to them. Yet the latter are of inferior value; as the tax paid for them is but $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents a head, while that for the slave amounts to 25 cents. He had lately purchased a boy on commission for 1100 dollars.

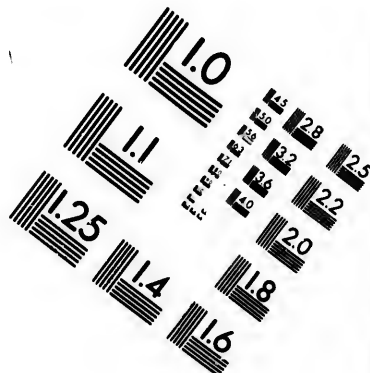
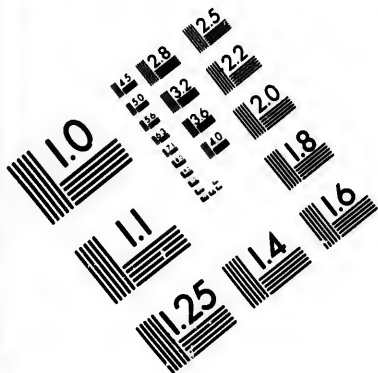
On our arrival at Mount Vernon, we descended, and walked into the yard, and finding that the family were at home, proceeded into that part of the grounds which is open to the public. There was an air of neglect and loneliness about the premises that excited a feeling of melancholy by no means pleasing.

The estate is at present in the possession of the

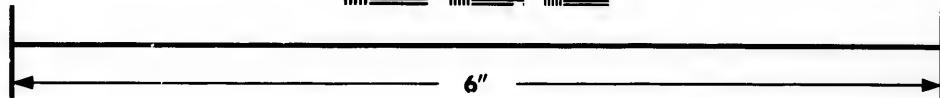
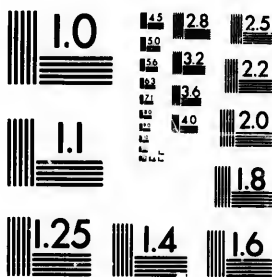
widow and children of Judge Washington's nephew. The judge was nephew to the immortal president. The view from the portico of the house, which has nothing remarkable about it, is very beautiful. As I did not like to avail myself of the privilege sometimes conceded to foreigners, and obtrude upon the family by requesting to see the house, I contented myself with walking through the grounds and visiting the tomb, where I plucked a few sprigs from an evergreen that grew over it; and, while meditating on the events of the preceding day, thought of Shenstone's address to his beloved Maria:—"heu quanto minus est cum reliquis versari quam tui meminisse!"

George Washington, President of the United States, emancipated his slaves at his death; but Judge Washington, President of the Colonization Society, disposed of his during his life in a much more summary manner. A letter, which appeared in a Baltimore paper at the time, (1821,) explains the plan he adopted, and the results that followed. "I was at Mount Vernon", says the writer, "a few days since, and was told by some of the slaves, whose countenances were remarkably indicative of despondency and dejection, that more than fifty of their companions (fifty-nine, I believe) had been sold but a week before, to go to New Orleans, for 10,000 dollars the whole. One would have thought that the poor creatures who were left, the aged and





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blind, had lost every friend on earth. I inquired the reason. They answered, that husbands had been torn from their wives and children; and that many relations were left behind. Take the following comment. I asked an old slave, if he was living at Mount Vernon, when George Washington died. His answer was: 'No, Sir!—not so lucky. I should not be a slave now if I had.' The reader ought to know that George Washington set all his slaves free upon his death."

The Judge's reasons (in another Baltimore paper) for selling these slaves, were: 1. because he lost by their labor; 2. because they were in a state of insubordination, owing, as he conceived, to their having been frequently told that their master would set them free, or ought to do so; and 3. because he anticipated the escape to the Northern States of the most valuable part of them. It had cost him, he said, 250 dollars to recover two of them; a third (a valuable cook) having succeeded in baffling his pursuers. The judge, like the man who summed up the twelve bad qualities of his horse with a statement that he was dead, might have saved himself the trouble of giving reasons for what he had done, as he declared that no one had a right to demand any. "I take the liberty," such are his words, "on my own behalf, and on that of my southern fellow-citizens, to enter a solemn protest against the propriety of any person questioning our right, legal or

moral, to dispose of property which is secured to us by sanctions equally valid with those by which we hold every other species of property."

On our return to Alexandria, we called at Armfield's establishment; where he keeps the slaves he has purchased for sale. He himself was out. Two of his men, however, were standing at the door; and as my guide was familiarly acquainted with them, we were admitted without difficulty. We were ushered into a well-furnished room, and invited to take wine, some bottles of which were standing on a side-board, for the accommodation, doubtless, of purchasers. I declined: my companion was less scrupulous. We then went over the establishment; the delay that had occurred in the parlor, having given time to prepare it for our inspection.

The sexes are separated by a passage, into which the iron gratings of their doors look. These last are doubly locked, and strongly secured. The yards, which are sufficiently spacious, are surrounded by high walls. Everything looked clean and in good order. There were but three men, and four or five women, with as many children, one of whom was nearly white,—a circumstance that elicited some coarse jokes from my companions, in the hearing of these poor unfortunate creatures. Both departments were well provided with fires; the room destined to the inmates of each having a stove, round which, as it was a very cold day, they were collected. I was assured they were well fed,—an assertion that will

readily obtain credit from every one who considers that it is the interest of the seller to keep his "cattle" in good condition; and, as a "sulky one" is not likely to find a buyer, everything would be done to keep them in good humor. The owner of this pandemonium is said to be very wealthy; having acquired nearly half a million of dollars in the trade. He bears a good character, and is considered a charitable man.

The slave-traders at Washington pay 400 dollars to the corporation of the city for a licence to carry on their business.

I asked the man who attended us, whether we had seen the whole establishment; having heard a great deal of a dungeon, where the refractory are confined, and where (as I had been informed by a lady who had visited the place, and was unable to proceed from the horror she felt at the description given her of the thumb-screws, and other instruments of coercion) a very different scene was to be witnessed. I was told that there was no room of the kind. It was not to be expected that I should be allowed to visit such a place; to deny the existence of which would be the natural consequence of having it. I found the price of a slave had fallen considerably; the pressure of the times having affected this sort of commodity as well as every other.

In the evening, while enjoying the comforts of a good fire, I had a long conversation with an Irishman, who had been many years in the country. He

was a contractor for the canal in the neighborhood. He had been in the habit, for some time, of hiring a gang of sixty or seventy slaves, paying for each at the rate of seventy-five dollars a year. He fed them well; allowing them meat of the same quality with what he had at his own table, and never flogging them. In return for this kindness, they were very industrious and obedient; and so attached to him, that he was sure there was nothing they would not do for him; except when the term for which they had been hired was about to end, when the dread of returning to their weekly allowance of a peck of corn and a few herrings, with the addition of the cow-hide, often drove them to seek a better fate in flight, with all the risk of discovery and its horrors. Many attempts were made, when first he began to employ these "hands", to dissuade him from what he was told was a mad and impracticable scheme. He spoke with much feeling of the wretched diet and cruel treatment which too often fall to the lot of this unhappy class. He was not aware of my sentiments upon this subject, while he was detailing the method he had pursued in the management of his workmen. Speaking of the general condition of the slaves, he assured me that they were half-starved: to use his own words, they had hardly food enough to keep body and soul together. When they rob the hen-roost or the pasture-field, it is to appease the cravings of hunger.

The natural results of this system are provided for by legislative enactment in North Carolina. What must be the monster that can have such a *grinder*! "In case any slave or slaves, who shall not appear to have been clothed and fed according to the intent and meaning of this Act, that is to say, to have been sufficiently clothed, and to have constantly received for the preceding year an allowance not less than a quart of corn per day, shall be convicted of stealing any corn, cattle, &c., from any person not the owner of such slave or slaves, such injured person shall and may maintain an action of trespass against the master, owner, or possessor of such slave, &c., and shall recover his or her damages," &c.

Alexandria does not appear to derive all the advantages from its situation, which it might reasonably expect. The inhabitants would be well pleased to be again incorporated with Virginia; by which it was ceded to the federal government as a part of the district of Columbia. Washington, it is said, objected to the appropriation of the latter as the seat of an exclusive jurisdiction and residence for the general administration of the Union, lest it should be supposed that he wished to favor his own estate by the vicinity. It is thought that the Alexandrians will succeed in their efforts to become again an integral part of their parent State.

April 26. I left Alexandria at eight A.M., and arrived at Warrenton, in Virginia, at half past four in the

afternoon; the distance is about forty-four miles. The stage passed through a country that exhibited the effects of slavery in every part of it:—an exhausted soil, miserable hovels, thinly peopled villages, half ploughed fields, and spontaneous vegetation in rank fertility, usurping the place of healthy and profitable crops. How different the scene from the activity and enterprize every where visible in the Northern States! It seemed as if the whole country would become

“ a wilderness again :—
Peopled with wolves, its old inhabitants.”

I asked a very shrewd man, who looked like a farmer, how long estates remained in the same family in Virginia. “The longest period,” he replied, “may be three or four generations. I do not think I could point out one in possession of an estate that belonged to it at the revolution. The poor and industrious soon succeed to the rich and extravagant; and a perpetual interchange is going on between them.” From the turn the conversation then took, I could see that gambling was very common in the State. It was spoken of as a sort of general diversion;—like fox-hunting in Leicestershire, or grouse-shooting in Scotland. Our attention was directed to the negro huts by the side of the road. Their inhabitants, he said, were a happy race,—affectionate towards one another, and attached to their

homes. In no community on the face of the earth, was there a less proportion of vice and crime than among them. They were kindly treated by their masters—he was a slave-owner himself—and no instance ever occurred of cruelty. Such was the picture of slavery drawn by a man, who had just before expatiated on the necessity of education to curb the evil propensities of our nature ; had given a most correct description of the prejudices that divide the rich and the poor ; and had assented fully to the trite maxim that all political checks proved, while they provided against, the tendency to abuse inherent in power.

Speaking of their increasing numbers, he thought Liberia would serve as a regulator to the velocity of this moving mass. When reminded of the deficit in the last year's budget, which had compelled the colonization society to put a stop to this outlet for the present, he owned that he could not see his way clearly, or find a plan to get rid of "the evil." "Those d—d rascals in the north," he exclaimed, "upbraid us for what is a misfortune, entailed upon us by your country:—a curse that they themselves assisted to bring upon us by engaging so largely in the slave-trade; which they still carry on underhand."—This notion, preposterous as it is, of "getting rid" of nearly three millions of human beings, is almost universal. America has converted her colonial vassalage into national independence. Part

of the materials, with which she has raised the superstructure, she would remove from the building, because it offends her fastidious eye. It is too late. She mistakes the foundation for the scaffolding. It is worse than folly to lay the exclusive blame attached to slavery on the shoulders of the mother-country; when those who might have easily shaken off the burthen and the guilt, still retained the whole weight of both upon their own. When the original draft of the "Declaration of Independence" was presented to the committee, to whom it had been referred, the following paragraph was struck out. "He (George the Third) has waged war against human nature itself; violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death, in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the work of a Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep an open market, where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he also ob-

truded them ; thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

A striking instance of national vanity occurred during the journey. One of the passengers, a young lawyer, asked me whether the Virginians were not better received, and more highly esteemed in England than Americans from any other State. I replied that all Americans were Yankees with us ; —that few knew the difference between a Virginian and a Vermonter ; and that our ignorance of the country, as well as its distance, presented to our view but one nation. I added, by way of salve to his wounded self-love, that the stars above us appeared to be nearly of the same magnitude. I might have said that all, who had ever heard how Virginia treated her creditors, at the period of the revolution, would feel little disposed to place her at the head of the Union. As the supreme court of the confederation, to which she belonged, had passed judgment against her legislature on that occasion, it ill became her sons to claim *admiration* from the descendants of those, to whom she had denied *justice*.

Just at this moment one of the passengers, who had afforded us a fund of amusement, left the stage. He was a little pale-faced queer-looking old man with a wound in one of his legs, that gave him no

small trouble to ensconce himself in the vehicle. As soon as he was fairly seated, and before we had left Alexandria, he broke out into a loud and passionate complaint against some one who had stolen a little girl from him. We were all desirous to hear the particulars of such an extraordinary event; and he was as ready to gratify our curiosity and his own loquacity, by the recital of his wrongs. He commenced his narrative by informing us that he was an old soldier—one of the seven who were wounded at the battle of New Orleans; when the English troops were led, like sheep, to the slaughter. He had been to Washington from the place where he lived in Virginia—about seventy miles from that city—and was returning home with his pension of 100 dollars and the child in question, when the latter was carried off, while he was at breakfast with the other passengers. He suspected a woman of Alexandria, he said, of the abduction, as he and his protégée had slept the night before at her house, and she had lately lost an adopted girl in a similar manner. This was a new sort of kidnapping; and the history of the acquisition was as singular as that of the loss. Having no children or relatives, he had resolved to adopt this little girl, as a solace to his declining years, and an assistant to his wife in the management of her household affairs. He had appointed her his heir; having left the will with a lawyer at Washington. His estate

consisted of upwards of a hundred acres, in addition to his personal property; of which he had just lent 1100 dollars to a Mr. Baldwin, of Washington;—and here he had felt the truth of the remark, that “misfortunes come not single-handed, but in battalions,” for the borrower had found it convenient to have a short memory; and, as the old man had no proof in writing of the transaction, the claim on one side was worth no more than the honor on the other. This breach of honesty, however, gave him much less uneasiness than the other calamity; which so far absorbed what few ideas he had, that he could touch upon no subject, in the wide range his tongue took, that he did not mingle with it the bitterest lamentation for his darling, and threats of vengeance against her ravisher. “If I had had a pistol with me,” he exclaimed repeatedly, “I would have shot him down with as little scruple as Andrew Jackson ever shot an Indian with.” There was so much goodness of heart mixed up with his resentment, and his simplicity had so many touches of good sense in it, that we could not but feel an interest in the veteran’s story, even while we were laughing at his oddities. When he had taken his departure, we sought a diversion for the loss by looking over the way-bill, and trying to recognize our names, under the strange alterations they had undergone. I, for one, had no reason to complain, as I had got two or three additional letters. Indeed

I was generally very fortunate in this respect; for, though I have no legal claim to more than four, I sometimes found myself complimented with a large portion of the alphabet.

On the arrival of the stage at Warrenton, the other passengers having got out, except one, who then took his leave of me in a very friendly way, I was shewn, by the master of the hotel where we stopped, into a room, in which were several persons. They were assembled round a blazing wood-fire, to which an unusually cold day gave irresistible attractions; and two or three of them immediately rose from their seats, to make room for the stranger—a piece of civility, which, however common in most countries, I had never before witnessed in the public room of an American inn. I soon got into chat with them; and finding there was to be an election in the town on the following Monday, was not sorry that I should be detained; there being no stage on that day.

Warrenton is the county town of Fauquier County, and contains about 1000 inhabitants. There are three places of worship, Episcopal, Baptist, and Methodist. As there was no service at the two former on Sunday, I went to the last mentioned. The congregation was scanty, and consisted chiefly of the middle classes. The men sat on one side, and the women on the other, on benches. At one extremity, over the entrance of the meeting-house, which was

totally devoid of ornament and neatness, was a gallery for the "Africans"; and at the other end was the pulpit, in a sort of recess, raised above the area between them. Here sat two preachers, who commenced the service by singing in a low and monotonous voice. A sermon followed, and was succeeded by further singing and by a prayer, when the whole concluded. Of the sermon I can say nothing, as I had much difficulty in keeping up attention to a discourse which consisted of many words and very few ideas, and in which there was more rapidity of utterance, than clearness of conception or arrangement of matter. The preacher ranted and gesticulated in a manner equally painful to the ear and the eye. There was more earnestness in him than attention in his hearers; among whom might fairly be reckoned two or three dogs, that took their station quietly at the feet of their masters, and behaved with laudable propriety. Before the last prayer, two men applied to the congregation on both sides for their contributions. The collection was made, or rather solicited (for very little was obtained) by means of a rod, with a black cotton bag at the end of it. It had the exact appearance of those hand-nets which are in frequent use with fishermen. What the bag wanted in magnitude, the pole made up in length; and the bearer of each, as he passed along the passage that separated the sexes, presented it in succession to the occupants of the respective sides. I observed more

ruddy cheeks and athletic forms in this small chapel than I had ever seen in the largest churches in the North. Such is the "bold peasantry" of Virginia; but their "country's pride" is fast disappearing under the withering blight that has brought desolation and sterility to the land.

In my walks through the town, I remarked, at different places, groups of young negroes lounging about with all the indolence of sabbath leisure, or eagerly engaged in gambling or playing at marbles. Among the players was a white boy, well-dressed and very young. It is thus that the vices of the slaves are communicated to the masters. Nor can it well be otherwise. Nature is never robbed of her rights without avenging herself upon the wrong-doer; nor man unjust and cruel with impunity. The moral degradation, which forms the most disgusting feature of slavery, is reciprocated between the oppressor and his victim, till the former has lost, in moral dignity, more than the latter in physical comfort. He is, indeed, doubly criminal in the sight of Heaven:— he is responsible for the abuse of those gifts it has granted to himself, and for those vices which he has occasioned in his dependants, by robbing them of all that the same bountiful hand had bestowed to prevent or check them.

In the evening there was a pleasant party, as before, round the fire; and I had no reason to complain that the time passed heavily. I found that

“gentlemen and ladies” were in as high honor at Warrenton as at Washington. While conversing with a Virginian, who repeated the word “lady” with an emphasis that seemed to reprove me for using a less exalted appellation, I remarked to him that Europe would probably witness, before long, the singular coincidence of three women contemporaneous queens. He at once perceived the incongruity of saying three “ladies” would be crowned, and allowed me to use a more natural mode of expression. Surely if a king’s daughter may be called a woman, a planter’s or merchant’s child need not be offended at the term. It is curious enough, that this very man had just pointed out the vulgarity of making a smart coat or bonnet the test of a person’s rank in society. Here he could distinguish between the shell and the kernel; yet, while he was laughing at the Philadelphians and New Yorkers for their attention to the toilette, he did not see that the Virginians are doing the same thing in another way. While they are above the artificial distinction of dress, they retain that of words; and adopt, as a badge of separation, what is just as easily taken up by the excluded as a mark of equality. Simplicity of language, like simplicity of apparel, can no more detract from refinement, where it exists, than its opposite can bestow it where it is wanting. If “gentlemen” would be contented to be known by courtesy of manners and an amiable disposition, the example might de-

scend, and society would gain more by looking to the end, than it now loses by confining its attention to the means, of social inequality.

Warrenton is beautifully situated; the ground on which it is built being broken into declivities, and the surrounding country presenting an undulating surface, diversified with woods and fields and farm-houses. To the north-west the view is terminated, at the distance of about twenty miles, by the Blue Ridge,—a range of mountains which divides the State into two sections, not less distinct in the quality of the soil, than in the manners of the population by which it is cultivated. There were more numerous traits of resemblance here to the old country, particularly parts of South Wales, than at any place I had yet seen in the Union. As I was returning from an evening's stroll on the Monday, and was admiring the beauty of the landscape, upon which the setting sun threw its last rays, clothing the rugged outline of the Ridge with varied lights and shadows, the people were leaving the town at the conclusion of the election; and their appearance and manner carried me back, in imagination, to old England.—An Englishman in America is somewhat surprised when he is saluted by the farmers and peasantry with a bow and a touch of the hat.

The election terminated in a "tie"; one candidate being elected on each side. There were four, of whom two only were present, the others attend-

ing at some other precincts. The county contains seven precincts or districts; in each of which the votes are taken *vivâ voce*. The electors assembled at Warrenton in the court-house, where the sheriff took the votes, by asking each elector, as he came to the poll, for whom he voted. The business of the day commenced with speeches from the candidates or their friends. The first who spoke, was Mr. Fauntleroy—a Jackson-man. He assured his fellow citizens that the imputations cast upon his motives and conduct were altogether unfounded; that he neither was seeking place, nor had attempted, in his canvass, to obtain votes by undue influence or promises; and that the letter he had in his hand would exonerate him from the charge. He had given up his profession to establish a Jackson paper; and, now that a change had taken place in the politics of the State, he might, had he been so disposed, have found or sought an indemnity for his ruined prospects, by turning with the tide of popular feeling, and rejoining his former friends; whom he had left, at the risk of being stigmatized as an apostate, to support a party, which he still thought entitled to the confidence of the county. His address did not seem to be well received by the majority of his auditors; though it was delivered in a temperate and gentlemanly manner. When he had concluded, another orator, on the same side, got up, and presented himself to the notice of the electors:

his style was more energetic, and his delivery more fluent. A great and most important crisis, according to him, had arrived, big with the fate of unborn millions:—a crisis, on the issue of which depended the interests of their children, the preservation of the constitution, and the welfare of the civilized world.

My attention was riveted by an exordium, equally imposing in its announcement, and decorated, in its enunciation, with all the flowers that a prolific fancy, and a ready command of words, could bestow upon it. My disappointment, however, was like that of the listener to the man who cried in the streets of Constantinople: “in the name of the Prophet!—figs.” It was the marble palace at Philadelphia—the Mammoth bank—the monied monster—that menaced the citadel of virtue and liberty! The orator had drawn up a long bill of indictment against this hydra-headed institution; and the counts were filled up with every item that could tend to swell the list and the enormity of the charges. One of the greatest crimes it had committed was that of its connexion with foreigners; who, of course, could have no possible motive for buying shares but the wish to corrupt a free people, and who could not be the friends of an establishment of which President Biddle is the head, without being the enemies of the constitution, of which President Jackson is the preserver and the defender. The

vessel which carries this palladium of the Union, by the by, is placed by the two parties, that agree in nothing but their attachment to it, between Scylla and Charybdis. It must be either shipwrecked on the bank, or swallowed up by despotism. They should consider that they lessen the world's respect for their idol, in proportion as they magnify the chances of its destruction.

To return to our orator; whose imagination was naturally inflamed at the mention of foreign influence. "We want no English liberty here," he exclaimed,—“we are not indebted to kings and emperors for our rights. They were earned not granted.” Much more of the same kind was uttered by a man equally ignorant of the origin and nature of an Englishman's birthright, and forgetful of his own in relation to both. We robbed no man of his rights when we asserted our own. We have not converted human beings into “cattle” for personal profit, nor reckoned our “cattle” as fractions of human beings for political privileges.

In the course of his harangue, the speaker did not forget the heroes and divinities of the “olden time.” I was delighted to renew acquaintance with my school-boy associations, and find myself again in company with Philip of Macedon and Cassandra of Troy. In the distribution of parts, the modesty of the honorable gentleman selected the latter for himself: the former, I need not add, was intended for

Nicholas Biddle. When he had finished his invectives against the bank, which he declared with a vehemence of voice by no means complimentary to his countrymen, would, if not arrested in its course of profusion and profligacy, buy up the whole nation with its money; a young man, after the slight applause that followed had ceased, solicited the suffrages of the assembly in favor of the candidates who were absent. He labored, unfortunately, under a slight impediment of speech; but his matter and manner were both good; and he very ably exposed the fallacies and illogical inferences of those who had preceded him. He reminded his hearers that the question was no longer "bank or no bank"; for both its opponents and its supporters were arrayed against the federal administration, two branches of which had already condemned it; and that it might be considered defunct without a chance of its resuscitation. The struggle for party ascendancy had now become a contest for public principle; and all, who valued the constitution and commerce of the country, had united, in defence of both against the encroachments of arbitrary power and the exercise of a prerogative built upon forced construction and sophistical implication. The orator shewed that neither federalist nor republican could consistently support the general government; the practice of which was directly at variance with the principles professed by each.

The polling followed the harangues ; and I left the court after two or three votes had been taken. With the exception of a few drunken men to be seen here and there, the whole went off very quietly, in spite of the efforts made by each party to have its cause espoused by the "old dominion," as Virginia is called. This election was for the House of Delegates ; the Senate of the State being chosen for four years, and the former but for one.

Several persons, I was told, had declined voting on this occasion, not wishing to give offence to some of the opposite party, whose resentment they had reason to dread. These men would probably be glad to have the protection of the ballot, while the greater part, who find in the open vote, whether exercised by themselves or others, a reason for exultation or a source of profit, would as strenuously oppose its introduction. They have not yet discovered that the public is responsible to the public by choosing its own servants in the most public manner ; and that those who are not thought worthy of the vote are the best judges of its exercise.

CHAPTER XIX.

System productive of Idleness.—The Bench.—Eastern and Western Virginia.—Debates in State Convention.—Conversation with Slaves.—Schools.—Beautiful Scenery.—Odious System.—Character of Slaves.—Higher and lower Classes disunited.—White Labor discouraged.—Schemes to check Emigration.—Funeral.—Charlottetown.—University.—Monticello.—Jefferson.—Origin and objects of Colonization Society.—Students.

It was truly lamentable to see so many young men lounging about the hotel with nothing to do;—dozing and yawning over the fire, and wearing life away without any object to excite interest, or stimulate exertion. One youth, a mere boy, a martyr to intemperance, was a most pitiable object—yet happier, perhaps, than others of a more robust constitution, as he was fast sinking into the grave. As there are few employments in which whites of “good family” can engage, the liberal professions are ne-

cessarily overstocked, and their profits reduced to the lowest level by the competition. From the names on the doors, it is readily seen that lawyers and doctors abound—particularly the former, who seem, like certain rat-catchers, to make business for themselves, as well as for their customers. The appetite for litigation seems, indeed, to “grow with what it feeds upon”; and supply is speedily converted into demand. If the source from whence I derived my information, is to be depended upon, the number of law-suits increases with the number of lawyers. It is in this profession that ambition finds a ladder to mount, and tools to work with. The influence of the aristocracy derives its chief support from the county courts, which not only appoint militia officers and overseers of the poor—have jurisdiction over the roads—levy the county rates without limit or control—and have the entire management of the county police,—but are invested with the privilege of self-existence, by filling up vacancies as they occur among them.

Attempts were made at the State convention a few years back, to reform the Bench, the enemies and friends of which were the enemies and friends of slavery. The latter prevailed; and the same profession which affords an asylum for those who are too proud to engage in commerce, is a tool in the hands of a party who would perpetuate a sys-

tem that takes from their moral strength what it gives to their political power.

“The juries,” says Jefferson, in one of his letters, “the judges of all fact, and of law, when they choose it, are not selected by the people, nor amenable to them. They are chosen by an officer, named by the court and executive:—*chosen*, did I say?—*picked* up by the sheriff from the loungings of the court-yard, after every thing respectable has retired from it.”

One of the members of the Virginia State convention, in 1829, who was opposed to an unpaid magistracy, used the following language:—“The constitution gave the magistrates no reward whatever for their services. But, in making them eligible to the general assembly, it put it in their power to provide for themselves:—as they have since done. It is known, I presume, to every member of this committee, that generally a quorum, and often a majority of the house of delegates, is composed of magistrates, sheriffs, and their deputies. Tradition informs us, that such a legislative body found it easy to seize the sheriffalty, and to attach it to their own office, or to secure it by way of an indirect compensation for their services—so indirect as not to disqualify them from being eligible to the office of legislators. In this way they dispense justice for nothing! In this way they com-

pensate themselves! But we love a cheap magistracy; and the justices serve for nothing! It is true they only divide among themselves between fifty and sixty thousand dollars per annum, in the way of sheriff's fees. Valuing the 105 sheriffalties in the commonwealth at 500 dollars per annum each, we can easily estimate what 'serving for nothing' means, when applied to our present system. They are paid in the most exceptionable way; and it is all one and the same, whether they receive the amount of the sheriffalty in succession, or divide it annually amongst them, according to their services. It is still in *principle* a compensation; and the office of justice is so far lucrative."

The State, as I have before mentioned, is divided not less by clashing interests than by intervening mountains; the East being as much distinguished by the relative increase of the black, as the West by that of the white population. In the latter, the slave-part, from 1800 to 1810, increased in the proportion of sixty-five and a-half per cent. upon the whole amount; during the next ten years, forty-six; and during the last decade about twenty-eight. The following table will shew the decrease of the white population in Eastern Virginia since 1820. The first five counties are between the Blue Ridge and the head of tide-water:—the rest below the head of tide-water. In this section of the State the whites had,

in 1790, a majority over the blacks of 25,000. They are now in a minority—the difference being no less than 81,000*.

	Whites in 1820.	In 1830.
Brunswick	5889	5397
Amelia	3409	3293
Goochland	3976	3857
Loudon	16,144	15,516
Mecklenburg . . .	7710	7543
Fairfax	6224	4892
James City	1556	1284
King and Queen .	5460	4714
King William . .	3449	3155
Lancaster	2388	1976

* The following table will shew the relative proportions between the two races, as regards the increase of each in the Eastern and Western sections.

	Eastern Section.		
	Whites.	Slaves.	Free Blacks.
1790	507,885.	291,273.	12,703.
1830	375,940.	416,259.	40,708.

	Western Section.		
	Whites.	Slaves.	Free Blacks.
1790	34,230.	2,154.	63.
1830	318,505.	53,465.	6,323.

In South Carolina, the relative amounts for the corresponding periods were as follows :

	Whites.	Slaves.	Free Blacks.
1790	140,178.	107,094.	801.
1830	257,878.	315,665.	7,915.

Whites in 1820.	In 1830.
Northumberland . 4134	4029
Sussex 4155	4118
Stafford 4788	4713
Warwick 620	619

A remarkable fact was stated by Mr. Leigh, in the Convention, with regard to the proportion of taxes paid by the inhabitants of the eastern and western portions respectively. In the former, the white population amounted to 362,500; and that of the latter to 319,300. The first pay, on an average, thirty-four cents on the land-tax; the second fifteen cents. The one pays twenty-eight cents; the other four cents of the slave-tax; while of the horse and carriage-tax, the relative amount is nine cents and six cents per head.

Here is matter enough for synthetical reasoning on the indissoluble connexion between self-interest and good treatment in producing a co-operation between the will and the physical force of man. In the county of Loudon there were, in 1817, 359 defaulters to the county taxes; in 1825 there were 831; while the population had increased but three-fourths per cent. in the same period.

At this time the slave population was distributed over the State in the following proportions:—West of the Alleghany it was but $8\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. of the whole; in the valley between the Alleghany and the Blue Ridge it formed 17 per cent. of the inhabitants; and

in the eastern section, as it has been stated, it outnumbered the other portion.

It should be observed, that the preponderance of legislative power was with the east. As this had always been the case, Mr. Leigh inferred, from the disproportionate amount of taxes paid by the rival sections, that the superiority of the one had never been used to benefit itself at the expense of the other; yet, in the same breath, he predicted that a change in the elective franchise would sacrifice it to the other's selfishness; as if the nature of man were not precisely the same on both sides of the boundary. The nobility of the east were "conservative", and the commons of the west were "destructive". Mr. Leigh would not, or could not, see the cause of the difference. "In the language of Lord Chatham," he said, "the Commons of Great Britain claimed a right to give and grant the money of the commons of America, without allowing them any representation at all. Our western fellow-citizens only claim power to give and grant three dollars of our money for every dollar they give and grant of their own:—allowing us representation indeed, but a representation not strong enough to refuse the grant. Suppose Great Britain had offered us a representation in Parliament proportioned to our free white population exclusively,—what would our fathers have said to it?—what I, their descendant, now say to it: It is mockery. You ask us to put ourselves in your

power, bound hand and foot; and think, because you gild our chains with a thin leaf, that shews like golden freedom, we shall be so silly as to wear them."

Throughout the whole debate, the planters shewed that they were afraid to trust the majority in the State with the power of legislation; tacitly acknowledging that slave property is irreconcilable with the public welfare. Each southern State is as much divided in interest as the whole section, of which it forms a part, from the rest of the Union—and from the same causes. To suppose that such a state of things can continue much longer, with or without anti-slavery societies, is to imagine that oil and water may be made to mix together by some new law of affinity, or that action and reaction are neither equal nor in opposite directions.

The same disputes which inequality in the suffrage created between the government and the people, will, in course of time, arise between the two legislative bodies from difference of structure. Though the elective franchise has been extended from freeholders to householders, yet the lower house is built on what is called the "white basis" and the upper on the "federal"; the number of representatives being proportioned, in the first, to the white population exclusively and, in the latter, to the white and three-fifths of the black. The eastern and western portions of the State will thus, as is generally the case when conflicting claims are settled by a compromise that cicatrises the

wound and leaves the poison, be brought into immediate collision ; and the difficulty of reconciling representation of property with representation of person, will prove as great as that which the conflict between the hereditary and the elective principle is likely to occasion in England ;—with the addition of all the hatred and sensitiveness attached to the absence and possession of slave labor. But the struggle will not be confined to Virginia. The Union itself will be endangered by the shock which the foundation it stands on will receive from this blow upon its organic elements. “ I knew,” said Mr. Cooke in the Convention, “ that a large majority of the people of Virginia considered themselves iniquitously held in a state of bondage. I knew that threats had been uttered within the last eighteen months,—that, if the non-freeholders did not obtain justice in the Convention then anticipated, they would no longer submit to the laws and the constituted authorities ;—that they would refuse to labor on the roads, (a rank and palpable grievance,)—that they would refuse to pay county levies and rates, and to perform militia duty ;—that if the constituted authorities attempted to enforce the payment of the taxes, levies, fines, and penalties, they would resist force with force. I knew, by the result of a private census, that in the county of Frederick alone there were no less than 2200 of these disfranchised citizens,—men of full age,—and

that they bore to the freeholders the proportion of nearly nine to five."

Some of the language used on this occasion would be thought somewhat singular in an assembly of slave-holders. "No one man is born", exclaimed the same orator, "with a natural right to control any other man; no one man comes into the world with a mark on him, to designate him as possessing superior rights to any other man: neither God nor Nature recognizes in anticipation the distinction of bond and free, of despot and slave. These distinctions are artificial, are the work of man; are the result of fraud or violence." Nothing, however, was further from his intention than to hint even at personal rights. He was speaking of *political* slavery; —a condition so unjust and unmanly, that he could find no words to describe its enormity, but metaphors drawn from what was practised and applauded by all around him. The principle, to which he alluded, was not an abstract truth, he added, but, as it was embodied in the "declaration of rights", replete with practical meaning. If the authors of American independence had put forth a "declaration of force", their subsequent conduct would have been of a piece with their professions; no citizen, within the limits of the commonwealth they founded, would ever have blushed for the palpable incongruity between the rights he claims and the rights he withholds; an

immeasurable quantity of rodomontade and nonsense would have been spared to the disgusted world: and the glory that the country has fairly won would have been seen in its true colors.

If the population of the United States goes on increasing at its present rate, there will be about 18,000,000 in 1840. Of this number, 10,000,000 will belong to the North; and the rest to the South. The latter will have 28 senators in Congress, and the former 26; (under the term North I include all the free States.) The number of representatives from the slave-States will be 145, and that from the others 286. When the important question, relative to the admission of the Western territories into the Union, comes on, many members of Congress, who now support the President in his attack on the senate, will probably be unwilling to weaken a body, with which their own interests are bound up.

Among the inmates of the hotel where I was staying while at Warrenton, was a medical man, of pleasing manners and a well-informed mind. He shewed me great attention; and walked out with me to point out the beauties of the place. Speaking of slavery,—a topic I had purposely avoided,—he described the slaves as a happy and contented race; and adduced, as a proof of the kind treatment they received, that little care was taken in the town to fasten the doors. No doubt he believed what he said; and I was not disposed to question the author-

ity upon which he made a statement that he had heard too often to doubt. He pointed out to me a man, of whom he spoke with great abhorrence and aversion. He was a "trader", employed to purchase slaves for the southern market. So much was the business, in which he was engaged, detested, that no respectable person in the place would speak to him. "If that is the case," I observed, "he must be well paid to make up for loss of character." "He is so", was the reply; "he has been here a long time, and has made a large fortune." I suspected that he was one of Armfield's myrmidons; and the suspicion was shortly after confirmed by an old grey-headed negro, who accosted me in a jocular way, when I had left my companion, and asked me if I would buy a little girl that stood near him while he was at work in a neat well-trimmed garden. "I thought", said he, upon my declining his offer, "you did not look like a trader." I found, on inquiry, that the price of such a child (she was about six years of age) was 100 dollars, and sometimes more. "Are such infants often sold?" "Very often." "And the mothers?—what becomes of them?" "They remain here, broken-hearted: but there is no help for it. I have no children myself; but it cuts me to the heart to see these poor little dears torn away from their mothers." The old man was very lively and cheerful. His mistress, he told me, used him very well, like one of the family. He had the same fare as

herself. "When she leaves home, she trusts everything to me," said he, "and I take good care of the house till she comes back. There is no one in the town like her. Our people in general are very cruelly treated, and half-starved. We are not allowed to stir from the house after dark." "You are as well off, then," I said, "as if you were free. Your mistress takes good care of you." "Yes: but I could take better care of myself. What is to become of me when she is gone?" I had often heard before that those slaves who are best treated are most anxious for liberty. How can it be otherwise in creatures, who, like ourselves, find their hopes and wishes expand with their enjoyments?

I now thought it time to break off the conversation, as it had already attracted the attention of every one who passed: but, previously, I asked whether he did not feel attached to his good mistress, and whether he would not defend her in case of danger? "To be sure I would," he replied: "I would willingly sacrifice my life in her defence; and so would any man, if he was as well treated."

During the massacre at Southampton in this State, a few years ago, an old man, who was unable, from his infirmities, to make his escape from the fury of Nat Turner and his band, owed his life entirely to the grateful attachment of his slaves, who fought desperately in his defence, and saved him from the

slaughter which had fallen indiscriminately, to the number of fifty-eight, on man, woman, and child.

The old fellow came from the lower part of the State, where, he informed me, the slaves are most barbarously used. I should, most probably, have passed unnoticed by him, if he had not seen me talking to one of his tribe,—a poor old man, like himself, with a grey head. His account of what was going on at Warrenton corresponded perfectly with that of the old gardener. I fear he had too much reason to say what he did. A slight incident exhibited the hideousness of the system under which he was living. I begged he would sit down, as he seemed to be tired, and I would take a seat by him on the grass, while we conversed together. "I dare not," he muttered, looking carefully round: "if I was to be seen by the whites, I should suffer for it." The keen and scrutinizing glance of a man, who stopped at the moment to look at us, explained what he meant. I thought it better to quit him, than expose him to punishment.

Before I left the town I visited two schools, in company with the Doctor;—but the morning's task had finished, and I was prevented from returning, as I had intended, after dinner. There were three schools in the place; two of them private establishments, and the other destined to the poorer classes, with an endowment; but not, as far as I could un-

derstand, assisted by the State,—though the fund for the promotion of education amounts to nearly a million of dollars. There were more public schools, I was told, in the State, some years back, than there are at present.

At five in the afternoon I left Warrenton, and arrived for the night, at ten, at Culpeper Court-house, twenty-five miles from the former.

It was three o'clock, and the moon shone clearly through a frosty atmosphere, when we started the next morning; and the road, which had almost shaken us to pieces the preceding evening, proved less rough and rutty. Soon after the day had dawned I got out, and took my seat by the driver, whom I found by no means unwilling to answer my questions, or to confine his communications to a simple answer. I obtained a great deal of interesting information from him, as well as from his successor.

I was well repaid for the change I had made of an inside place for a seat on the box, as the country abounded in beautiful scenery. On our right was the Blue Ridge; and on the left, and nearer to us, was the South-Western, of lower elevation. Both the soil and the mode of cultivation improved as we proceeded, though the one was still generally poor, and the other partially distributed. After passing Orange Court-house, where the stage stopped to breakfast, fresh beauties sprang up on each side. The various shades of blue, with which the mountains, as they

receded or advanced, were clothed, added an inexpressible charm to the landscape. Large masses were presented to the view,—now exhibiting, in the distance, deep tints of the color from which they derive their name,—now imparting, to diversities of form and magnitude, the distinctness which a nearer view gave to the woods and enclosures, and farm-houses discernible on their surface. It was, indeed, a lovely scene. The fresh air of the morning exhilarated the spirits:—"each rural sight, each rural sound," was delightful. The fluttering of the turtle-doves and small birds across the road; the chirping and songs with which these "feathered tenants of the air" saluted the rising sun;—and, above all, the mellow notes of the mocking-bird, (for the barbarous gun had not swept away the unoffending warblers,) produced a more agreeable effect on the mind than I ever before experienced. There was one feature, however, that closer observation discovered to mar the prospect. The laborers in the fields were unwilling machines. The slow and lifeless manner in which they handled the hoe, or turned the plough-share;—the uplifted looks they cast at us as we passed;—the furtive cessation from toil that invariably took place, as the overseer's eye was turned from them;—spoke a language that could not be mistaken. It told of unrequited labor, of undeserved misfortune, of blighted affections, and the destruction of all those hopes and fears that play round the

heart of man, and distinguish him from the brute creation.

I now found that the hotel, where we had breakfasted most luxuriously, was kept by a "trader"; who, so far from sharing the fate of his brother-merchant at Warrenton, had all the profits of the business without its odium; was in high favor with visitors from the South, and was not a little respected by his neighbors. His gains from this diabolical traffic must be enormous; as he has been known to make a thousand dollars in the course of a week, by buying and selling his fellow-creatures, as bullocks are disposed of in Smithfield-market.

While conversing about these unfortunate beings, my companion mentioned two remarkable facts. One was, the faculty they possess of recognizing a face, however slight a view they may have had of it, and however long the interval between the first impression and its renewal. There is an insect in the country, that sits perched on the branch of a tree, and emits a shrill sound like that of a watchman's rattle:—touch the tree however slightly, and the little creature, though on the highest bough, is silent and off in a moment. This delicacy of organization implies that it has many enemies, and feeble powers of resistance. Such is the slave's instinct, which habit, a second nature, has given him. The other circumstance was, that they are more severe overseers than the whites. The master finds it good policy, if he has a smart, trust-worthy fellow in his gang, to make

him an overseer, and allow him certain indulgences; as he gains both in the saving of a white's salary, and in the additional labor extracted by a hand that knows how to get at it. The sympathy that unites the members of the same race and the victims of the same oppression, is easily destroyed. He has but to arm the human passions against each other. When once jealousy on one side, and vindictive feeling on the other, are excited, the object is attained. In addition to this, the penalty of his humanity or negligence will fall with double weight upon his own back.

One of these coachmen was a native of the State, and had been for many years a close observer of the blacks, with many of whom he was personally acquainted, as I could perceive by their mutual greetings on the road. His evidence, therefore, is not to be hastily rejected. He assured me, that though they were uneducated, not being allowed to write or read*, the teaching of which is a

* By a recent act of the South Carolina legislature, any white person teaching a slave or free person of color to write or read, is subject to a fine of 100 dollars, and six months' imprisonment. Any free black guilty of the same crime, is to receive fifty lashes, and pay a fine of 50 dollars;—while a slave who shall dare to infringe this *salutary* law, will be reminded of his duty by the infliction of fifty stripes. No colored person, whether bond or free, is permitted to preach or lecture to any of his own race. Nor can any white undertake this office, if there be fewer than three of his complexion present. Similar regu-

penal offence by law, they are, many of them, very shrewd and intelligent,—with the same varieties of talent and character as are to be found among the whites. Some of their faculties are sharpened by constant exercise, and the absence of those exciting causes which distract or weaken the mental powers of the free. Their tact in some things is extremely fine and acute. The exigencies that demand reserve, or permit its relaxation, are appreciated by them with a nicety of which we can form no idea. They conceal their knowledge as they conceal their money,—and for the same reason,—lest it should become an injury to themselves, by becoming a benefit to their owners.

This man spoke of their condition and character with so much good sense and good feeling, that I could hardly believe myself to be on the south side of the Potomac.

lations pervade the South. The same instinctive dread of the consequences to which knowledge is sure to lead, influenced the policy of the feudal lord. The barons of Richard the Second petitioned the king, that no villeyne should be permitted to send his son to any school. The slaves in North America teach themselves to read in a very ingenious way. Having procured a piece of printed paper, they set some one to watch, while they form themselves into a school of mutual instruction. Their friends supply them with the necessary materials, by wrapping up the little presents they bring them in a newspaper or the leaves of a book. They think reading must be very valuable to them, or it would not be prohibited.

I little expected to find the same revolutionary spirit here that exists in Europe; and that aristocratical oppression had been followed by the same effects. Such, however, is the fact; and no where is the spirit of the feudal system more effectual in dividing society, than where its form has fled for ever. The slave-owners are the law-makers; and the poor whites, in the few employments that remain to them, find themselves discouraged and dishonored. Every attempt to abolish or mitigate slavery has been baffled. It is the same in all the slave-States. "In South Carolina, no person can be a member of the legislature, unless he be a proprietor of 500 acres of land and ten slaves," according to Judge Platt, one of the delegates to the New York convention. The slave-proprietors will come to the discussion of the abolition question with minds as free from bias, and as open to conviction, as the honorable members of the British House of Commons, when debating on the policy of repealing the corn laws. Such legislative provisions, however, can no more bind posterity, than the Lord Chancellor's woosack stop the cotton mills, or the prayer in the Dutch ritual for "the great fishery" confine the capital of Holland to the catching and curing of herrings.

Justice, with her exactions, her sophistry and chicanery, is on the side of those who supply the bench with its incumbents. The lords of the soil will not sell a bit of land to any of the humbler

classes, who happen to have a little money; while the latter are leaving the country, and the former are adding to their possessions and their gangs—to fall, in a short time, into the hands of those who have acquired wealth in trade, or to be divided among the children, till little or nothing be left. The industrious laborer looks with a sigh to the north; where he sees his equal rising to a higher rank, and rewarded for his toils by the comfort and respect they obtain for him. He contrasts his degraded state with the rewards that cheer the prospects of the northern peasant, and curses the institutions of his native land. So prevalent is this feeling among the working classes, who see in the system around them the cause of all their calamities, that, if it were not for the outlet afforded by the western wilderness, the evil would cure itself, and an explosion would take place. There is one circumstance peculiarly hard upon these men—as fine a race, too, as can easily be found any where. As farmers, hotel-keepers, and others, find it cheaper to job than to buy their slaves, capitalists, adapting their speculations to the altered state of things, purchase gangs to let out; and as mechanical skill fetches a high price, qualify their slaves to become carpenters, cabinet-makers, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, or other workmen. The latter of course displace an equal number of whites; who are thus doubly injured by a competition, against which it is hopeless to contend, and by the stigma

which prejudice affixes to all employments that are occupied by slaves. A man who had gone from New England to the south, was earning five dollars a day, when he was driven away by the jeers and scoffs of those who could not bear to see a white man engaged in what they considered a degrading occupation. The high rate of wages could not induce him to remain, or others to take his place. Some one, however, must do the work. Who does it, and how is he paid? This is a question of the utmost importance; as the state of the southern section and its probable destiny are involved in the answer. This process of exclusion and debasement is going on with increasing rapidity, not only in Virginia, but in every State where the profits of forced labor are decreasing; and added to the breeding system, which tends to shut the eyes of those most deeply interested against the consequences of such a course, presents to the imagination a clear picture of what is to come. There were no less than five acts passed by the legislature of Virginia, the last session but one, enabling free blacks, who would otherwise have been compelled by a most iniquitous law to quit the State, to remain. It is not uncharitable to suppose, that it was the necessity for their services, not humanity, that had pleaded in their behalf.

A person at Washington told me, that the best blacksmith he ever saw, was a man who had obtained his

own freedom, and that of his wife and family, through the exercise of his skill. He had been compelled to quit Virginia; as the law in question was enforced against him by men who owed him money. Such persons cannot well be spared in remote districts, where an interruption to the ordinary course of business is more readily felt than supplied; and legislative enactments will be nugatory, when those who are to enforce them suffer the most by their infliction. It will hence be apparent how utterly useless it is for the white workmen to bear up against such a combination of free capital and forced labor. It is impossible; they know it; and give up all hope of relief. "Why," said I to the driver, "do you not make common cause with your fellow workmen in Maryland and Tennessee?"—"Ah! Sir," was his reply, "we are separated by local jealousies*." Those who have the wealth and power of the States in their hands, take care to keep these feelings alive, to prevent our acting in concert. We sacrifice our interests to our prejudices. But this cannot last long. A change must take place." I could now see one reason why the Southerners object so strenuously and unitedly against the principle of in-

* The Union is strengthened by the political operation of these jealousies. It is from hence the federal government derives its chief support, as it derived its origin. While each State is striving to promote its own interests, all are combined against the ascendancy of any one.

ternal improvements, under the pretence that it is unconstitutional. The more isolated the States are from each other, the more secure is their internal power. Canals and rail-roads would "let in new light through chinks that time has made," and expose the hidden deformity within the building.

Every measure for improving the new States and attracting settlers is opposed by the Southern members of congress, who would gladly cut off all communication with them that may tend to facilitate the removal of their fellow-citizens. Great indeed must be their terror and embarrassment, when measures of coercion and restriction could for a moment have been contemplated in such a country. The governor of South Carolina, in his message to the legislature of 1829, thus expressed himself. "The increase of population has been limited, owing to emigration. Nothing tends to retard the improvement of the country more than the roving habits of our people. It is natural that the New States should desire to increase their population, and, with it, their political influence in the Union. Among other schemes to effect this purpose, is to be ranked the gratuitous distribution of the public lands to emigrants. How far it may be politic to adopt some countervailing measures on this subject, you will determine. The right to set limits to emigration is an original principle in the body politic. Without insisting upon an interdict of emigration, you will consider how

far it becomes your duty to make it the interest of the citizen to remain on his native soil." Admirable consistency! The same power that excludes free citizens from other States would detain its own. Imagine a cordon sanitaire of blockade-men along the whole frontier of South Carolina. A colored man makes his appearance on one side,—“you must not come in:” a white man approaches on the other,—“you must not go out.”

Various “schemes” have been adopted, to preserve, or increase, the white population of the slave States. Virginia, if I was rightly informed, sells her lands at the price of two dollars for one hundred acres. This expedient for attracting has the effect of repelling settlers. What difference is there whether you cry “stinking fish!” or “fish for nothing!”

In Tennessee there is a curious *jus trium liberorum*. A law was enacted there in 1829, authorizing any man whose wife shall have three or more children at one birth, to take up 200 acres of the State lands for each of the children.

Both drivers observed to me, that the country we were passing through would be the garden of the Union, if it were not for slavery. “I will explain the whole system to you,” said one of them: “the slave will do nothing, or do what he does in a slovenly way, if left to himself. All he can lay his hands on, he keeps to himself; and, when he is found out, he reasons thus: ‘You have robbed me of my

labor, and I have a right to get back as much as I can of what it has produced'; and he is in the right:—we should do the same in his place." There is no use mincing the matter; talk as you please about property in man. Put power on the other side, and who will listen to you?

About forty years ago, some Americans were redeemed from slavery at Algiers. Sixteen of them landed at Newport, in Rhode Island. A crowd soon collected, anxious to receive from the lips of their fellow-countrymen the story of their sufferings and their escape. Among other circumstances, they dwelt much upon the pleasure they had felt in pilfering, whenever they had an opportunity, from their owners. This communication was received with loud cheers; and every one present applauded them for this act of retaliation. I had this statement from an eye-witness.

It is to the system of personal bondage that the downfall of Rome and of the Grecian republics may be traced. Appian's description (and a similar picture is given by Plutarch) of ancient Italy corresponds in many particulars to what may be seen in Virginia and her sister communities. "The laborers and shepherds", he says*, "employed on the farms, were slaves; for freemen were liable to be called away on military service: and besides, in this mode

* See Westminster Review for Jan., 1833.

of possession they derived large profits from the children of their slaves, who multiplied on account of this very exemption from service. The result of the whole was that the nobles engrossed all the wealth; and slaves swarmed through the country. The diminution of their own numbers, on the other hand, pressed heavily on the Italians, and left them to be ground down by poverty, taxes, and military services. Even when a temporary remission occurred, they had no means of finding employment; as the rich were in possession of the land, and employed slaves, to the exclusion of freemen."

It is singular that Montesquieu, in enumerating the causes which led to the fall of the Roman empire, says little or nothing of the influence which slavery had on the public welfare. He speaks throughout of the people as if they were incapable of action or reflection, beyond what their "betters" might stimulate or supply; and attributes to luxury and vice, as primary causes, what they merely produced as the consequences of that system which equally dishonored and discouraged labor, by giving all its fruits to one portion of society, and all its toils to the other. If Rome conquered the civilized world because her soldiers were citizens, was she not conquered by the barbarians because her subjects were slaves?

"As soon as the census is completed," says the Charleston Courier, in 1830, "we shall discover to

what cause the decline in the value of land is to be attributed. By those violent characters, who wanted to conceal the effect of their own avarice and folly in introducing one family of negroes, and in driving out two of white; in doing all they could to keep up the necessaries of life; in buying up all the land they could, (thus ensuring their own eventual ruin,) and asking prices for it which were perfectly prohibitory; in buying negroes to grow cotton, and growing cotton to buy negroes; in glutting the cotton-market of the world; in trying every experiment to discover the minimum of sustenance and the maximum of labor (thus ensuring eventual loss to themselves, and present misery to their servants). By these men all was ascribed to the tariff."

The planters of the older slave States are, many of them, reduced to the situation of bankrupt debtors with mortgaged estates; bearing the same relation to the merchants of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, that their West Indian brethren bear to the capitalists of the mother country. Slave property carries a curse with it, wherever it is found. It rouses the worst spirit of gambling. It stimulates the taste for reckless speculation, while it relaxes the springs of honest industry. The dice-box and the cow-hide are equally fatal to all who handle them; but the former is less polluted, as it is stained with the tears of the guilty, while the latter is red with the blood of the innocent.

Mr. Mercer, speaking in the convention of the lowland country, expressed his feelings in terms that wanted nothing but fiction to make them truly poetical. "Can we dwell", said the orator, "but with mournful regret, on temples of religion sinking in ruin; and those spacious dwellings, whose doors, once opened by the hand of liberal hospitality, are now fallen upon their portals, or closed in tenantless silence? Except on the banks of its rivers, the march of desolation saddens this once beautiful country. The cheerful notes of population have ceased; and the wolf and the wild deer, no longer scared from their ancient haunts, have descended from the mountains to the plains. They look on the graves of our ancestors, and traverse their former paths. And shall we do nothing to restore this once lovely land? There was a time, when the sun in his course shone on none so fair." Mr. Mercer recommended that that part of the white population which forms its bone and sinew, should be elevated:—and what would be the result? to increase the evil. Who will remain when labor is dishonorable, and the sense of honor in the laborer is rendered more acute;—when the hope of improving his condition animates his bosom, while every avenue to his ambition is filled with discouragement, or pre-occupied by those he has been taught to despise?

Between Orange Court House and Charlotteville, we met several people returning from a funeral. The

body had been buried two months before. It is the custom, in this part of the country, to let a long interval elapse between the burial and the funeral service. It probably arose in the early period of the first settlement, when a sexton was more easily found than a clergyman; and the practice of deferring the ceremony for the dead has continued long after the cause has ceased.

At one o'clock we arrived at Charlotteville, (forty-nine miles from Culpeper,) where I stopped; while my companions resumed their seats after dinner, and proceeded to Lynchburg, where one of them proposed we should meet again, and go on together to Richmond. In the afternoon I walked up to the University, or College, about a mile out of the town.

It was my intention to call upon Dr. Pattison, who had filled for some time an appointment at the Loudon University. I had, however, been misinformed, both as to the person and the name; though there was some slight resemblance to the former, and nearly an identity as to the latter. The mistake was productive of a very agreeable acquaintance; Dr. Patterson, to whom I addressed myself, having shewn me as much civility as I could have expected to receive from the gentleman with whom I had confounded him, and whom I merely knew as having met him once or twice at the house of a friend. Having shewn me the library,—a handsome and

apparently well-stored room, he invited me to drink tea with him. Here I remained, till the close of the evening, and the introduction of a subject which I am apt to discuss with too much warmth and indiscretion, warned me to retire.

I was about to take my leave, when the Doctor inquired whether I had paid any attention to the system of slavery, which formed so strong a feature in the economy of the State. I replied that the subject had interested me very much; that I was aware it was a question of equal importance and delicacy: and that I thought the colored race would go on increasing in numbers, till the land would fall into their possession. To a remark from my host, that emigration would be a check upon their increase, I referred, in answer, to the population of Ireland; where the Catholics, who had descended to the lowest scale of animal life consistent with freedom of action, had nearly driven out the Protestants; had sent forth innumerable swarms of colonists to various parts of the globe; and had increased their numbers at home with a rapidity unknown in any other part of Europe.

From these observations, and the replies that followed, the transition was natural to the treatment of the slaves, who, I was assured, were well fed and happy. "But what is to become of them, when the owner is unable to support them?" "Oh! then he sells them." Shocking alternative, which compels them

to starve at home, or perish in the rice-grounds of South Carolina! What could I say in reply? I had already gone too far: the worthy Doctor and his amiable lady had near relatives who were slaveholders. I rose from my seat; and, with proper acknowledgements for the polite attentions shewn to a stranger, withdrew.

It is in natural philosophy that Professor Patterson lectures. He has a well-chosen apparatus for the purpose. There is a public examination for the students at the middle and at the end of each session. It is conducted in writing; and the classification, which is determined by marks previously arranged, is into four divisions, according to the answers. The Institution confers three degrees of honor; a certificate of proficiency, the title of graduate in any school or faculty, and the degree of M.A. in the University of Virginia. To obtain the last, the candidate must have graduated in ancient languages, modern languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, and moral philosophy.

The next day, I set off on foot for Monticello, the celebrated seat of the celebrated Mr. Jefferson. It is situated on a commanding eminence, about two miles from the town. It was unfortunately a cloudy day, with a sort of haze that restricted the view. Still it was a noble prospect, from the summit of the hill on which the house stands. Below was the valley in which Charlottesville is placed; and just

below, on the right, the river Rivanna. In the distance, and in front, were the Blue Mountains, rising above each other, and running towards the N.E., till they were lost in the horizon.

There is nothing remarkable in the house. I did not attempt to gain admittance, as the family, to whom it belonged, were at home,—as far as I could judge, from seeing a young lady at the window, who seemed, from the look she gave me, to say I had no business there. There was no one about the place who could give me any information.

The estate, consisting of seven or eight hundred acres, was sold, some time back, for 7000 dollars; and the purchaser disposed of the greater part in lots. The remainder, about 180 acres, with the house, was purchased for 2700 dollars, a sum which will probably be reduced by a few hundreds, as the quantity of ground proves to be less than it was represented to be.

Mr. Jefferson is said to have laid out sixty or seventy thousand dollars on the house. He had been a wealthy man; but the profusion with which he entertained the numerous visitors who honored him with their company from all parts of the world, reduced his estate to very narrow limits. One hears a great deal about Southern hospitality. Like President Jackson's spectacles, which are wittily described in Jack Downing's letters*, it seems to make

* There are two Jack Downings. The one alluded to is reviewed in the last Quarterly. His political sketches are ex-

every object wear the donor's colors. If the poor slaves could be hospitable as well as their masters, they would not want advocates. But they cannot invite to the banquet; they can only furnish the costly wines and savory viands*.

Jefferson's slaves (to the number of 130) were sold by auction, after his death;—"the most valuable for their number", as chronicles tell, "ever offered at one time for sale in Virginia." An Act of Assembly was passed, to enable his children, (there were five,) to whom he bequeathed their freedom, to remain in the State. One of his daughters is married, and settled at Charlotteville.

Jefferson was as hostile to the Bank of the United States and to a paper currency, as his present successor. Paper money, he says in one of his letters, does not make any addition to the stock or capital

cellent; but, though abounding in humor, he is inferior to his prototype, as a delineator of national manners.

* "You first tax the slave who makes the money; and then you tax the article which the money procures."—Judge Upshur, in the Virginia Convention.

"It is a problem, which I give to the master to solve, whether the religious precepts against the violation of property were not framed for him as well as his slave; and whether the slave may not as justifiably take a little from one who has taken all from him, as he may slay one who would slay him?"—Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

"It is certainly humiliating to a proud master to reflect that he depends on his slave, even for bread to eat."—Notes to a Treatise written by a Florida planter.

of a nation, by introducing commodities, which the gold it has displaced brings from other countries. "The coin, sent out, was worth as much, while in the country, as the goods imported and taking its place." If so, why was it sent out? If no profit is to be had, why does the merchant make "a change of form in a part of the national capital from that of gold and silver to other goods?" If there is a profit, it is so much added to the national capital. The chief objection to paper money with Jefferson is its supposed encouragement to luxury, which, he says, "increases expense, without increasing production." Franklin's anecdote of the ribbands supplies the best answer to this assertion. All the girls in the village set to work at straw-bonnet making, that they might purchase the new luxury with them; and thus, while they gratified an innocent vanity, brought wealth and refinement into the village.

Why should the commercial interests of a whole people depend on the nature and the number of the "idols" with which the mind of one man is possessed; and the merchants be sacrificed, because the executive thinks he knows better what is for their good than the merchants themselves?

It would be curious to mark how the means of exchange are suited to the state of society, from the hunter to the commercial state;—from barter to paper money: and to fix, by an exact analysis, that ratio between the manufacturing and the agricultural

portions of the community, which requires the substitution of paper for specie.

If permission to stay be a favor, it must be a punishment to be sent away. The colonization scheme was first proposed by Virginia. Jefferson says, in a letter written in 1811, "I received, on the first year of my entering into the administration of the general government, a letter from the Governor of Virginia, consulting me, at the request of the legislature of the State, on the means of procuring some asylum, to which these people might occasionally be sent. I proposed to him the establishment of Sierra Leone, &c., and, if that could not be obtained, some of the Portuguese possessions in South America as most desirable." Thus it appears that the system of deportation not only originated with the planters, but that the civilization of Africa formed no part of the object; and the emigrants were to be left at the mercy of the Portuguese slave-owners.

So early as 1801 the question of African colonization was discussed in the Virginia legislature. The measure seems to have been suggested by the fears that Gabriel's insurrection had excited. Some time after this, the House of Delegates resolved, almost unanimously, "that the executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory upon the North Pacific, or at some other place, not within any of the States, or the territorial governments of

the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth." In accordance with these sentiments, a meeting, in December, 1816, was held at Washington, "to consider the propriety and practicability of colonizing the free people of color in the United States, and of forming an asylum in relation to that object." Thus, neither adaptation of climate, nor abolition of slavery, was contemplated in the original scheme. Most of those who composed the meeting were planters, or connected with them; and the chairman (Mr. Clay) was a slave-owner.

That even a slave-owner thinks it a hardship to be sent out of one's country, may be seen in Jefferson's most humiliating request to the legislature of his State. "I humbly", such are his words in his last will, "I humbly and earnestly request of the legislature of Virginia, a confirmation of the bequests to these servants, with permission to remain in this State, where their families and connexions are, as an additional instance of the favour, of which I have received so many other manifestations in the course of my life, and for which I now give them my solemn and dutiful thanks."

The motto of this "philosopher" was, "in eo libertas in quo spiritus." Yet he passed his whole life in destroying the liberty of others, and disgraced

his own by asking as a favor what he ought to have demanded as a right.

Charlottesville, which contains about 1500 souls, is a neat, thriving town, surrounded by farms in a good state of cultivation. The University brings a good deal of money to it, without receiving an equivalent in morals. The students reside ten months in the year. Their average age is twenty; considerably higher than it is at Cambridge or Newhaven. Of 201 students, who attended the preceding session, three only were from the free States. The system is in one respect like the German and Scotch; as the professors receive fees, in addition to their salaries, from their pupils, who are allowed to select what "faculty" they will study.

The place has a communication with the sea, by means of flat-bottomed boats; partly by a canal, and partly, where navigable, by the Rivanna, to Richmond. But the stimulus is wanting that would convert the town into a city, by directing its population to the hidden riches of commerce. Those streams, which flow from the mountains with a power that the busy hand of free labor would employ to give bread to thousands, continue their idle and unprofitable course to the ocean:—an emblem of many an ill-starred youth, whom the blighting system of his native State has doomed to wear away a devious and useless existence.

I was highly pleased, in conversing with a young

man, a druggist, into whose shop I happened to step, to hear that there are some who have escaped the contagion of the infected air they breathe. Speaking of slavery, (a topic with which a stranger is sure to be regaled,) he observed that he would rather live on bread and water than own a slave;—that some of his friends were of his way of thinking:—and that, for his part, he should be sorry to have a wife and family, while he remained where he was, as his children would be sure to be contaminated by bad example, and habituated to exercise a despotic authority which would render them unworthy members of society.

If I might form an opinion of the students from the little I saw of them, they are a sad lawless set. Some of them, who were carousing at the hotel, disturbed the whole house with the most discordant noises. The landlord was at last obliged to shut the bar against them. He told me the bed-rooms were always locked up, to prevent their going into them and annoying the lodgers;—a precaution which my own experience convinced me was by no means superfluous. I asked one of these “chivalrous” youths, who was sitting next to me, what the contents of a dish were upon the table before us. He returned me no answer, but a laugh, which was repeated by his neighbor, and was taken up by three or four others who sat opposite, and who continued sneering till they had left the table. I hope they profit more by

Dr. Patterson's science than they do by his good-breeding.

There are no such public schools here as exist in the north. The expenses of education are defrayed by the State, which has appointed commissioners for the poor, whose children are sent to private establishments, where they are taught with those not under the same necessity:—an ingenious method to keep up the most odious features of that distinction which difference of wealth will always make. The consequences of this arrangement are just what might have been expected. Rather than expose them to humiliation, many parents keep their children at home, where they receive little or no education. This feeling in the “lower orders” is imputed to pride; but, if it be pride, it is a feeling very nearly allied to self-respect. These matters are not very equitably estimated. This college draws annually from the public purse 15,000 dollars; while 45,000 are granted for the general purposes of instruction throughout the State; yet the cottager's son is despised by the rich planter's boy, who is sent to a college, built, endowed, and supported out of the same fund that is employed for the education of the former;—as parish paupers in “sheep-skins and goat-skins” are objects of contempt to public paupers in “purple and fine linen.”

Never in any country have I met with such an unmannerly set of “unlicked cubs” as there were at

dinner the day I left Charlottesville. The students, of whom I have spoken, entered the hotel swaggering and swearing and whistling; and behaved, while at table, in the most disgusting manner. Some of them seized on the brandy-bottle; others darted on the dishes with an avidity that defies imitation or description, and filled their plates and their mouths with both hands. Every man, indeed, was ambidexter, and plied his knife and his fork simultaneously, and with equal skill. As soon as the first cravings of appetite were appeased, and the best things secured, three or four who sat opposite, observing a stranger present, endeavored to stare him out of countenance; and, failing in their attempt, they began to whisper to one another, still fixing their looks upon me in the most offensive manner. I was soon relieved from the painful necessity of witnessing the spectacle of youth perverted by indulgence and the insolence of caste. I was summoned to the stage, and quitted Charlottesville, with no very exalted idea of its academical discipline.

These young *gentlemen*, I was informed, are as famous for their "renowning" as their German brethren; though their mode of attacking "the Philistines" is less manly and heroic. Their antipathies are particularly directed against the tailors; a class of men to whom they are much indebted in more senses than one. We generally say that one man is a match for nine tailors;—they hold the converse to

be true;—for they set upon poor “snip” in parties of ten or twelve. A lad, who was recounting these exploits to me with a delight and glee that shewed he would be at the same sport himself when old enough, appeared to think it an excellent joke to “whip a tailor half to death.”—“They are so mean!” he observed. Whipping means beating in all its modes and measures,—such as kicking, gouging, &c. The meanness consists in dressing better than the students. The latter, during college hours, wear a sort of uniform, “consisting (according to the rules) of cloth of a dark grey mixture, at a price not exceeding six dollars a yard.” It must be galling to them, when they doff it for a smart coat, to see a better one on the back of the very person who made it. As these embryo-statesmen usually carry a dirk or a pistol, resistance is out of the question. Some of the townsmen have been nearly killed by these young ruffians, and many are afraid to venture out after dark. I am far from asserting this account to be true of the majority; but I fear there are too many to whom this description applies, if I am not deceived by persons who had no apparent motive or intention to deceive me.

CHAPTER XX.

Wilmington.—Drunkenness.—Cruelty to Slaves.—Price of Religious Slaves.—Overseers.—Export Trade of Human Beings.—Destruction of Life by Hard Work.—Richmond.—Education in the South.—Penitentiary.—Treatment of Free Blacks.—Black Labor and White Labor.—Ultimate Triumph of Blacks.—Slave Penal Code.—Gambling.

THE stage, in which there was no one but myself, stopped for the night at Wilmington, about twenty-five miles. The road passed through an interesting country, with the exception of a long forest, which, as is generally the case with such scenery, was very tedious and monotonous.

It was a raw, cold morning, though the 4th of May, when the stage, about five o'clock, resumed its route; and I tried in vain to keep myself warm; the leather curtains letting in the keen air to my great annoyance. As the day advanced it improved; and when we left Goochland Court-house, where we breakfasted, having come thirty miles, the weather became pleasant, and I got outside. Before we sat down to breakfast, I was asked by the landlord if I would not

take a dram,—an invitation that I had never had in the North; in which, during my whole stay, I did not see one half the intoxication I had met with in Virginia. Six or eight men had amused themselves the preceding night in drinking and singing and shouting, till two o'clock in the morning, when four of them lay down dead drunk on some straw in a barn adjoining the house where the driver was. They kept him awake all night. The wages of this man were very high. He drove forty-six miles from Wilmington to Richmond, and was paid forty dollars a month, in addition to board and lodging and washing. Other drivers are paid in proportion to the distance, for one stage or route, which is seldom half the former number of miles, about fifteen dollars a month, with the same additions. As the slaves occupy so many employments, one would think that the whites, having so little to do, would, by their number, keep down the wages of the stage-drivers; but this is so far from being the case, that many of them are from the North; it being very difficult to find a steady, trustworthy man who is qualified for a situation that requires habits of sobriety and prudence. The best part of the working-class leave the State.

One of the passengers related to me some facts he had himself seen, that would shock any one possessed of a spark of humanity. He had seen nearly a thousand human beings chained together, and pass-

ing along the road to the South, under the lash of their drivers. He had seen a man receive, not a month before, at the whipping-post in Richmond, before assembled hundreds, no less than one hundred lashes from the cow-hide, for striking a white man who had treated him most barbarously*. He had struck the latter, in a moment of anger, with his open hand. For this crime his back was cut nearly to the bone, from the nape of the neck to the loins, and presented one continuous mass of gore. He had seen children of three and five years of age publicly sold by the weight; the former at $3\frac{1}{2}$ dollars, the latter at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per pound, in the presence of their mothers, who were wringing their hands in unutterable anguish.

In relating these atrocities, and others of the same kind,—especially the case of a free black, who, a short time before, had received thirty-nine lashes for nine successive days, for assisting a slave to escape,—the narrator's voice faltered, and he seemed to feel over again the horrors of the scenes at which he had been present. Persons who witness these cruelties for the first time, are affected even to tears:—the heart seems to sink under the pressure of mental

* The law in Louisiana declares that “Free people of color ought never to insult or strike white people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites; but, on the contrary, they ought to yield to them on every occasion, and never speak or answer them but with respect, under penalty of imprisonment, according to the nature of the offence.”

suffering, and sickness, often accompanied with vomiting, ensues. The driver pointed out to me several houses, the owners of which were noted for their cruelty; but none more so than a minister of the Gospel, whose church was by the side of the road. He added, that there were more instances of harsh treatment towards their slaves in that profession than in any other.

It is not uncommon for churches to hold slaves. A person, who was in the habit of asking the slaves to whom they belonged, one day received the following answer: "I belong to the congregation." On inquiry, he found that the man was one of a gang who had been bequeathed to a religious society for pious uses; and the proceeds derived from their labor were appropriated to the repairs of the building, and other expenses connected with the congregation. This species of property, like the Codrington plantation in Barbadoes, would add more to the funds than the fame of the church, and injure religion in proportion as it enriched its professors. Another mode of raising money is, where the slaves, not the masters, are "pious." Would it be believed that such a qualification should be advertised, to enhance the price, and secure a ready sale? Yet it is a fact, that, at New Orleans, (and similar deeds have no doubt been done elsewhere,) a large number of negroes, who had recently arrived in the port, were to be sold by public auction; and the advertisement particularly stated

that there were several "pious slaves" in the lot. Men often make gain out of godliness; but it is no common thing to sell another's religion, and coin money out of a fellow-creature's piety.

Overseers are highly paid; from 300 to 500 dollars a year, besides board, &c. One of them, on a farm we passed, had 580, and a horse found for him. You see them, as you go along the road, standing with their hands in their pockets, overlooking the slaves. They generally have fire-arms or a dirk with them, in case of "accidents"; though it must be desperation alone that would offer them violence. Besides the great expense thus incurred, the only security for the overseer's vigilance is the fear of losing his salary and his character—a feeble restraint in the absence of his employer*. So costly and ruinous is this sort of farming, that the produce of the poorer soil will not cover the expenses of cultivation;—the slaves literally eat up all the profits—the proprietor sells at a loss, and the little capital he can save, is carried off to the west. Meantime the fields, which have been producing Indian corn for the slaves, are exhausted and abandoned, till the

* Mr. Wirt, a slave-owner himself, speaking of the overseers, calls them, in his life of Patrick Henry—"A feculum of beings—the most abject, degraded, unprincipled race,—always cap-in-hand to the Dons who employed them, and furnishing materials for the exercise of their pride, insolence, and spirit of domination."

pine springs up spontaneously, to give place, when cut, to the oak ; which, after following the fate of its predecessor, leaves an improved soil for future abandonment and renovation.

Virginia affords a fair picture of the slave States ; some of which are now undergoing the same process of transmutation, and all of which are destined to share, in succession, the same fate. The poorer class of whites is quitting North Carolina, and Tennessee, and Kentucky, for places more congenial to their feelings and less opposed to their physical and moral advancement. Horace describes a similar scene under similar circumstances.

“—Usque proximos
 Revellis agri terminos, et ultrà
 Limites clientium
 Salis avarus. Pellitur paternos
 In sinu ferens Deos
 Et uxor et vir, sordidosque natos.”

In the mean time the concentration of farms, consequent upon a different mode of cultivation, is going on ; and the black population is increasing in the same proportion, to become, at a future day, the proprietors of that soil, from which they are now extracting wealth for others.

“It is usual,” says a writer in the *American Quarterly Review* (1832), “to give the overseer, instead of a salary, a share of the crop. The murderous effects of this on the fertility of the soil” (and we may add on

the laborers) "may well be conceived. An estate, submitted to overseers entitled to a share of the crop, (who are changed, of course, almost yearly,) suffers a thousand-fold more than would English farms put on leases of one or two years to fresh lessees." The Reviewer (a Virginian) assures us that the whole agricultural produce of the State does not now exceed in value the exports eighty or ninety years ago, when it contained not one sixth of its present population, and when not one third of the surface was at all occupied. How then is the increased population maintained? By the sale of human beings. He declares that a very large proportion of the landholders are contented if they can make the profits and the expenditure balance each other; that the return to capital invested does not, when there is any, average more than one, or one and a half per cent.; and that many, with gangs of fifty to one hundred slaves, cannot escape debt, under a kind of management which would formerly "have been deemed very sheer economy." He acknowledges that 6000, half the increase, were annually sold, four years before, for exportation. There are probably more than twice that number—yet he is unwilling to admit that this traffic is cherished by any but a very few persons. "Virginia," he says, "scorns those who resort to it." Yet he adds, that it is a regular source of income. Those who never had any scruple to supply their luxuries by robbery,

are ashamed to keep themselves from starving by the same means! In fact, the slave trade may be considered the staple of Virginia. The Richmond Enquirer said, not long ago,—“Slaves have fallen in our market. It is partly, perhaps principally, owing to some derangement in the mode of transacting the business. The banks at New Orleans do not find it convenient to draw bills on Richmond, but at four months; and the banks here do not buy but at sixty days.” The same paper, speculating on what he thinks will be the result of emancipation in our colonies, foresees the extension of sugar cultivation in Louisiana and the Floridas. Hence, he anticipates a rise in price from a greater demand for slaves from Virginia. This will be a curious article in the price current.

Judge Upsher said, in the Virginia Convention:—
“If it should be our lot, as I trust it will be, to acquire the country of the Texas*, the price of slaves

* It is well known that the Southerners have fixed a covetous eye on the Texas. As the Mexican government have, however, agreed, on the application of an American philanthropist, (Lundy,) to receive 700 colored families from the United States into the district, it is not likely that it will be inclined to cede a territory so valuable, and so well guarded as it will be. Colonel Austin, a citizen of the United States, is employing every inducement that a fertile soil and a fine climate can hold out to his countrymen, to settle in the colony he has founded there. The Mexican laws on the subject of slaves

will rise again." He had just before stated, that the prohibitory law of Louisiana had lowered their value twenty-five per cent. in two hours after its enactment was known. Mr. Mercer stated, on the same occasion, that the amount of revenue derived to the State from the export of slaves, was a million and a half of dollars. It must now be considerably more. Louisiana has repealed her prohibitory statute, and the trade has become more horribly brisk.

It may well be doubted, whether slave labor, which, in a new country, is apparently the cheapest to the cultivator, is not, on that very account, the dearest to the community; whether what is gained on one side, is not lost on the other; and whether the benefit of the agriculturist and the increase of national wealth are necessarily identified, when the former alone is consulted. From a statement made in the House of Representatives, in August, 1832, by Mr. Bullard of Louisiana, the profits of slave labor in that State must be very high. He said the general average of four plantations he was acquainted with, was, for two years, six bales and a half of cotton, of 400 pounds, to the "hand"; while the average expense of each effective hand was from forty to fifty dollars. This expense is evaded by the settlers, who interchange them with one another at the expiration of the term for which they are allowed to hold them,—a circumstance that must add to their desire for a junction with their native country.

cluded the charges of overseer, provisions, medicines, and clothing. He added that fifty or sixty thousand dollars were then on their way, from a single county, in his district, to purchase slaves in Virginia.

Hence it is evident that the planter has an interest in increasing the quantity of his produce, far beyond the cost of such increase. If his slaves are worked to death, he can always supply their place from the slave-breeding States; and be a gainer by the substitution. If coach proprietors could make such profits by augmenting the speed, and doubling the work of their cattle, how long would their horses remain on the road?

A slave in Louisiana, worth 600 dollars, will, in six years, replace, by the proceeds of his labor, the whole purchase money with the interest, and leave a profit that shall more than cover all the expenses of his keep.

I have been assured by a West Indian planter that the average duration of a newly imported gang, while the slave trade was open, did not exceed ten years, and, in many cases, was little more than half that period. According to the testimony of a writer in the *Revue des Colonies*, who was formerly a magistrate at Guadaloupe, out of forty-four slaves imported into that island by a planter, not one was alive at the end of six months.

Unremitting toil produces similar effects in the

Brazilian mines, where British companies * are encouraging the slave trade which supplies their victims, and in Cuba, as well as the Southern States, where British loans are feeding the fires of Moloch.

Whether cotton, sugar, rice, or tobacco, be grown, the temptation to over-work the slaves is irresistible, as long as a ready supply can be obtained from the older and worn-out slave-States; while the drain from the latter, under this encouragement to production, will have no influence in diminishing the stream which supplies it.

While slave-labor was profitable, the increase in the number of slaves in Virginia, from 1790 to 1800, was 54,341. It then diminished, with the fall of prices, to 45,550 in 1810, and to 32,635 in 1820. When the supply from Africa ceased or became more precarious, a fresh impetus was given to the home trade, and the next decade pushed the increment up to 44,571, with a deplorable tendency to rise. Kentucky, with a fertile soil, has added, in successive decades, from 1790 to 1830, to her numbers, 30,914—37,217—40,171, and 44,618, exhibit-

* I hope I am in error while I state that the following gold mines in Brazil—the Imperial Brazilian, the Imperial Mocau-bas, the St. John del Rey, and the Cata Branca—are worked by slaves:—that the Directors of the Companies, to which they belong, are chiefly if not entirely London merchants; and that the loss of life, occasioned by severe toil, is supplied by imported Africans.

ing a greater rate of interest on a smaller capital, than Virginia. Tennessee, which had but 141,603 slaves in 1830, while Kentucky had 163,350, had, in ten years, added to the augment of the former census, by no less than 61,496; while, during the same period, the increase in North Carolina was five times as great as it had been from 1810 to 1820. The mind shrinks with horror from the contemplation of these facts. It sees the hand of vengeance on the tocsin; and hears the Sicilian Vespers tolling from the Potomac to the Mississippi!

Some time before we reached Richmond, we had a noble view of the James river, on which it stands. The entrance to the city is very pleasing; the road passing over a common on an elevated ground, presenting some fine views. The streets were filled with slaves, who were amusing themselves by playing at marbles, walking about to exhibit their finery, and enjoying the luxury of free air and leisure. This is the way they generally pass the Sunday—an indulgence intended doubtless to reconcile them to their lot. These pastimes are their Saturnalia. How bitter must be the draught, when the brim of the cup is thus sweetened!

The streets of Richmond are very dirty, though it possesses facilities for cleanliness that few, if any other, cities of the Union can boast of; the greater part of the town being below the level of the river. There are water-works for supplying the place with

water. The year before last, nearly 20,000 dollars were expended upon them. The whole establishment had cost 102,439 dollars; while the annual receipts were but 4152. The watering committee complained, in their report, that many of the inhabitants had the benefit of a supply without paying for it.

I was anxious to learn whether there were any public schools at the seat of government. My questions seemed to excite some surprise. There were none in Virginia; but then there were capital races. The training that was denied to the children was given to the horses;—the breed of the one was improving, while that of the other was degenerating. The important question of a sound popular education is as far from being settled now, as it was in 1822, when Jefferson expressed himself thus to a correspondent:—"An act of our legislature will inform you of our plan of primary schools; and the annual reports shew that it is becoming completely abortive, and must be abandoned very shortly, after costing us, to this day, 10,000 dollars; and yet to cost us 45,000 a-year more, until it shall be discontinued; and if a single boy has received the elements of a common education, it must be in some part of the country unknown to me."

Nothing in the policy of the different States is more worthy of attention than the different manner in which the subject of education is viewed by the

two great sections which they compose, not only in its general bearing, but in its particular application,—shewing at once the relative influence of popular feeling that prevails in them. When a grant was made, in 1792, to Yale College, Connecticut, the measure was so unpalatable to the mass of the community, that many members of the House of Representatives who voted for it were not re-elected. The proceeds of the lands in Ohio, belonging to that State, were, after much discussion in the legislature, appropriated exclusively to the support of common schools; the destination being made perpetual by an article in the constitution. This sum amounts to about a million of dollars. Yet, when Virginia gave to one college one-third of what she granted for future schools, the inequality of the provision met with little or no opposition that could affect its advocates. North Carolina has taken no steps to establish a system of common schools; yet a richly-endowed university flourishes there.

South Carolina has her colleges, “liberally patronised by the State.” What number of children does she educate in her free-schools?—8390 in 1832. What is the state of the schools?—An extract from a work, entitled “Review of the Plan of Education in South Carolina, 1821,” will best answer the question. “I believe, in many instances, the teachers that have been employed were as much in want of instruction as the people. I have heard that in some

of the lower districts they have actually converted the schools into a sort of gymnastic academies ; where, instead of studying philosophy in the woods and groves, as the Druids did of old, they take more delight in the more athletic exercise of deer and rabbit-hunting."

In North Carolina, 250,000 dollars, (one half of the fund destined to the purposes of education,) are set aside for the incorporated academies, between which the interest that arises from it is divided. The other half is yet to be employed, as it is intended, in educating the poor. In the new States, (such as are non-slave-holding,) the appropriations are generally in the proportion of one to five for the higher seminaries, and for the common schools.

Congress, in 1820, made grants of land to Alabama, for common schools, and for a seminary of learning. The former have either no existence or no benefit from the endowment. In 1830, the latter had received 111,712 dollars, invested in 6 per cent. stock, out of the proceeds arising from the sale of the lands ; the whole amount being 304,651 dollars ; while 24,234 acres remained undisposed of. The university of Alabama was opened in 1831.

There are 12,000 white children between the ages of five and fifteen, in Louisiana, without education. Though the legislature has voted about 40,000 dollars annually for the purpose, 1500 only were at

school two years ago. The college of Louisiana enjoys an annual grant of 7000 dollars from the State.

In Kentucky there were, in 1830, according to official reports from seventy-eight counties, but 31,834 children at school out of a population of 139,242, between five and fifteen.

One county had not one child out of 893 at school. There was nothing like a regular system of economy in these establishments; the cost varying from 12 dollars a head to 6 dollars 67 cents. Supposing the whole number of children, of whom returns were made, to be at school throughout the year, (a most improbable hypothesis,) the total amount of expenses would be 278,592 dollars; while the literary fund, at the disposal of the State, for the support of the higher seminaries, was 140,000 dollars.

While the people in Virginia are thus kept in a state of ignorance, an additional ground of disunion and discontent is laid in the political dependence to which they are subject, by the qualification and the mode of voting. As the former can be obtained by the possession of real estate, the same man can have as many votes as he has possessions in separate counties; whereas the poor man can have but one. While the poll is taken openly, too, the latter is subject to all those influences which the power to reward or punish is seldom slow to apply. Though the ballot, as it is conducted in America, may be, and

often is, abused; yet the attempt to force a ticket upon an elector, is such a direct interference with the freedom of election, as must always subject the offender to public censure. Secret influence may be exercised by open voting; but the violation of the ballot must be openly done. Besides, the latter might be so regulated as to secure the concealment required; and the very circumstance of its adoption is an acknowledgment of the elector's right to an unbiassed judgment.

At a short distance from Richmond, with its front towards the James river, stands the State Penitentiary. To gain admittance, it is necessary to get an order from the Governor of the State. For this purpose I went to the Capitol, which stands close to Powhatan House, (where I was boarding,) on an elevated spot, commanding a fine view of the river and part of the city below. In the entrance-hall is a statue of Washington, by a French artist;—the attitude rather too stiff for the idea we generally form to ourselves of the great man's natural and easy manner. On the pedestal are the words, "Fait par houdon, citoyen français, 1788." I was not a little surprised to find a sentinel, with fixed bayonet, walking "his lonely round." He was placed there, he told me, to protect the statue. Singular protection, in the metropolis of his native State, for the Father of the people!

Having waited a short time in the library, into

which I had been ushered,—a handsome room, well furnished, and fitted for the purposes of reading and reception,—a printed order was handed to me for the next day.

There were, at the period of my visit to the penitentiary, 123 convicts; of whom seven were women. Of the whole number, there had been but three in the infirmary, on an average, for the last three months:—the usual number, for the same period, having been from eight to ten. The difference was owing to a freer circulation of air, obtained by the removal of a high wall at the back, (towards the north,) at the distance of forty feet. A space of 100 more was to be added.

The plan pursued at Sing Sing is employed at this prison; the cells, however, are both larger and more comfortable. Each convict is allowed a Bible, and a slate with a pencil. They have plenty of air, light, and space. Opposite the door of each cell is a window, opening towards the work-shops, and admitting a complete current of air, when wanted. One week, every three months, is passed in solitary confinement. The former regulations required the same period, on entering and on quitting the prison, to be passed in the same way by the convicts. The present arrangement, it is found, interferes less with the labors of the establishment. There seems to be no very cogent reason why any rule of the sort should be enforced, or what good it can promote equivalent

to the loss of so much labor. Upon inquiry, I found here, as elsewhere, that no evil or inconvenience had resulted in the case of confirmed drunkards, from the sudden transition to total abstinence from the various degrees of indulgence. This testimony is to be received *cum grano*, as a wider experience in England does not entirely warrant an unrestricted inference.

The work of the convicts is not done by contract. The price, therefore, of its products, is not regulated by the same principles as at Auburn and the other prisons in the north; nor can the objections, which those who suffer by the competition make, be so easily answered. In the case of shoe-making and tailoring, the prices charged are so much less than the honest workmen demand, that the supply is inadequate to the demand. The "Guild" of tailors have some reason to complain, as they are under-sold nearly 300 per cent. The same coat, for making which they charge eight, and even nine dollars, can be made at the penitentiary for three. These tailors, by the by, are better Catholics than their fraternity at Paris or London. They have added Saint Tuesday and Saint Wednesday to the calendar. These enormous profits sorely puzzled the indistinct notions I had imbibed about equalization. I could not discover that there were any corporate privileges, which would give them a sort of monopoly. Unions and combinations would hardly suffice to keep off

intruders. I could not make it out, till I remembered the "whippings" inflicted occasionally on the craft. The mystery was then cleared up. The same principles which regulate the amount of remuneration in all other occupations, are strictly applicable to these valuable but persecuted citizens. They are paid extra for the risk they run. They put the beating into the bill, as Joe Miller's landlord charged his guests for throwing him out of the window. In London, the journeymen tailors consider the ridicule to which they are exposed, in the light of a benefit. It keeps others out of the trade. In Virginia, the cow-hide answers the same purpose. To be "whipped half to death" is worse than to be called "snip" or "the ninth part of a man." The indemnity is in proportion. They may kiss the rod that thus doubles their wages.

Slaves, who are convicted of felony, are sent to the penitentiary for sale. The buyer gives bond that they shall be transported beyond the limits of the Union;—it is well known, however, that they are carried to the South; where they are sold at a great profit. With what other view, indeed, would the trader purchase them? There were five persons of this description in the prison. It is hardly credible that such an abuse could exist;—an abuse that violates equally the justice that is due to the convict, the planter, and the community. I perhaps misunderstood my informant, when he told me that

this class of prisoners were to be sent out of the Union. That they are sold at all under such circumstances, is a disgrace to the State. Every one must see the enormities to which the regulation must necessarily lead. A mulatto, who had been sold as a slave by the State for larceny, recovered his freedom in Alabama, where he proved that his mother was a white woman. The law, from the penalties of which he thus escaped, was directed against people of color.

Convict slaves are not sent to the prison, except for sale; because, as they would be better off than they are on the plantations, their fellow sufferers might be induced to commit offences, for the chance of bettering their condition.

The disproportionate number of colored over white convicts in the Free State prisons may fairly be attributed to the difficulty of finding work. In Virginia, where it is more easily obtained, there are fewer convictions for crime among that class, than in Massachusetts; where so many departments of honest industry are closed against them. According to the Penitentiary Reports for 1829, one-eighth of the convicts in the former State were of the colored population, which forms one-thirtieth of the whole; while a similar return for the latter, in 1832, shews that the same part of the community, though but one seventy-fifth of the entire population, contributed no less than one-sixth to the total amount of convicted criminals.

The Superintendent was at Washington; and I was unable to procure a Report. The keeper, however, who attended, informed me that nearly one-third of the prisoners were free colored persons. Admitting the truth of the statement, there are reasons enough to account for it.

Considering the treatment they receive, one feels more indignation at its injustice than surprise at its results. They are deprived of every motive to good conduct, and shut out from every path to improvement. They are not allowed to have any schools, or to give evidence against a white in a court of justice. They have no churches of their own, and cannot be married by a minister of their own complexion. If they leave the State, except as servants, they cannot return to their own homes. No free person of color is permitted, from another town, and still less from another State, to reside in the city. Having no protection against insult and outrage, and subjected to such indignities and disabilities, it would be singular, if the greater part did not become desperate, and reckless;—with no object but the gratification of the moment, and no incentive but what they have in common with the irrational part of the creation. They are degraded to the lowest state of ignorance and helplessness that the law and the usages of society can reduce them to.

Though there was not the slightest ground for believing, that they were concerned, in any way, in the Southampton insurrection,—I never met, indeed,

with a man who could point out to me an instance of a colored man assisting in an insurrection of the slaves (in which, by the by, white men have sometimes taken an active part); yet, in spite of this uncontroverted fact in their favor, the most cruel and persecuting measures were proposed for driving them from the country. The signers of one petition, from Northampton county, pledged themselves "to have no dealing whatever with any free negro in the country;—to rent them neither house nor land for the future: and to warn them, as soon as possible, to quit the premises they already occupied:—and to use their influence in preventing owners of vessels from employing them."

A writer in the *New England Magazine*, (1832,) denies that America is as much the country of the black as of the white natives, because their ancestors were not voluntary emigrants to it. If this doctrine be true, some of the latter have no business there, according to the account of "Ould Virginia," presented by Captain Smithe to the consort of the British Solomon. He says that, in 1620, about 100 women, "young and incorrupt", were sent out to the colony, and were disposed of at an average price of 100 pounds of tobacco. The supply, however, did not meet the demand; as the 100 pounds soon became 150. Where are the descendants of these voluntary emigrants? The future historian of New Holland, particularly if he meditate a trip to that

country, will apply the same epithets to the women we are now sending thither : but who will say that their posterity have no right to possess the land on which they shall have been born ?

Washington is more liberal than Richmond to these people. In the former they have two societies for mutual instruction, and two churches supported by their own contributions. The females, too, have formed several benevolent associations for mutual assistance. Such things would not be tolerated in Richmond ; where the contrast between freedom and slavery is made to turn, as much as possible, in favor of the latter, by connecting degradation and delinquency with the former, that the chain may feel lighter, and the lash less galling. A slave told me he would rather be as he was, than lie idle about with nothing to do ;—and a free black declared to me that he was contented, if he could get bread for his children ; and that he was indifferent to every thing else. In spite of these discouragements, however, there are many here whose industry and propriety of conduct are highly useful to the community that despises and oppresses them. I conversed with several of them on these subjects—at some risk to both parties ; for I went to their houses by stealth, and at night. The despondency with which they were weighed down, was deep and distressing ; and it is painful to reflect that the iron which has entered into their souls, has been driven in by men who have

English blood in their veins, and Christian professions in their mouths. How and when this unnatural and cruel system is to terminate,—what may be the result of thus substituting coercion for voluntary action, and suppressing the best and strongest feelings implanted in the human breast, no mortal eye can foresee. It may be laid down, however, as a general rule, that free-labor and slave-labor can never exist amicably together. Each will strive to supplant the other; and the triumph of either will be determined by the superior profits it offers to capital. It might perhaps be imagined that the jobbing system, of which I have before spoken, would turn the scale, and present an insuperable bar to emancipation. Yet it is not improbable that its effects will be directly the reverse of what a first view of the subject would lead us to expect. The owner will find his gains diminishing with the extension of the trade, and the insecurity of that species of property increased, in proportion to the risk of escape. Hence he will be willing to receive the whole capital from the slave, rather than an uncertain interest from the borrower. He will find, in the additional exertions the former will make, when working out his freedom, a remunerating return upon the outlay* ;—the law of expa-

* In most, if not in all the slave States, this sort of arrangement is prohibited, as far as the law can prohibit what those who live under it find it their interest to do. Masters are

triation will be set aside by exemption or evasion ;— and liberty will ultimately be promoted by the means employed for its restriction. If this hypothesis be well-founded, the deduction is obvious. The whites will gradually lose their superiority in numbers, wealth, and influence ; and the whole country south of the Potomac will be the promised land of those who are now laboring under worse than Egyptian bondage. Immediate emancipation will but accelerate this euthanasia. After all, it is a simple affair :— luxury destroys those above, while industry raises

liable, in Virginia, to a fine of twenty dollars, and in Georgia to one of thirty, if they allow a slave to hire himself out. The owner of a slave, who possesses " stock of any description " in Mississippi, with his permission, is subject to a penalty of fifty dollars. These enactments become more violent as they become inoperative. In July 1834, the grand jury of the county of St. Louis, in Missouri, presented " the permission given by masters to their slaves to hire their time, and to act as free persons," as a fit subject for the attention of the legislature. " It is useless", they say, " to pass laws to exclude free negroes from the State, while slaves are permitted to enjoy the same liberties. . . . Such as are slaves, should be held and employed as slaves ; and no master should be permitted, without forfeiting his property, to abandon the control which the law gives him over this property. Nor should the law permit itself to be evaded by the pretences and subterfuges to which masters sometimes resort."

What a picture ! The master prefers freedom, with its penalties, to slavery with its " profits".

those below : but we take no notice of the change in other countries, because they are both of the same race.

Every night, at half-past seven, when the alarm-bell—the curfew of Richmond—has sounded, no colored person, whatever his condition be, is at liberty to be from home without a pass or papers of freedom. The latter must be renewed annually, at the expense of half a dollar,—the fee for registry at the proper office. Harsher regulations have been enforced against them since the Southampton massacre. It seems to be bad policy to make them feel that they have a common cause with the slaves, by being exposed to a common proscription. Unfortunately, they are just numerous enough to be considered enemies, and not numerous enough to be treated as friends. A time may come, perhaps, when self-interest will plead in their favor; and the same fear which they now find the parent of cruelty, may be compelled into mildness towards them.

The chances these people have of obtaining justice from the whites, may be estimated from the Appendix to a work called “The Patriarchal System of Society”,—a defence of slavery, by a Florida Planter of twenty-five years’ standing. The writer asks, “Has any property, left by will to any colored person, ever been honestly and fairly administered by any white person?” His own answer is,—“Such

instances might possibly have happened,—but never to my knowledge.”

There are but two capital crimes in Virginia,—murder and arson ;—i. e. for the whites :—while the punishment of death is affixed to more than seventy offences of which slaves may be convicted,—such as horse-stealing, hog-stealing for the third time, forgery in all its branches, from the imitation or uttering of a bank-note, to the wilful possession of false papers of freedom. By the law of Maryland, a slave, if convicted of murder, arson, or petty treason, is liable to have his right arm cut off; and after being hanged, to have his head severed from his body; the quarters of which, together with the head, may be exposed to public view in the most frequented parts of the county where the crime was committed.

It would be an endless and a disgusting task, to enumerate the abominations of the slave penal code, as it prevails in all its varieties throughout the Southern States; the cruelty of the enactment being in a direct ratio with the difficulty of finding a substitute for the penitentiary, and the conscience-stricken cowardice of an unprincipled legislature.

The population of Richmond, which exceeds 16,000, has not increased much since the last or the preceding census. A line of packet-ships to Europe has been established at Warwick, a few miles below the city, and has already reduced the freightage from

New York one-sixth. Still the greater part of the country-dealers in Virginia are supplied by the northern and eastern cities through Richmond* ; which, one would think, might more advantageously import directly from Europe. There is either want of confidence in the retail dealers, or want of capital and enterprise in the merchants of the latter place. The superiority which the free States thus enjoy, gives them an immediate interest in the continuance of a system to which the advantage may be traced. The physicians of Madrid, some years back, would not allow the streets to be cleared of their filth, because it strengthened the constitution !

The holidays that the slaves are allowed three times a year, occurred near the period of my visit. They last three or four days. While they continue, the slaves have leave to visit their friends in other parts of the State. I was told that they seldom availed themselves of the opportunity to escape. Some of them meet with indulgent masters, and are even allowed a plot of ground to cultivate on their own account ; the proceeds arising from the sale of what is grown upon it being their own. The kindness they thus receive is not often thrown away ;

* When, a short time back, the tonnage of the United States amounted altogether to 1,439,450 tons, nearly one half belonged to New England, and more than one fourth to Massachusetts.

though distrust has led to an opposite opinion, and an opposite line of conduct*.

The spirit of gambling seems to possess a vast number of the "higher orders" in Richmond; while the mode of exorcising it, adopted by those who are impatient to shew their abhorrence of its excesses, is not the best fitted to reclaim its victims, or conciliate respect for the laws which exist for its suppression. Seven houses—some accounts say eight—frequented by gamblers, were lately broken into by a mob, the furniture destroyed, and the fragments openly burned in the streets. The mayor is reported to have been present at the bonfire. The *Norfolk Herald*, in relating the facts, used the following words:—"To enable our readers to account for proceedings, apparently of a character unassimilated to a Southern population, we have copied an article of

* It seems to be thought in the South, that slaves, like walnut-trees, women and spaniels, are the better "the more you beat them."

"Nux, mulier, catulus, simili sunt lege ligati :—
Hæc tria nil rectè faciunt, si verbera cessant."

An old French distich says :—

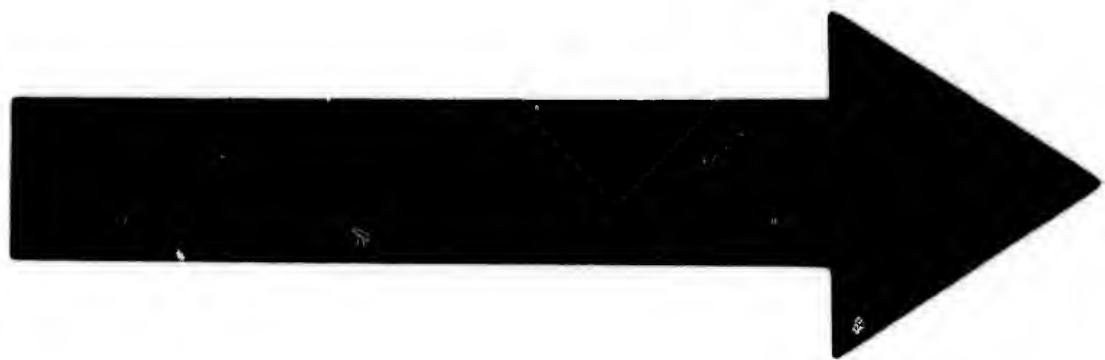
"Oignez vilain, il vous poindra :—
Poignez vilain, il vous oindra ;"

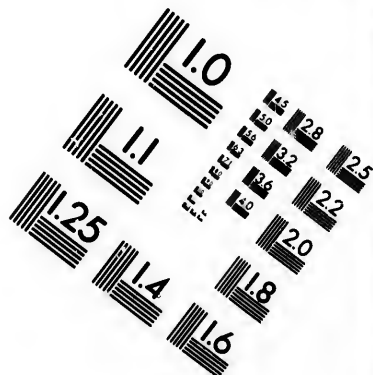
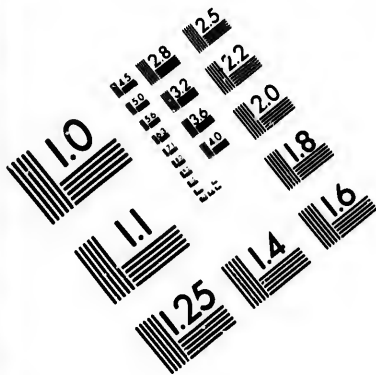
—a maxim too good not to be put into monkish rhyme.

"Quando mulcetur villanus, pejor habetur.
Pungas villanum, polluet ille manum.
Ungentem pungit, pungentem rusticus ungit."

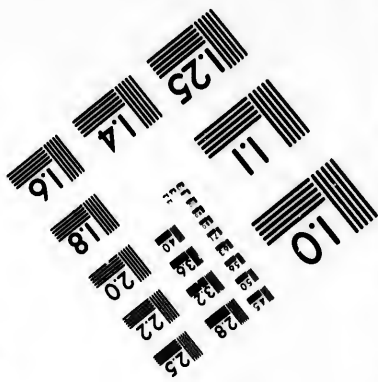
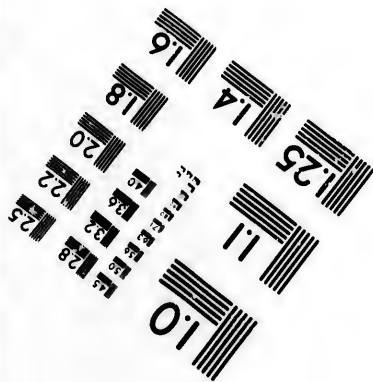
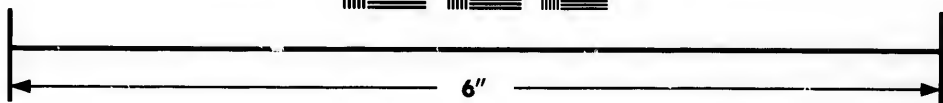
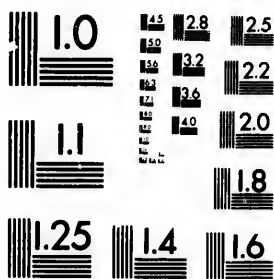
some length from the Richmond Compiler; which will shew the nature and extent of that moral pestilence, which it has thereby been attempted to remove, while it will relieve the city of Richmond from all discredit in the manner of accomplishing it."

At New Orleans the authorities care very little whether a vice be in good odor or not, as long as they can follow the Roman emperor's maxim, and extract sweet lucre from it. There a gambler can provide for his family, while he is pursuing his amusements; the Orphan Asylum in that city being supported out of the licences which the houses he frequents pay to the corporation. There are seven or eight, if not more, of these infamous dens; and, as each contributes annually 7000 dollars to this fund, we may conclude that the asylum will never want orphans, nor the orphans an asylum, while the tax on play continues.





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CHAPTER XXI.

National Habits.—Stage-coach Preaching.—Winnsville.—Character of Proprietor.—National Vanity.—Old World and New World.—Last Home and Hope of Liberty.—Natural Scenery.—Staunton.—Cure for Love.—Slaves in the Valley.—Education prohibited.—Purity of Breakfast-table.—Natural Bridge.—Whipping and Gouging.—Customs of the Valley.—Honesty and Hospitality.—Soul-drivers.—Alleghany.

ON Monday, the 12th, I left Richmond by the Charlotteville stage. There were but two other passengers; one a bookseller in the former place,—the other the book-keeper to the coach-office. The former was very conversible; the latter a good-tempered fellow, but sadly addicted to yawning; a practice so little thought of in the country, as not to be considered disrespectful,—and so general, as to be almost a national habit, except that the better half of the community have neither adopted it as a luxury, nor yielded to it as an infirmity. It was some time before I could fully comprehend this matter. I naturally thought, when I found myself the yawnee, that the yawner was tired of the *tête-à-tête*; and

though the intimation was neither delicate nor agreeable, I generally took the hint. Further experience convinced me that I was in error, and that a man might give complete expansion to his jaws, and look you full in the face, in the midst of your narrative, without committing a breach of good manners, any more than by spitting on you: best carpet, or lounging, in the presence of a stranger, with his heels above his head.

To return to my fellow-travellers: we got on very well, till we took up a young man dressed in black, and, soon after, some ladies at a tavern on the road. The former proved to be a Presbyterian preacher, who had come into the district to join in a three days' preaching. No sooner had they taken their seats, when he began to dilate to the mother on the respective merits, doctrinal and moral, of his reverend brethren in the neighbourhood, and to question the daughter on the progress she had made in the way of salvation; informing her he had some very instructive and interesting tracts at her service in his portmanteau. So zealous was he in what he considered religious truth, that he gave us a long history of a young lady's conversion at a milliner's shop by a pious young man;—a tedious dialogue between an infidel and a mountaineer, the latter using the same arguments as one Dr. Paley, but much more pithily and pointedly;—and a dissertation

upon the utter depravity of man, with a grateful acknowledgement of the high privilege we enjoyed to approach the throne of grace. This was the first instance I ever met with, in a public conveyance, of any one making frequent and familiar use of the Saviour's name—and I hope it will be the last. The book-keeper looked at me and smiled; while the bookseller preserved his gravity with a degree of composure well suited to the theological books, which he had for sale in his store, and which, before the entrance of the lecturer, he had told us, were getting into fashion.

After we had passed the place where the stage had stopped to breakfast on its way to Richmond, one of the passengers got out, to go by another stage to Scottsville: and I took the opportunity of changing the coach and the company, and transferred myself and my baggage to the other vehicle.

We proceeded on a very good road, and through a fine country, the greater part uncleared forest, about fourteen miles to a place called Winnsville; where we stopped till the next morning at five; when the stage took us on to Scottsville, a very neat pretty town on the James river.

Winnsville derives its name from a person, to whom the land belongs, and who has erected a few houses and keeps a tavern, which shares his time and attention with his farm. At his house I met

with the accommodations I wanted, and a reception beyond what I should have experienced at a more splendid hotel.

Mine host was a man highly respected ; and, if I might judge from what I saw, most deservedly so. He was unassuming in his manners, and civil to every one. He had twelve children ;—the eldest a lad of seventeen years of age. I never saw a finer family, or one whose appearance and behavior did more credit to their parents. I could not but compliment the father on the good looks and good conduct of his children. He replied that he endeavored to bring them up usefully and respectably ; but that he was afraid his efforts were not so judicious as he could wish. Talking to him of the Richmond Penitentiary, I told him that our government had sent a commissioner to his country, for the purpose of inspecting its prisons. He expressed some surprise at the information, adding : “ I thought your prisons in Europe were much better conducted than ours.” The good sense the man exhibited in setting an example to his family of modesty, instead of filling their heads with ridiculous ideas about American greatness and wisdom, impressed my mind with a higher degree of respect for him. Its rarity made it the more valuable and remarkable. If such were the general character of his countrymen, the ridicule of open enemies and the flattery of false friends would be equally vain. There would be no

motive for disparagement, and no subject for satire. Such a nation would attain greatness by declining it; convert jealousy into respect; and make the self-love of others tributary to its true glory*. I am led into these reflections by the awkward situation in which I often found myself. The very next day I was asked whether there was any building in Europe equal to the Capitol at Washington; whether London or Paris possessed any houses as good as those in New York and Philadelphia: and whether we had any orators in England equal to Clay and Webster. What can you say on these occasions? If you give a direct answer, you must either wound another man's self-love or betray your own;—for what is patriotism too often, but pride disguised as a virtue,—whispering to its possessor that he loves his country while he loves nothing but himself? This man took me into an inner room of his hotel, to shew me a most wonderful invention, very re-

* At a "tariff dinner" given, in 1827, at Lexington (Kentucky) to the representative of that district in Congress, the following toast was drunk by about 300 people. "Our country! May she be always right: but right or wrong, may she always prosper!" Mr. Foot said, in the Senate, speaking of Mr. Van Buren's appointment as minister to England: "Sir, it has ever been our pride and our glory that, in all our diplomatic intercourse with foreign nations, we have never admitted our country to be in the wrong; nor has she ever been proved to be in the wrong before the late humiliating and disgraceful correspondence with the British government."

cently produced by an artist at Boston. It was a cloak saturated with a composition of Indian rubber!

How completely our opinions are perverted by false analogies and fanciful metaphors! With us, the wisdom of old age is attributed to our ancestors. In America, its decrepitude is predicated of our posterity. To hear the inhabitants of the latter expatiate on its wonders, physical, political, and moral, you would imagine that it produced at the same time, like an orange-tree, the blossoms of spring and the fruits of autumn; and that the eagle it cherishes had the strength and plumage of a full-grown bird, before he had moulted his first feathers. It would seem that the species, like the nations that compose it, were divided into patrician and plebeian; and that the citizens of the United States of North America bore, to the rest of the world, exactly the same relation that the aristocracy of Europe bear to their respective communities,—that they were born to greatness, while others achieve it.

The national vanity may be traced to the arts of demagogues, and the adulation of the press. Mr. Van Buren, while speaking in the New York Convention of his countrymen, declared that “it was the boast and the pride and the security of the American nation, that she had in her bosom a body of men, who, for sobriety, integrity, industry, and patriotism, were unequalled by the cultivators of the earth in any part of the known world;—nay more, —

to compare them with men of similar pursuits in other countries, was to degrade them."

Even the republication of foreign works affords an opportunity of reminding the people, to whom they are addressed, of the superiority they are said to enjoy over other nations, in all that constitutes an intelligent and happy race. The health and vigor of their juvenile condition are contrasted with the opposite characteristics of European decrepitude; as if the forced analogy which has been drawn between individuals and communities were philosophically correct; and the infirmities of the one were necessarily incidental to the other. The parallel does not hold even in the case of societies that have emerged, by the development of their own energies, from barbarism to civilization. In the present instance there is still less approximation to resemblance in the modes of existence thus brought into juxtaposition. The American States,—both of the Northern and Southern continents,—are new societies made up of old materials, with peculiarities corresponding to such combination, without any preponderating influence of either of these two elements; and partaking as well of the evils as of the advantages of both. If the whole population of England were suddenly transferred to New Holland, (supposing adequate preparation for its reception,) we might, with equal propriety, call ourselves, in our new situation, a new country. Yet, if we are to believe what the oracles

of Hesperian wisdom tell us, we must be prepared to see the old world sink into the feebleness and foolishness of old age, while the new continent will receive the last rays that may scintillate from Science as she expires in an exhausted society; and will transmit to happier climes and communities the discoveries and improvements which shall have been forgotten or disfigured in the land that gave birth to the progenitors of its inhabitants.

“There must be a limit”, proclaims the North American Review, (1824,) with awful solemnity, “to the multiplication of powerful nations; and while political power and national wealth are increasing with a rapidity we can hardly compute in this hemisphere”, (meaning, through the mazes of its prophetic mystery, that the increase, not the computation, is to be made in this hemisphere.) “it is scarcely possible that the seeds of their decline should not be sown in the eastern. Perilous conflicts must in time follow, and vast rivalries grow up; and, in this condition of the world’s politics, it is plain that the complicated enginery of the old world must give way in the collision with the new.”

We are comforted, however, under the contemplation of this heavy infliction, with the assurance, that a remnant of all that has delighted and ennobled our species, will survive; and that the human form will emerge, from this calamity, in all its pristine purity and beauty. “Time’s noblest offspring is

the last." Civilization will have crossed the ocean, unsoiled by the swarthy embraces of the tribes that have darkened its less fortunate islands.

" Sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos,
Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam."

The same arrogant assumption of national superiority is employed, by the highest and the lowest person in the country, as an acknowledged title to respect and confidence throughout the civilized world. "When an honest observance of constitutional compacts," says President Jackson, in his first message to Congress, "cannot be obtained from communities like ours, it need not be anticipated elsewhere; and the cause in which there has been so much martyrdom, and from which so much was expected by the friends of liberty, may be abandoned; and the degrading truth that man is unfit for self-government admitted." *Du sublime au ridicule il n'y a qu'un pas.* The people of the United States very properly laugh at the idea of subjecting the happiness of a community to the will of one man; yet they have brought themselves to believe, because they listen to those who, whether native or naturalized, have an interest in deceiving them, that the welfare of the whole human race depends upon the experiment they are making in the art of government. *Nihil est quod credere de se non possent cum laudatur,* may be said of the most insignifi-

cant citizen of these confederated republics, as truly as of the autocrat of Russia, or the Grand Llama of Tartary.

After breakfasting at Scottsville, I started, at half-past seven in the morning, in a covered wagon with two horses, to meet the stage from Charlotteville, at a place called Brookesville, twenty-six miles distant. The country was very beautiful, the blue ridge forming the principal feature in the landscape. At a pass called Israel's Gap, the view was magnificent. In front was the blue ridge, separated from the height we were passing by a valley, abounding in the most lovely scenery; the green of which formed a delightful contrast with the tints on the mountains; the latter, as they receded from the view, diminishing in intensity, till they were blended and lost in one common color. On the road the driver found a bucket that had dropped from some wagon in advance. He observed to me,—I was the only passenger,—that if he did not find the owner, it would be his, by right of discovery. We soon overtook the man to whom it belonged; and my companion, in handing it to him, claimed twelve cents for finding it. The other gave him six; and both seemed satisfied with the bargain. He had just before told me that the blacks were more generous to one another than the whites. His assertion had all the authority his own conduct could give it. His account of these

poor creatures was precisely the same as I had heard from every one of his class to whom I had spoken about them. I went into one of their log huts that stood by the road; and a more miserable dog-hole I never saw. There was but one room for the whole family. Three or four children were within, trying to warm themselves by a wood fire. Part of the mud between the beams, of which the hut was constructed, had given way, and let in the cold wind. There was one couch with straw, and a blanket,—and no furniture beyond what was necessary to cook their scanty allowance of Indian corn. As it was so near the public road, and accessible to travellers from the north, whose prying eyes are to be guarded against, it was, probably, not the worst of its kind.

At Brookesville, where we arrived at one o'clock, I joined the stage, in which was my fellow traveller, the preacher, with other passengers. He greeted me very cordially, and expressed a wish that we might go on together to Cincinnati. I preferred the box with its official incumbent to the full congregation he had within. Soon after I had taken my seat, the following dialogue passed between myself and the driver: "You have a fine country here?"—"Yes! but it is much better on the other side of the ridge:—the land is superior, and quite a different sort of people."—"Do they cultivate their land with slaves?"—"Some of them do: but they do

not treat them as they are treated here. They work them half to death here." "They tell me the same story, wherever I go."—"They cannot tell you otherwise, if they tell you the truth." My friend, however, was not very liberal towards the race, whose wrongs he seemed to commiserate. The free blacks, he said, ought to be kept down and humbled; there were too many of them, and they presumed too much. I soon perceived the cause of his hostility. "Pray," said I, pointing to a well-dressed black, "who is that man? Is he a slave?"—"Not he, indeed!—he is better off than I am. He is a plasterer: he gets higher wages than I do."

Soon after, we crossed the ridge; on ascending which, the finest views in the greatest variety presented themselves, clothed in the softest colors that Claude or Glover ever threw on canvass, or conceived in imagination. From the summit, the view on the western side was magnificent; the north mountains terminating the horizon. This pass is called the Rock-fish Gap. At half past five in the afternoon, the stage reached Staunton, about twenty miles from Brookesville, which we left a little after one o'clock. Here I stopped, and the coach proceeded with the rest of its freight. At Brookesville, the book-keeper used an expression which was quite new to me. "Have you many passengers?" I enquired, as I was taking my place. "We have quite a smart chance," was his reply. I interpreted

“chance” in his favor. It would have been “smarter” for the passengers, if there had been fewer of them.

There are two lunatic asylums in Virginia, supported by the State, one at Williamsburg, in the Eastern section; and the other at this place. A quarter of a dollar is the price of admittance to the latter. This regulation, common as it is with us, is open to many objections. The chief check to abuse in all charitable establishments, more particularly in those appropriated to the reception of the insane, is to be found in publicity; the limits of which are restricted by this tax on inquiry and benevolence. Those who have the strongest disposition to exert themselves in favor of the unfortunate or the oppressed, are often the least able to pay for its indulgence. A single visit would rarely be made, where more would be requisite but inconvenient. What may be obtained as a favor may be withheld as a right, or clogged with conditions too personal in their operation to be acceptable. Hence it happens that the inmates of such institutions are often left at the mercy of the attendants, who can easily conceal from the eye of an inexperienced or transient spectator, what would be detected after a few visits. As for the reasons, by which this regulation is defended, the inhabitants of a town, containing but fourteen or fifteen hundred souls, are not likely to be more indiscreet or inquisitive than the population of Hartford or Boston; nor are the evils of a free admittance to respectable persons to

be weighed against a rule which reduces the patients of a lunatic hospital to the level of wild beasts exhibited for a shilling at a fair, and tends to destroy in their friends and neighbors all active interest in their welfare. It is here as it is in England. The poor are not excluded because they are troublesome : but they are troublesome because they are excluded.

As I saw nothing of this establishment, I can give no opinion upon it. From what I could learn, however, the proportion of patients restored to health is not very great. Coercion and depletion seem to be the chief articles in the curative pharmacopœia. One case, where the latter was successfully used, was that of a young man who had been rejected by the goddess of his idolatry. He had lost both the lady and his senses. Perhaps it may be said he never had more of the one than of the other. However that may be, the love-sick patient was bled, blistered, and bread-and-watered, till he was a man again. It is as well to know that the lancet, like poverty, drives Love out of the window ; and that the little god, at the sight of human blood, as

. "at the sight of human ties,
Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies."

The weather was at this time so cold, that fires were to be found in all the houses. The winter had been very severe, the snow having lain upwards of two feet deep on the ground, and crushed the pines with its weight, as I could see while passing through

the woods; whereas at New York it did not remain at any time more than two days on the land. In the north the weather had been unusually mild, and unusually inclement in the south. A similar interchange of temperature is often experienced in Europe. Some years ago, while we were sitting with our windows open in London, people were dying of cold at Naples and Madrid.

Staunton is the county town of Augusta county. It lies in a hollow, surrounded by hills, from whence are some very picturesque views. From an eminence, overlooking the Asylum, there is a most charming landscape. A hill, gently rising from the valley, and clothed to its summit with woods, forms, on each side, the screen: in the distance is a portion of the blue ridge; and, in the fore-ground, are farm-houses and meadows, and corn-fields and copses. It bears some resemblance to the scenery about Berne; with the addition of that soft and mellow coloring, which some atmospheric peculiarity seems to have bestowed upon this district.

The soil of the valley, in which this country is chiefly placed, is very good in most parts, producing wheat, and pasturage for cattle. Some of the farmers are wealthy. The price of provisions is low. Beef and veal, on an average, four cents per lb.; mutton three: venison about the same. Butter averages, throughout the year, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents: eggs six to eight cents per dozen: flour, four dollars the barrel of two cwt.

The first settlers in the valley were Irish Presbyterians and Dutch,—an appellation bestowed in common upon the Germans and the emigrants from Holland. The slaves are much better treated on this, than on the other side of the ridge. Many of them are hired from persons in the eastern section, and are, of course, reluctant to return thither. The vicinity of Ohio renders it a matter of policy to conciliate by mildness; and facility of escape may fairly be considered as a persuasive auxiliary to humanity. No less than 200 were disposed of, the preceding year, to the traders, and carried off from this county alone to the southern market. The free blacks, though less harshly used than at Richmond, have, many of them, quitted the State for Canada. We passed three or four wagons filled with them, as we were coming to Staunton. One of these expatriated people, while writing to a friend at the latter place, told him that he was so well pleased with Canada, that he would not return to his native land, if any one would give him his weight in gold.

These men have too much reason to prefer Canada to Virginia. One of them told me that he was desirous of giving his children a decent education: that two or three years ago they were making satisfactory progress at school, when he was compelled to remove them, and teach them himself as well as he could, with the assistance of his wife, during his leisure hours. Not only are the colored people for-

bidden to learn reading and writing, but no white is permitted to instruct them. There is an ordinance of the city of Savannah, in Georgia, by which "any person that teaches any person of colour, slave or free, to read or write, or causes such persons to be so taught, is subjected to a fine of thirty dollars, or to be imprisoned ten days and whipped thirty-nine lashes." So much for liberty in America, where even a white man is not free to perform a benevolent action, or to educate his own children.

No expedient is left untried to drive the emancipated and their descendants out of the slave States. By a most iniquitous act, passed in 1823, the town-council of George-town are empowered to impose and collect an annual tax on such lot or lots, piece or pieces of land, within the limits of the town, as may be exclusively inhabited by a slave or slaves, or a free person of color, &c., not within an enclosure upon which a white person resides:—provided the said annual tax shall not exceed one hundred dollars on each lot or piece of land. They may also impose and collect an annual tax upon each and every free person of color, who shall keep, within the limits of the town, any store or shop, &c., provided the tax shall not exceed one hundred dollars. Thus are these poor creatures disabled from getting their bread honestly, and then stigmatized as depraved and debased. This is one way of recruiting for Liberia! These legislators

boast of their liberty in these extravagant terms :—
“ We believe none can say with us,—the happy people of these United States,—that every one can sit ‘ under his vine and under his fig-tree, and none to make him afraid.’ We are the only people upon the earth that enjoy a rational, civil, and religious liberty, and the inestimable blessing of a free and enlightened government.”*

It was to be expected that the severity exercised towards the slaves would increase with their numbers. Who would have believed, however, that what was a civil obligation, forty years ago, should have become a crime ; and that the very same act which is now prohibited, should then have been compulsory, under a heavy penalty ? Among the statutes of the New Jersey legislature, passed in 1798, is one for the education of slaves, making it imperative on owners to teach and instruct all such, under the age of twenty-one years, to read, &c., and rendering them liable, for neglect or refusal, to pay a fine of thirty dollars, “ to be recovered by action of debt, with costs of suit, in any court having cognizance thereof, by the overseers of the poor of the township, &c., to the use of the poor.”

On the 15th, I left Staunton early in the morning. There were two men from North Carolina in the

* Report of the Committee of Religion in the Senate of South Carolina, Dec. 8, 1818.

stage: and before we had quitted the town, we took up a black man. The cold weather supplied a ready topic of conversation, which soon branched off into other directions, with the usual accompaniments of yawning and spitting out of the window. The black was less accomplished, or more bashful; for he kept his saliva to himself, and when he could not resist the "catching" contagion, he placed his hand before his mouth, while he dropped the lower jaw. I put several questions to him; but he handed them over to the other passengers, and was silent. I set him down for the slave of one of the others.

At eleven o'clock we stopped for breakfast. After we had remounted, we were detained a short time: I inquired the reason, and was told we were waiting for our sable companion, who was taking his meal by himself. I found afterwards that he was a free man and plied with his two wagons between Baltimore and Tennessee, to which he belonged. His teams and wagons were worth twelve or fifteen hundred dollars. He was possessed of considerable property; and his word (the driver, who knew him well, assured me) would be taken as soon as any man's in the valley. From the carrier himself I subsequently learnt, that he had been so hurried he had not had half his breakfast; though he was charged the same price with the other passengers, who had been refreshing the inner man at their

leisure, while he was cooling his heels in the passage. "If I were to travel often in this way," said the poor fellow, "I should be starved." "If I were but once in England," he added, "nothing should ever induce me to come back to this country." He could not see the natural connexion between a spare diet and a swarthy skin. He could not understand why he was to suffer, that the dignity of the American animal, "*bipes implume*," should not be offended. Yet, had he attempted to sit down to table with us, the landlady's gastronomic labors would all have been thrown away; the pig's face would have reddened with indignation:—the eggs would have turned rotten with horror; and the coffee would have refused obedience to the law of gravity.

We passed through a beautiful country;—the soil, in many parts, extremely good, and the farming much superior to what is to be seen on the eastern side of the ridge. The people are industrious and are addicted neither to gambling nor drinking. The farms average about 250 acres, and contain fine grazing lands. The whites work with the slaves, when there are any; and the overseers, when such are employed, participate in the labors of the field. They have no need of pistols or dinks, as the slaves are generally well treated, and shew, by the alacrity with which they handle the plough, that example is a better stimulus than the whip.

When the stage stopped to change horses, I walked on; and, meeting a slave on horseback, I entered into conversation with him. I asked him among other things, if he should like to read. "Yes, Sir," was his reply:—"if I could but read enough to understand the spelling-books the children use in the schools, I would not give up my knowledge for a thousand dollars." It was a natural feeling, and I thought of the waterman's answer to Dr. Johnson. "What would you give to know about the Argonauts?" "I would give all I have, Sir!" He was about sixty years of age—shrewd and sensible, and, as far as I could judge from some of his observations, a very religious man. What he said upon the duty of submission to his lot here, and his reliance on Divine justice hereafter, would have done no discredit to the best educated white.

Lexington (where we stopped to dine) is a charming spot, about thirty-five miles from Staunton. It contains eight or nine hundred people. Some of the houses are good, and built in a neat and picturesque manner. Nothing but rock and water is wanting to make the scenery of this district perfect. With the exception of the north fork of the James river, which we forded, and the Buffalo creek, the view of which, from an eminence on the promontory it forms, is very fine, I saw little or no water. I felt, from its absence, how much beauty it adds to the landscape.

At four o'clock we arrived at Galbraith's tavern, twelve miles from Lexington, and two from the celebrated natural bridge. The roads were so rough and hilly that I was almost knocked up; yet I would have gone on thirteen miles further to Pattonsburg, if the coachman had been willing to pass over the bridge; but his vehicle was in such a state of decay, that he was afraid to venture out of his way on a bad road. I resolved therefore to wait till the next stage arrived.

The landlord of the hotel was one of the civilest and most obliging of his tribe; a class of men, be it remembered, more independent than what we are used to in Europe; as they are in these remote regions, landholders as well as inn-keepers. He had a farm of more than 400 acres, which he managed with the assistance of his sons.

By this time I was tolerably well "broken in" to and by the stages of Virginia. A few hints may be useful to others. Every traveller of course must take care of himself. Let him avoid the back seats, however comfortable and alluring they may seem. If any women are taken up on the road, he must turn out, and content himself with any vacant place he can find. The "cross-bench" is the most convenient. If he is seated with his back to the horses he may console himself with the reflection that he will be less shaken there than on either of the other seats. Should the weather be hot, and he wish for

shade and coolness, he must study the points of the compass; and, having ascertained the direction in which he is to move, he must take especial care that the western sun dart not his burning rays on his head. If he dread an upset, let him study the "rule of the road",—that, if the coach fall in meeting another, he may not fall under his fellow-passengers. On these occasions, those who are uppermost have some chance of saving a limb or two among the many that are broken. The lowest strata are sure to be crushed between the living matter above and the dead matter below. After all, the box is the best seat; for you not only have the benefit of the air and the prospect, and the local knowledge of the driver, who is often—particularly in Virginia—a respectable, well-informed man, but you have the advantage of reconnoitering the road, of preparing yourself for the stumps and holes, with which it is "pretty considerably" sprinkled; and, by trimming, may escape, or soften the shock with which you are threatened. With a little experience in these matters, a man will move with the carriage, as a good rider moves with his horse. After a long day's journey, he will find he has suffered much less fatigue on the box than the inside passengers.

Tired as I was, I could not resist the inclination I felt to set my eyes on the bridge before I closed them for the night. I started, therefore, on foot, to warm myself, and gratify my curiosity.

The bridge, which appears to have been left after the solid rock was broken or cut through, is, according to an estimate in an album at the adjoining hotel, 208 feet above the stream,—15 feet in thickness, at the highest point,—its span 90, and breadth 75. On each side of the bed, in which the Cedar creek runs into the James river two miles below, the rock that incloses it rises perpendicularly. Whether you look up or down the stream, the scenery is magnificent: large masses of mountain, of various forms and dimensions, and clothed to their summits in the richest verdure, rising one above another. It is some time, however, before these beauties are observed. The object that absorbs attention, when the proper station for viewing it is reached, is the bridge itself. I doubt whether the mind is not impressed, at the first sight, with higher ideas of Almighty Power, than it is by its kindred wonder at Niagara. There are no accessories or details: the eye takes in the whole at once. No sound, but the sighing of the breeze through the surrounding forests, or the gentle murmur of the rivulet beneath, occurs to divert or distract attention. The mind of the spectator is overwhelmed in admiration and astonishment at the contemplation of that mysterious force that could thus rend the enormous mass of rock, and leave the stupendous work unfinished. He trembles, lest its completion should be instantly effected. When the first emotion has subsided, the imagination is carried back to that

unknown era, when the globe was shaken to its foundation, and organized matter was, at one moment, deprived of its vitality, to assume a durability of existence coeval with the rock in which it was imbedded. The flight of time,—the duration of the world,—the insignificance of man,—the omnipotence of the Creator,—all that can humble and ennoble,—pass in rapid succession through the mind, and leaves a remembrance that will quit it but with life.

I returned to the tavern in time for supper, and we passed the evening round a blazing fire; the cheering aspect of which invited us to social chat, and elicited from the master of the house and his family some curious anecdotes illustrative of the manners of the country. Many sanguinary histories were related, of the way in which the peasantry settled their disputes; their gougings and kickings and shootings,—relics of colonial barbarism, that are every day becoming less frequent, by becoming more disreputable. Some of those who had figured the most conspicuously in these exploits, had met the death they had before inflicted. One, not many years ago, was shot in open day by a man he had “whipped”; and his murderer was hanged. From the delight with which these deeds of blood were narrated and listened to, I could see that the spirit which prompted them had not been altogether subdued by the punishment it had evoked, but still lingered in the bosom, to appear again in some shape less abhorrent to the in-

proved state of public feeling. The Kentuckians, it was agreed on all hands, were still addicted to these practices of the "olden time";—an assertion that my friend the driver, had he been present, would have denied with patriotic indignation; although he bore about his person incontestable proofs of its truth,—if the loss of an eye and a broken jaw are credible witnesses. According to the testimony he gave me in the morning, no people in the Union were more civil and obliging than his fellow-citizens. A man might travel from one end of Kentucky to the other without a cent in his pocket;—such was the hospitality of the inhabitants. "There is no State", said he, "where there is so much *hostility*." Twice did he use the same word, and with appropriate emphasis. It was well chosen. He believed what he *meant*, and I believed what he *said*.

The mountain scenery, in the immediate neighborhood of Galbraith's tavern, is very fine. From a hill in front of it, the most lovely prospect presents itself on each side. No pen or pencil can do justice to it.

The best wheat and tobacco are raised here. The latter is planted on the declivities of the mountains, after they have been cleared; and, when they have yielded two or three crops, the fields are laid down in grass, or sown with grain. When the land is likely to be exhausted in the lower grounds, it is sown with clover; which remains for two or three

years, with successive dressings of gypsum, and is afterwards ploughed in. About one third of a plantation is generally in woodlands. A farm of three or four hundred acres may be cultivated with three or four hands; and will leave a net profit of six or seven hundred dollars a year, if managed with economy and prudence. Board and lodging may be had, at a tavern, for a single man, for 100 dollars a year; and, at a private house, for 75. I heard of one instance where a man, a teacher, paid but fifty for a year's board and lodging. A temperance society, that had been some time established, had produced a sensible improvement in the valley. My landlord, during the last five years, had sold a less quantity of spirits than he did in the preceding three months.

Idleness and vice are discouraged in this part of the State; and honest poverty is more respected than profligate wealth. Some young men, who were sent to the University of Charlottesville not long ago, returned with habits of dissipation ill-suited to the place of their birth; where they had been brought up in the observance of regularity and decency. They had become confirmed drunkards; and one or two of them had paid for their imprudence or misfortune with their lives.

Large droves of bullocks and swine pass through this district during the autumn. Some of the latter are purchased by the inhabitants; and a singular fact has resulted from an experiment made upon

these animals, when killed after their journey. If a pig, that has travelled five or six hundred miles, be slaughtered with another that has remained at home, it will, though of the same weight before, be, when salted, twenty-five per cent. heavier than the other. An increased price is, in consequence, given for the former. The difference, perhaps, arises from this:—that the “tarry-at-homes” are more full of blood and fat than the “trampers”; and a commensurate collapse after death, may account for the diminution of weight. If the meat were intended for immediate use, it would, as is well known, be injured by driving the animal, the process of putrefaction being thus accelerated. Hence it seems, under the same circumstances, that salt meat gains in quantity while fresh meat loses in quality. Labor is highly paid in this sequestered region. Some of the means adopted to lessen the inconvenience are curious, as they shew that society is not sufficiently complicated to admit of much division of labor. The farmers have their shoes made at home. The leather, often from hides of their own cattle, is dressed by tanners in the neighborhood; and an itinerant shoemaker is employed in the house, to supply the wants of the family. He has his board and lodging; and is paid so much for every pair of shoes he makes. It is found that the shoes, thus procured, are better and last longer than those that are purchased at the stores.

An industrious man can earn a dollar a day in this manner: and might, if he had but common prudence, easily lay by 200 dollars a-year, and better his condition *ad libitum*. But few of them have either economy or foresight. They are a drunken thoughtless set, preferring a roving life to a decent settlement, and ruining themselves by the same system which benefits their employers. It is probably owing to the dissipated habits connected with this trade, that a farmer's son is never or seldom engaged in it; though it is more profitable than almost any other that he can find. It is thus that the disreputable character of a class perpetuates itself. These are some of the many deductions to be made from the happiness of the agricultural state of society.

My landlord's sons were respectable young men, possessed of good common sense, and anxious to improve themselves. One of them was learning Latin; another laid out what money he had in the purchase of books, and was seldom, when not employed on the farm or about the house, without one of them in his hand. As for the landlady, she was one of those who "don't like to be fashed." The first night of my arrival, she indulged me, as a favor, with a cup of tea. I pleaded in vain the next day; though I assured her that coffee never agreed with me at night. In the morning, when the landlord called me, he asked how I was?—I told him, I

was very unwell; the coffee having kept me awake the greater part of the night. His only reply was the vernacular ejaculation, "Is it possible!" I begged hard for some tea: he made great difficulties about it. The coffee was all ready—some people might like tea better *nor* coffee—his family never drank any thing but coffee—still they would get what I wanted, but then, there was the water to boil, and that would take some time. I mention this trifling circumstance, because it illustrates a striking feature in the national character. "Uncle Sam"* is the veriest slave of habit in existence, and dislikes trouble. He would rather put up with an inconvenience than put himself out of his way.

Before I left Galbraith's tavern, I renewed my visit

* This appellation corresponds with our "John Bull"; and is supposed to be derived from the initials, U. S. As the nation has not yet been able to fix upon a distinctive title, perhaps that of Caucasia would not be inappropriate. It would be expressive of the nice jealousy and guardian watchfulness with which its citizens have provided, both politically and socially, for that purity of blood and beauty of external form, which, when the old world is worn out, will leave, amid the wreck and confusion of degeneracy and amalgamation in the new, a large portion of the species distinguished from the swarthy tribes of Æthiopian descent. The next State admitted into the Union, might receive the name of Circassia; which, in conjunction with the new title assumed by the confederation, would invest Georgia with associations peculiarly in accordance with the feelings and principles of her people.

to the Natural Bridge; which I had hitherto seen from the top only of the cliff. Not having discovered a ready access to the gulf below, I had quitted the spot, on my first visit, with the intention of exploring the passage at a future time. I found the view from beneath very noble and imposing;—but not, I think, after making allowance for first impressions, so grand as that from above. The chasm appears less; and the archway suggests the idea that it is the work of art, effected by blasting or manual labor. Large fragments of rock have fallen from the sides, and lie dispersed around. The bridge itself is not endangered by these successive disruptions, as they serve merely to widen the lower part of the aperture, without weakening the foundation. I was sitting on one of these fragments, when a young man and a lad approached. Finding I was from England, the former very kindly inquired what my name might be. I was used to this sort of compliment; an old man, at the tavern, a few hours before, having, to use his own phrase, “axed me” where I was “raised.” I repaid the youth’s civility with interest, and let him see that his trade was as interesting to me as his name. After these preliminaries, Mr. Jones, the blacksmith, and I got on together as amicably as the shortness of our acquaintance would admit of.

Having crossed the stream, we all three returned to the road above, by another pathway; climbing the precipice at the risk of our necks. The boy,

who had the advantage of being without shoes and stockings, pointed out, as we were ascending, the spot where a man, who had fallen from above, had been dashed to pieces; and his companion told me not to look back. The precaution was needless:—I knew what I was about. A rotten stump, or a loose stone, might have betrayed the confiding hand or foot; and my friendship with Mr. Jones would have ended more abruptly than it began. This extraordinary production would, in most other countries, have been ascribed, not to Nature, but to her arch enemy.

On the seventeenth I left Mr. Galbraith and his tavern. The former fully deserved the title I had heard bestowed upon him. Though short in stature and plain in person, he was “a fine man,”—what the French call *bon enfant*—a “good fellow,”—a worthy man. The phrase “brave homme” perhaps corresponds better to the expression, both in its meaning and in the change it has undergone. A great part of Virginia was settled by Cavalier families, as may be seen by the names of the counties. Bottetourt, —Fauquier, —Albemarle, —Buckingham, —Russell, &c. In those times it was personal show—as it was in the feudal times, personal bravery—that constituted excellence, and commanded admiration. Respect is now paid to different qualities; but its language is retained, while its object is changed; and

the same appellation, which was formerly bestowed upon frivolous accomplishments and the sterner virtues, is now applied to that which is amiable in its motives and useful in its results. It is thus that modern terms often illustrate ancient manners; and the signs of barbarism become the landmarks of civilization.

The stage had by this time been repaired; and the driver would have wanted an excuse, had he wanted gallantry, for refusing the request of a young lady to take the road over the bridge. The latter was hardly more antiquated than the former; but, fortunately, not so dilapidated. We were nearly shaken to pieces:—the lady screamed, the driver swore at his horses, and I could hardly keep my seat on the box. The coachman had, a short time before, been thrown off at the very spot where we were, and confined to his bed for a fortnight. I defy the best whip in old or new England,—whether he come from Boston in Lincolnshire, or Boston in Massachusetts,—whether he belong to “the four-in-hand club,” or “the people’s line,” to steer safely along the road we came. The bridge alone, though the shrubs and trees, which have sprung from its crevices, conceal, in some degree, the abyss below, would prove a “*pons asinorum*” to many who are at their ease in the bustle of Broadway, or the intricacies of Bond Street.

By eight o’clock we reached Buchanan, a small

place separated, by the James river, from Pattonburg, another small place ; both together containing a population of five or six hundred souls. The house we put up at contained few rooms, and was crowded with people ; to whom our vehicle brought an accession of some half dozen. Finding we must sleep in company, and perhaps in couples, I prevailed upon the landlord to put a mattrass for me on some chairs in the sitting-room. My window, which was on the ground-floor and looked to the public road, was, as well as the front door, left open all the night ; and some hawkers, who arrived at the same time with ourselves, left two caravans, filled with goods, in the public street. One of them told me he always did so, and never lost anything.

Many of the houses have no locks or bolts to them. This is the case through the greater part, if not the whole, of Western Virginia. As the slaves are allowed to go out of a night, and are well fed, it is but fair to conclude, from this general exposure of valuable property, that they are not "naturally thieves," as they are said to be by those who starve them. There are some places, in the East, where mutton is not to be had "for love or money,"—because the slaves are sheep-stealers.—When there are two ways of accounting for a fact, a man would hardly choose that which would reflect discredit upon himself. A stranger, especially when he has met with hospitality, easily believes

what he is told by those who have practical experience; and he leaves the country, convinced that the slave is characterised by every vice, and his owner by every virtue, under heaven.

This said hospitality has a wonderful effect in sharpening the discriminating faculties of the mind. A good dinner opens the eyes of a British officer in Jamaica, as it opens the heart of an alderman in London. When a man crams you with turtle-soup and drenches you with claret, you have no doubt of his benevolence.

There is a very perceptible difference, in point of external manners, between the north and the south. The people in the latter are very courteous and polite to strangers, and appear to take a pleasure in rendering assistance or giving information. Not that there is any want of good feeling in the former, but that it exhibits itself less spontaneously and with fewer marks of an obliging disposition. There is, however, in both sections, a custom, to which a man habituated to European usages is not soon or easily reconciled. It is that of making him repeat what he says. At Buchanan it was more provoking than usual; the chief word or thing indicated in a question being re-echoed, as if to give trouble at the moment it was acknowledged to be unnecessary. For example—"Pray can I have a bed in your house to-night?" "Bed?" "Yes! can I have a bed," &c. Again: "How far is it to Fincastle?"

“Fincastle?” “Yes! how far is it to Fincastle?” Whether it proceed from indolence or from a want of that attention to the feelings of others, which is at once a mark and a measure of good-breeding, I know not; but the practice is so general as to stamp the national character with a peculiarity almost unknown in other countries; where not to catch the meaning of another’s words is thought an impoliteness that requires an apology:—“I beg your pardon,” or some form of speech of that kind, intimates that what you have said has not been comprehended. Here, whether you are comprehended or not, and before you have finished your sentence, you are greeted with “Sir?”—a word, however weak and diminutive, that is more variously and more frequently in use than any in the English vocabulary—as interrogative, appellative, distinctive, &c. I once asked an American, with whom I was in frequent habit of conversing, if he was deaf? “Not in the least,” was his reply; “on the contrary, not a word escapes me.” “I thought you were so,” I said, “because you make me repeat my words so often.” “Why! as for that, the current of my ideas was running another way—I was thinking of something else.” In every country men prefer their own thoughts to another’s: there are few where it is not thought a breach of good manners to tell him so.

Whatever jargon you talk to a Frenchman, he will rarely or never presume to correct you; while the

very word you have used will be returned you by an American, with his revised pronunciation. This is one of the results that arise from two nations speaking the same language. I happened to say, I was rather deaf, when I was made to repeat the word two or three times. At last I was spared further trouble by the exclamation: "Oh! I understand you now—you are *deef*." If I had said I would rather *heeven* would deprive me of *breeth* than deprive me of *hearing*, or that I would rather be *deed* than *deef*, he would naturally have concluded that I intended to insult him. Another day I was told I was in error. I had no *boils*, as I asserted—I was plagued with *biles*. Analogy has nothing to do with these matters. I had as much right to require conformity from either of these innovators as he from me. If it be self-conceit that refuses the correction, what is it that offers it?

Fincaastle, at which place I passed a couple of days, contains about seven or eight hundred souls, and is a neat town, with pavement for foot-passengers—a luxury not to be had in places of much greater pretension. The inhabitants are remarkably civil and courteous, bowing to you, and yielding the wall as they pass.

If I am to credit the account I received of the manners that prevail among the mountaineers, they resemble those of the Swiss and Welch, who are placed in similar circumstances. This is a curious

fact for the moral physiologist. It would seem that "the huntress Dian" has as few votaries in the sequestered valley as in the crowded city; and that her altars are deserted, whether there be too few people to encourage virtue, or too many to resist vice.

The evening before I left Fincastle, a coach-load of passengers, male and female, arrived. The women were well-dressed and well-looking, but bold and rather too free; while their companions made themselves offensively conspicuous, by their swearing and coarse manners. I found, afterwards, that they had all come from New Orleans, where one of the men resided; that they were slave-traders, and that one of the party had been to that city with a coffle of 200 human beings. The man, whose appearance was the least prepossessing among these repulsive faces, had, not long before, lost his father, and had evinced the utmost indifference and inattention to his parent during his last moments. He had been seen, a few days after, dancing and carousing at an infamous house in Lewisburg. Yet this "young gentleman" may one day soar or creep to the highest point of the social pyramid; the same hands that now hold the lash of the driver, may one day hold the reins of government: and a slave-dealer may again lay the foundation of his fortune at New Orleans and complete it at Washington.

On the 20th I left Fincastle for Lewisburg, at half-past four in the morning. The road was good,

and the scenery magnificent, as far as the Alleghany mountains, after which the country became less interesting. Having got through the pass, opposite Caldwell's Mountain, which we had on our left, and which presented the finest Alpine views as we ascended and came down, we arrived at Craig's Creek, which we forded; and, proceeding by the side of Barber's Creek, which rushed impetuously through its rocky channel, to mix with the former, and carry their joint tribute to the James river, we stopped to breakfast, at Hanly's Tavern—fourteen miles from Fincastle—a very romantic spot. Here we found an excellent repast prepared for us;—fish from the stream at our feet, and venison from the mountains above, with coffee that a Parisian would not have found fault with.

The innkeeper here contracts to feed the horses and the driver of the stage for 350 dollars a year, in addition to the profit he derives from the passengers, who take their meals at his house. For the last six months there had been 1200 registered in the books of the proprietors. They have to pay 450 dollars a year for tolls between Fincastle and Lewisburg—a distance of fifty-five miles; and as the fare is but four dollars and a half, and the receipts uncertain in amount, (I was the only passenger,) one would think the establishment could not pay very well. Where the contractor has not the benefit of providing for the passengers, he is paid 500 dollars a year.

About three miles further, we came to a pass of seven miles in length, four of which were contained in the ascent. The sky had become hazy when we reached the top ; and the prospect, which is said to be very grand, was lost to us. The trees were, many of them, in their winter garb—the dog-wood and the sugar-maple being alone in leaf. The scenery was of a different description from that I had hitherto seen. There was plenty of water ; and here and there some picturesque masses of rock. The range of view was not so extensive ; the mountains were more elevated, and there were fewer signs of cultivation. We forded many creeks,—one of them, in passing the Alleghany, no less than twenty-seven times in five miles. This pass has nothing remarkable to distinguish it ; there was no view from the highest point, and the descent had fewer features of beauty or grandeur than many I had seen previously. Some of the mountains, particularly those we saw in the early part of the day, were very singular both in form and color. As they rose from the valley, they were broken into ridges ; the higher parts of which were covered with pines, while the intervening declivities were clothed with trees of a lighter shade ; thus presenting a ribbed surface along their whole length, the alternate tints running in parallel lines, with a degree of order and regularity at once fantastic and beautiful. The mountains, whether radiating from a common point, or ascend-

ing in opposite lines, were separated by narrow valleys, embosomed in trees, and forming an uneven but continuous mass of verdure. Nothing can be imagined more enchanting.

CHAPTER XXII.

Mineral Springs.—Lewisburg.—Language.—Periodical Press.—Stage Passengers.—Charleston Salt-Works.—Cuyandott.—Cholera.—Orthography and Orthoepy.—School Prejudices.—National Fallacies.—Kentucky.—Usury Laws.—Lexington.—Inquisitive Traveller.—Lunatic Asylum.—Colored Preacher.—Stage Regulations.—Slave System.—Planter convert to Abolition.—Character of Kentuckians.—Frankfort.—Louisville.

ABOUT thirty miles from Fincastle, the stage stopped to dinner at the Sweet Springs; a place much frequented by invalids in the summer. At this time there were none. The landlord could give me no account of the water, except that it was used as a tonic. It had never been analyzed, he said, though its medicinal qualities had long been known. I tasted it, and found the flavor agreeable, differing but slightly from that of good water. The well is eight or ten feet in depth. The water contains a great deal of gas, of which large bubbles are constantly rising to the surface. A quarter of a mile beyond, we passed another spring, not covered in or protected in any way. From the red ferruginous

appearance on the surface and the sides, it seemed to be more of a chalybeate than the other. The latter is used as a bath also. The house, which is well situated, is about twelve miles from the top of the Alleghany.

Fifteen miles further, we came to the Sulphur Springs. There were a few visitors here. Upwards of 300 might be accommodated. There is no hotel or tavern, but a building where the meals are taken. The company reside in small houses, called cabins. The proprietor of this establishment has shewn no little ingenuity in promoting social intercourse among his guests; for the wretched dog-holes he has provided for them are such, that they must necessarily seek the common room, to get out of their own.

On leaving the springs, we were much incommoded by the dust, which a man in a gig before us purposely raised in our faces. If we slackened our pace, he drew in; if we pushed on, he flogged his horse. This lasted for a considerable time—till we arrived at the Greenbrier river, where there is a handsome covered bridge of wood. Here he stopped, to water his horse. I took the opportunity of requesting he would have the goodness either "to go a-head," or let us pass him. He offered the latter, but I begged he would take the lead; though, I added, we shall probably go faster than yourself. "I doubt it," was his reply,—shewing at once that

he might have spared us the annoyance, though he had just denied that it was intentional. He then walked his horse through the right archway, in strict accordance with the directions stuck up on the bridge, vanished on the other side, and we saw him no more.

On alighting from the stage at Lewisburg, the master of the hotel where we stopped desired the waiter to shew me into a quiet comfortable room. I was ushered into a small chamber, containing six or seven beds, (I had some difficulty in counting them,) all likely to be fully occupied; for I was at the same time informed that there was a "smart chance" of travellers on the road. As I prefer making stage-coach acquaintances by day, I contrived, with a little coaxing, to get a bed-room to myself.

At this place, I was again complimented on my language; though it was far from being American-proof. It is no such easy matter, indeed, to get rid of the prejudices of early education. It seems unjust that "rotatory" should be deprived of a whole syllable to enrich "preventive"; while "representative" remains untouched: "plenty"* has work

* Most of the peculiarities adverted to (not, I trust it will be believed, with any ill-natured motive) are common to America and England; with this difference, that no one in the latter country is likely to boast of an accomplishment which he does not possess, and which, in both countries, is as easy to a well-

enough in all conscience, as a substantive, without doing duty as an adjective; and to “learn”, most of us have good reason to know, is the business of the pupil, and not of the master. An English ear does not recognise *ǎstĕrwārd*s as an anapæst; and frets like a heretic, though orthodoxy itself pronounce *lĕvĕe* an iambus. It may be very convenient to talk of your “right”, when you are under an obligation; and many a man’s opinion is “contemptible” when he means it to be “contemptuous.” For my part, I am contented with deposit and euphonous; as I cannot see what claim the former can have to another letter, or the latter to another syllable. The recollections of boyhood make me cherish the *quantity* of my Latin as its stock diminishes. If I were to talk of *abdōmen* or *umbilĭcus*, I should fancy I heard my old master bawling out—“booby! the word is as long as my arm”; and giving me, at the same time, the length of the latter as a measure. I may be in error: but I can plead that I was born on the wrong side of the Atlantic; that my judge is at once plaintiff, counsel, and witness; and that I am not to be tried by a jury *de medietate linguæ*.

The Americans seem to think that the omission of the aspirate in pronunciation is a national custom in England. If it were so, instead of being confined to an educated man, as agility to a well-trained runner, or gracefulness to an opera-dancer.

to those whose education has been defective, it might be defended, on the same plea which is offered in favor of their own practice. Why should usage be allowed to deprive "herb" and "humble" of the rights they enjoy with us, while the same privilege is denied it when applied on a large scale? The difference is in degree only; and those who have adopted the same pronunciation that, in other instances, characterises the class alluded to, should be the last to ridicule a practice, which, however limited, equally distinguishes them from what are called the refined portion of English society? These peculiarities are said to have prevailed during the era of Swift and Addison. Be it so: that is no reason why we should change our modes and manners, in deference to times with which we have little in common, and which are not to be considered as a standard for us, because they are so for another nation. Our mechanics and tradesmen might as well maintain that they merely imitate their ancestors, when they affix or discard the aspirate, and when they change *w* into *v*. Arguments, no doubt, could be found in support of the position. It may be said, for example, that the word "topsy-turvy", which is well known to be a corruption of top-side-'other-way, proves that the *w* was formerly pronounced as *v* now is. When our friends over the water laugh at the cockneys for confounding these letters, they forget that they themselves are ob-

noxious to the same treatment, for substituting *z* in the place of *s*, &c., in several words, such as design, consign, discern, &c., which they pronounce *de*sign, *con*sign, *dis*cern, &c. Yet they do not make the same alteration in the word "sign", from which the former are derived. This mode is necessary in the word "resign", *to give up*, in order to distinguish it from the word "resign", *to repeat the signature*,—a distinction which is generally observed by well-educated persons in England. I do not say that its non-observance is incorrect: I merely say that they who claim a right to deviate from an established standard,—and it will be difficult to prove that it is not established, at least among us, have no right to blame others for doing the same thing. Wherever the deviation lies, one set of men are as much entitled to choose their own style of pronunciation as another; unless it be that the people are everything on one side of the Atlantic, and nothing on the other. And this, I am inclined to think, will afford the best explanation of the matter. The American "people" are to be flattered in everything; and foreigners, who cannot speak our language correctly, tell them that they ought to exclude English books from their country, lest their mother tongue should be debased and corrupted. O rem ridiculam et inficetam!

"Some few years hence," says the United States' Gazette, July, 1834, "the inhabitants (of England) will look to the United States for a dictionary, by

which they may read the classics of their ancestors, Steele, Johnson, and Addison." In the same manner, doubtless, the French will seek for commentators on Molière and Boileau in Canada; the Spaniards visit Mexico to understand Quevedo and Cervantes: and the posterity of the present Americans will take a trip to Liberia, that they may relish the polished pages of the *Courier and Inquirer*, and study modesty from the liberal columns of the *United States' Gazette*.

It is fortunate for Europe that, as her different communities experience the inadequacy of the language they speak to express their wants, or gratify their literary tastes, there should be found, beyond "the watery main," a superior race, that are sprung from the same stock, and can restore, by their example, its primitive purity and richness to their common tongue;—affording, by the revision of their vernacular vocabulary, some consolation under the many evils which decline and decrepitude bring with them.

There is perhaps no country in the world, where the periodical press is less marked by independence of principle, and integrity of purpose, than in the United States. *Sumit aut ponit arbitrio popularis auræ*. It is a mirror that reflects public opinion in all its changes and diversities of form and pressure. The editors "cannot afford to keep a conscience," amid the struggles of party warfare, the

sneers of opponents, and the solicitations of subscribers. Like the "condottieri" and "conducti" of modern and ancient Italy, their joy and their sorrow belong to those who hire them; and their hostility or their sympathy is paid for.

If I am not misinformed, a joint stock fund in the South takes off 500 copies of the Courier and Inquirer (the cost of each copy for the year being ten dollars). These are distributed among the hotels and places of public resort. Hence that candid specimen of "the people's best instructor" is an advocate for slavery. Its expectation of favors to come measures its gratitude for favors received; and its zeal in the cause attests its attachment and its sincerity. The degraded state of the press may be seen in the proposals and prospectuses occasionally issued by its conductors. The assumption of exclusive integrity proves its rarity, while it excites a doubt of its probability. "Again:—be it understood," says the Aurora, on its revival last year, "that no compromise will be made of principles for subscriptions or advertisements; nor any private or public interference submitted to, incompatible with the social interests and the freedom of the press."

At the hotel where I lodged at Lewisburg, there were sixteen people at breakfast, and about the same number at table the evening before. Very commendable patience was exhibited on both occasions, while waiting for the meal, till the second

bell rang; when there was a simultaneous rush to the room and the hot rolls. No time was lost in choosing seats or settling precedence; not a voice was heard. The whole passed in dumb show; and the same rapidity of movement marked the three acts of the performance. It was: *intrauit omnes,—* *exiit omnes,—* *exiit omnes*. At dinner the same eagerness to commence and retire was displayed; and no one remained, as on the other side of the ridge, to cool his heels and heat his head in the tap-room.

I had proof here of the little that is often known in one State of what is going on in another. An elderly man, who was lodging at the inn, declared in the presence of several persons, and repeated the assertion at least a dozen times, to as many parties, that the neighboring State of Ohio had driven away all its colored citizens but three, whom the governor was about to expel. I had at the time conclusive evidence to the contrary in my pocket; having brought a letter from one of this class at Washington to his brother at Cincinnati, in answer to a communication he had received, that there were a great many persons of color there, who were endeavoring to improve their condition. I did not contradict him, as he had just before assured the company, that I was decidedly wrong in saying that Catholics were admitted as members to the British House of

Commons. He was a lawyer, and appeared to be the oracle of the place.

On the 22d, I left Lewisburg for Guyandott, on the Ohio, and went as far as the Falls (sixty-four miles). There was no one inside the stage but a young farmer, who had never been out of Virginia. At Mount Pleasant, where we stopped to breakfast, my fellow traveller observed to me that he had paid for his meals, during his journey on horseback, but half what he was now charged as a stage passenger. I now saw how the tavern-keepers and the stage proprietors arrange the matter between them. The price of the meal is enhanced as the charge at the booking-office is diminished; and the consumer pays, one way or another, in the fare.

We proceeded on our way with few objects and incidents to diversify and enliven the day. There were scarcely any of those springs, at which during the previous days I had drunk the most delicious water. The sources were less frequent and more scanty. The Ohio has less need to draw on the Alleghany than the James river.

Towards noon we took up a woman with a little girl and a boy of eight or ten years of age. As soon as they were seated, I made a sad blunder. I asked her if the lad was her grandson. He was her son. I had mistaken a female of forty for an old woman of sixty: such is the rapidity with which the fair

sex too often lose every appearance of youth, at an age when their sisters in Europe still retain no small portion of their freshness and beauty. I felt very much embarrassed; and tried to "make it up" with the good lady by taking notice of her children; and, I believe, I succeeded pretty well, as she wished me "good afternoon," when she left the stage:—a piece of civility not always observed towards each other by travellers;—with whom to *take leave* is often as rare as to *ask* it.

When we arrived within fourteen or fifteen miles of the Falls, the scenery improved, and there were more signs of social life than the few log-huts we had hitherto seen. There were farm-houses and green fields and orchards. Seven miles further we came to an elevated spot, known by the name of the "Hawk's Nest." From hence the view is truly magnificent; the New River winding its way below at a depth of several hundred feet, and forming three or four distinct curves, as the mountains, which rise precipitously on each side, approach or recede from its bed; from the waters of which their woody sides are reflected. The scenery became exceedingly beautiful as we descended the mountain, with the river far below on our left; each turn and every opening of the wood, with which the sides were profusely covered, affording us now a glimpse, now a full view, of the stream below. Such varied and charming combinations of water and rock, and trees

are to be found in few countries. Many parts bear a striking resemblance to the banks of the Wye in the neighborhood of Piercefield; but none can rival Windcliff in beauty. At the foot of the mountain, we crossed over in a ferry, at the point of junction between the New River and the Gauley, which here lose their distinctive titles, and are lost in the Kanawha—a tributary of the Ohio. At seven, P.M., we reached the Falls; where we remained for the night. They are hardly worth the trouble of a walk, though but of a quarter of a mile; their height not exceeding twenty feet.

We started the next morning at an early hour. The "full-orb'd moon" was reflected from the Kanawha; between which and the impending rock our route lay; the light breeze, "the herald of the morn," was springing up; and the fire-fly, as he flitted among the trees that skirted the road, "began to pale his ineffectual fires." As the day broke, the scenery gradually unfolded itself. Light wreaths of mist rose slowly from the surface of the water, and remained suspended midway on the bosom of the mountains. The river had now enlarged its bed, and deepened its current; the mountains assumed a conical form; and the valley, that lay between the opposite ridges, and afforded a passage through which the Kanawha "wanders his silver winding way," added fertility of soil to beauty of situation. The road continued along the banks of the river.

through the same sort of country as we had traversed in the morning. At eleven A.M. we arrived at Charleston, thirty-six miles from the Falls. Here are some valuable salt-springs, extending for ten or twelve miles on both sides of the river. They give employment to nearly 1500 workmen; more than one half of whom are hired slaves from the other side of the blue ridge. It was supposed that salt to the amount of two millions of bushels would have been made here in the year 1834, if the President's "experiment" had not paralysed commerce by shaking credit. A branch which is established here of the Virginia Bank at Richmond, had been compelled to curtail its discounts. Like the mimosa, it had drawn in its *leaves* at the touch of the intruder. There are few regions where Nature has been more lavish of her gifts. The water, from which the salt is obtained, is found at the depth of three or four hundred feet; and the neighboring mountains abound in coal, which is dug out from the sides by means of horizontal shafts. If slavery were abolished, and more capital were invested in these works, the rate of wages, which the difficulty of finding white laborers who will work with slaves keeps up, would fall; the rude machinery of wooden troughs and vats would give way to a more profitable, though more costly, apparatus; and the command of a wider market would soon invite and remunerate speculation. Here indeed is "the potentiality of growing rich" to any

one, who with a large capital would be contented with small profits, till the removal of those obstacles, which now repel enterprise or weaken its efforts, shall drive every competitor from the field. What might not Charleston become with inexhaustible sources of raw material and fuel in close neighborhood, and an easy access by water to market for their products?

The happy results of industry are already visible in the substantial houses, the trim gardens, and well-tilled fields, that meet the eye of the traveller as he enters the town on either side. And such might the whole State be, if the balance between production and consumption were in favor of the former; if the physical powers of the cultivators were directed by the will; and labor were considered as the self-interested coadjutor of capital, and not a mere piece of brutal machinery. Better would it be for the western section of Virginia, if it were at once to separate from a companion, that arrests its progress and endangers its tranquillity. Should the eastern part continue its blind opposition to the schemes proposed for their mutual benefit, it is not improbable that the influence it exercises in the legislature will induce the west to sever the tie that unites them, and form a State by itself—to follow the example of Kentucky, and, moving in its own orbit, cease to be the satellite of a falling and fading planet.

Hints of this nature have often been thrown out;

and the conflicting interests, which difference of manners and of habits has created, are likely to stimulate the feelings from which they spring, into determined action. Should such an event be ever realized, the new State would, before long, outstrip its rival, and take its place among the richest and most important of the confederation.

In quitting Charleston, which communicates with the Ohio, at sixty miles distance, by means of the Kanawha, we crossed the river by a ferry, and proceeded about ten miles; when the road and the river, after a short separation and re-union, parted company; and we saw no more of the latter. As we approached the Ohio, the mountains were less elevated, and more marks of cultivation appeared. Nothing occurred on the journey, but the departure of my fellow traveller, who shook me very cordially by the hand, and invited me to visit him at his house. The former piece of civility I returned,—the other is credited to his countrymen.

About six P.M. the stage arrived for the night at a place called Morris's Tavern, sixty-four miles from the Falls. Had not the inn at Charleston been full, I should have remained there a day or two, and the next stage would have taken me up. Such are the regulations on the road, that, when once you have taken your place by a stage, you may stop as long as you please by the way, and resume your journey and your seat at your leisure. You have a lien upon the

place you have paid for,—a kind of usufruct, of which you may divide or delay the enjoyment. The next morning we got to Guyandott at seven, the distance being but eighteen or twenty miles. The road was, in most parts, as good as M'Adam himself could have made it; and the driver, while dashing down the mountains, shewed great dexterity in managing one of the prettiest teams of long-tailed greys imaginable.

Guyandott is a small place, containing two or three hundred souls, and is situated on the banks of the Ohio, which lands or receives some of its numerous steam-boat travellers here, and gives to the village what little animation it possesses. It may boast of a good hotel, which has not long been erected, and is conducted with great attention to the comfort and convenience of its guests; who are, at times, in such abundance, as to be obliged to sleep on the floor, in the dining-room, and passage. It may afford a smile or a joke to see a small room stuffed with beds, and half a dozen men performing their ablutions with a pewter basin and a round towel: but it should be remembered, that when the population of a country is small and scattered, and the number as well as the arrival of travellers uncertain, it would be unreasonable to expect accommodations, the cost of which could never be covered by such charges as would be willingly paid.

Much alarm had been felt at this place, from the

appearance of the cholera; of which a man, about a fortnight before, had died at the hotel. The disease came on after a hearty supper on board a steam-boat; and he was landed, within eight or ten hours, at this place. The master of the inn did himself great honor on this melancholy occasion; for he not only received him into his house, when almost every one in the village kept aloof, and several of his guests left the hotel, but he rendered the patient, both before and after his death, those services which usually fall to the lot of the nurse and the undertaker. The only aid he could obtain in this benevolent and generous office, was from the driver of the stage, who seconded him most nobly in his efforts to soften the dying man's sufferings, by allowing him to rest his feet on his breast, and derive what relief was to be had from the pressure, to the cramps by which he was tormented. He was a Presbyterian minister, on his way to the general assembly at Philadelphia.

Few people in this part of the country believe in the doctrine of contagion; though from what took place, both here and at other places, it would seem that, while they are non-contagionists in principle, they are contagionists in practice.

As there were very few persons in the house, I was put into a well-furnished room in front. As I lay in bed, I could see the hills rising on the opposite side, at a short distance from the river, which is here about half a mile across; and the whole breadth

of the Ohio was before me, rolling the united tribute of the Alleghany and the Monongahela to the Mississippi, with a rapidity that a journey before him of nearly 1000 miles might seem to demand.

While I was waiting at Guyandott for a steamboat, I borrowed some English works of the landlord, to amuse me. They were American editions; and I observed that some of the words had been adapted, in the reprint, to the transatlantic mode of spelling. I have frequently found this to be the case with republications in the United States. Thus "visitor" is changed into "visiter"; although "contractor", "director", "orator", and other words with the same termination, retain their old garb; and "deposit" has an *e* tacked to the end of it; while "transit", "deficit", "visit", &c., have not had the same compliment paid them as their congener. Every nation has, of course, a right to give currency to what sort of language it pleases; but it has no right to recoin what it imports from another, and pass it off as genuine. An English author may appear in an American dress, without becoming a citizen:—he may fairly object to *letters* of naturalization*.

* The year before the last, there were published, in the United States, 274 new literary works of native growth, and 206 reprinted from foreign authors:—the former, in 306 volumes, for 375 dollars, 47 cents; the latter, in 303 volumes, at 216 dollars, 99 cents. European works reappear in a smaller type, and at a lower price. The exotics are more closely

I may perhaps be pardoned for recurring to the subject of pronunciation. If it were true, as most people in North America suppose, that all the English omit or employ the aspirate in a manner directly the reverse of what is practised in the former country, it would by no means follow that the practice were inelegant or incorrect. The French never pronounce the "h", with the exception of a few words, such as "hero", "hara", &c. Suppose their Canadian brethren, who, by the by, boast of speaking a purer dialect than the people of *their* mother country, were to introduce a different style of pronunciation, and employ the aspirate as we do, would it not be extremely absurd in them to ridicule the Parisians for a peculiarity, and call that a deviation, which would, in fact, be the standard from which they had themselves deviated? If, in all languages, custom be a guide, "*Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi*", why should it be sought on the other side of the ocean?—or, if it is to be sought there, on which side is it to be found? The truth is, the charge involves the accusation of vulgarity; that want of refinement, which those who make the

packed: the consumption is increased in proportion. It is ridiculous to complain that the home-grown article is discouraged, when there is a bounty upon importation. Under such discouragements, few men of talent will be contented with the barren laurels of literature. The rest prefer "cash" to "credit", and turn their attention to more profitable employments.

imputation, are so apt to resent as an insult, or an injustice, when made against themselves:—an attempt to prove disqualification to judge, while jurisdiction is denied:—a retaliatory plea, *contra judicem coram non judice*.

The Americans are systematically taught in their earliest years, that the diction they employ is superior to that in use elsewhere. “The English language,” says an American writer on Geography, “is spoken in far greater purity of idiom and intonation with us than in Great Britain.”

As the work I have quoted is recommended to teachers by some of the most respectable men in the country, I shall take the liberty of citing some more passages from it. The excellent character of the writer will secure a candid reception to the remarks I may make, as it recommends to the minds of youth those feelings and opinions which seem to call for them.

“Knowing that Asia,” says the Author, “is sunk in ignorance and gross superstition, the young reader will at once discover the cause of our moral superiority over the dull Asiatics, as well as the great mass of their more enlightened neighbors of the European part of the Eastern continent. It needs scarcely to be repeated, that it is owing to the influence of the press shedding its rays of knowledge over the minds of a free people, and yielding instruction to every person capable of reading:—and

who is there in this country that cannot read? The number is very small, and fast diminishing.* I will say nothing of the enormous mass of ignorance to be found among the Africo-Americans. I will leave it to a writer in the American Annals of Education (Nov. 1833) to answer the above. "More than a million of free white children in the United States are left even without a common school education. Another million of our youth between fifteen and twenty, find no place provided for their instruction, beyond the mere elements of knowledge, which they may have acquired; and a large part of these future citizens have no means of paying for education."—"So reckless in New England itself," says another writer in the Register, "are the guardians of our schools in regard to their organization and discipline, and the character of the teachers, that large numbers of the most respectable men in the community regard them as direct nurseries of evil, and refuse to commit their children to them, even to save the tax which they pay for them. In New York this is not only true, but there is reason to believe that from 50,000 to 80,000 children are destitute of all instruction, besides the flood of adult foreigners that inundate this State. In New Jersey, 11,000 adults were found unable to read and write; and in Pennsylvania, only 150,000 children out of 480,000 receive any instruction."

* Geographical Exercises, &c., by Joseph C. Hart. New York, 1830.

Speaking of England, the author of the "Geographical Exercises" calls it a nation, "that has spent millions and sacrificed armies to entail slavery" on the Americans, who "have been twice obliged to beat" it "into an acknowledgement" of their "rights and liberties." He had just before stated, that at New Orleans "was fought the celebrated battle which gained for General Jackson a great reputation, and terminated the last war with Great Britain." Peace had been signed some time previously. "It is probable," says the author, "that Cuba (the most important of the West Indies, but at present a harbour for pirates) will, at no distant period, belong either by purchase or conquest to the United States." This is a singular idea to instil into the minds of those who are one day to be self-governed citizens of a nation, that has always repudiated aggressive wars and accession of territory by conquest. It is somewhat remarkable that a quaker, should "endorse" the testimonials that are printed in front and in favor of a book containing these and the following sentiments. They were suggested by a narrative, from the author, of very atrocious conduct alleged to have been committed by some British officers against the captain and crew of an American brig. "These cowardly and unblushing monsters deserve a brazen monument, to give to their baseness a becoming immortality; and their names, while they yet live, are now recorded in an American school-book, that American children

may learn to appreciate the superiority of their own national character, and to apply, on proper occasions,—

. ' a whip of scorpions,
To lash the rascals naked through the world.'

If these are acts by which we are practically to judge of the boasted honor and humanity of Britons and British officers, how greatly have we reason to exult in the contrast of the character and conduct of the Americans, and in the bravery and feeling hearts of our own gallant officers and seamen."

"This people", says the author, speaking of the English, "are fond of running after great names, and following in the train of royalty. As an evidence of their acquiescence in the inequality of mankind, it is a standing maxim, that 'the king can do no wrong'; which signifies that he is placed above the reach of the civil power and the operation of law." The author is not aware, that the maxim he quotes has no more to do with natural inequality than his country's declaration of rights has to do with natural equality. It might as well be said, we believe in the king's immortality, because, by a similar legal fiction, we say, "the king never dies". It is this principle that secures us from the evils of an interregnum, and it was the want of the other that destroyed both the monarchy and the monarch. The writer may see a similar principle in operation nearer home. In all

civilized communities, idiots, infants, and lunatics are irresponsible to the civil power for their actions. In the eyes of the law they "can do no wrong". There is this important difference, however, that no one is necessarily responsible for them; whereas some one, by whom alone the executive of our government can act, is always responsible for him.

Another American teacher of youth, assures his readers, that "the number of instructors and students in the celebrated universities of Europe is greater than in ours (the American), the course of instruction more extensive, and the libraries much larger; but far less attention is paid to the conduct and improvement of the pupils."*

In another passage he says: "It is the remark of an European writer, concerning the United States, that 'the great body of the American people is better educated than the bulk of any European community'." The words "better educated" are printed in italics.

"In most countries of Europe," says the same author, "vice is more prevalent among all classes, and morality and piety are less regarded than in the United States." This is, certainly, a most wonderful country. There is no end of testimonies to its greatness—present or future. I must quote one more. "It is the happiness of America, that almost every thing in her condition invites her to look forward

* Woodbridge's Rudiments of Geography, p. 536.

with hope. Her perfect freedom, her rapid progress, the elastic energy of her national character, the boundless extent of her territory, her situation, far from the contentions of European nations, and safe from the dangers both of their friendship and of their hostility,—all awaken and justify the confident hope, that she is destined to reach a height of prosperity which no other nation of ancient and modern times has attained.”—Preface to Memoir of Roger Williams. The Author could hardly mean that Europeans are more prone than other people to cut one another’s throats; that there is no connexion between national prosperity and national arrogance,—no tenacity of possession, or desire of acquisition, arising from extension of territory; and that man “in leaving his dear native land behind” for the new world, leaves behind him his pride and his pugnacity. The citizens of the United States are so often told, in fourth of July orations, in sermons, and speeches, and reviews, and magazines, and newspapers, and prefaces to literary works, that they are the greatest people under the canopy of heaven, that it is no wonder they believe what is so gratifying to the self-love of human nature, and what is confirmed, in their own minds, by the very ridicule with which it is treated by other nations. As for the exemption from war, which is here claimed as the peculiar blessing of the country, it would per-

haps be nearer the truth to say, that its inflictions are more likely to be felt in America than in Europe.

New States are naturally jealous of one another, and where their governments are created and controlled by the people, are little inclined to listen to reason when aggressors, or content themselves with remonstrance when aggrieved. If they are secure from the craft of crowned heads, who seek in foreign hostilities a diversion to internal complaints, they are deprived of the check which regal policy often places upon national animosity, and have no ground, in an independent administration of public affairs, to offer or accept an excuse for injury or insult. The propensity of European sovereigns to war is often counteracted by the poverty and discontent of those from whom the means and instruments of its gratification are to be obtained; while neither the one nor the other exists among communities in which the democratic principle increases with the wealth it elicits and accumulates. If we add to these considerations, that there is not a political body throughout the whole American continent, the West India islands, the vast extent of Asia, and Africa, and the Pacific, that does not find itself excluded by the disqualification of many, and, in most cases, of all its members, from those social and civil privileges which it extends itself to the citizens of the United States; it may, without exaggeration, be

said, that no nation on the face of the globe has assumed such an hostile attitude as this great republican empire,—none have ever given such cause of offence and provocation,—and none have adopted a course of policy calculated to produce so much exasperation and disgust among countless millions fast emerging into refined civilization and commercial importance*.

On the 25th I left Guyandott by a steam-boat, that was passing down the river, and arrived at Maysville, in Kentucky, in the evening. The distance is about 100 miles. The banks of the Ohio appeared tame and uninteresting in comparison with western Virginia. Maysville is a flourishing town. The year before it is supposed to have contained 4000 inhabitants; when the cholera made its appearance. Its number was soon reduced, by flight, to 500; of whom fifty died of the disease. Lower down the river, and twenty miles above Cincinnati, where, in a small district, out of three physicians, one died of the complaint, another fled, and the third alone remained, the greater part of the population removed, and left the care of the sick and the

* A Chinese, whom I met at Philadelphia, complained to me of the Americans.—“They insult me,” he said, “because of my skin. They will not let me be in the same room with them.” He was going back to his own country, and seemed little likely when he got home to forget or forgive what he had seen and felt on his travels.

dying to a few devoted men, who undertook to administer the medicines they were instructed to give. One of these men told me, that calomel, given in large quantities, was the only effectual remedy of all that were applied. Many people shut themselves up in their houses, and others refused to see their nearest relatives; but it was observed that the greatest number of victims was among those who gave way to immoderate fear.

The next day I quitted Maysville, at nine A.M., for Lexington; and though the distance is but sixty-four miles, the stage did not reach the latter place till half-past ten at night. About two-thirds of the road were macadamized, and in excellent order; but the remainder was infinitely worse than any I had yet seen. When the new road, of which the construction has been undertaken by a turnpike company, is completed, it will be one of the best in the Union.

Maysville is prettily situated in a hollow, completely surrounded by mountains; the sole current of air being along the river, which divides them. The chief produce of the county in which it lies, consists of hemp, of which large quantities are grown, both for home manufacture and for exportation. After passing Washington, ten miles from Maysville, the soil begins to deteriorate, and continues of an inferior quality for some distance. It improves afterwards.

Our vehicle was heavily loaded with its full complement of passengers, and an extra quantity of luggage. I found the Kentucky drivers, with the exception of two, who were from the free States, very inferior to the fraternity in Virginia. One of these men had been a long time in the State, but had been unable to reconcile himself to the people or their slave-system. The other had been employed, when a young man, as an overseer on a plantation in Louisiana, and had been so shocked with the cruelties he had witnessed, that the offer of a thousand dollars a year, with a horse and a slave, could not tempt him to remain; and he had ever since retained his hatred of slavery. By his account, the women are so worn down by the toils of the field, that if it were not for importation, the race could hardly be continued in many places. His employer, when he informed him of his intention to quit him, asked him what he expected to lay by as a stage-driver. "100 dollars a year," was the reply. The observation this answer elicited was very remarkable:—"If what you tell me be true, what must be your opinion of me?"

There was something romantic about this man's history. His father and mother were of English birth. The former was poor; and the latter, whose family was in affluent circumstances, was too young and affectionate to look upon his want of wealth as a proof of want of merit. They were

married; and paternal displeasure drove them beyond the ocean. Here they lived contentedly for many years, forgetting, and, as they thought, forgotten by the world. The death of the wife's father, however, announced to them that he had not subdued a father's feelings. He bequeathed a small estate to their only child. The grandson had never taken possession of it, as his lawyer had died before the claim had been finally settled, and the claimant had neglected to take further steps in the business. He was meditating a trip to England; and, as but seventeen or eighteen years had elapsed since the death of his grandfather, he may still recover his property. He was a prudent man, and had saved a good deal of money. I asked him what interest he got for it. His answer shows how high want of capital has raised profits in this part of America; and how easy it is to evade enactments, which would interfere with the equitable mode of dividing them between the borrower and the owner of the capital, that has produced them. "When I have saved up fifty dollars," he said, "I take them to an hotel-keeper, whom I can trust, and he finds me a man who will give me for the loan of them a bill for sixty dollars, payable at the end of six months, and properly endorsed. I lent a blacksmith the other day this very sum on these terms. He had an opportunity of getting some iron at a reduced price, owing to the pressure of the times, and he was unwilling to raise the

money by the sale of a slave, who might have been exposed to hard treatment in the south. This is the way we manage these matters; and I would ask you, after this, what is the use of usury laws?"

He told me several stories of "whipping", and mentioned that nearly all the Kentuckians, of whatever rank and condition, carried pistols or dirks, and sometimes both, with them.

One of the other drivers had all the appearance of a ruffian of the highest order about him; and his language corresponded with his garb. He had left Virginia to escape the consequences of a brawl, in which he had been engaged. "I whipped a man decently," said he, "in his own bar." "And what became of him?" I asked. "Oh! he recovered: but the officers were after me; and so I came off to Kentuck." He wanted me to get inside, as the road was very bad, and it was growing dark. Though he had not been more than seven or eight months in that part of the country, two or three persons who were sitting by his side had, he told me, been thrown off, and much hurt. As he seemed to be drunk, I remained where I was, with the hope of checking the fury with which he drove. I expected every minute to be upset, and thought myself very fortunate to have escaped with no other loss but that of my great coat, which slipped from under me during one of the concussion we underwent.

A little time after our arrival at Lexington, I was

inquiring in the hotel for my portmanteau, which I began to fear had shared the fate of my coat, when a young man, whom, though one of the passengers, I had not before observed, accosted me: "What part of England do you come from, if it is a fair question?" Having obtained a suitable answer to his fair question, he proceeded: "I reckon London is one of your largest States." "London is not a State," I replied, "but a city." "Oh! I know that well enough:—a pretty smart place, I take it:—as large, perhaps, as Philadelphia?" "You must consider," said I, "that London has long been the seat of government, and a mart for the most extensive commerce in Europe. It probably contains more than six times the population of Philadelphia." "Is not Liverpool near London?" was the next question. I told him the distance. "I always thought", he said, "that it was only fifty miles. You are going", he added, "to see the largest city to be found in the interior of any country in the world." "What city do you mean?" "Why, Lexington." "Is not Cincinnati larger?" "Yes! but then Cincinnati is on the Ohio. I mean a city not situated on a river." He continued running on from one subject to another. "Your people are before us in the arts and sciences, and are more refined; but then, you know, we work with slaves." I disclaimed any superiority for my country but what others might obtain with similar advantages; and he betook him-

self to the register of arrivals, in search of my name. Having examined the book a few minutes, he suddenly turned round, and addressed me abruptly. "How do you spell your name?" he ejaculated. This was going rather beyond the limits of privileged curiosity; and as I thought he would be better employed in deciphering the name than in catechising its owner, I took my leave, and left him the register.

I found the Eagle tavern, at which I put up, one of the best conducted I had seen in America; and the proprietors as attentive to their guests as if they were doing the honors of a private house. The company, too, were gentlemanly in their manners, and of an obliging disposition.

Upon my inquiring about a lunatic asylum, which is established about a mile from the town, Mr. Postlethwaite (one of the proprietors) very politely procured me an order, and drove me over in his barouche, with two of the directors. There are accommodations for 150 patients; though but 71, of whom nearly one-half were women, were then in the house. The sleeping chambers, of which each patient has one, are lofty and well-lighted: each has a window, opposite to the door, over which, communicating with a spacious passage, is another; every window in a cast-iron frame, so that no sign of coercion or confinement is visible. Through each door is an aperture, with a slide, by means of which the keepers

are enabled to see what is passing within. There are four yards, divided equally between the sexes, and admitting patients, according to the nature of their case. Some of them had irons on their legs or arms,—a mode of punishment or restraint of very equivocal effect any where. How it is at this place I could not learn, as neither superintendant nor doctor was within; and the keeper who attended us seemed contented with the performance of his duty, without speculating on the best mode of combining with it the chance of restoring health and a sound mind to the patients. Another kind of discipline is applied in the shower-bath, which is said to be efficacious in cases of violence or insubordination. There is a garden attached to the house, with some land, where the inmates are permitted and encouraged to work. The directors had applied to the legislature for more land; sufficient for the salutary purposes contemplated not having been granted. The establishment, which evinced throughout a most commendable attention to the comfort of the invalids, is supported at the expense of the State, with the exception of what is derived from those who can afford to pay for their board, or any particular indulgence. Some of these are sent from other States; the rest belong exclusively to Kentucky.

While strolling about the town, and admiring the neatness of the houses, I fell into conversation with a colored man, who proved to be a minister of the

Baptist persuasion, a native of Virginia, in which State he had obtained his freedom, and had subsequently settled at this place; respected both by whites and blacks. One of the former, however, actuated by some malicious or malevolent motive, had endeavored to enforce the law, which prohibits free blacks from other States from settling in Kentucky. Much to the credit of the Lexington people, a petition, in behalf of the colored preacher, signed by many of the most respectable whites in the town, was sent to the legislature; and an express enactment was passed by them, empowering him to remain, and to enjoy all the privileges of a white man, except the elective franchise. He has had a church here since 1822,—the only place of worship in the State, supported and managed by Africo-Americans, and served by one of their own race. There are about 500 of them, who are free, in Lexington,—a large proportion, out of a population amounting, in 1830, to 6026. They had just established a school for their children; of whom there were thirty-two under instruction. They were under the care of a white man, from the State of Tennessee, who has devoted what little remains of life, (for he is now an old man,) to the improvement of those whom the pride of his countrymen has abandoned to neglect and opprobrium. He is, perhaps, the only white man in the town, if not in the State, who is willing, not only to give his time and toil for the

slight remuneration that the objects of his kindness can afford, but to treat them as brethren, and as men possessing the same rights, and entitled to the same respect, as himself.

He told me the people of Tennessee were much more kind to their slaves than the Kentuckians,—while the latter are superior, in this respect, to the Virginians. Had he been a Kentuckian, he would, perhaps, have reversed the order of their demerits. I sat for some time talking with him and the preacher, while the wife of the person with whom he lodged, a well-dressed, pleasing woman, was attending to a sick boy. The sitting-room was well furnished, and might have vied with our neatest cottages in cleanliness and comfort. I had been struck with the decent and even elegant appearance of the place as I passed, and longed to become acquainted with its sable inmates, before I fell in with their associate. The free men meet with a certain degree of respect, if they conduct themselves well, and though not so secure against insult as they would be in Europe, are far better treated at Lexington, than they would be at Philadelphia or New York. I believe it will be found that, with some exceptions, the slaves in the South have less reason to complain in the cities and towns, than in the country districts; while the reverse is the case with the free blacks in the North.

I had taken my place by the stage, and had paid

my fare for Cincinnati, when I was advised to change my route, and visit Frankfort and Louisville. On applying at the office, the money was immediately returned, though no sort of connexion existed between the proprietors of the one line of road, and those of the other. I found everywhere a ready wish at the coach-offices to accommodate travellers. The cholera, on its visit to Lexington, swept off between five and six hundred of its inhabitants. Many of them were victims of the extraordinary panic it created; having given themselves up to despair, on the first attack. The town, as the disease spread, was almost entirely deserted. Large doses of calomel were administered to the patients. The consumption of brandy was very great as a preventive, and drunkenness was often the consequence.

The hiring and the breeding system prevail in this part of Kentucky; but the latter is rather auxiliary to the former, than the consequence and cause of exportation; the home demand being nearly adequate to the supply. The small farmers, as in Virginia, are gradually leaving the State, while pasturage is extending its limits. The surplus labor is chiefly absorbed by the rope and bagging factories, which employ a vast number of slaves. It is generally as a punishment for crime, or idleness, that transportation to the South is resorted to:—another proof of those horrors and hardships, the “bare

imagination" of which often leads to the sacrifice of the traders by the hands of the "droves." Both the species of traffic, however, and the condition of its victim, will be affected by a change of circumstances; and an exhausted soil, or a reduction of profits, will place the humanity of the Kentucky master in painful collision with his interest. It may be expected that all the slave States will run a similar career; and share the crisis as they have shared the crime. There is but one alternative before them. They must choose between coercion and concession,—they must suffer with Hayti, or be safe with Antigua; for it may be proved, almost to mathematical demonstration, that the self-love of man, if unchecked, leads inevitably to self-destruction: and that no society, whether its principles be "competitive" with Pope*, or "co-operative" with Owen, can be permanently prosperous, where the head that speculates is to have all the profits, and the hand that works none of the wages of the industry that supports it.

What is the state of morals among the "lords of the soil," may be seen by the number of mulattoes upon it. The "history" of the planters may be read "in a nation's eyes." A great change in the policy of this State may be expected to take place in the course of a few years. The spirit of liberty has been for some time at work, and has recently re-

* "Self-love and social are the same."—Essay on Man.

ceived an extraordinary impulse from the conversion to its doctrines of a person, distinguished by literary attainments and high moral worth. Some letters written by Mr. Birney, formerly of Alabama, in favor of emancipation, and explaining his reasons for seceding from the colonization society, in which he had, officially, taken an active part, have attracted public attention to this important subject, and created a thirst for information and discussion, unexampled in its intensity and extension. Upwards of sixty thousand copies of his work have been published; and the example he has set of freeing his slaves, (combined with his accurate knowledge of the system, and the pure spirit of religious duty, with which he is known to be animated,) has given them a circulation, and an interest, that even the polished style, and sound logic of its author would hardly have produced. The work to be done requires a master-mind. There are many prejudices to be overcome, and fallacies to be exposed. Not the least prevalent of these is the assertion that emancipation would be ruin both to slave and master; and that freedom and idleness are convertible terms. It is only, however, when labor is dear, that slavery can exist. The very circumstance which makes its continuance profitable, takes away the danger of its abolition. What is valuable to the thief, must be doubly valuable to the rightful owner; and the obstinacy with which it is "kept back" enhances the

wish, as much for its employment, as for its recovery. Widely as their conduct and its consequences may differ, both parties are actuated by similar motives. The desire of bettering his condition will lead the one to sell his physical powers, as it has led the other to rob him of them; and the same self-interest, which induces the planter to refuse high wages to his laborer will induce the latter to seek them. It will be said, perhaps, that the plantation will want hands, whether they be lazy or industrious; but this inconvenience is incidental to all new countries. Those who will not work must starve; and those who save money, will naturally move off, and leave their example, as well as their place, to others. Where labor is high-priced, land is generally cheap; but how is the latter to be obtained, except by the former? It is by industry alone that the free man can become a proprietor; and they surely should be the last to grudge him its rewards, who have grown rich by plundering him of its fruits. Since I left America, Mr. Birney's father has taken measures for the ultimate emancipation of his slaves; some of whom have already obtained their freedom, while the rest have been placed under the care of his son, subject to such regulations as may best meet the exigencies of the case.

I left Lexington for Frankfort, the seat of government, on the 28th. In quitting the town, the stage stopped at one of the best houses to take

up two ladies, who had been "booked" the day before. After some minutes' bustle and delay, it was announced to the agent, who had accompanied the coach, that the ladies had declined going, as there were two colored men inside. He offered to place them on the back seats, so that the other passengers, who would then take the middle bench, might form a barrier between them and the hated objects. The proposal was not accepted;—the sensitive fair ones withdrew: and the stage proceeded on its journey—the agent declaring that he would not have returned the fare had it been paid, and that, in future he would take care they should be accommodated in the same way the next opportunity that might present itself. This little incident shews that the free blacks are too numerous and wealthy in Lexington to be slighted by the stage proprietors. At Boston or New York, they would have been ejected without notice to quit. One of these men was married and had four children. "If my boys were like that lad," said he, pointing to the only other white passenger but myself, "I should be as happy as a king." "Is not your wife free then?" I asked. "No," was his reply. "I wish she were. We live together at present, and our children with us—all but one, whom her master has taken away." The fact was, the owner of this poor creature had had the meanness to saddle her husband with the cost of maintaining the children, and even allowed him to

pay the poll-tax upon them—amounting to about a dollar and a half a year each, including the State and the town tax. As the children become valuable, for work or sale, he will claim them; and the father may look in vain for “compensation.” No one will pay him for rearing them. I conclude he was a respectable man; as the master of the hotel at Versailles, where we stopped for dinner, took him very cordially by the hand, and told me afterwards that he shewed more attention to him than to any other person of his race, because he was such a worthy fellow.

The country we were passing through was very rich; the soil being considered the best in the State. The prices of provisions, I was informed by several persons who answered my questions in the most obliging manner, are very low here. Beef is but four cents a pound; mutton rather cheaper; eggs average six cents the dozen; flour two dollars for 100 pounds, and pork two dollars three-fourths per cwt.

The Kentuckians are said to be irascible, but generous. The same hand, that unclasps the knife, is equally prompt to untie the purse-strings. An event that took place not long ago at Lexington, affords a striking illustration of both these qualities. One of the students at the college there shot another in open day in revenge for an imaginary affront. The deceased had made every concession to the

murderer, and had imagined that all feeling of resentment, or animosity had ceased. He was poor, yet much beloved by his comrades; and they generously subscribed a sufficient sum to pay for the expenses of the prosecution; while the other, who was the spoiled child of a wealthy mother, made such good use of the advantage which money gave him, that the trial was removed to Versailles, where the public indignation against him was not so strong. A man, who had escaped punishment for a similar crime, was placed on the jury, to starve them into a verdict of acquittal; and the murderer is now at large. Several persons observed to me: "a rich man may commit any crime against a poor man here with impunity. Assassination is very uncommon with those who cannot afford to bribe justice." Several shocking cases, confirmatory of the remark, were related to me. Most of them might be traced to the unbridled indulgence in every passion, created, encouraged, and matured by the habit of commanding where resistance, or reluctance, is unknown, or unpardoned.

I was unable to see the penitentiary at Frankfort, as the agent was out, and I was to leave the town early next morning. The system of discipline, I was told, was the same with that at Auburn. Attached to the prison is a store, where the proceeds of the convict-work are sold—at prices so much below the market rate as to have driven away several

tradesmen from the place. The agent, who has the contract, had so far put the profit above the expenditure, that he had realized, in the course of six or seven years, a considerable fortune; estimated, by one person, at 40,000 dollars, and by another at twice that sum. If the contract were open, there would be no just cause of complaint, and no room for such exaggeration; as the ordinary profits of the place would determine the benefit. The State House is a handsome building, with a dome, and a portico supported by Ionic columns. The staircase, which leads to the two legislative chambers, is lighted from above, and is ornamented in a simple and chaste style. The one in which the Senate sits, is a well-lighted and well-proportioned room, with chairs and desks for the members, and seats for the public. The other is larger and has a gallery above. There are also two rooms for the courts of justice.

Both at this place and at Lexington, the master of the hotel went round during the meals, to inquire if every one at table had what he wanted, and to see that proper attention was paid to all.

Frankfort, though the capital of the State, contained no more than 1682 persons in 1830. It stands, surrounded by steep hills, on the Kentucky, which is navigable for steam-boats to the Ohio, during the winter months, when the water is high enough to admit them. For exit and entrance it has the most execrable road to be seen at any town in

the Union; and the bridge over the river is well worthy of the road which leads to it. For the first fifteen or twenty miles there was little or no improvement, the turnpike-road, which was in progress, not being practicable till within sixteen or eighteen miles of Louisville. Part of the way we travelled along a creek, which contained but little water, and like the piece of furniture described by Goldsmith, was "contrived a double debt to pay,"—being a bed for the river during the winter, and a road for the stage during the summer. We met and passed a great number of wagons, which were going to Louisville with cotton-bagging, made of hemp, to be shipped for the southern market, or returning with a back cargo. Twenty or thirty of these wagons go every day, in the summer, along the road from Frankfort.

We passed through two or three neat-looking towns. At one of them (Shelbyville) a great concourse of people had assembled for a "preaching", which had already lasted six days. The whole place had the appearance of a fair. The windows were filled with young damsels decked out in their best attire; and the road leading to the town, exhibited others on horseback escorted by their cavaliers, and hastening to the spectacle—a spectacle themselves. The day's jaunt proved a very pleasant one. There were two or three good-tempered merry farmers of the party, who were equally disposed to

take a joke and to make one. The vehicle was new, and tastefully furnished with green cloth at the top, and soft red morocco cushions at the sides and the seats. Our horses were young and high-spirited, and had they not been checked by a very steady, experienced hand, would have repeated a trick they had played a few days before, and carried us off full gallop into the woods. The last eight miles were performed at a trot in forty-eight minutes.

It was the time of the races, and Louisville was filled with company. I had no great desire to see the one or mix with the other. One of those tragical events had recently occurred, which disgrace while they mark the manners of society;—where worse than feudal vassalage has produced worse than feudal ferocity;—where one caste is exempted from the performance of its duties, and the other excluded from the enjoyment of its rights. The circumstance here alluded to, was an assassination committed openly before thousands of spectators,—in a petty squabble between two young men, one of whom had run the other through the body with a sword-stick, and killed him on the spot. No impediment occurred to the delinquent's escape, and no interruption to the sports of the day. *Lame-footed justice (pede pœna claudo)* had not yet set out in search of the fugitive; and the sun shone as bright as ever over the gay city of Louisville.

This is a populous and an increasing place, most

of the commerce of the State passing through it. The inhabitants, whose number was 10,341 at the last census, are a motley set, made up of French, and Germans, and Americans, and people from other countries, attracted by the advantages its situation on the Ohio affords. A fall of twenty-two feet here obstructs the passage of vessels, and a canal of two miles has been made to facilitate the transport of goods.

By an act of the Kentucky legislature, passed two or three years ago, "every free person and his abettors, who shall maliciously destroy, or attempt to destroy, any of the locks of the Louisville and Portland canal, or the bridge over it, or injure or attempt to injure them, so as to obstruct the use thereof, shall, upon conviction, be sentenced to imprisonment in the State-gaol and penitentiary for a period of time not less than two, nor more than four years: if any slave be guilty of such offence, he shall, upon conviction, suffer death by hanging." Whether the free person here spoken of be white or not, it would be difficult to justify the infliction of such different punishments for the same offence*.

* "A negro, on his own confession, is to be executed at Cahawba, on the 15th inst., hired by a white man to assist in a burglary. His evidence was conclusive as to himself, but not *legal* as against his companion and employer in the act."—Niles's Register, June 1822. The coolness with which this atrocity is recorded, shews that there was nothing extraordinary or worthy of remark in the occurrence.

I was now about to quit the slave-States, where I had met with many indications of a wish to substitute voluntary for compulsory labor. But almost everywhere the idea of abolition was connected with that of expatriation;—a scheme so utterly absurd and impracticable, as scarcely to deserve exposure or consideration. At New Orleans, wages are as high as forty, fifty, and even, in some cases, sixty dollars a month; owing, in a great measure, to the risk incurred in an unhealthy city. These high rates are exclusive of board and lodging. Most of these places are filled by colored people, who go thither from other States in search of employment. If these men were to emigrate to Liberia, wages would rise so high that business would be impeded, if not entirely destroyed. If the mad scheme of sending nearly three millions of people out of the country, could by any possibility be carried into effect, trade and commerce would be suspended; and those who are now urging their departure would be the first to wish them back.

The state of mind which could lead to such fears and feelings, is the same in slave-holding individuals and slave-holding governments; and it can excite no surprise that the policy of England towards her West Indian colonies, limited and partial as it is in the eyes of justice, should be viewed with suspicion and distrust by those who have shared the guilt, yet refuse the reparation; and that Congress should have adopted such sentiments as the follow-

ing, from the secretary of the American navy, in his last report:—"It may be well to reflect how justly it may be apprehended, that new perils will, ere long, await a portion of our trade, and the tranquillity of part of our maritime frontier, from the operations of a new course of legislation by some foreign powers, concerning an unfortunate portion of their population; and against which perils, as against the ordinary aggressions and piracies in peace, and much of the depredations which may threaten us in war, the navy, from the insular situation of our country, as to most of the world, must always be regarded as our safeguard."

"The thief doth fear each bush an officer,"

while "all Europe rings from side to side" in honor of the little we have done for humanity, America, to shew her "decent respect for the opinions of mankind", sees danger in granting their "inalienable rights", and safety in withholding them,—though there is no more connexion between peace and injustice, than there is between cowardice and a good conscience.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Steam-boat on the Ohio.—Madison.—Colony of Free Blacks.—Fugitive Slave.—New Law against Slave-aliens in the West Indies.—Indiana saddled with Slave-paupers.—Cincinnati.—Attack on Free Blacks repulsed.—Kidnappers.—Case of Cruelty at New Orleans.—Public Meeting.—Lane Seminary.—Visits to Colored People.

ON the 30th I left Louisville, at eleven A.M., by the steam-boat that carries the mail, and arrived at Madison, in Indiana, (fifty miles,) between four and five in the evening.

While the passengers were at dinner, I was lying down in one of the berths, as the coolest place I could find. Here I had an opportunity of observing what passed, and how. The first act was performed in dumb show and quick action, as usual, by the passengers; the second in the same manner, *mutatis mutandis*, by the crew; and the last by the colored people, who took their time, and cracked their jokes, while they were feasting on the good things. Seeing they employed the tongue as well as the teeth, and

enjoyed a pun as well as the pudding, I asked one of them, who seemed to be full of fun, why the whites always ate their dinner in solemn silence. They were all much amused with the question. He replied, that he could not tell the reason. "It was all habit. In Europe people were sociable at meals, and eating was not merely an affair of the appetite." While I was meditating on the various ways in which gregarious animals take their food, new light seemed to burst upon my mind, and I discovered the impassable and eternal barrier that it has pleased Nature to place between the two races that inhabit the new world. All animals of the "Simia tribe" chatter while they eat:—man (par excellence—*meliore luto*,—genus American) is a "silent feeder."

The Ohio divides the slave-States from the free-States:—a distinction without a difference, unless it be more criminal to steal than to acknowledge a right of theft; and less brutal to cry "mad dog!" than to knock him on the head. The North holds the muzzle, while the South rivets the chain.

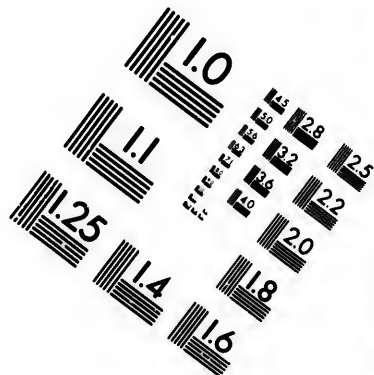
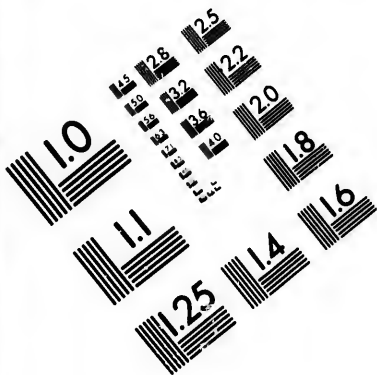
I had intended, when I landed at Madison, to go on to Indianapolis, and from thence to Cincinnati; having been told by one of the passengers in the boat, that there was a stage next day at ten, a good hotel to sleep at, and an excellent road. I found, however, on inquiry, that the road was the very worst in the Union; and that, as for sleeping, I might sleep, if I could, in the stage, as it travelled all night.

The man had purposely deceived me,—why, I know not. He was standing near me, and smiled when I was told the truth at the hotel. The disappointment, as is generally the case if we would but “wait a wee”, was productive of good, as it led to an interesting adventure. While trying to find some kind of conveyance, I went into a barber’s shop; the master of which, in the course of conversation, told me there was a settlement of his people (he was one of the Pariah caste) within four miles of the place. I immediately resolved to visit it the following day. A white neighbor soon after came in, and asked him whether it was true, that he was about to leave the town. He replied, that he had no intention of the kind, though several persons were trying to get his house. “I am very glad to hear it,” said the man: “I was afraid you were going to quit us.” Chancellor Walworth would have been utterly astonished at the white man’s want of dignity; and still more so if he had staid, after such a shock to his feelings, and witnessed the civility with which every one who came into the shop treated the “degraded” barber.

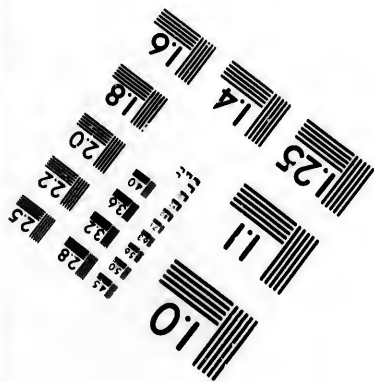
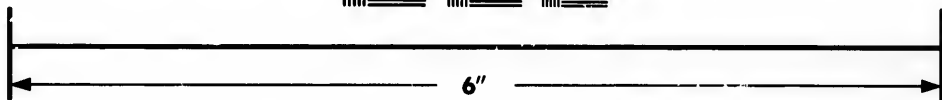
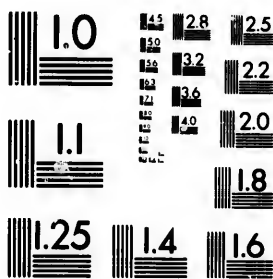
I had, by this time, seen as much of one race as of the other; and I declare, as an honest man, that if there was really any superiority in either, it had been placed on the wrong side. At Louisville, a German, whose shop I went into to get some refreshment, assured me that the young men in his establishment, who were all free blacks or mulattoes,

were well-behaved and trustworthy; and that one of them, with whom I had a good deal of conversation, was well informed, and "beloved by all who knew him." The next day I set off, on foot, for the colony—the existence of which I had never before heard of. On arriving at the first house, which belonged to a man of the name of Crosby, I was received with civility, but some little coldness by his wife, till I informed her that I was an Englishman, and that I was anxious to see, as well as to hear, how the settlers were going on. Her countenance then brightened up, and she begged me to sit down. They had come from Kentucky, she said, about thirteen years before; and, at first, had been well received and well treated; but for the last three or four years, they had "met with so much scorn and disdain," that she began to regret she had ever left her native place, though she had been exposed there to the risk of losing her children, many in the neighborhood having been carried off to the south by kidnappers. She and her husband had lately been so much pestered and plagued by the whites with offers, and all sorts of inducement, to give up their farm, and go to Liberia, that they were almost tired out, and the poor man could not sleep of a night for thinking of his family, and what was to become of them. These importunate solicitations, too, were doubly galling, as they came chiefly from the teachers of a Sunday school, which had been





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established by some whites, who thus took advantage of the opportunity they had, while instructing the children, to urge upon the parents the necessity of emigrating to the promised land. I discovered afterwards, that the whole settlement was in a state of agitation upon this question. I overheard the settlers repeating the arguments they had used against a scheme, which, they said, had nothing to recommend it, but the hope it held out of lessening their numbers, and perpetuating their degradation. A white boy of ten or twelve years of age, had, a few days before, let out the whole secret. "You must go to Africa," said he to Crosby, "there are so many of you; and you increase so much faster than we do, that you'll eat us out soon." The fact is, the situation these people have chosen is one of the most eligible in the State. The land is good;—the river, where they ship their produce, about a mile and a half off; and Madison, from which they are distant but four miles, will, when the projected railroad to the metropolis is completed, be one of the most thriving towns in the western country. While they were clearing their farms of the timber, they were unmolested; but now that they have got the land into a good state of cultivation, and are rising in the world, the avarice of the white man casts a greedy eye on their luxuriant crops; and his pride is offended at the decent appearance of their sons and daughters.

The settlers are from Virginia and Kentucky. Some are liberated slaves—others have bought their own freedom, and the rest were originally freemen. Their number amounts to 129, making eleven families, which are rapidly increasing. The colony extends a mile and a half in length, and half a mile in breadth. They grow wheat, and rye, and hemp, and a little tobacco. Crosby has two farms, consisting of 137 acres, about one-fourth of which is under cultivation. He had raised, the year before, 300 bushels of oats and 140 of wheat. His stock was composed of six milch cows, four horses, and other animals, making in all fifteen head. There were eight or ten hives of bees near the house. He had eight children.

While I was conversing with Mrs. Crosby, a colored man rode up, and having dismounted, presented himself at the door. After he had taken the seat that was offered, he said:—"It is so long since you saw me, and I am so altered by a swelled face, and a severe cold, that I am not surprised you do not know me." Having kept her curiosity in suspense a few minutes, he told her who he was. He was from her native place. Nothing could exceed the good woman's delight at the recognition. He had come into Indiana for the purpose of buying land, and was anxious to join the colony, if the whites, who were making every effort to prevent its extension, would permit him to settle there. I

stepped out, that I might not be a restraint upon their conversation. Soon after, the farmer made his appearance:—a man with an honest open countenance, and a manner as devoid of suspicion as of guile.

It was now their dinner hour, and I proposed to sit down to table with them; though they told me they had but scanty fare, as it was a fast day. They had eggs and bacon, and coffee; and as they gave me a hearty welcome, I was as well pleased as if I had been sitting with nobles at the most costly banquet.

As soon as we had partaken of the humble repast, we adjourned to the school-room, a few paces off, where several of the neighbors had assembled for religious service. I remained talking with them for some time on various subjects, and found the elder part intelligent and communicative, and the younger attentive and well-behaved. One of them, who appeared to be “the head of the clan”, I took for a white man, as it required a more practised eye than mine to detect the “mark of the beast upon him.” This man, whose name was Fountain Thurman, I accompanied to his house, which was close by. His history was somewhat singular, and explained the process by which a slave obtains his freedom through the interest of his master. He possessed an intellect as shrewd and as sharp as any I ever met with. His owner, finding him an excellent work-

man at the different trades he had acquired, as mason, well-digger, rock-blaster, &c., agreed to sell him his freedom by "instalments." It was agreed he should pay him 100 dollars every year for seven years; and as he could earn 200, in addition to board and lodging, he not only paid down the purchase-money at the stipulated times, but bought a farm, and, by good management, was enabled to redeem his wife and his children. He then crossed the Ohio from Kentucky, and invested what remained in the eighty acres he had in his possession when I saw him. His land was in excellent order; and his mode of cultivation considered so judicious, that his white neighbors often employed him to instruct and assist them. He had a numerous family of children; and as of the three who were alone old enough to be useful, two were married, and settled elsewhere, and the other in bad health,—he had all the work of the farm to do by himself, and was obliged to decline many jobs that were offered him.

There is another colony of the same kind at the distance of two miles. It consists of two families, the heads of which are renters, and have been on their farms ten or twelve years,—quite sufficient time for the owner of the soil to ascertain whether it were worth while to let his land to these "idle vagabonds." I did not visit them; but I should imagine they are less likely to be molested than the others: for few

men like to be tenants where all wish to be land-owners.

My host had been into eleven States, and knew more about the physical and political condition of the country than almost any person I met in it.

Our conversation was interrupted by a man whom I had observed to fix his eyes very steadily on me, while I was in the school-room. Entering the house rather abruptly, he whispered something to the owner, and they went out together immediately. On his return, Thurman informed me that he had just heard, for the first time, that there was a female slave in the village, who had escaped from a trader, and had been concealed there a week. I begged I might see her; and, as the log-hut where she had found an asylum was nearly a mile off, I mounted one of the farmer's horses, and he rode with me on another. We passed through the woods; and having crossed two or three creeks, came to a narrow lane, which skirted some enclosures, and led to the cottage of one of the settlers,—an old man, whom I had seen at the meeting. Within were two other men, and three or four women.

I soon obtained from the object of my search the story of her misfortunes and her escape. She was by right a free woman; her parents, who had been taken from Pennsylvania to Kentucky, having, by the emancipation law of the former, ceased to be

slaves at the expiration of the apprenticeship it created. Unfortunately, they were ignorant and careless; and their children, unable to establish their claims to freedom, were sold into slavery, and dispersed over the country. My guide, who had declared, on our entering the cabin, that he was sure he had seen her somewhere, asked her what part of Kentucky she came from. Her answer converted indistinct recollection into complete recognition; and he found, not only that he was well acquainted with her friends, but that her master's wife was his master's niece,—a circumstance which recalled to his mind the unhappy fate of the latter. She was shot by her husband, while he was laboring under an illness from which he thought he should never recover. She was a most beautiful woman; and he destroyed her lest she should marry again after his death. The brute was sentenced to be hanged for the murder; but he was saved from execution by a mysterious death. No one could tell what had become of him: but it was generally believed that what was called his death was his removal to some other part of the country.

The poor woman's account of herself was, that she had been carried by land, with forty or fifty others, about 400 miles from Lexington: when she contrived to escape, and got back to her home, in the depth of winter, and through unheard-of difficulties; having travelled the whole way on foot, with

the exception of fifty miles, when she rode on horse-back behind a man, who refused to accept any remuneration. Her husband had given her some money at parting. By the time she got Lack, she had spent what she had received from him, and was dreadfully frost-bitten. She remained at home five weeks; when she was retaken; and having been put into prison for a week, was again carried off towards the South; and again, after four days' travel, eluded the vigilance of her keeper. She wandered about for three months, suffering from fatigue and hunger, and worn down by anxiety of mind for her infant children, whom she had left at the mercy of a cruel master. She at last found her way to Madison, having just money enough left to pay her fare by a stage part of the way. It was at the log hut, where I found her, that the man, I spoke of as having whispered to my guide, first saw her, on a visit from Madison, where he lived, to the woman of the house, who washed for him. He felt so much interested for her, that he determined to assist her to the utmost of his power; and as he had lately lost his wife, and was dissatisfied with the country, he intended to accompany her to Canada, and let her have his wife's papers as a passport. She had informed her husband of her second flight; and she was in hopes he would be able to join her with as many of her children as he could escape with.

It was agreed that a subscription should be raised among the settlers for the fugitive. Her benevolent friend told me he had ten dollars of his own for the purpose, and he hoped to get twenty more from his acquaintance. The gratitude of the poor creature herself for the little assistance I was enabled to render, and the generous sympathy expressed in her behalf by all present—less in words than in looks—cannot be described. “Many a time,” she said, as she grasped my hand, while the tears were rolling down her cheeks,—“many a time have I prayed to God that some one would come from England, and redeem us from our cruel bondage.”

I should observe, that when I was first informed of the slave’s concealment in the settlement, I was requested to assist her escape, by writing false papers of freedom for her. Some documents of the kind, properly drawn up and authenticated, were put into my hands; but I refused to copy them, not only from a repugnance to do what was illegal, but from a conviction that they might perhaps lead to her detection by giving her a false security. No hint was given to me that she wanted money: nor have I reason to think that any was expected from me.

I know not how the law stands in Indiana. In Ohio I should have incurred a penalty of 1000 dollars—one half to the informer, and the other half to the State—for this act of common humanity. In North

Carolina I might have been "hanged without benefit of clergy." To rescue a fugitive from justice is punishable, by Act of Congress, with a fine of 500 dollars. Our sympathy with the person robbed is thus thought to be half what it is with the robber; and it is twice as penal at Columbus to succor the distressed, as it is at Washington to obstruct justice.

But what right has an Englishman to throw blame or odium on any country, while his own has sent out to her colonies such instructions as I am about to quote from an Antigua paper?

The colonial secretary, with the view of promoting some legislative enactment, suggests to the colonial governments, that "the intrusion into a British colony of foreign fugitive slaves, should be made punishable, as a misdemeanor, by imprisonment with hard labor. The sympathy we may feel for the individual ought not to render us insensible to the dangerous tendency of his conduct." Who is to know that they are slaves? (It is an insult to the English, to talk now of foreign slaves;—there ought to be no other any where.) Are men to be convicted on *ex parte* evidence, or upon no evidence, of an imaginary offence?

The second suggestion is, that as "the mere punishment of the offence is not all that the case requires, provision should also be made for the removal of the offender. As an alien, he has no right

to fix his abode in the king's dominions: he must therefore be warned to depart; and if unable or unwilling to obey, he must be forcibly placed on board the first vessel which may be sailing to any foreign country where slavery does not prevail." That is, he is to be refused an asylum, as a convicted felon*, and transmitted, with successive precedents for cruelty,

"From realm to realm, with cross or crescent crown'd,
Where'er mankind and misery are found,"

till not a spot of earth remains for the sole of his foot to rest on.

This abominable measure is the legitimate child of compromise; and the hand that signed the death-warrant of the slave-alien is red with the blood of the apprentice-slave.

The secretary observes, (thirdly,) with a spirit of disinterestedness worthy of the occasion and the ob-

* A boy, fifteen years of age, was condemned to death at Martinique, in 1815, for this offence; while his mother, who had concealed and fed him, was compelled to witness his execution. British subjects, it seems, are to escape the punishment as well as the guilt of the parent. The sentence of the court was thus worded:—"La Cour condamne Elysée (agé de 15 ans) à être pendu, et étranglé jusqu'à ce que mort s'ensuive, et son corps jeté à la voirie, pour avoir voulu ravir à son maître le prix de sa valeur; et Agnes, sa mere, à assister à l'exécution, pour avoir recelé son fils, en lui procurant un asile, sous prétexte de pitié, et en fournissant à sa nourriture et entretien."

ject, that if we were to transfer these fugitives to any English possession, we should subject ourselves "to the imputation of being governed by selfish motives, and of seeking to recruit the defective population of our colonies at the expense of our neighbours;"—specifying Sierra Leone,—the very place where we are doing what he deprecates. The only difference is, that, in that case, "our neighbors" are on shipboard, and, in the one supposed, on land. We are to hold, it seems, as a treaty-making power, for the "suppression of the slave-trade", that the fountain is pure, while the waters are polluted; that slavery is lawful, and the slave-trade piracy; and that man may have property in man at Martinique, but none on the Atlantic.

The circular virtually recommends that a new class of offences should be created, distinguishing common aliens from aliens who are slaves *de facto* or *de jure*, and making color a presumption of guilt, as if it were sought to perpetuate those prejudices which emancipation would destroy. "The fugitive", says the secretary, "may deny that he was a slave," &c. "To obtain his conviction of an unlawful intrusion, it would be necessary that this allegation should be disproved, which (meaning the conviction, not the allegation) would be impracticable," &c.; still "such persons should, when so suspected, be removed as aliens," and procure "securities for their departure and intermediate good conduct; in default of which

(meaning the securities) they should be committed to close custody," &c. He had just before stated, that slaves driven on our shores by accident or shipwreck, are not to be considered "criminal." "There is no motive for removing such persons as aliens." Then there *is* a motive for removing others. The same exemption is to be applied to the victims of the slave-trade. "They would have an irresistible claim to hospitality." The black has rights in Africa, but none in Guadaloupe. The secretary says, that where the fugitives had been held as slaves unlawfully, "there would be no crime to punish." The crime therefore consists, not in coming to the colony, but in coming as a slave,—a composite species of offence, never known before,—a cumulative or constructive delinquency, in which are mixed up "conduct" that is "unlawful" yet natural in a foreign country, while it is innocent, yet dangerous, in our own; and "an act" that alien laws, the most odious to British ears, can alone make penal. There are other passages in this official paper equally objectionable. The whole ends with this significant hint: "You will communicate this despatch to the legislature, conveying to them the desire of his Majesty's Government, that to whatever extent the law at present there may be inadequate to give effect to these views, such further provision may be made by law as may be necessary for the purpose."—Dated, Downing-street, 4th November, 1834.

As the day was closing in, my guide offered to conduct me to Madison in the same way we had gone to the log-hut. We set off accordingly in the cool of the evening, and arrived there before dark. As we were riding together, he told me he had given three dollars an acre for the eighty he held, and had lately been offered 700 dollars for his bargain. A great deal of hostility had recently been exhibited against him, for his supposed interference with his neighbors, whom he was accused of having dissuaded from going to Liberia: not that his white neighbors wished him to emigrate, as they found him too useful to be spared; but they had threatened him for giving advice to others. Most of them, however, stood in need of no advice; for they saw through the whole plan in a moment, and often put such questions to the proposers as they were unable to answer.

We met several whites on the road, some of them very well dressed, as they were returning from a prayer-meeting at Madison. Most of them spoke familiarly to my companion, or nodded to him as they passed. He was a short man, with a clear, piercing eye, and an iron frame. His bearing was frank and manly, but respectful; and his whole appearance bespoke great activity and resolution. A slight touch of the braggart about him was not ill-suited to the wildness of the scenery and the romantic nature of the adventure; and might fairly be set down to that giddiness of mind which self-elevation from

the most abject state is apt to produce in the strongest heads. I learnt from him that there were kidnappers at Madison, whom he knew well by sight. The vicinity of the slave-States offers such facilities and inducements to this nefarious calling, that it ought not to be matter of surprise to find men base and cruel enough to yield to the temptation, when neither Boston nor New York is free from them.

The State of Indiana is burthened with a class of people, who are sent to it from the other side of the Ohio, in return for its "comity" in hunting up their run-aways. When a slave is past work and good for nothing, his master sets him free, and gives him a few dollars to take him across the river. There he soon "comes upon the parish," and is buried at the expense of the community. There were no less than five of this description within the six weeks that preceded my visit, who found a grave, as they had received their support, in the land of their adoption. This may seem a hard case; yet it is but a part—and a very small part—of that system by which the whole Union, directly or indirectly, in its domestic or its foreign policy, is rendered subservient to the interest of the slave-holder. There is too much reason to believe that this practice is very common. An act was passed in 1821, by the legislature of Pennsylvania, to the following effect:—

“ Any person or persons who shall, after the pass-

age of this act, bring or cause to be brought into this commonwealth, any black or colored indentured servant above the age of twenty-eight years, such person; his or her heirs, executors, or administrators and assigns, &c., shall be liable to the overseers of the poor of the city, township, &c., to which such negro, &c., shall become chargeable, for such necessary expense, with costs of suit thereon, as such overseers may be put to for the maintenance," &c. It would be very easy to convert slaves into indentured servants. Here we see how the slave's old age is provided for by his benevolent owner, and how it is that the black man is "a curse and a nuisance" to the country. I have no doubt, from what I heard at Philadelphia, that a "settlement" is often gained in this way, while the pauper comes upon the list of the charitable societies supported by the colored people.

So much is "help" wanted in this new State, that it is not an uncommon thing for the settlers to purchase slaves and convert them into redemptioners,—that is, to make it the price of their freedom, that they should serve their purchasers a certain number of years. Objections have been made to this system; but it seems a fair bargain, if both parties to it be voluntary agents, and observant of its conditions. It sometimes happens that the manumitted leave their employment, before the period of their apprenticeship has expired. It will pro-

bably be found, in these cases, that the arrangement was made without their consent, or enforced in a manner that was never stipulated. Fraud is more likely to occur in the other party, who might take advantage of the disqualifying statute, and sell the unsuspecting apprentice into second slavery.

On the first of June, I left the pretty town of Madison, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and reached Cincinnati, by a steam-boat, at five the next morning; the distance being about 100 miles. As we entered, there were no less than eleven double decked steam-boats, and a smaller one lying there, on their way up or down the river.

As soon as we had reached the land, a rush of draymen and porters was made upon the passengers and the luggage. I looked out, as I invariably did when I wanted a job done, for one of the despised caste, and, espying three or four standing at a distance, apparently unmoved and uninterested in the result of the contest, I procured the services of one of them, who had come in search of employment, which respect for decency, or fear of insult, had restrained him from asking in the crowd of boisterous intruders. And here I had an opportunity of seeing how completely the lawyer at Lewisburgh had been misinformed, when he said there were no blacks in Ohio.

Brutal and ungrateful as the whole Union has shewn itself to these people, who, so far from injur-

ing, have enriched and defended it, not one State had dared, till lately, to push its hatred so far, as to expel them by violence. An attempt was, however, made at Cincinnati, to enforce a statute, that was passed in 1807, and had fallen into disuse. Notice was given by the trustees or overseers, to the colored part of the population, that they must find securities, to the amount of 500 dollars, for their good behavior,—on the pretence that they might become a burthen to the city; but in reality, to gratify the jealousy of the working class, and break up an asylum, which the fugitives from Kentucky, amounting to the number of two or three hundred every year, are sure to find there, on crossing the river. An answer was made to this communication, that there was neither possibility of producing the securities required, nor intention of yielding to the expulsion threatened; and preparations were made to resist, to the last drop of blood, a savage attack meditated by some of “the baser sort.” The attack was made by about 300; and the resistance sustained by somewhat more than a tenth of that number, who entrenched themselves in their houses, and fired on their assailants from the windows, sallying out as the enemy fled, and shooting them down with a spirit, as much superior to that on the other side, as the cause they fought in. The result was, that the whites gave up the contest, after two or three had been killed, and several wounded;

while the blacks lost not a man, and received no wounds of any consequence, but a broken arm, which an accident, during the pursuit, occasioned to one of their party. An authentic "return of the killed and wounded" was never published, for as several persons engaged in this disgraceful proceeding belonged to respectable families, their fate was concealed by their relatives, and it was agreed, on all hands, to throw over the circumstances of the defeat that veil, which could not be found for those of the attack.

Since that period, the victors have been suffered to reside in the place unmolested. There are nearly 3000 of them,—a larger proportion, probably, to the whole population, than their brethren in New York bear to the inhabitants of that city. Three-fourths out of the whole number consist of manumitted slaves from Virginia and Kentucky; the greater part having purchased their own freedom. Some of them possess a good deal of property; and all of them, with such exceptions as are to be found in the other race, are industrious in their habits, and respectable in their conduct. Though they derive no benefit from the school fund, are excluded from the orphan asylum, have no political privileges, and cannot, even in this "free" State, as it is called, give evidence in any case against a white; yet they are subject to the same taxes. One of them had his house broken into, a short time back, and sixteen dollars, besides

several articles of clothing, stolen; yet, though the thief was taken, and the evidence irresistibly clear against him, the plea put in by the prisoner's counsel, that the testimony of the complainant could not be received, because he was a colored man, prevailed, and the trial resulted in an acquittal. About the same time, one of these unfortunate men was killed by a white man, in the presence of five or six of his own race; and the same impediment to justice protected the murderer from punishment. I had these anecdotes from a white, who was in court during the trial which the last case gave rise to.

A few years ago, when more than a thousand sought an asylum in Canada to escape persecution, a subscription to assist them, amounting to eight or nine hundred dollars, was raised among those who remained. Two-thirds of them are now saving what little they can earn by their labor, to redeem their relatives and friends from the bonds they have got rid of themselves. One of them, who had paid 800 dollars for his own freedom, had been twice to New Orleans to buy his son, but was unable to raise so large a sum as 1200 dollars, demanded for him by his mistress. "He is now in Canada," he added: "he was here not three weeks ago, having made his escape. I have still a daughter there, for whom I feel great anxiety." This man had been employed as a silversmith; but the skill which had enabled him to obtain his liberty, was now useless to him.

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No one would encourage him in his business, or work with him; and he was compelled to subsist by the few jobs he could get, now and then, on board the steam-boats, or in the city. I was astonished at the acuteness of his perception, and the extent of his information. His language and address were both marked by a degree of propriety and correctness that I seldom saw among the whites. I was observing to one of the latter, that I had not expected to find, in the houses of a class who are said to be brutalized and irreclaimable, so much taste exhibited in the selection of furniture and ornaments. "I assure you", he replied, "that the elegancies of life are so well understood by those who have been in the way of acquiring or observing them, that it is a very common thing in the south to consult them on the disposal of draperies, and the details of the toilette." It was hard upon this poor fellow, that his industry and good conduct could not secure him a comfortable retreat for his old age in the land of his birth. He could not remain in Virginia when he became free. He spoke in high terms of Dr. Patterson, of Charlottesville: he was remarkable, he said, for his humanity and gentleness.

There are many circumstances observable in Indiana and Ohio that assimilate them to the slave States. The barbers' shops and the coffee-houses are filled with the same indecent prints and engravings, chiefly of French manufacture, that are to be

seen stuck on the walls, to gratify the perverted taste of the Kentuckians and Virginians. The proprietors of these houses excused their conformity to these vicious practices, by declaring that they were necessary to attract, by amusing customers. The newspapers, too, are polluted with advertisements for runaway slaves, such as the following.

“One hundred dollars reward. Run away from the subscriber, living in Bracken County, Kentucky, on the 21st instant, a negro man, named Jarret, between thirty-five and forty years of age, five feet nine or ten inches high, an active-looking fellow, rather slender made, thin sharp visage for a negro, has a proud lofty carriage: not very black negro. He had some years ago a small round scar on each elbow, also two scars on the right arm above the elbow, and one on the right hand near the joint of the fore finger: they may have disappeared at this time. He is given to intoxication. Had on, when he went away, an old fur hat, and an old blue coat. He stabbed a negro man in the neighborhood; and, fearing the consequences, absconded. The above reward will be given for the apprehension of said negro, so that I get him, and all reasonable expenses, if brought to me, or I will give *one half of him*, if bro't to me, if taken out of the State of Kentucky. Any communication addressed to Mr. James Fleming, in Augusta, Bracken County, Kentucky, will be promptly attended to. Elizabeth Fee.”

I never met with any advertisement of this kind in the northern and middle States.

What sort of people inhabit the western valley, may be seen from the tone and style of the *Western Monthly Magazine*, edited by Judge Hall,—a publication that marks the character of those “it lives to please”, by its open hostility to emancipation. The following is an extract from an article in the June number, 1834. “The prejudice of color is not confined to the white man: the negro is equally jealous of those who differ from him in complexion, (a singular confession—founded, however, on what is not true,) and will never receive the white missionary with the same confidence which will be reposed in the civilized black emigrant. The feeling is mutual, because it is inherent. Nature herself has drawn the line, and has created distinctions between these races, so palpable as to be instantly obvious, whenever the respective parties meet, to more than one of the senses. It is true that certain young gentlemen in the neighborhood of this city, some of whose sayings and doings we noticed in our last number, have arrived at the sage conclusion, that Nature is wrong in that matter, and have determined, with a gallantry, which is certainly very becoming in persons of their profession, that the sable part of the softer sex shall not continue ‘to waste their fragrance on the de-

sert air,' but shall be elevated to a moral and political equality with other young ladies, and—what will be much easier—with their champions. They have accordingly commenced leaving their cards at the doors of the daughters of Africa. One of them was seen a few days ago, if we are rightly informed, politely escorting a black young lady through our streets, and another has taken his lodgings in a colored family,

‘ Where blest, he woos some black Aspasias grace.’

In colder weather we should not be so much surprised at these singular freaks of monomania; but with the thermometer at eighty-six, we must confess that they seem to us to be in wretched bad taste. We have not heard whether any practical results have grown out of these party-colored flirtations; whether any matches are talked of, or how far these young theologians intend to carry their tender intercourse with ‘Afric’s sun-brown’d daughters.’ We hope their intentions are honorable, &c.”

I need not quote any further. I would not have inserted such disgusting language, if I had not wished to shew how little practical liberty there can be in any country where the most praiseworthy and innocent actions are thus distorted, and their authors pointed out to popular insult and violence. The persons here alluded to, are two students of Lane

seminary, near Cincinnati, who had dedicated their time to the benevolent task of qualifying their fellow citizens, by instruction in the elementary branches of science and sound principles of religion, to perform their duties to themselves and their native country. They had given up their academical studies, and were boarding with some of those whom they had made such sacrifices to benefit. "This was the head and front of their offending." Not contented with this indecent and unprovoked attack upon the privacies of domestic life, the judge stigmatizes the whole body of students, merely because they are abolitionists, (that is, because they prefer their own judgement to his,) as "stipendiaries" who are "subsisting upon public charity," and affects to see, in the objects they are aiming at, an attempt to "unite Church and State"—a bugbear that has the same sort of influence over the American people, that the charge of trying to separate them once had in England; where the anti-slavery society was accused of a wish to divide the throne from the altar. Abolition doctrines must be of a strange nature, when their tendency is to create an ecclesiastical establishment in one country, and destroy it in another. As for the other "parties," I had, before I stumbled upon the *Western Magazine*, been several times in the house of one of them, and the only crimes that he had committed were—that he could not "change his skin;" that

he had purchased his freedom with his own hands for 600 dollars;—that he had come to Cincinnati, a few years before, without a dollar in his pocket, and was then possessed of property worth 3000 dollars;—that he had a well-behaved decent family and a comfortable home to shelter them, and that he was a friend to the distressed and an enemy to injustice.

I had a most convincing proof of that kindness to the unfortunate which I have mentioned. At the back of the house, where one of these students was boarding, were some hot and cold baths, belonging to the landlord. Here I found an elderly man at work, who had been in the town about five weeks. His head was cut and disfigured by many dreadful wounds, which were hardly yet cicatrized. The sight of them was very painful. His story was soon related. He had been sent from Virginia to Ohio by his master, with a written promise that he would give him his freedom if he would pay him seventy-five dollars. With this object in view, he had been working for fifteen months with his master's son; when he was told that he was free by the laws of the State. To prevent the assertion of his claim, his employer hired three ruffians to carry him off to the south—the mart of every thing villainous and diabolical. When they arrived, in the night time, at his hut, they found he had armed himself with a dirk, and was determined upon resistance. After vainly attempting to seize his person by entering

the door, which they had forced, they attacked him through the window with stones and other missiles, till he was reduced to a state of insensibility, by repeated blows on the head. They then took possession of his person, and carried him down the river in chains. His wife, who was living at Cincinnati, heard of his arrival in the port, and with the assistance of the person on whose premises I saw him at work, a writ of habeas corpus was obtained, and he was rescued. As his evidence would not be legally valid, this horrible outrage remains unpunished. One of his children, a girl of twelve or thirteen years of age, was so much injured by the wounds she received while clinging to her father, with the view of affording protection, or obtaining mercy, that she has since died. The report of her medical attendant was, that her death was caused by the blows inflicted upon her in the course of this barbarous affair. The rest of his children were still in bondage, while the mother was toiling to purchase their freedom.

I heard so many accounts here of the frauds and the cruelties exercised upon these unoffending people, that I felt sick at heart, and disgusted with human nature. Some of them are too revolting to be detailed—men selling their own daughters for the vilest purposes, and women enriching themselves by the vices and thefts of their slaves: and these enormities are committed by persons who have not the

plea of poverty to urge as an excuse for their guilt. At New Orleans, the poor creatures are turned out into the street, of a night, with a basket of fruit or cakes; and they must return with a specified sum, or they are flogged in a most savage manner. The whole system of iniquity was explained to me by a man, who obtained his information from one of its unfortunate victims. He was remonstrating with her on the wicked life she led, when she stripped her gown from her shoulders, and, exhibiting the bleeding marks of the stripes she had just received from her mistress, convinced him that vice could have no better palliation than such a reward for virtue. He afterwards watched her himself, and saw her stealing wood for her owner's kitchen. Her sister, she told him, often stole poultry or any thing else she could lay her hands on, and carried the booty home to her mistress.

A most horrible case of barbarity occurred last year at New Orleans. The Mercantile Advertiser of that city, after stating that a fire had broken out in a house, where several slaves were supposed to be confined in chains, adds: "the crowd rushed in to their deliverance, and amongst others, Mr. Canonge, Judge of the criminal court, who demanded of Mr. and Mrs. Lalaurie where these poor creatures were kept, which they obstinately refused to disclose, when Mr. Canonge, with a manly and praiseworthy zeal, rushed into the kitchen, which was on

fire, followed by two or three young men, and brought forth a negro woman, found there chained. She was covered with bruises and wounds from severe flogging. All the apartments were then forced open. In a room on the ground-floor, two more were found chained, and in a deplorable condition. Up stairs, and in the garret, four more were found chained; some so weak as to be unable to walk, and all covered with wounds and sores. One, a mulatto boy, declares himself to have been chained for five months, being fed daily with only a handful of meal, and receiving every morning the most cruel treatment." I was informed by persons who were there at the time, that these poor creatures were gagged, to prevent their cries; that the perpetrators of these enormities were never punished; and that, when the excitement of the moment was over, public opinion threw obstacles in the way of justice, and palliated what had been done. The judge afterwards published a deposition, that "all the persons present were apparently indifferent to the result," and that Mr. Lalaurie said to him "in an insulting tone," "that there were persons who would do much better by remaining at home, than visiting others to dictate to them laws in the quality of officious friends."

In one district of Cincinnati, property amounting in value to 50,000 dollars, and belonging to colored persons, is taxed for public and local purposes.

When a petition was presented lately to the legislature, praying that the owners might be admitted to a share in the benefits of the common school fund, the Committee, appointed to inquire into the subject, reported against the claim. "The decision might," they said, "at first view appear unnatural, and unbecoming a charitable, high-minded, and intelligent community;" "but when," they added, "we take into view that the security of our government rests and remains in the morality, virtue, and wisdom of our free white citizens; and that by the education of them, by means of a public fund, the government is only strengthening her own resources, and providing for her own security, honor, and elevation, the fact will be readily yielded, that the common school fund is not the offspring of the offices of charity; but that the principal and interest is amply repaid by the exercise of those functions which the government itself imposes upon all her free white citizens." The representatives have certainly done *their* duty to their constituents. A stronger plea for educating all the "free whites" than this jargon offers, could not have been made out.

I attended, while at Cincinnati, a meeting of "The Colonization Society"; and my patience was put to the most severe test, in listening to the nasal twang and monotonous voice of the speaker, that fell, with isochronous pauses, on the ear, like the lugubrious

sounds sent forth in the silent hour of the night, by the steam-monster on the Ohio. Mr. Finley (an agent of the Society) began by eulogizing the principles and objects of the "benevolent institution," for which he was pleading, and proceeded to paint, in glowing colors, the flourishing state of the colony it had planted on the benighted shores of Africa.

The last accounts that had been received of the settlers, were of the most gratifying description. They had a prosperous and increasing trade, were welcomed, by the vast and numerous tribes in the interior of that mysterious continent, as benefactors and bearers of every thing good and holy. Kings and chieftains from afar, whose names, like the coruscations of distant planets, had not yet reached us, had come down, by thousands, to see the wonderful strangers;—to cast their sceptres at their feet, and to break the chains of their captives—past, present, and future: and to implore their Christian brethren that they would send schoolmasters and preachers to instruct the rising, and civilize the present, generation. They had embraced the new comers with transports of joy:—they had shed tears of gratitude over the hardships they had suffered, and the benefits they meditated, for the unenlightened descendants of their common ancestors. Already had they built a church and appointed a pastor from their own community, and with their own

funds. The whole history of colonization, from the stretching of the cow-hide to the loves of Pocohontas, presented nothing parallel, analogous, or comparable, to the success which had attended this first effort to remove the "colored population" of the United States to their "native land." As for the colonists themselves, the whole current of their wicked and disgusting habits had been suddenly turned into pious and wholesome channels. The blasphemer, while inhaling the pure air of Liberia, had forgotten his oaths and imprecations: the drunkard, in contemplating the beautiful scenery that surrounded him, had become temperate and abstemious:—the waters of the Atlantic had washed away all the impurities, and removed all the infirmities, of his nature; and the vile outcast of America—the plague and curse of its virtuous and generous citizens—had cast off the slime of his former iniquities, and now stands erect and elated, disenthralled of his vices, and disencumbered of his crimes. The poisonous exotic of Virginia is now a luxuriant plant in Monrovia:—

" Sweet to the sense, and pleasing to the eye."

A sea captain, who had recently visited those highly-favored shores, had declared in a letter, which the orator read or quoted to his attentive auditors, that no place he had ever seen presented such scenes of contentment, good order, and happiness. No

where was the sabbath observed with a greater degree of solemnity and decorum. No where were the churches so well attended, or the service better performed. The foreign trade amounted to 150,000 dollars a year, and the soil was capable of producing sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. The harbor was thronged with vessels, entering, unloading, or departing; and the docks resounded with the hammer and the hand-saw. A new territory of 400 miles square had been purchased, not for rum, but a few hard dollars. A new expedition was about to set out; and the unmanacled slave would soon drive his own ploughshare over his own acres. It was in contemplation to send out none but temperance people to this recently acquired plantation; every emigrant was to give a pledge of abstinence from strong drinks; and Ohio was to witness the miraculous influence of honor on those whom an oath could not bind. The same man, against whose unhappy propensity to perjury no court of justice can be secure in Columbus or Cincinnati, will be strictly observant in Liberia of his promise: and he, whom neither the frown of the sheriff, nor the thunders of heaven, can now terrify, is to tremble at a glass of toddy, and be conscience stricken at the sight of a punch-bowl. Whatever the pretended friend of the black man may tell him, the place, where he is born, is not his native country: like the Israelite of old, he is but a sojourner in a strange

land; and, as a noble minded slave once said to Mr. Finley, "he is not a Virginian but an African." The orator went on to say that the proceedings of the society had been opposed, and its motives misrepresented, by certain fanatics and enthusiasts, who had hired agents to traverse the country, and persuade the colored people, that the climate of the torrid zone was less suited to their constitutions, and those of their children, than that which they had been breathing from their birth; and that the prejudice, under which they suffered, would be encouraged by their removal and softened by their remaining.

Much more was said to the same effect and in the same spirit. There were some of those present for whom the scheme of deportation had been planned, but who had too much sagacity to be deluded by its fallacies, and too much spirit to accept its insulting offers. Before these men, as if in defiance of decency, and in scorn of those rules which every man who respects himself, and is unwilling to be classed with the lowest vulgar, observes, the "hired agent" of the Colonization Society made use of the word "nigger," an expression peculiarly expressive of contempt and abhorrence. After asserting, with unblushing effrontery, that the free blacks were anxious to emigrate, and that their sympathies and affections were naturally centered in the home of their fathers, he concluded by re-

minding them, that they would there escape from the tyranny of public opinion, and enjoy those privileges which were denied them in America.

I did not stay to hear the next speaker—Dr. Beecher, the President of Lane Seminary, as my patience was down, and I had not courage enough to wind it up again.

I was not sorry, the next day, that I had retired; as I found the reverend doctor, to whom I was introduced, was so far jaundiced, that he not only admitted the existence of the disease, under which he, in common with his countrymen, labor, but maintained that it was conducive to health, and in strict accordance with the order of nature. He called it a prejudice, yet he considered it a salutary preventive of that amalgamation, which would confound the two races and obliterate the traces of their distinction:—a result that, in the view of common sense, is neither to be dreaded nor deprecated, as it would destroy animosity by destroying its causes. He did not see why the Colonization Society should not call a man a “free agent” and departing with his “free consent,” to whom no other alternative was offered but Liberia or the lash. He had the choice of two evils, and therefore he went with his free consent. He who gives up his purse, when the urgent “sounds salute his ear”—“Your money or your life!” gives up his money with his free consent. It is an abuse of words to say he is under duress. The only dif-

ference between the two cases is, that the alternative offered to the traveller comes from the highwayman alone; while that offered to the slave comes conjointly from his owner and the colonizationist. Dr. Beecher, however, advocated the cause of immediate emancipation. His humanity struggled with his prejudices, and his heart pleaded in favor of liberty, while his intellect yielded to sophistries which would rob it of more than half its value.

While the hatred of the pseudo-Christian would refuse to its victim a few feet of the land he has watered with his tears, and enriched with the sweat of his brow, a small number of good Samaritans, with whom "nor numbers nor example" have "wrought to swerve from truth," are binding up his sores, and pouring oil into his wounds. While the judges and clergy of Cincinnati would ship him off for Africa to teach the arts and sciences to the heathen, these devoted men would have him learn his letters at home. With this unequivocal good object in view, they have, with a zeal beyond their means, established three schools; one of which is under the care of the only young woman, who could be found, in the valley of the Mississippi, to undertake an office, that would be sure to involve her in ridicule and misrepresentation. This young person, whose name is Lathrop, has a sister married to an American missionary in Ceylon. I visited her school two or three times, and was equally pleased and surprised

at the progress her pupils had made in the short space of a fortnight.

This and the two other schools are chiefly supported by the students at the Lane Seminary. They are visited every other evening by some of their young patrons, and are under the immediate superintendence of two from the body—of whom I have before spoken as having incurred the displeasure of Judge Hall—the *ensor morum* and *arbiter elegantiarum* of Cincinnati. They contain about 100 pupils of both sexes. Those parents who are able to do so, (there are but thirty,) pay one dollar a quarter for their children. They were anxious to increase the sum—but their offer was declined. The expenditure exceeds the receipts by nearly 200 dollars. When the first school was opened, in the preceding March, there were but four or five who could read tolerably well. As it is made a condition of admittance that a child should know the letters of the alphabet, many were at first rejected. The poor little things were so much affected by the disappointment, that they cried bitterly, and begged to be taken into the school. There were forty or fifty in this situation. It was intended to hire a woman for the purpose of giving them this slight qualification. So assiduous are the pupils in learning their lessons, that one of the instructors, who had been a teacher in New Jersey and Connecticut, assured me, that he had never witnessed such instances of rapid improvement. Another, who had

had a great deal of experience in Massachusetts, declared that an equal progress in arithmetic, after two years' study, had never come under his observation.

All those who had attended these schools, as examiners, were of opinion that the supposed difference of intellect between the two races seemed to be in favor of that which is usually classed below the other. This may be accounted for from the additional stimulus, which the hope of rising from a galling, because an unmerited, degradation, has given, and the greater degree of docility which Nature or parental care has bestowed. In addition to these schools, there are between forty and fifty adults of both sexes, who are instructed in reading and useful branches of knowledge in the evening. Singular as it may seem, there is not, in a city containing nearly 30,000 inhabitants, one white who has shewn any permanent interest in these benevolent efforts to raise the condition of his fellow-citizens.

Judge Hall says, in his Magazine, that when an Englishman uses the word "singular" or "remarkable", to preface his account of any thing, he has heard or seen in America, he is sure to tell a lie. I hope most sincerely he will be able to prove that I am no exception to the rule; and it will add to the pleasure I shall have, if he be himself witness against me. I shall feel double respect for the bench, when it supplies both the evidence that convicts, and the sentence that condemns.

The day after the meeting, I bent my solitary way towards the enemy's quarters. On enquiring of a young man the road to Lane Seminary, I found he was one of the students, and was going thither.

The institution, which is situated about two miles from the city, and is supported by the Presbyterian church, has not existed longer than three or four years. Attached to the house are 120 acres of land, of which three or four are appropriated to the purposes of a garden. Of the students, forty belong to the theological class, and between that number and fifty to the literary: the latter being, for the most part, destined to the former. Three hours of each day are devoted to manual labor, rather as an auxiliary to health, than from motives of economy; though the cause of learning has gained as much by the promotion of the one as by that of the other. Those who are employed in mechanical pursuits, such as stereotype printing, finishing hats and shoes, &c., earn, upon an average, two dollars a week; while the profits of agricultural labor amount to about half that sum for the same period. The benefits and advantages of these separate occupations are sometimes equalized by an interchange; and both parties gain by diversifying both exercise of limbs and acquisition of skill. The superintendant, who manages the financial affairs of the college, deducts, from the regular charges for board, the amount of what each gains; and it is generally found, that the

proceeds of their industry are sufficient to cover this part of their expenses.

There was not in the Academy one abolitionist twelve months before my visit. There were then but three who were not so, and they were all from the free States. Of the rest, more than one-fifth consisted of slave-owners, and all, without exception, declared that "cruelty was the rule of slavery, and kindness the exception." One professor only, out of six, was a decided and open friend to emancipation. The students were nearly all men of mature age, not mere school boys, as Judge Hall had termed them.

While I was conversing with Mr. Weld, and two or three other students in his room, the former put into my hands a letter, written by a young man, who had been brought, when a child, from the coast of Africa, and had, by working extra time, and reducing his hours for sleep almost to the minimum required for existence, succeeded in teaching himself to read and write, and in purchasing his freedom. For the latter he had paid, in the year 1833, the sum of 700 dollars, including what he had given for certain portions of time to work on his own account. The writer, (James Bradley,) about twenty-seven years of age, was absent. The paper, which was addressed to Mrs. Child of Boston, contained the narrative of his sufferings and his exertions. His master bore the character of a kind and humane man towards

his slaves; yet he was accustomed to knock poor Bradley about the head so cruelly, that his life was despaired of: and the whole family were equally brutal; for while the children were tormenting him with sticks and pins, the father expressed a wish, in his presence, that he was dead, as he would never be good for anything, telling him that "he would as soon knock him on the head as an opossum." In his letter to Mrs. Child, he assures her that what is said by travellers and others who have questioned the slaves upon their wish for freedom, is not to be relied on: as it is a matter of policy with them to affect contentment, and conceal their real sentiments on the subject, since harsher treatment, and severe measures to prevent escape, would be the inevitable result of any anxiety they might shew for liberty. "How strange is it",—such are his own words,—"that any body should believe that a human being could be a slave, and feel contented. I don't believe there ever was a slave who did not long for liberty." The whole letter bore the stamp of a mind elevated, candid, and simple, to a degree that art would attempt in vain to imitate.

I read another, from a man in Indiana, who had, in a similar manner, obtained both his freedom and a knowledge of writing. His sentiments and style were of a very superior order. There were not more, in a long composition, than two or three trivial errors of grammar,—one of them so purely idiomatic that I

have often observed it in men who profess to be well-educated. The hand-writing was singularly clear, and even beautiful.

Two days after this visit, I called again at the Seminary, and was introduced to James Bradley. It struck me, when I first saw him, that the color of his skin was of a deeper jet, than that which prevails among the Africo-Americans of equally pure descent *. As he was but two or three years of age when he was stolen from Africa, he could not remember anything that had occurred to him in that country, except that he was at play in the fields when he was carried off. The cruelties he had witnessed in South Carolina, whither he was taken,

* Many facts might be adduced to render it probable that the color of the human skin is affected by climate. "India", says Bishop Heber, in his 'Narrative of a Journey, &c.', "has been always, and long before the Europeans came hither, a favourite theatre for adventurers from Persia, Greece, Tartary, Turkey and Arabia, all white men, and all, in their turn, possessing themselves of wealth and power. These circumstances must have greatly contributed to make a fair complexion fashionable. It is remarkable, however, to observe, how surely all these classes of men, in a few generations, even without any intermarriage with the Hindoos, assume the deep olive tint, little less dark than that of a negro, which seems natural to the climate. The Portuguese natives form unions among themselves alone; or, if they can, with Europeans. Yet the Portuguese have, during a 300 years' residence in India, become as black as Caffres."

could not, he said, be described. The period he had purchased, in order to work on his own account, he passed in the Arkansas, where there are, to the eternal disgrace of the federal government, which has exclusive jurisdiction over it, a large number of slaves, exposed to the greatest hardships. When that territory is to be admitted into the Union, the same discussion which agitated it throughout every limb will be renewed; and the world will again witness the disgusting spectacle of a free people contending against liberty.

Dr. Beecher exhibited great liberality towards James Bradley, who was absent from a tea-party he gave to the students. He not only expressed great regret that he had not joined the company, but declared, if he had foreseen what had occurred, he would have gone himself to invite him.

Among the students was a young man, whose sole patrimony consisted, in addition to 200 dollars, of two slaves. When convinced of the sin of slavery by the discussions to which I have before alluded, he emancipated both; and, when I saw him, was paying, out of his own pocket, the expenses of education for one of them. I need not say that I felt it a much higher honor to take this noble-minded youth by the hand, than to see Andrew Jackson smiling on the toad-eaters and office-hunters about him.

The students from the South related to me anec-

dotes, illustrative of the horrid system under which they had been brought up. One of them said, he was sometimes asked by a slave what right his father had to his services. There is not, indeed, among those who are thus defrauded of their natural rights, one solitary being, that is not fully sensible of the injustice, and prepared to assert his claims at the first opportunity that the chance of escape may offer. Though naturally shrewd, and possessing what few faculties remain to them in a state of extreme acuteness, by frequent exercise and the concentration of the mental energies on a few objects, they are in the constant habit of feigning stupidity, to disarm suspicion, and escape exaction. The attachment they evince to their children is very strong; and they are seen, after the toils of the day, caressing them on their knees, and listening, with parental fondness, to their prattle. Their affections are warm, and easily gained. The strongest attachment, and unbounded gratitude, in return for kind treatment, are characteristics of the whole race; and there are many who would not hesitate to risk their lives for those who have endeavored to make them happy.

A student from Alabama, while detailing the horrors he had witnessed, mentioned the circumstance of a woman, in an advanced state of pregnancy, being flogged by her master till she miscarried. To be worked to death is no uncommon thing; and the torture is increased by the slowness of the process.

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Severity of toil depends on the kind of cultivation ; increasing in intensity, as the produce is cotton, rice, or sugar. The last, on account of the night-work, is so destructive, in its manipulations, of health and life, that it is a custom with the slaves to pray for cheap sugar.

Mr. Weld, and two others, one of whom was Mr. Morgan, whom I before spoke of as the only abolitionist among the professors, accompanied me on my return to the city ; and we spent the evening in visiting some of the colored people, with one of whom we drank tea.

I found their houses furnished in a style of comfort and elegance much superior to what I had seen among whites of the same rank. At one of them was an old man of a very advanced age. From his own statement, which was confirmed by those present, he must have been 114 years old. He had retained his faculties, and was strong enough to walk without assistance ; though his feet were much crippled by the sufferings he had undergone : having been compelled, for six years, to drag a weight of fifty-six pounds, attached by a chain to his legs, while at work. In addition to this instrument of wearisome annoyance, he had worn an iron collar round his neck, fastened to his waist, and projecting over his head, with a bell suspended from the upper part. He was a very religious man ; and it was for preaching to his fellow slaves, that these excruciating

tortures were inflicted upon him. When we asked him if he had ever been flogged, he threw his arms up wildly, and seemed to labor under an oppressive load of recollections. This was invariably his custom, when the subject was recalled to his mind. "Yes!" he exclaimed, "the cow-hide was my breakfast, and dinner, and supper," meaning that he had been exposed to the lash at every meal. When he had completed a century of suffering and sorrow, he resolutely declared that his task was done, and he would work no more. His master (the brute's name was Patterson) then brought him from Virginia to Ohio, and left him on the banks of the river. In spite of his years and his infirmities, poor Solomon Scott managed to find his way to the Cincinnati hotel; where he was earning his bread, like an honest man, by cleaning shoes, and making himself useful about the house; when his owner, finding he had a few dollars' worth of labor still left in him, sent his brother-in-law (a "young gentleman" of the name of Price) to bring him back. Outraged humanity, however, at last asserted her rights. The indignation of the by-standers protected the old man's grey hairs: and the youth returned to his employer, to report the result of his unmanly errand. The benevolent spirit of his race has now rescued him from the misery that awaits the colored pauper in this country, and has smoothed the little that remains of his path to the grave. The son-in-law of the person,

at whose house I saw him, took him from the harpies who had contracted to starve him, and he has at last found an asylum in his declining years. His benefactor, who had realized five or six thousand dollars by his industry, to which he was indebted for his own freedom, had laid out part of his savings in procuring that blessing for others. He had redeemed a young woman from servitude for 300, and a man for 600 dollars. They were to repay him the money as soon as they had the ability.

If any thing could add to the guilt of slavery it would be its effect on the female character. "*Corruptio optimi fit pessima.*" I asked whether women were not sometimes more cruel than men. The answer from all present was, that they were much more so. The gross licentiousness of the men would account for this deplorable pre-eminence in guilt: as jealousy would not be contented with the suffering it inflicted upon its objects, but would transfer its hatred to all connected with them, and engender a habit of savage ferocity towards the whole race. There may be another reason for the unkindness alluded to--an opposite feeling might be imputed to bad motives. But this is a part of the subject too delicate to be touched upon: and perhaps human nature "is clad in complete steel" in the slave States; and Purity herself may tread in perfect safety the "infamous hill and perilous sandy wilds" of the south.

As the poor old man expressed himself very indistinctly, the mistress of the house interpreted what he said. An anecdote she had frequently heard from him, and which she related to us, while he sat by enjoying the general laugh it created, shewed what cunning and self-possession the slaves have. She had before told us a very amusing story of a lad who acted the part of Brutus so successfully, that, while his master set him down for an idiot, he had completed his preparations for a long journey, and started "one fine day", with his saddle-bags well filled, and a trusty steed, for Canada; with the route to which he had made himself thoroughly acquainted, by asking one of the sons to explain the queer dots and lines on the map. He changed horses regularly as he proceeded, whenever he could do so with safety, and dismissed them, in succession, to find their way home. In this way he arrived at the place "where he would be," and is now a good loyal British subject; while his master is vowing vengeance, and literally growing twigs, to scourge the rebellious boy—when he gets him again into his power: his forgiveness of a former flight, occasioned by his brutality, having, he declares, encouraged a second attempt.

But I must not forget "uncle Solomon" and his joke. He was, one Sunday, at a neighbor's house, when the mistress returned from church, and not finding the dinner ready, began to scold the

cook in no measured terms. "Madam," said the woman, "you gave me no orders: and you know you have always told me to do nothing without orders." "True," replied the other, "but your conscience might have told you that I was not to be starved." The cook put on a look of stupidity. "What! don't you understand me?" exclaimed the virago: "don't you understand what conscience is? Solomon! *you* know what conscience is?" Solomon kept his wisdom to himself. "Why, Solomon! you must be a fool. Conscience is something within us that tells us when we do wrong." "Where was your's then," said Solomon, "when you cut that poor woman's back to pieces the other day?" Before she could recover from her confusion, Solomon had vanished; having very prudently followed the example of those wits who make it a point to quit the company when they have said "a good thing."

I need not—I cannot repeat the shocking stories of wanton unrelenting cruelty I heard during these visits. This woman, and her brothers and sisters, had been emancipated by their master, or rather their father, who had left instructions in his will, that they should be allowed sufficient time to earn the purchase money. When the proceeds had been divided among the family, every instrument, that fraud or force could suggest, was used, to reduce them again to a state of bondage. Her master's

daughter, (her half-sister,) in whose service she lived, was remarkable for her harshness. She was in the habit of accusing the female slaves of stealing her trinkets and sweetmeats, while she had herself secreted the one, and eaten the other; one day her sister, who was of a mild and amiable disposition, discovered one of her silk gowns concealed in the garden, and upbraided her for her conduct. It was too late! a poor girl, who had been falsely accused of the crime, had lost an eye, which was torn from the socket, by the flogging her master had inflicted upon her. This brute of a woman would shut up the children, in the depth of winter, without fire or furniture, in a dark room, and when they cried from the severity of the cold, apply heated irons to their feet.

The house where we drank tea, or rather supped, for it was a good substantial meal we partook of, was one of those, which Judge Hall thinks so ill fitted to the humble follower of Him, who taught by his own example the humility he inculcated in his precepts. The owner had completed the purchase of his freedom about eight years before, and had been enabled, by success in trade, to procure that of his brother and sister. He was a carpenter, and had five or six hands in his employment: all, but one, whites — a memorable victory, obtained by skill and perseverance over obstacles, that, with most men, would have proved insuperable. His

journeymen had been so much jeered at and insulted by the members of their fraternity, for working with a "colored boss", that they were obliged to quit their lodgings. I saw them at work in his shop, or I would not have believed that so many men could have been found in Cincinnati, possessed of sufficient moral courage, to bear up against the taunts and upbraidings of their comrades. One of them had come from New York; and, though he had, at first, expressed great astonishment, on finding a colored man able to work well, (a pretty good proof of the repulsive feeling, that separates the inhabitants of the same city into two distinct castes,) yet he had bound himself to work a year with him, and renewed the agreement on the expiration of the term. I should add that nearly all the persons, who employed this man, were slave-owners, and not citizens of the free State of Ohio. I passed a very agreeable evening with him and his family; and I could not help thinking, that it would be as well if those who abuse such men as he, in their books and their speeches, had as much of his acuteness as they want of his benevolence.

END OF VOL. II.

