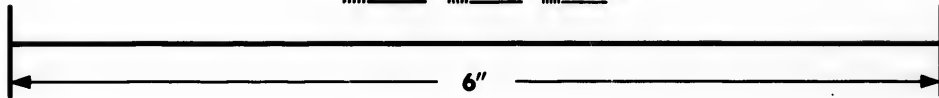
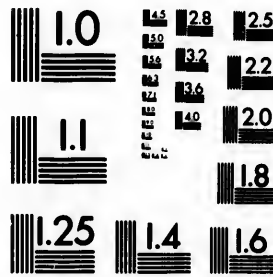


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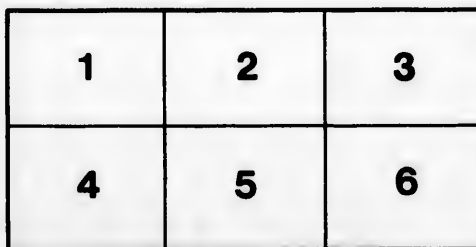
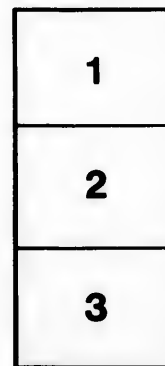
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1839

J. M. Gillisay,
A

DIARY IN AMERICA,

WITH

REMARKS ON ITS INSTITUTIONS.

BY

CAPT. MARRYAT, C.B.,

AUTHOR OF

"PETER SIMPLE," "JACOB FAITHFUL,"
"FRANK MILD MAY."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

PHILADELPHIA:
CAREY & HART.

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1839.

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DIARY IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THERE is extreme beauty in the Ohio river. As may be supposed, were the rise and fall are so great the banks are very steep; and, now that the water is low, it appears deeply embedded in the wild forest scenery through which it flows. The whole stream is alive with small fresh-water turtle, who play on the surface of its clear water; while the most beautiful varieties of the butterfly tribe cross over from one side to the other, from the slave-States to the free—their liberty, at all events, not being interfered with as, on the free side, it would be thought absurd to catch what would not produce a cent; while, on the slaves, their idleness and their indifference to them are their security.

Set off, one of nine, in a stage-coach, for the Blue Sulphur springs. The country which is very picturesque, has been already described. It is one continuation of rising ground, through mountains covered with trees and verdure. Nature is excessively fond of drapery in America: I have never yet fallen in with a naked rock. She clothes every thing; and although you may occasionally meet with a slight nudity, it is no more than the exposure of the neck or the bare feet of the mountain-nymph. This ridge of the Alleghanies is very steep; but you have no distinct view as you climb up, not even at the Hawk's Nest, where you merely peep down into the ravine below. You are jammed up in the forests through which you pass nearly the whole of the way; and it was delightful to arrive at any level, and fall

in with the houses and well-tilled fields of the Virginian farmers, exhibiting every proof of prosperity and ease. The heat was dreadful; two horses fell dead, and I thought that many others would have died, for two of the wheels were defective, and the labour of the poor animals, in dragging us constantly up hill, was most severe.

The indifference of the proprietors of public conveyances in America as to the safety of their passengers, can only be accounted for by the extreme indifference of the passengers themselves, and the independent feeling shown by every class, who, whatever may be their profession, will never acknowledge themselves to be what we term the servants of the public. Here was an instance. The coach we were put into was defective in two of its wheels, and could only be repaired at Louisburg, about a hundred miles distant. Instead of sending it on to that town empty, as would have been done by our coach proprietors, and providing another (as they had plenty,) for the passengers; instead of this, in order to save the extra trouble and expense, they risked the lives of the passengers; on a road with a precipice on one side of it for at least four-fifths of the way. One of the wheels would not hold the grease, and creaked most ominously during the whole journey; and we were obliged to stop and pour water on it continually. The box and irons of the other were loose, and before we were half way it came off, and we were obliged to stop and get out. But the Americans are never at a loss when they are in a *fix*. The passengers borrowed an axe; in a short time wedges were cut from one of the trees at the road-side, and the wheel was so well repaired that it lasted us the remainder of our journey.

Our road for some time lay through the valley of Kenawha, through which runs the river of that name—a strong, clear stream. It is hemmed in by mountains on each side of it; and here, perhaps, is presented the most curious varieties of mineral produce that ever were combined in one locality. The river runs over a bed of horizontal calcareous strata, and by perforating this strata about forty or fifty feet below the level of the river, you arrive at salt-springs, the waters of which

are pumped up by small steam-engines, and boiled down into salt in buildings erected on the river's banks. The mountains which hem in the river are one mass of coal; a gallery is opened at that part of the foot of the mountain most convenient to the buildings, and the coal is thrown down by shoots or small railways. Here you have coal for your fuel; salt water under fresh; and as soon as the salt is put into the barrels (which are also made from the mountain timber,) the river is all ready to transplant them down to the Ohio. But there is another great curiosity in this valley; these beds of coal have produced springs, as they are termed, of carburetted hydrogen gas, which run along the banks of the river close to the water's edge. The negroes take advantage of these springs when they come down at night to wash clothes; they set fire to the springs, which yield them sufficient light for their work. The one which I examined was dry, and the gas bubbled up through the sand. By kicking the sand about, so as to make communications after I had lighted the gas, I obtained a very large flame, which I left burning.

The heat, as we ascended, was excessive, and the passengers availed themselves of every spring, with the exception of those just described, that they fell in with on the route. We drank of every variety of water excepting pure water—sometimes iron, sometimes sulphur; and, indeed, every kind of chalybeate, for every rill was impregnated in some way or another. At last, it occurred to me that there were such things as chemical affinities, and that there was no saying what changes might take place by the admixture of such a variety of metals and gases, so I drank no more. I did not like, however, to interfere with the happiness of others, so I did not communicate my ideas to my fellow-passengers, who continued drinking during the whole day; and as I afterwards found out, did not sleep very well that night; they were, moreover, very sparing in the use of them the next day.

There are a great variety of springs already discovered on these mountains, and probably there will be a great

many more. Already they have the blue, the white, and the red sulphur springs; the sweet and the salt; the warm and the hot, all of which have their several virtues; but the greatest virtue of all these mineral springs is, as in England and every where else, that they occasion people to live regularly, to be moderate in the use of wine, and to dwell in a pure and wholesome air. They always remind me of the eastern story of the Dervise, who, being sent for by a king who had injured his health by continual indulgence, gave him a racket-ball, which he informed the king possessed wonderful medicinal virtues; with this ball his majesty was to play at racket two or three hours every day with his courtiers. The exercise it induced, which was the only medicinal virtue the ball possessed, restored the king to health. So it is with all watering places: it is not so much the use of the water, as the abstinence from what is pernicious, together with exercise and early hours, which effect the majority of cures.

We arrived first at the blue sulphur springs, and I remained there for one day to get rid of the dust of travelling. They have a very excellent hotel there, with a ball-room, which is open till eleven o'clock every night; the scenery is very pretty, and the company was good—as indeed is the company at all these springs, for they are too distant, and the travelling too expensive for every body to get there. But the blue sulphur are not fashionable, and the consequence was, we were not crowded, and were very comfortable. People who cannot get accommodated at the white sulphur, remain here until they can, the distance between them being only twenty-two miles.

The only springs which are fashionable are the white sulphur, and as these springs are a feature in American society, I shall describe them more particularly.

They are situated in a small valley, many hundred feet above the level of the sea, and are about fifteen or twenty acres in area, surrounded by small hills covered with foliage to their summits: at one end of the valley is the hotel, with the large dining-room for all the vi-

ctors. Close to the hotel, but in another building, is the ball-room, and a little below the hotel on the other side, is the spring itself; but beautiful as is the whole scenery, the great charm of this watering place is, the way in which those live who visit it. The rises of the hills which surround the valley are covered with little cottages, log-houses, and other picturesque buildings, sometimes in rows, and ornamented with verandahs, without a second story above, or kitchen below. Some are very elegant and more commodious than the rest, having been built by gentlemen who have the right given to them by the company to whom the springs belong, of occupying them themselves when there, but not of preventing others from taking possession of them in their absence. The dinners and other meals are, generally speaking, bad; not that there is not a plentiful supply, but that it is so difficult to supply seven hundred people sitting down in one room. In the morning, they all turn out from their little burrows, meet in the public walks, and go down to the spring before breakfast; during the forenoon, when it is too warm, they remain at home; after dinner they ride out or pay visits, and then end the day, either at the ball-room, or in little societies among one another. There is no want of handsome equipages, many four in hand (Virginny long tails) and every accommodation for these equipages. The crowd is very great, and it is astonishing what inconvenience people will submit to, rather than not be accommodated somehow or another. Every cabin is like a rabbit burrow. In the one next to where I was lodged, in a room about fourteen feet square, and partitioned off as well as it could be, there slept a gentleman and his wife, his sister and brother, and a female servant. I am not sure that the nigger was not under the bed—at all events, the young sister told me that it was not at all pleasant.

There is a sort of major-domo here, who regulates every department: his word is law, and his fiat immoveable, and he presumes not a little upon his power: a circumstance not to be surprised at, as he is as

much courted and is as despotic as all the lady patronesses of Almacks rolled into one. He is called the Metternich of the mountains. No one is allowed accommodation at these springs who is not known, and generally speaking, only those families who travel in their private carriages. It is at this place that you feel how excessively aristocratical and exclusive the Americans would be, and indeed will be, in spite of their institutions. Spa, in its palmiest days, when princes had to sleep in their carriages at the doors of the hotels, was not more in vogue than are these white sulphur springs with the *elite* of the United States. And it is here, and here only, in the States, that you do meet with what may be fairly considered as select society, for at Washington there is a great mixture. Of course all the celebrated belles of the different States are to be met with here, as well as all the large fortunes, nor is there a scarcity of pretty and wealthy widows. The president, Mrs. Caton, the mother of Lady Wellesley, Lady Stafford, and Lady Caermarthen, the daughter of Carrol, of Carrolton, one of the real aristocracy of America, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and all the first old Virginian and Carolina families, many of them descendants of the old cavaliers, were at the springs when I arrived there; and I certainly must say that I never was at any watering-place in England where the company was so good and so select as at the Virginia springs in America.

I passed many pleasant days at this beautiful spot, and was almost as unwilling to leave it as I was to part with the Sioux Indians at St. Peters. Refinement and simplicity are equally charming. I was introduced to a very beautiful girl here, whom I should not have mentioned so particularly, had it not been that she was the first and only lady in America that I observed to *whittle*. She was sitting one fine morning on a wooden bench, surrounded by admirers, and as she carved away her seat with her pen-knife, so did she cut deep into the hearts of those who listened to her lively conversation.

There are, as may be supposed, a large number of negro servants here attending their masters and mistresses. I have often been amused, not only here, but during my residence in Kentucky, at the high-sounding Christian names which have been given to them. "Byron, tell Ada to come here directly." "Now, *Telemachus*, if you don't leave *Calyppo* alone, you'll get a taste of the *cow-hide*."

Among others, attracted to the springs professionally, was a very clever German painter, who, like all Germans, had a very correct ear for music. He had painted a kitchen-dance in Old Virginia, and in the picture he had introduced all the well-known coloured people in the place; amongst the rest were the band of musicians, but I observed that one man was missing. "Why did you not put him in," inquired I. "Why, sir, I could not put him in; it was impossible; he never *plays in tune*. Why, if I put him in, sir, he would spoil the *harmony* of my whole picture!"

I asked this artist how he got on in America. He replied, "But so-so; the Americans in general do not estimate genius. They come to me and ask what I want for my pictures, and I tell them. Then they say, 'how long did it take you to paint it?' I answer 'so many days.' Well, then they calculate and say, 'if it took you only so many days, you ask so many dollars a-day for your work; you ask a great deal too much; you ought to be content with so much per day, and I will give you that.' So that, thought I, invention, and years of study, go for nothing with these people. There is only one way to dispose of a picture in America, and that is, to raffle it; the Americans will then run the chance of getting it. If you do not like to part with your pictures in that way, you must paint portraits; people will purchase their own faces all over the world: the worst of it is, that in this country, they will purchase nothing else.

During my stay here I was told of one of the most remarkable instances that perhaps ever occurred, of the discovery of a fact by the party from whom it was of

the utmost importance to conceal it—a very pretty interesting young widow. She had married a promising young man, to whom she was tenderly attached, and who, a few months after the marriage, unfortunately fell in a duel. Aware that the knowledge of the cause of her husband's death would render the blow still more severe to her, (the ball having passed through the eye into his brain, and there being no evident gun-shot wound,) her relations informed her that he had been thrown from his horse and killed by the fall. She believed them. She was living in the country; when, about nine months after her widowhood, her brother rode down to see her, and as soon as he arrived went into his room to shave and dress. The window of his room, which was on the ground-floor, looked out upon the garden, and it being summer time, it was open. He tore off a portion of an old newspaper to wipe his razor. The breeze caught it, and carried it away into the garden until it stopped at the feet of his sister who happened to be walking. Mechanically she took up the fragment, and perceiving her husband's name upon it she read it. It contained a full account of the duel in which he lost his life! The shock she received was so great that it unsettled her mind for nearly two years. She had but just recovered, and for the first time re-appeared in public, when she was pointed out to me.

Returning to Guyandotte one of the travellers wished to see the view from the Hawk's Nest, or rather wished to be able to say that he had seen it. We passed the spot when it was quite dark, but he persisted in going there, and to help his vision, borrowed one of the coach-lamps from the driver. He returned, and declared that with the assistance of the lamp he had had a very excellent view, down a precipice of several hundred feet, His bird's-eye view by candle-light must have been very extensive. After all, it is but to be able to say that they have been to such a place, or have seen such a thing that, more than any real taste for it, induces the majority of the world to incur the trouble and fatigue of travelling.

CHAPTER XXXII.

I was informed that a camp meeting was to be held about seven miles from Cincinnati, and, anxious to verify the accounts I had heard of them, I availed myself of this opportunity of deciding for myself. We proceeded about five miles on the high road, and then diverged by a cross-road until we arrived at a steep conical hill, crowned with splendid forest trees without underwood; the trees being sufficiently apart to admit of wagons and other vehicles to pass in every direction. The camp was raised upon the summit of this hill, a piece of table-land comprising many acres. About an acre and a half was surrounded on the four sides by cabins built up of rough boards; the whole area in the centre was fitted up with planks, laid about a foot from the ground, as seats. At one end, but not close to the cabins, was a raised stand, which served as a pulpit for the preachers, one of them praying, while five or six others sat down behind him on benches. There was ingress to the area by the four corners; the whole of it was shaded by vast forest trees, which ran up to the height of fifty or sixty feet without throwing out a branch; and to the trunks of these trees were fixed lamps in every direction, for the continuance of service by night. Outside the area, which may be designated as the church, were hundreds of tents pitched in every quarter, their snowy whiteness contrasting beautifully with the deep verdure and gloom of the forest. These were the temporary habitations of those who had come many miles to attend the meeting, and who remained there from the commencement until it concluded—usually a period of from ten to

twelve days, but often much longer. The tents were furnished with every article necessary for cooking; mattresses to sleep upon, &c.; some of them even had bedsteads and chests of drawers, which had been brought in the waggons in which the people in this country usually travel. At a farther distance were all the waggons and other vehicles which had conveyed the people to the meeting, whilst hundreds of horses were tethered under the trees, and plentifully provided with forage. Such were the general outlines of a most interesting and beautiful scene.

Where, indeed, could so magnificent a temple to the Lord be raised as on this lofty hill, crowned as it was with such majestic verdure. Compared with these giants of the forest, the cabins and tents of the multitude appeared as insignificant and contemptible as almost would man himself in the presence of the Deity. Many generations of men must have been mowed down before the arrival of these enormous trees to their present state of maturity; and at the time they sent forth their first shoots, probably there were not on the whole of this continent, now teeming with millions, as many white men as are now assembled on this field. I walked about for some time surveying the panorama, when I returned to the area, and took my seat upon a bench. In one quarter the coloured population had collected themselves; their tents appeared to be better furnished and better supplied with comforts than most of those belonging to the whites. I put my head into one of the tents, and discovered a sable damsel lying on a bed, and singing hymns in a loud voice.

The major portion of those not in the area were cooking the dinners. Fires were burning in every direction: pots boiling, chickens roasting, hams seething; indeed there appeared to be no want of creature comforts.

But the trumpet sounded, as in days of yore, as a signal that the service was about to recommence, and I went into the area and took my seat. One of the preachers rose and gave out a hymn, which was

sung by the congregation, amounting to about seven or eight hundred. After the singing of the hymn was concluded he commenced an extempore sermon: it was good, sound doctrine, and, although Methodism, it was Methodism of the mildest tone, and divested of its bitterness of denunciation, as indeed is generally the case with Methodism in America. I heard nothing which could be offensive to any other sect, or which could be considered objectionable by the most orthodox, and I began to doubt whether such scenes as had been described to me did really take place at these meetings. A prayer followed, and after about two hours the congregation were dismissed to their dinners, being first informed that the service would recommence at two o'clock at the sound of the trumpet. In front of the pulpit there was a space railed off, and strewn with straw, which I was told was the *Anxious seat*, and on which sat those who were touched by their consciences, or the discourse of the preacher; but, although there were several sitting on it, I did not perceive any emotion on the part of the occupants: they were attentive, but nothing more.

When I first examined the area I saw a very large tent at one corner of it, probably fifty feet long, by twenty wide. It was open at the end, and, being full of straw, I concluded it was used as a sleeping-place for those who had not provided themselves with separate accommodation. About an hour after the service was over, perceiving many people directing their steps towards it, I followed them. On one side of the tent were about twenty females, mostly young, squatted down on the straw; on the other a few men; in the centre was a long form, against which were some other men kneeling, with their faces covered with their hands, as if occupied in prayer. Gradually the numbers increased, girl after girl dropped down upon the straw on the one side, and men on the other. At last an elderly man gave out a hymn, which was sung with peculiar energy; then another knelt down in the centre, and commenced a prayer, shutting his eyes (as I

have observed most clergymen in the United States do when they pray) and raising his hands above his head; then another burst out into a prayer, and another followed him; then their voices became all confused together; and then were heard the more silvery tones of woman's supplication. As the din increased so did their enthusiasm; handkerchiefs were raised to bright eyes, and sobs were intermingled with prayers and ejaculations. It became a scene of Babel; more than twenty men and women were crying out at the highest pitch of their voices, and trying apparently to be heard above the others. Every minute the excitement increased; some wrung their hands and called for mercy; some tore their hair; boys lay down crying bitterly, with their heads buried in the straw; there was sobbing almost to suffocation, and hysterics and deep agony. One young man elung to the form, crying, "Satan tears at me, but I will hold fast. Help—help, he drags me down!" It was a scene of horrible agony and despair; and, when it was at its height, one of the preachers came in, and, raising his voice high above the tumult, entreated the Lord to receive into his fold those who now repented and would fain return. Another of the ministers knelt down by some young men, whose faces were covered up and who appeared to be almost in a state of phrensy; and putting his hands upon them, poured forth an energetic prayer, well calculated to work upon their over excited feelings. Groans, ejaculations, broken sobs, frantic motions and convulsions succeeded; some fell on their backs with their eyes closed, waving their hands with a slow motion, and crying out—"Glory, glory, glory!" I quitted the spot, and hastened away into the forest, for the sight was too painful, too melancholy. Its sincerity could not be doubted, but it was the effect of over-excitement, not of sober reasoning. Could such violence of feeling have been produced had each party retired to commune alone!—most surely not. It was a fever created by colision and contact, of the same nature

as that which stimulates a mob to deeds of blood and horror.

Gregarious animals are by nature inoffensive. The cruel and the savage live apart, and in solitude; but the gregarious, upheld and stimulated by each other, become formidable. So it is with man.

I was told that the scene would be much more interesting and exciting after the lamps were lighted; but I had seen quite enough of it. It was too serious to laugh at, and I felt that it was not for me to condemn. "Cry aloud, and spare not," was the exhortation of the preacher; and certainly, if heaven is only to be taken by storm, he was a proper leader for his congregation.

Whatever may be the opinion of the reader as to the meeting which I have described, it is certain that nothing could be more laudable than the intention by which these meetings were originated. At the first settling of the country the people were widely scattered, and the truths of the Gospel, owing to the scarcity of preachers, but seldom heard. It was to remedy this unavoidable evil that they agreed, like the Christians in earlier times, to collect together from all quarters, and pass many days in meditation and prayer, "exhorting one another—comforting one another." Even now it is not uncommon for the settlers in Indiana and Illinois to travel one hundred miles in their wagons to attend one of these meetings,—meetings which are now too often sullied by fanaticism on the one hand, and on the other by the levity and infidelity of those who go not to pray, but to scoff; or to indulge in the licentiousness which, it is said, but too often follows, when night has thrown her veil over the scene.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LEXINGTON, the capital of the State, is embosomed in the very heart of the vale of Kentucky. This vale was the favourite hunting-ground of the Indians; and a fairer country for the chase could not well be imagined than this rolling, well-wooded, luxuriant valley, extending from hill to hill, from dale to dale, for so many long miles. No wonder that the Indians fought so hard to retain, or the Virginians to acquire it; nor was it until much blood had saturated the ground, many reeking scalps had been torn from the head, and many a mother and her children murdered at their hearths, that the contest was relinquished. So severe were the struggles, that the ground obtained the name of the "Bloody Ground." But the strife is over; the red man has been exterminated, and peace and plenty now reign over this smiling country. It is indeed a beautiful and bounteous land; on the whole, the most eligible in the Union. The valley is seven hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea, and, therefore, not so subject to fevers as the States of Indiana and Illinois, and indeed that portion of its own State which borders on the Mississippi. But all the rest of the Kentucky land is by no means equal in richness of soil to that of this valley. There are about ninety counties in the State, of which about thirty are of rich-land; but four of them, namely, Fayette, Bourbon, Scotts, and Woodford, are the finest. The whole of these four counties are held by large proprietors, who graze and breed stock to a very great extent, supplying the whole of the Western States with the best description of every kind of cattle.

Cattle-shows are held every year, and high prizes awarded to the owners of the finest beasts which are there produced. The State of Kentucky, as well as Virginia, is in fact an agricultural and grazing State; the pasture is very rich, and studded with oak and other timber, as in the manner I have described in Iowa and Wisconsin. The staples of Kentucky are hemp and mules; the latter are in such demand for the south that they can hardly produce them fast enough for the market. The minimum price of a three year old mule is about eighty dollars; the maximum usually one hundred and sixty dollars, or thirty-five pounds, but they often fetch much higher prices. I saw a pair in harness, well matched, and about seventeen hands high, for which they refused one thousand dollars—upwards of two hundred pounds.

The cattle-show took place when I was at Lexington. That of horned beasts I was too late for; but the second day I went to the exhibition of thorough-bred horses. The premiums were for the best two-year old yearlings, and colts, and many of them were very fine animals. The third day was for the exhibition of mules; which, on account of size there being a great desideratum, are bred only from mares: the full-grown averaged from fifteen to sixteen hands high, but they have often been known to be seventeen hands high. I had seen them quite as large in a nobleman's carriage in the south of Spain; but then they were considered rare, and of great value. After all the other varieties of age had made their appearance, and the judges had given their decision, the mules foaled down this year were to be examined. As they were still suckling, it was necessary that the brood mares should be led into the enclosed paddock, where the animals were inspected, that the foals might be induced to follow: as soon as they were all in the enclosure the mares were sent out, leaving all the foals by themselves. At first they commenced a concert of wailing after their mothers, and then turned their lamentations into indigna-

tion and revenge upon each other. Such a ridiculous scene of kicking took place as I never before witnessed. about thirty of them being most sedulously engaged in the occupation, all at the same time. I never saw such ill-behaved mules; it was quite impossible for the judges to decide upon the prize, for you could see nothing but heels in the air; it was rap, rap, rap, incessantly against one another's sides, until they were all turned out and the show was over. I rather think the prize must, in this instance, have been awarded to the one that kicked highest.

The fourth day was for the exhibition of jackasses. of two year and one year, and for foals, and jennies also; this sight was to me one of peculiar interest. Accustomed as we are in England to value a jackass at thirty shillings, we look down upon them with contempt; but here is the case reversed: you look up at them with surprise and admiration. Several were shown standing fifteen hands high, with head and ears in proportion: the breed has been obtained from the Maltese jackass, crossed by those of Spain and the south of France. Those imported seldom average more than fourteen hands high; but the Kentuckians, by greater attention and care, have raised them up to fifteen hands, and sometimes even to sixteen.

But the price paid for these splendid animals, for such they really were, will prove how much they are in request. Warrior, a jackass of great celebrity, sold for 5,000 dollars, upwards of £1,000 sterling. Half of another jackass, Benjamin by name, was sold for 2,500 dollars. At the show I asked a gentleman what he wanted for a very beautiful female ass, only one year old; he said that he could have 1,000 dollars, £250 for her, but that he had refused that sum. For a two year old jack, shown during the exhibition, they asked 3,000 dollars, more than £600. I never felt such respect for donkeys before; but the fact is, that mule-breeding is so lucrative, that there is no price which a very large donkey will not command.

I afterwards went to a cattle sale a few miles out of the town. Don Juan, a two year old bull, Durham breed, fetched 1,075 dollars; an imported Durham cow, with her calf, 985 dollars. Before I arrived, a bull and cow fetched 1,300 dollars each of them, about £280. The cause of this is, that the demand for good stock, now that the Western States are filling up, becomes so great, that they cannot be produced fast enough. Mr. Clay, who resides near Lexington, is one of the best breeders in the State, which is much indebted to him for the fine stock which he has imported from England.

Another sale took place, which I attended, and I quote the prices:—Yearling bull, 1,000 dollars; ditto heifer, 1,500. Cows, of full Durham blood, but bred in Kentucky, 1,245 dollars; ditto, 1,235 dollars. Imported cow and calf, 2,100 dollars.

It must be considered, that although a good Durham cow will not cost more than twenty guineas perhaps in England, the expenses of transport are very great, and they generally stand in, to the importers, about 600 dollars, before they arrive at the state of Kentucky.

But to prove that the Kentuckians are fully justified in giving the prices they do, I will show what was the profit made upon an old cow before she was sold for 400 dollars. I had a statement from her proprietor, who had her in his possession for nine years. She was a full bred cow, and during the time that he had held her in his possession, she had cleared him 15,000 dollars by the sale of her progeny: As follows:—

Years.	Calves.	Second Generation.	Third Generation.	Fourth Generation.
1	1			
2	1			
3	1	1		
4	1	1		
5	1	1	1	
6	1	1	1	
7	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1
	9	7	5	3

Total, 24.—

averaging 625 dollars a head, which is by no means a large price, as the two cows, which sold at the sale for 1,235, and 1,225 dollars, were a part of her issue.

Lexington is a very pretty town, with very pleasant society, and afforded me great relief after the unpleasant sojourn I had had at Louisville. Conversing one day with Mr. Clay, I had another instance given me of the mischief which the conduct of Miss Martineau has entailed upon all those English who may happen to visit America. Mr. Clay observed that Miss Martineau had remained with him for some time, and that, during her stay, she had professed very different, or at least more modified opinions on the subject of slavery, than those she has expressed in her book: so much so, that one day, having read a letter from Boston cautioning her against being cajoled by the hospitality and pleasant society of the Western States, she handed it to him, saying, "They want to make a regular aboli-

tionist of me." "When her work came out," continued Mr. Clay, "although I read but very little of it, I turned to this subject so important with us, and I must say I was a little surprised to find that she had so changed her opinions." The fact is, Miss Martineau appears to have been what the Kentuckians call, "playing 'possum." I have met with some of the Southern ladies whose conversations on slavery are said, or supposed, to have been those printed by Miss Martineau, and they deny that they are correct. That the Southern ladies are very apt to express great horror at living too long a time at the plantations, is very certain; not, however, because they expect to be murdered in their beds by the slaves, as they tell their husbands, but because they are anxious to spend more of their time at the cities, where they can enjoy more luxury and amusement than can be procured at the plantations.

Every body rides in Virginia and Kentucky, master, man, woman, and slave, and they all ride well: it is quite as common to meet a woman on horseback as a man, and it is a pretty sight in their States to walk by the church doors and see them all arrive. The churches have stables, or rather sheds, built close to them, for the accommodation of the cattle.

Elopedments in these States are all made on horseback. The goal to be obtained is to cross to the other side of the Ohio. The consequence is that it is a regular steeple-chase; the young couple clearing every thing, father and brothers following. Whether it is that, having the choice, the young people are the best mounted, I know not, but the runaways are seldom overtaken. One couple crossed the Ohio when I was at Cincinnati, and had just time to tie the noose before their pursuers arrived.

At Lexington, on Sunday, there is not a carriage or horse to be obtained by a white man for any consideration, they having all been regularly engaged for that day by the negro slaves, who go out junketting in every direction. Where they get the money I do not know; but certain it is, that it is always produced when re-

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quired. I was waiting at the counter of a sort of pastry-cook's, when three negro lads, about twelve or fourteen years old, came in, and in a most authoritative tone, ordered three glasses of soda-water.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

THERE is one great inconvenience in American travelling, arising from the uncertainty of river navigation. Excepting the Lower Mississippi and the Hudson, and not always the latter, the communication by water is obstructed during a considerable portion of the year, by ice in the winter, or a deficiency of water in the dry season. This has been a remarkable season for heat and drought; and thousands of people remain in the States of Ohio, Virginia, and Kentucky, who are most anxious to return home. It must be understood, that during the unhealthy season in the Southern States on the Mississippi, the planters, cotton-growers, slave-holders, store-keepers, and indeed almost every class, excepting the slaves and overseers, migrate to the northward, to escape the yellow fever, and spend a portion of their gains in amusement.

They go to Cincinnati and the towns of Ohio, to the Lakes occasionally, but principally to the cities and watering places of Virginia and Kentucky, more especially Louisville, where I now am; and Louisville, being also the sort of general rendezvous for departure south, is now crammed with Southern people. The steam-boats cannot run, for the river is almost dry; and I (as well as others) have been detained much longer on the banks of the Ohio than was my intention. There is land-carriage certainly, but the heat of the weather is so overpowering that even the Southerners dread it; and in consequence of this extreme heat, the sickness in these western States has been much great-

er than usual. Even Kentucky, especially that part which borders on the Mississippi, which, generally speaking, is healthy, is now suffering under malignant fevers. I may here remark, that the two States, Illinois and Indiana, and the western portions of Kentucky and Tennessee, are very unhealthy; not a year passes without a great mortality from the bilious congestive fever, a variety of the yellow fever, and the ague; more especially Illinois and Indiana, with the western portion of Ohio, which is equally flat with the other two States. The two States of Indiana and Illinois lie, as it were, at the bottom of the western basin; the soil is wonderfully rich, but the drainage is insufficient, as may be seen from the sluggishness with which these rivers flow. Many and many thousands of poor Irish emigrants, and settlers also, have been struck down by disease, never to rise again, in these rich, but unhealthy States; to which, stimulated by the works published by land-speculators, thousands and thousands every year repair, and notwithstanding the annual expenditure of life, rapidly increase the population. I had made up my mind to travel by land carriage to St. Louis, Missouri, through the States of Indiana and Illinois, but two American gentlemen, who had just arrived by that route, succeeded in dissuading me. They had come over on horseback. They described the disease and mortality as dreadful. That sometimes, when they wished to put up their horses at seven or eight o'clock in the evening, they were compelled to travel on till twelve or one o'clock before they could gain admittance, some portion in every house suffering under the bilious fever, tertian ague, or flux. They described the scene as quite appalling. At some houses there was not one person able to rise and attend upon the others; all were dying or dead; and to increase the misery of their situations, the springs had dried up, and in many places they could not procure water except by sending many miles. A friend of mine, who had been on a mission through the portion of Kentucky and Tennessee bordering on the Mississippi, made a very similar statement. He was not refused

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to remain where he stopped, but he could procure no assistance, and every where ran the risk of contagion. He said that some of the people were obliged to send their negroes with a wagon upwards of fifteen miles to wash their clothes.

That this has been a very unhealthy season is certain, but still, from all the information I could obtain, there is a great mortality every year in the districts I have pointed out; and such, indeed, must be the case, from the miasma created every fall of the year in these rich alluvial soils, some portions of which have been worked for fifty years without the assistance of manure, and still yield abundant crops. It will be a long while before the drainage necessary to render them healthy can be accomplished. The sickly appearance of the inhabitants establishes but too well the facts related to me; and yet, strange to say, it would appear to be a provision of Providence, that a remarkable fecundity on the part of the women in the more healthy portions of their Western States, should meet the annual expenditure of life. Three children at a birth are more common here than twins are in England; and they, generally speaking, are all reared up. There have been many instances of even four.

The western valley of America, of which the Mississippi may be considered as the common drain, must, from the surprising depth of the alluvial soil, have been (ages back) wholly under water, and, perhaps, by some convulsion raised up. What insects are we in our own estimation when we meditate upon such stupendous changes!

Since I have been in these States I have been surprised at the stream of emigration which appears to flow from North Carolina to Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. Every hour you meet with a caravan of emigrants from that sterile but healthy state. Every night the banks of the Ohio are lighted up with their fires, where they have bivouacked previously to crossing the river; but they are not like the poor German

or Irish settlers: they are well prepared, and have nothing to do, apparently, but to sit down upon their land. These caravans consist of two or three covered wagons, full of women and children, furniture, and other necessaries, each drawn by a team of horses; brood mares, with foals by their sides, following; half a dozen or more rows, flanked on each side by the men, with their long rifles on their shoulders; sometimes a boy or two, or a half-grown girl on horseback. Occasionally they wear an appearance of more refinement and cultivation, as well as wealth, the principals travelling in a sort of worn-out old carriage, the remains of the competence of former days.

I often surmised, as they travelled cheerfully along, saluting me as they passed by, whether they would not repent their decision, and sigh for their pine barrens and heath, after they had discovered that with fertility they had to encounter such disease and mortality.

I have often heard it asserted by Englishmen, that America has no coal. There never was a greater mistake: she has an abundance, and of the very finest that ever was seen. At Wheeling and Pittsburg, and on all the borders of the Ohio river above Guyandotte, they have an inexhaustible supply, equal to the very best offered to the London market. All the spurs of the Alleghany range appear to be one mass of coal. In the Eastern States the coal is of a different quality, although there is some very tolerable. The anthracite is bad, throwing out a strong sulphureous gas. The fact is that wood is at present cheaper than coal, and, therefore, the latter is not in demand. An American told me one day, that a company had been working a coal mine in an Eastern State, which proved to be of a very bad quality; they had sent some to an influential person as a present, requesting him to give his opinion of it, as that would be important to them. After a certain time he forwarded to them a certificate couched in such terms as these:—

"I do hereby certify that I have tried the coal sent me by the company at ——, and it is my decided opinion, that when the general conflagration of the world shall take place, any man who will take his position on *that coal mine* will certainly be the *last man* who will be *burnt*."

I had to travel by coach for six days and nights, to arrive at Baltimore. As it may be supposed, I was not a little tired before my journey was half over; I, therefore, was glad when the coach stopped for a few hours, to throw off my coat, and lie down on a bed. At one town, where I had stopped, I had been reposing more than two hours when my door was opened—but this was too common a circumstance for me to think any thing of it; the people would come into my room whether I was in bed or out of bed, dressed or not dressed, and if I expostulated, they would reply, "Never mind, *we* don't care, Captain." On this occasion I called out, "Well, what do you want?"

"Are you Captain M——?" said the person walking up to the bed where I was lying.

"Yes, I am," replied I.

"Well, I reckon I wouldn't allow you to go through our town without seeing you any how. Of all the humans, you're the one I most wish to see."

I told him I was highly flattered.

"Well now," said he, giving a jump, and coming down right upon the bed in his great coat, "I'll just tell you; I said to the chap at the bar, 'Aint the Captain in your house?' 'Yes,' says he. 'Then where is he?' says I. 'Oh,' says he, 'he's gone into his own room, and locked himself up; he's a d—d aristocrat, and won't drink at the bar with other gentlemen.' So thought I, I've read M——'s works, and I'll be swamped if he is an aristocrat, and by the 'tarnal I'll go up and see; so here I am, and you're no aristocrat."

"I should think not," replied I, moving my feet away, which he was half sitting on.

"Oh, don't move; never mind me, Captain, I'm quite comfortable. And how do you find yourself by this time?"

"Very tired, indeed," replied I.

"I suspicion as much. Now, d'ye see, I left four or five good fellows down below who wish to see you; I said I'd go up first, and come down to them. The fact is, Captain, we don't like you should pass through our town without showing you a little American hospitality."

So saying he slid off the bed, and went out of the room. In a minute he returned, bringing with him four or five others, all of whom he introduced by name, and reseated himself on my bed, while the others took chairs.

"Now, gentlemen," said he, "as I was telling the Captain, we wish to show him a little American hospitality; what shall it be, gentlemen; what d'ye say—a bottle of Madeira?"

An immediate answer not being returned he continued,

"Yes, gentlemen, a bottle of Madeira; at my expense gentlemen, recollect that; now ring the bell."

"I shall be most happy to take a glass of wine with you," observed I, "but in my own room the wine must be at *my* expense."

"At *your* expense, Captain; well, if it must be, I don't care; at *your* expense, then, Captain, if you say so; only you see, we must show you a little American hospitality, as I said to them all down below; didn't I, gentlemen?"

The wine was ordered, and it ended in my hospitable friends drinking three bottles; and then they all shook hands with me, declaring how happy they should be if I came to the town again, and allowed them to show me a little more American hospitality.

There was something so very ridiculous in this event that I cannot help narrating it; but let it not be supposed, for a moment, that I intend it as a sarcasm upon

American hospitality in general. There certainly are conditions usually attached to their hospitality, if you wish to profit by it to any extent; and one is, that you do not venture to find fault with themselves, their manners, or their institutions.

Note.—That a guest, partaking of their hospitality, should give his opinion unasked, and find fault, would be in very bad taste, to say the least of it. But the fault in America is, that you are compelled to give an opinion, and you cannot escape by a doubtful reply: as the American said to me in Philadelphia, "I wish a *categorical* answer." Thus, should you not agree with them, you are placed upon the horns of a dilemma; either you must affront the company, or sacrifice truth.

END OF DIARY.

REMARKS, &c. &c.

LANGUAGE.

THE Americans boldly assert that they speak better English than we do, and I was rather surprised not to find a statistical table to that effect in Mr. Carey's publication. What I believe the Americans would imply by the above assertion is, that you may travel through all the United States and find less difficulty in understanding, or in being understood, than in some of the counties of England, such as Cornwall, Devonshire, Lancashire, and Suffolk. So far they are correct; but it is remarkable how very debased the language has become in a short period in America. There are few provincial dialects in England much less intelligible than the following. A Yankee girl, who wished to hire herself out, was asked if she had any followers, or sweethearts? After a little hesitation, she replied, "Well, now, can't exactly say; I bees a sorter courted, and a sorter not; reckon more a sorter yes than a sorter no." In many points the Americans have to a certain degree obtained that equality which they profess; and, as respects their language, it certainly is the case. If their lower classes are more intelligible than ours, it is equally true that the higher classes do not speak the language so purely or so classically as it is spoken among the well-educated English. The peculiar dialect of the English counties is kept up because we are a settled country; the people who are born in a county live in it, and die in it, transmitting their scites of labour or of amusement to their descendants, generation after

generation, without change: consequently, the provincialisms of the language become equally hereditary. Now, in America, they have a dictionary containing many thousands of words which, with us, are either obsolete, or are provincialisms, or are words necessarily invented by the Americans. When the people of England emigrated to the States, they came from every county in England, and each county brought its provincialisms with it. These were admitted into the general stock; and were since all collected and bound up by one Mr. Webster. With the exception of a few words coined for local uses (such as *snags* and *sawyers*, on the Mississippi,) I do not recollect a word which I have not traced to be either a provincialism of some English county, or else to be obsolete English. There are a few from the Dutch, such as *stoup*, for the porch of a door, &c. I was once talking with an American about Webster's dictionary, and he observed, "Well now, sir, I understand it's the only one used in the Court of St. James, by the king, queen, and princesses, and that by royal order."

The upper classes of the Americans do not, however, speak or pronounce English according to our standard; they appear to have no exact rule to guide them, probably from a want of any intimate knowledge of Greek or Latin. You seldom hear a derivation from the Greek pronounced correctly, the accent being generally laid upon the wrong syllable. In fact, every one appears to be independent, and pronounces just as he pleases.

But it is not for me to decide the very momentous question, as to which nation speaks the best English. The Americans generally improve upon the inventions of others; probably they may have improved upon our language.

I recollect some one observing how very superior the German language was to the English, from their possessing so many compound substantives and adjectives, whereupon his friend replied, that it was just as

easy for us to possess them in England if we pleased, and gave us as an example an observation made by his old dame at Eton, who declared that young Paulet was, without any exception, the most *good-for-nothingest*, the most *provoking-people-est*, and the most *poke-about-every-cornerest* boy she had ever had charge of in her life.

Assuming this principle of improvement to be correct, it must be acknowledged that the Americans have added considerably to our dictionary; but, as I have before observed, this being a point of too much delicacy for me to decide upon, I shall just submit to the reader the occasional variations, or improvements, as they may be, which met my ears during my residence in America, as also the idiomatic peculiarities, and having so done, I must leave him to decide for himself.

I recollect once talking with one of the first men in America, who was narrating to me the advantages which might have accrued to him if he had followed up a certain speculation, when he said, "Sir, if I had done so, I should not only have *doubled* and *trebled*, but I should have *fourbled* and *fivebled* my money."

One of the members of Congress once said, "What the honourable gentleman has just asserted I consider as *catamount* to a denial;"—(catamount is the term given to a panther or lynx.)

"I presume," replied his opponent, "that the honourable gentleman means *tantamount*."

"No, sir, I do not mean *tantamount*; I am not so ignorant of our language, not to be aware that *catamount* and *tantamount* are *anonymus*."

The Americans dwell upon their words when they speak—a custom arising, I presume, from their cautious, calculating habits; and they have always more or less of a nasal twang. I once said to a lady, "Why do you drawl out your words in that way?"

"Well," replied she, "I'd drawl all the way from Maine to Georgia, rather than *clip* my words as you English people do."

Many English words are used in a very different sense from that which we attach to them; for instance: a *clever* person in America means an amiable good-tempered person, and the Americans make the distinction by saying, I mean English clever.

Our *clever* is represented by the word *smart*.

The verb *to admire* is also used in the East, instead of the verb *to like*.

"Have you ever been at Paris?"

"No; but I should *admire* to go."

A Yankee description of a clever woman:—

"Well, now, she'll walk right into you, and talk to you like a book;" or, as I have heard them say, "she'll talk you out of sight."

The word *ugly* is used for cross, ill-tempered. "I did feel so *ugly* when he said that."

Bad is used in an odd sense: it is employed for awkward, uncomfortable, sorry:—

"I did feel so *bad* when I read that"—awkward.

"I have felt quite *bad* about it ever since"—uncomfortable.

"She was so *bad*, I thought she would cry," sorry.

And as *bad* is tantamount to *not good*, I have heard a lady say, "I don't feel *at all good*, this morning."

Mean is occasionally used for ashamed.

"I never felt so *mean* in my life."

"We reckon this very handsome scenery, sir," said an American to me, pointing to the landscape.

"I consider him very truthful," is another expression.

"He stimulates too much."

"He dissipates awfully."

And they are very fond of using the noun as a verb, as—

"I *suspicion* that's a fact."

"I *opinion* quite the contrary."

The word *considerable* is in considerable demand in the United States. In a work in which the letters of the party had been given to the public as specimens

of good style and polite literature, it is used as follows:—

“My dear sister, I have taken up the pen early this morning, as I intend to write *considerable*.”*

The word *great* is oddly used for fine, splendid.

“She’s the *greatest* gal in the whole Union.”

But there is one word which we must surrender up to the Americans as their *very own*, as the children say. I will quote a passage from one of their papers:—

“The editor of the *Philadelphia Gazette* is wrong in calling *absquatiated* a Kentucky *phrase* (he may well say *phrase* instead of *word*.) It may prevail there, but its origin was in South Carolina, where it was a few years since regularly derived from the Latin, as we can prove from undoubted authority. By the way, there is a little *corruption* in the word as the *Gazette* uses it, *absquatalized* is the true reading.”

Certainly a word worth quarrelling about!

“Are you cold, miss?” said I to a young lady, who pulled the shawl closer over her shoulders.

“*Some*,” was the reply.

The English *what?* implying that you did not hear what was said to you, is changed in America to the word *how?*

“I reckon,” “I calculate,” “I guess,” are all used as the common English phrase, “I suppose.” Each term is said to be peculiar to different states, but I found them used every where, one as often as the other. *I opine*, is not so common.

A specimen of Yankee dialect and conversation:—

“Well now, I’ll tell you—you know Marble Head?”

“Guess I do.”

“Well, then, you know Sally Hackett.”

“No, indeed.”

“Not know Sally Hackett? Why she lives at Marble Head.”

* Life and Remains of Charles Pond.

"Guess I don't."

"You don't mean to say that?"

"Yes, indeed."

"And you really don't know Sally Hackett?"

"No, indeed."

"I guess you've heard talk of her?"

"No, indeed."

"Well, that's considerable odd. Now, I'll tell you—Ephrim Bagg, he that has the farm three miles from Marble Head—just as—but now, are you sure you don't know Sally Hackett?"

"No, indeed."

"Well, he's a pretty substantial man, and no mistake. He has got a heart as big as an ox, and every thing else in proportion, I've a notion. He loves Sal, the worst kind; and if she gets up there, she'll think she has got to Palestine (Paradise;) arn't she a screamer? I were thinking of Sal mysel, for I feel lonesome, and when I am thrown into my store promiscuous alone, I can tell you I have the blues, the worst kind, no mistake—I can tell you that. I always feel a kind o' queer when I sees Sal, but when I meet any of the other gals I am as calm and cool as the milky way," &c. &c.

The verb "to fix" is universal. It means to do any thing.

"Shall I *fix* your coat or your breakfast first?"
That is—"Shall I brush your coat, or *get ready* your breakfast first?"

Right away, for immediately or at once, is very general.

"Shall I fix it right away—*i. e.* "Shall I do it immediately?"

In the West, when you stop at an inn, they say—

"What will you have? Brown meal and common doings, or white wheat and chicken *fixings*;"—that is, "Will you have pork and brown bread, or white bread and fried chicken?"

Also, "Will you have a *feed* or a *check*?"—A dinner, or a luncheon?

In *full blast*—something in the extreme.

“When she came to meeting, with her yellow hat and feathers, was'n't she in *full blast*?”

But for more specimens of genuine Yankee, I must refer the reader to Sam Slick and Major Downing, and shall now proceed to some farther peculiarities.

There are two syllables—*um*, *hu*—which are very generally used by the Americans as a sort of reply, intimating that they are attentive, and that the party may proceed with his narrative; but, by inflection and intonation, these two syllables are made to express dissent or assent, surprise, disdain, and (like Lord Burleigh's nod in the play) a great deal more. The reason why these two syllables have been selected is, that they can be pronounced without the trouble of opening your mouth, and you may be in a state of listlessness and repose whilst others talk. I myself found them very convenient at times, and gradually got into the habit of using them.

The Americans are very local in their phrases, and borrow their similes very much from the nature of their occupations and pursuits. If you ask a Virginian or Kentuckian where he was born, he will invariably tell you that he was *raised* in such a county—the term applied to horses, and, in breeding States, to men also.

When a man is tipsy (spirits being made from grain,) they generally say he is *corned*.

In the West, where steam-navigation is so abundant, when they ask you to drink they say, “Stranger, will you take in wood?”—the vessels taking in wood as fuel to keep the steam up, and the person taking in spirits to keep *his* steam up.

The roads in the country being cut through woods, and the stumps of the trees left standing, the carriages are often brought up by them. Hence the expression of, “Well, I am *stumped* this time.”

I heard a young man, a farmer in Vermont, say, when talking about another having gained the heart of a pretty girl, “Well, how he contrived to *fork* into her

young affections, I can't tell; but I've a mind to *put my whole team on*, and see if I can't run him off the road."

The old phrase of "straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel," in the Eastern States, rendered "straining at a *gate*, and swallowing a *saw-mill*."

To *strike* means to attack. "The Indians have struck on the frontier;"—"A rattle-snake *struck* at me."

To make tracks—to walk away. "Well, now, I shall make tracks:"—from foot-tracks in the snow.

Clear out, quit, and put—all mean "be off." "Captain, now, you *hush* or *put*"—that is, "Either hold your tongue, or be off." Also, "Will you shut, mister?"—*i. e.* will you shut your mouth? *i. e.* hold your tongue!

"Curl up"—to be angry—from the panther and other animals when angry raising their hair. "Rise my dander up," from the human hair; and a nasty idea. "Wrathy" is another common expression. Also, "Savage as a meat-axe."

Here are two real American words;—

"Sloping"—for slinking away;

"Splunging," like a porpoise.

The word "enthusiasm," in the south, is changed to "entuzzy-muzzy."

In the Western States, where the raccoon is plentiful, they use the abbreviation '*coon*' when speaking of people. When at New York, I went into a hair-dresser's shop to have my hair cut; there were two young men from the west—one under the barber's hands, the other standing by him.

"I say," said the one who was having his hair cut, "I hear Captain M—— is in this country."

"Yes," replied the other, "so they say; I should like to see the '*coon*.'"

"I'm a *gone 'coon*" implies "I am distressed—or ruined—or lost." I once asked the origin of this expression, and was very gravely told as follows:—

"There is a Captain Martin Scott* in the United States army who is a remarkable shot with a rifle. He was raised, I believe, in Vermont. His fame was so considerable through the State, that even the animals were aware of it. He went out one morning with his rifle, and spying a raccoon upon the upper branches of a high tree, brought his gun up to his shoulder; when the raccoon, perceiving it, raised his paw up for a parley. "I beg your pardon, mister," said the raccoon, very politely; "but may I ask you if your name is *Scott*?"—"Yes," replied the captain.—"*Martin Scott*?" continued the raccoon.—"Yes," replied the captain.—"*Captain Martin Scott*?" still continued the animal.—"Yes," replied the captain, "*Captain Martin Scott*?"—"Oh! then," says the animal, "I may just as well come down, for I'm a *gone 'coon*." "

But one of the strangest perversions of the meaning of a word which I ever heard of is in Kentucky, where sometimes the word *nasty* is used for *nice*. For instance; at a rustic dance in that State, a Kentuckian said to an acquaintance of mine, in reply to his asking the name of a very fine girl, "That's my sister, stranger; and I flatter myself that she shews the *nastiest* ankle in all Kentuck."—*Unde derivatur*, from the constant rifle-practice in that State, a good shot, or a pretty shot, is termed also a *nasty* shot, because it would make a *nasty* wound: *ergo*, a nice or pretty ankle becomes a *nasty* one.

The term for all baggage, especially in the south or west, is "plunder." This has been derived from the buccaneers, who for so long a time infested the bayoues and creeks near the mouth of the Mississippi, and whose luggage was probably very correctly so designated.

I must not omit a specimen of American criticism.

"Well, Abel, whot d'ye think of our native genus. Mister Forrest!"

* Already mentioned in the Diary.

"Well, I don't go much to theatricals, that's a fact; but I do think *he piled the agony up a little too high* in that last scene."

The gamblers on the Mississippi use a very refined phrase for "cheating"—"playing the advantages over him."

But, as may be supposed, the principal terms used are those which are borrowed from trade and commerce.

The rest, or remainder, is usually termed the balance.

"Put some of those apples into a dish, and the *balance* into the store-room."

When a person has made a mistake, or is out in his calculation, they say, "You missed a figure that time."

In a skirmish last war, the fire from the British was very severe, and the men in the American ranks were falling fast, when one of the soldiers stepped up to the commanding officer and said, "Colonel, don't you think that we might compromise this affair?" "Well, I reckon I should have no objection to *submit it to arbitration* myself," replied the colonel.

Even the thieves must be commercial in their ideas. One rogue meeting another, asked him what he had done that morning; "Not much," was the reply, "I've only *realized* this umbrella."

This reminds me of a conversation between a man and his wife, which was overheard by the party who repeated it to me. It appears that the lady was economically inclined, and in cutting out some shirts for her husband, resolved that they should not descend much lower than his hips, as thereby so much linen would be saved. The husband expostulated, but in vain. She pointed out to him that it would improve his figure, and make his nether garments set much better; in a word, that long shirt-tails were quite unnecessary; and she wound up her arguments by observing that linen was a very expensive article, and that she could not see what on earth was the reason

that people should stuff so much *capital* into their pantaloons.

There is sometimes in the American metaphors an energy which is very remarkable.

"Well, I reckon, that from his teeth to his toe-nail, there's not a human of a more conquering nature than General Jackson."

One *gentleman* said to me, "I wish I had all hell boiled down to a point, just to pour down your throat."

It is a great pity that the Americans have not adhered more to the Indian names, which are euphonous, and very often musical; but, so far from it, they appear to have had a pleasure in dismissing them altogether. There is a river running into Lake Champlain, near Burlington, formerly called by the Indians the Winooksi, but this name has been superseded by the settlers, who, by way of improvement, have designated it the Onion River. The Americans have ransacked scripture, and ancient and modern history, to supply themselves with names, yet, notwithstanding, there appears to be a strange lack of taste in their selection. On the route to Lake Ontario you pass towns with such names as Manlius, Sempronius, Titus, Cato, and then you come to *Butternuts*. Looking over the catalogue of cities, towns, villages, rivers, and creeks in the different States in the Union, I find the following repetitions:

Of towns, &c. named after distinguished individuals there are,—

Washingtons	43	Carrolls	16
Jacksons	41	Adamses	18
Jeffersons	32	Bolivars	8
Franklins	41	Clintons	19
Madisons	26	Waynes	14
Monroes	25	Casses	6
Perrys	22	Clays	4
Fayettes	14	Fultons	17
Hamiltons	13		

Of other towns, &c. there are,—

Columbias	27	Libertys	14
Centre Villes	14	Salems	24
Fairfields	17	Onions	28
Athenses	10	Muds	8
Romes	4	Little Muds	1
Crookeds	22	Muddies	11
Littles	20	Sandys	39
Longs	18		

In colours they have,—

Clears	13	Greens	16
Blacks	33	Whites	15
Blues	8	Yellows	10
Vermilions	14		

Named after trees,—

Cedars	25	Laurels	14
Cypresses	12	Pines	18

After animals,—

Beavers	23	Foxes	12
Buffaloes	21	Otters	13
Bulls	9	Raccoons	11
Deers	13	Wolves	16
Dogs	9	Bears	12
Elks	11	Bear's Rump	1

After birds, &c.

Gooses	10	Fishes	7
Ducks	8	Turkeys	12
Eagles	8	Swans	15
Pigeons	10	Pikes	20

The consequence of these repetitions is, that if you do not put the name of the State, and often of the county in the State in which the town you refer to may be, your letter may journey all over the Union, and perhaps, after all, never arrive at its place of destination.

The States have already accommodated each other with nicknames, as per example:—

Illinois people are termed . . .	Suckers.
Missouri	Pukes.
Michigan	Wolverines.
Indiana	Hoosiers.
Kentucky	Corn Crackers.
Ohio	Buckeyes, &c.

The names of persons are also very strange; and some of these are, at all events, obsolete in England, even if they ever existed there. Many of them are said to be French or Dutch names Americanized. But they appear still more odd to us from the high-sounding Christian names prefixed to them; as, for instance: Philo Doolittle, Populorum Hightower, Preserved Fish, Asa Peabody, Alonzo Lilly, Alceus Wolf, &c. I was told by a gentleman that Doolittle was originally from the French *De l'Hotel*; Peabody from *Pibaudiere*; Bunker from *Bon Cœur*; that Mr. Ezekiel Bumpus is a descendant of *Mons. Bon Pas*, &c., all which is very possible.

Every one who is acquainted with Washington Irving must know that, being very sensitive himself, he is one of the last men in the world to do any thing to annoy another. In his selection of names for his writings, he was cautious in avoiding such as might be known; so that when he called his old schoolmaster Ichabod Crane, he thought himself safe from the risk of giving offence. Shortly afterwards a friend of his called upon him, accompanied by a stranger, whom he introduced as Major Crane; Irving started at the name; "Major Ichabod Crane," continued his friend, much to the horror of Washington Irving.

I was told that a merchant went down to New Orleans with one Christian name, and came back, after a

lapse of years with another. His name was John Flint. The French at New Orleans translated his surname, and called him Pierre Fusee: on his return the Pierre stuck to him, was rendered into English as Peter, and he was called Peter Flint ever afterwards.

People may change their names in the United States by application to Congress. They have a story hardly worth relating, although considered a good one in America, having been told me by a member of Congress. A Mr. Whitepimple, having risen in the world, was persuaded by his wife to change his name, and applied for permission accordingly. The clerk of the office inquired of him what other name he would have, and he being very indifferent about it himself, replied carelessly, as he walked away, "Oh, any thing;" whereupon the clerk enrolled him as Mr. *Thing*. Time passed on, and he had a numerous family, who found the new name not much more agreeable than the old one, for there was Miss Sally Thing, Miss Dolly Thing, the old Things, and all the little Things; and worst of all, the eldest son being christened Robert, went by the name of Thingum Bob.

There were, and I believe still are, two lawyers in partnership in New York, with the peculiar happy names of Catchem and Chetum. People laughed at seeing these two names in juxtaposition over the door; so the lawyers thought it advisable to separate them by the insertion of their Christian names. Mr. Catchem's Christian name was Isaac, Mr. Chetum's, Uriah. A new board was ordered, but when sent to the painter, it was found to be too short to admit the Christian names at full length. The painter, therefore, put in only the initials before the surnames, which made the matter still worse than before, for there now appeared—

"I. Catchem and U. Chetum."

I cannot conclude this chapter without adverting to one or two points peculiar to the Americans. They wish, in every thing, to improve upon the Old Country, as they call us, and affect to be excessively refined in

their language and ideas: but they forget that very often in the covering, and the covering only, consists the indecency, and that, to use the old aphorism,—“Very nice people, are people with very nasty ideas.”

They object to every thing nude in statuary. When I was at the house of Governor Everett at Boston, I observed a fine cast of the Apollo Belvidere, but, in compliance with general opinion, it was hung with drapery, although Governor Everett himself is a gentleman of refined mind and high classical attainments, and quite above such ridiculous sensitiveness. In language it is the same thing: there are certain words which are never used in America, but an absurd substitute is employed. I cannot particularize them after this preface, lest I should be accused of indelicacy myself. I may, however, state one little circumstance, which will prove the correctness of what I say.

When at Niagara Falls, I was escorting a young lady with whom I was on friendly terms. She had been standing on a piece of rock, the better to view the scene, when she slipped down, and was evidently hurt by the fall; she had in fact grazed her shin. As she limped a little in walking home, I said, “Did you hurt your leg much.” She turned from me evidently much shocked, or much offended; and not being aware that I had committed any very heinous offence, I begged to know what was the reason of her displeasure. After some hesitation, she said that as she knew me well, she would tell me that the word *leg* was never mentioned before ladies. I apologized for my want of refinement, which was attributable to my having been accustomed only to *English* society, and added, that as such articles must occasionally be referred to, even in the most polite circles of America, perhaps she would inform me by what name I might mention them without shocking the company. Her reply was, that the word *limb* was used; “nay,” continued she, “I am not so particular as some people are, for I know those who always say limb of a table, or limb of a piano-forte.”

There the conversation dropped; but a few months

afterwards I was obliged to acknowledge that the young lady was correct when she asserted that some people were more particular than even she was.

I was requested by a lady to escort her to a seminary for young ladies, and on being ushered into the reception-room, conceive my astonishment at beholding a square piano-forte with four *limbs*. However, that the ladies who visited their daughters, might feel in its full force the extreme delicacy* of the mistress of the establishment, and her care to preserve in their utmost purity the ideas of the young ladies under her charge, she had dressed all these four limbs in modest little trousers, with frills at the bottom of them!

 CREDIT.

In the State of New York they have abolished imprisonment for debt; this abolition, however, only holds good between the citizens of that State, as no one State in the Union can interfere with the rights of another. A stranger, therefore, can imprison a New Yorker, and a New Yorker can imprison a stranger, but the citizens of New York cannot incarcerate one another. Now, although the unprincipled may, and do occasionally, take advantage of this enactment, yet

* "An English lady, who had long kept a fashionable boarding-school in one of the Atlantic cities, told me that one of her earliest cares with every new comer, was to endeavour to substitute real delicacy for that affected precision of manner: among many anecdotes, she told me of a young lady about fourteen, who, on entering the receiving-room, where she only expected to see a lady who had inquired for her, and finding a young man with her, put her hands before her eyes and ran out of the room again, screaming—'A man, a man, a man!' On another occasion, one of the young ladies in going up stairs to the drawing-room, unfortunately met a boy of fourteen coming down, and her feelings were so violently agitated, that she stopped, panting and sobbing, nor would pass on till the boy had swung himself up on the upper bannisters, to leave the passage free."—*Mrs. Trollope's Domestic Manners of the Americans.*

the effects of it are generally good, as character becomes more valuable. Without character, there will be no credit; and without credit, no commercial man can rise in this city. I was once in a store where the widow who kept it complained to me, that a person who owed her a considerable sum would not pay her; and, aware that she had no redress, I asked her how she would obtain her money. Her reply was:—"Oh, I shall eventually get my money, for I will *shame* him out of it by exposure."

The Americans, probably from being such great speculators, and aware of the uncertainty attending their commerce, are very lenient towards debtors. If a man proves that he cannot pay, he is seldom interfered with, but allowed to recommence business. This is not only Christian-like, but wise. A man thrown into prison is not likely to find the means of paying his debts; but if allowed his liberty and the means of earning a subsistence, he may eventually be more fortunate, and the creditors have a chance of being ultimately paid. This, to my knowledge, has often been the case after the release had been signed, and the creditors had no farther legal claim upon the bankrupt. England has not yet made up her mind to the abolition of imprisonment for debt, but from what I have learnt in this city, I have no hesitation in saying, that it would work well for the morals of the community, and that more debts would eventually be paid, than are paid under the present system. Another circumstance which requires to be pointed out when we would examine into the character of the New York commercial community, is, the difference between their bankrupt-laws and those of England. Here there is no law to compel a bankrupt to produce his books; every man may be his own assignee, and has the power of giving preference to one creditor over another; that is to say, he may repay those who have lent him money in the hope of preventing his becoming a bankrupt, and all other debts of a like description. He may also turn over his affairs to an assignee of his own selection, who then pays the debts

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as he pleases. A bankrupt is also permitted to collect his own debts.

The English bankrupt-laws were introduced, but after one year's trial they were discontinued, as it was found that they were attended with so much difficulty, and, what is of more importance to the Americans, with so much loss of time. Again, in America, if a person wishes to become a special partner (a sleeping partner) in any concern, he may do so to any extent he pleases, upon advertising the same, and is responsible for no more than the sum he invests, although the house should fail for ten times the amount.

Here is an advertisement of special partnership.

"Co-partnership. Notice is hereby given, that a limited partnership hath been entered into by Lambert Morange, D. N. Morange, and Samah Solomon, of the city of New York, merchants, in pursuance of the provisions of the Revised Statutes of the State of New York. The general nature of the business of said co-partnership is the manufacturing and selling of fur and silk hats. The said Lambert Morange is the special partner, and as such, hath contributed the sum of ten thousand dollars in cash to the common stock: the said D. N. Morange and Samah Solomon are the general partners; and the said business is to be conducted under the name and firm of D. N. Morange and Solomon; said co-partnership is to commence on the 14th day of March, 1837, and to expire on the 14th March, 1840.

"March 14th,
1837.

L. MORANGE.
D. N. MORANGE.
SAMAH SOLOMON."

That this loose statement of the bankrupt-law may be, and has been the cause of much dishonesty, is true, but at the same time it is the cause of the flourishing state of the community. The bee can always work; indeed the bankrupt-laws themselves provide for a man's not starving. In the city the bankrupt's household furniture is sacred, that his family may not be

beggars; and in case of the bankruptey of a farmer, he is permitted not only to retain the furniture of his cottage, but even his plough, with a proportion of his team, his kine and sheep, are reserved for him, that he may still be able to support his family. Surely this is much preferable to the English system, under which the furniture is dragged away, the hearth made desolate, and the children left to starve because their father has been unfortunate. Is it not better that a little villany should escape punishment, than that such cruelty should be in daily practice? I say a little villany, for if a man becomes bankrupt in New York, it is pretty well known whether he has dealt fairly with his creditors, or has made a fraudulent bankruptey: and if so, his character is gone, and with it his credit, and without credit he never can rise again in that city, but must remove to some other place.

In England, character will procure to a bankrupt a certificate, but in New York it will leave him the means of re-commencing business. In England, it is a disgrace to be a bankrupt; in America, it is only a misfortune; but this distinction arises from the boldness of the speculations carried on by the Americans in their commercial transactions, and owing to which the highest and most influential, as well as the smaller capitalists, are constantly in a state of jeopardy. I do not believe that there is any where a class of merchants more honourable than those of New York. The notorious Colonel Chartres said that he would give £20,000 for a character, because he would have made £100,000 by it. I shall not here enter into the question, whether it is by a similar conviction, or by moral rectitude of feeling, that the merchants of New York are actuated; it is sufficient that it is their interest to be honest, and that they are so. I state the case in this way, because I do not intend to admit that the honesty of the merchants is any proof of the morality of a nation; and I think I am borne out in my opinion by their conduct in the late state of difficulty, and the strenuous exertions made by them to pay to the utter-

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most farthing, sacrificing at times twenty per cent. in order to be enabled to remit money to their London and Liverpool correspondents, and fulfil their engagements with them.

That there is a great deal of roguery going on in this city is undeniable, much more, perhaps, than (taking into consideration the difference between the populations) in the good city of London. But it should be borne in mind that New York has become, as it were, the Alsatia of the whole continent of Europe. Every scoundrel who has swindled, forged, or robbed in England, or elsewhere, makes his escape to New York. Every pickpocket, who is too well known to the English police, takes refuge here. In this city they all concentrate; and it is a hard thing for the New York merchants, that the stream of society which otherwise might gradually become more pure, should be thus poisoned by the continual inpourings of the Continental dregs, and that they should be made to share in the obloquy of those who are outcasts from the society of the Old World.

America exists at present upon credit. If the credit of her merchants were destroyed she would be checked in her rapid advance. But this system of credit, which is necessarily reciprocal, is nevertheless acted upon with all possible caution. Many are the plans which the large New York importers have been compelled to resort to, to ascertain whether their customers from the interior could be trusted or not. Agents have been despatched to learn the characters, standing, and means of the country dealers who are their correspondents, and who purchase their goods; for the whole of the transactions are upon credit, and a book of reference as to people's responsibility is to be found in many of the mercantile houses of New York.

Willing as I am to do justice to the New York merchants, I cannot, however, permit Mr. Carey's remarks upon credit to pass unnoticed. Had he said nothing, I should have said no more; but, as he asserts that the security of property and credit in America is greater

than in England, I must, in defence of my country, make a few observations.

At the commencement of his article Mr. Carey says,—

“In England confidence is *almost* universal. The banker credits the manufacturer and the farmer. They are willing to give credit to the merchant, because they have confidence that he will pay them. He gives credit to the shop-keeper, who, in his turn, gives credit to the labourer.

“Immense masses of property change owners without examination; confidence thus producing a great saving of labour. Orders to a vast extent are given, with a certainty that they will be executed with perfect good faith; and this system is continued year after year, proving that the confidence was deserved.”

Now, after this admission what more can be required? Confidence proves security of property, and should any change take place so as to render the security doubtful, confidence would immediately cease. It is, therefore, rather bold of Mr. Carey, after such an admission, to attempt to prove that the security of property is greater in America than in England; yet, nevertheless, such is his assertion.

Mr. Carey bases his calculation, first, upon the losses sustained by the banks of England, in comparison with those sustained by the banks of Massachusetts. Here, as in almost every other argument, Mr. Carey selects one small State—a State, *par excellence*, superior to all the others of the Union; a pattern State, in fact,—as representing *all* America against *all* England. He admits that, as you go South and West, the complexion of things is altered; but notwithstanding this admission, he still argues upon this one State only, and consequently upon false premises. But, allowing that he proved that the losses of all the banks in America were less than the losses of all the banks in England, he would still prove nothing, or if he did prove any thing, it would be against himself. Why are the losses of American banks less? Simply because they trust less. There is not that confi-

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dence in America that there is in England, and the want of confidence proves the want of security of property.

The next comparison which Mr. Carey makes is between the failures of the banks of the two countries; and in this argument he takes most of the States in the Union into his calculation, and he winds up by observing (in italics) that—"From the first institution of banks in America to the year 1837, the failures have been less by about one-fourth, than those of England in the three years of 1814, 15, and 16; and the amount of loss sustained by the public bears, probably, a still smaller proportion to the amount of business transactions."

Now, all this proves nothing, except that the banks of America are more careful in discounting than our own, and that by running less risk they lose less money. But from it Mr. Carey draws this strange conclusion:—

"Individuals in Great Britain enjoy as high a degree of *credit* as can possibly exist, but *confidence* is more universal in the United States."

Credit is the result of *confidence*; and if, as appears to be the case, the American confidence in each other will not procure credit, it is a very useless compliment passed between them. It is simply this—"I am certain that you are a very honest man, but notwithstanding I will not lend you a shilling." Indeed Mr. Carey contradicts himself, for, two pages farther on, he says:—"The existence of the credit system is evidence of mutual confidence."

I should like Mr. Carey to answer one question:—

What would have been the amount of the failures of the banks of America in 1837, if they had not suspended cash payments? It is very easy to carry on the banking business when, in defiance of their charters, the banks will give you nothing but their paper, and refuse you specie. Banks which will not pay bullion for their own notes are not very likely to fail, except in their covenant with the public. But it is of little use for Mr. Carey to assert on the one hand, or for me to deny on the other. Every nation makes its own character with the rest of the

world, and it is by other nations that the question between us must be decided. The question is then, "Is the credit of America better than that of England, in the intercourse of the two countries with each other, and with foreign nations?" Let the commercial world decide.

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PENITENTIARIES, &c.

ALTHOUGH, during my residence in the cities of the United States, I visited most of the public institutions, I have not referred to them at the time in my Diary, as they have been so often described by preceding travellers. I shall now, however, make a few remarks upon the penitentiary system.

I think it was Wilkes who said, that the very worst use to which you could put a man was to hang him ; and such appears to be the opinion in America. That hanging does not prevent crime, where people are driven into it by misery and want, I believe ; but it does prevent crime where people commit it merely from an unrestrained indulgence of their passions. This has been satisfactorily proved in the United States. At one time the murders in the city of New Orleans were just as frequent as in all the States contiguous to the Mississippi ; but the population of the city determined to put an end to such scenes of outrage. The population of New Orleans is very different from that of the Southern States in general, being composed of Americans from the Eastern States, English merchants, and French creoles. Vigorous laws and an efficient police was established ; and one of the southern planters, of good family and connexions, having committed a murder, was tried and condemned. To avoid the gallows, he committed suicide in prison. This system having been rigorously followed up, New Orleans has become perhaps the *safest* city in the Union ; and now not even a brawl is heard in those streets where, a few years back, murders occurred every hour of the day.

In another chapter I shall enter more fully into this question ; at present I shall only say that there is a great

unwillingness to take away life in America, and it is this aversion to capital punishment which has directed the attention of the American community to the penitentiary system. Several varieties of this species of punishment have been resorted to, more or less severe. The most rigid—that of solitary confinement in dark cells, and without labour—was found too great an infliction, as, in many cases, it unsettled the reason, and ended in confirmed lunacy. Confinement, with the boon of light, but without employment, was productive of no good effect; the culprit sank into a state of apathy and indifference. After a certain time, day and night passed away unheeded, from the want of a healthy tone to the mind. The prisoners were no longer lunatics, but they were little better than brute animals.

Neither do I consider the present system, as practised at the Sing Sing, the state prison of New York, as tending to *reform* the offenders: it punishes them severely, but that is all. Where corporal punishment is resorted to, there always will be feelings of vindictiveness; and all the bad passions must be allowed to repose before the better can gain the ascendant.

The best system is that acted upon in the Penitentiary at Philadelphia, where there is solitary confinement, but with labour and exercise. Mr. Samuel Wood, who superintends this establishment, is a person admirably calculated for his task, and I do not think that any arrangements could be better, or the establishment in more excellent hands. But my object was, not so much to view the prison and witness the economy of it, as to examine the prisoners themselves, and hear what their opinions were. The surgeon may explain the operation, but the patient who has undergone it is the proper person to apply to, if you wish to know the degree and nature of the pain inflicted. I requested, therefore, and obtained permission, to visit a portion of the prisoners without a third party being present to prevent their being communicative; selecting some who had been in but a short time, others who had been there for years, and referring also to the books, as to the nature and degree of their offence. I ought to

state that I re-examined almost the whole of the parties about six months afterwards, and the results of the two examinations are now given. I did not take their names, but registered them in my notes as No. 1, 2, 3, &c.

No. 1—a man who had been sentenced to twelve years imprisonment for the murder of his wife. He had been bred up as a butcher. (I have observed that when the use of the knife is habitual, the flinching which men naturally feel at the idea of driving it into a fellow-creature, is overcome; and a man who is accustomed to dissect the still palpitating carcasses of animals, has very little compunction in resorting to the knife in the event of collision with his own race.) This fellow looked a butcher; his face and head were all animal; he was by no means intelligent. He was working at a loom, and had already been confined for seven years and a half. He said that, after the first six months of his confinement, he had lost all reckoning of time, and had not cared to think about it until lately, when he enquired, and was told how long he had been locked up. Now that he had discovered that more than half his time had passed away, it occupied his whole thoughts, and sometimes he felt very impatient.

Mr. Wood told me afterwards that this feeling, when the expiration of the sentence was very near at hand, sometimes amounted to agony.

This man had denied the murder of his wife, and still persisted in the denial, although there was no doubt of his having committed the crime. Of course, in this instance there was no repentance; and the Penitentiary was thrown away upon him, further than that, for twelve years, he could not contaminate society.

No. 2.—sentenced to four years' imprisonment for forgery; his time was nearly expired. This was a very intelligent man; by profession he had been a schoolmaster. He had been in prison before for the same offence.

His opinion as to the Penitentiary was, that it could do no harm, and might do much good. The fault of the system was one which could not well be remedied, which was, that there was degradation attached to it. Could

punishment undergone for crime be viewed in the same way as repentance was by the Almighty, and a man, after suffering for his fault, re-appear in the world with clean hands, and be admitted into society as before, it would be attended with the very best effects; but there was no working out the degradation. When he was released from his former imprisonment, he had been obliged to fly from the place where he was known. He was pursued by the harshness of the world, not only in himself, but in his children. No one would allow that his punishment had wiped away his crime, and this was the reason why people, inclined to be honest, were driven again into guilt. Not only would the world not encourage them, but it would not permit them to become honest; the finger of scorn was pointed wherever they were known, or found out, and the punishment after release was infinitely greater than that of the prison itself.

Miss Martineau observes, "I was favoured with the confidence of a great number of the prisoners in the Philadelphia Penitentiary, where absolute seclusion is the principle of punishment. Every one of these prisoners (none of them being aware of the existence of any other) told me that he was under obligations to those who had charge of him for treating him 'with respect.'"

No. 3—a very intelligent, but not educated man: imprisoned three years for stealing. He had only been a few months in the Penitentiary, but had been confined for ten years in Sing Sing prison for picking pockets. I asked him his opinion as to the difference of treatment in the two establishments. He replied, "In Sing Sing the punishment is corporal—here it is more mental. In Sing Sing there was little chance of a person's reformation, as the treatment was harsh and brutal, and the feelings of the prisoners were those of indignation and resentment. Their whole time was occupied in trying how they could deceive their keepers, and communicate with each other by every variety of stratagem. Here a man was left to his own reflections, and at the same time he was treated like a *man*. Here he was his own tormentor;

at Sing Sing he was tormented by others. A man was sent to Sing Sing for doing wrong to others; when there, he was quite as much wronged himself. Two wrongs never made a right. Again, at Sing Sing they all worked in company, and knew each other; when they met again, after they were discharged, they enticed one another to do wrong again. He was convinced that no man left Sing Sing a better man than he went in. Here he felt very often that he could become better—perhaps he might. At all events his mind was calm, and he had no feelings of resentment for his treatment. He had now leisure and quiet for self examination, if he chose to avail himself of it. At Sing Sing there was great injustice, and no redress. The infirm man was put to equal labour with the robust, and punished if he did not perform as much. The flogging was very severe at Sing Sing. He once ventured to express his opinion that such was the case, and (to prove the contrary he supposed) they awarded him eighty-seven lashes for the information.

That many of this man's observations, in the parallel drawn between the two establishments, are correct, must be conceded; but still some of his assertions must be taken with due reservation, as it is evident that he had no very pleasant reminiscences of his ten years' geological studies in Sing Sing.

No. 4—an Irishman; very acute. He had been imprisoned seven years for burglary, and his time would expire in a month. Had been confined also in Walnut Street prison, Philadelphia, for two years previous to his coming here. He said that it was almost impossible for any man to reform in that prison, although some few did. He had served many years in the United States navy. He declared that his propensity to theft was only strong upon him when under the influence of liquor, or tobacco, which latter had the same effect upon him as spirits. He thought that he was reformed now; the reason why he thought so was, that he now liked work, and had learnt a profession in the prison, which he never had before. He considered himself a good workman, as he could

make a pair of shoes in a day. He cannot now bear the smell of liquor or tobacco. (This observation must have been from imagination, as he had no opportunity in the Penitentiary of testing his dislike.) He ascribed all his crimes to ardent spirits. He was fearful of only one thing: his time was just out, and where was he to go? If known to have been in the prison, he would never find work. He knew a fact which had occurred, which would prove that he had just grounds for his fear. A tailor, who had been confined in Walnut Street prison with him, had been released as soon as his time was up. He was an excellent workman, and resolved for the future to be honest. He obtained employment from a master tailor in Philadelphia, and in three months was made foreman. One of the inspectors of Walnut Street prison came in for clothes, and his friend was called down to take the measures. The inspector recognized him, and as soon as he left the shop told his master that he had been in the Walnut Street prison. The man was in consequence immediately discharged. He could obtain no more work, and in a few months afterwards found his way back again to Walnut Street prison for a fresh offence.

No. 5—a fine intelligent Yankee, very bold in bearing. He was in the Penitentiary under a false name, being well connected; had been brought up as an architect and surveyor, and was imprisoned for having counterfeit bank notes in his possession. This fellow was a regular lawyer, and very amusing; it appeared as if nothing could subdue his elasticity of spirit. He said that he did not think that he should be better for his incarceration; on the contrary, that it would produce very bad effects. "I am punished," said he, "not for having passed counterfeit notes, but for having them in my possession. The facts are, I had lost all my money by gambling; and then the gamblers, to make me amends, gave me some of their counterfeit notes, which they always have by them. I do not say that I should not have uttered them; I believe that in my distress I should have done so; but I had not exactly made up my mind.

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At all events, *I had not* passed them when, from information given, I was taken up. This is certain, that not having passed them, it is very possible for a man to have forged notes in his possession without being aware of it; but this was not considered by my judges, although it ought to have been, as I had never been brought up before; and I have now been sentenced to exactly the same term of imprisonment as those who were convicted of passing them. Now, this I consider as unfair; my punishment is too severe for my offence, and that always does harm—it creates a vindictive feeling, and a desire to revenge yourself for the injustice done to you.

“Now, sir,” continued he, “I should have no objection to compromise; if they would reduce my punishment one half, I would acknowledge the justice of it, and turn honest when I go out again; but if I am confined here for three years, why it is my opinion that I shall revenge myself upon society as soon as I am turned loose again.” This was said in a very cheerful, playful manner, as he stood up before his loom. A more energetic expression, a keener grey eye, I never met with. There was evidently great daring of soul in this man.

No. 6—had only been confined six weeks; his offence was stealing pigs, and his companion in the crime had been sent here with him. He declared that he was innocent, and that he had been committed by false swearing. There is no country in the world where there is so much perjury as in the United States, if I am to believe the Americans themselves; but Mr. Wood told me that he was present at the trial, and that there was no doubt of their guilt. This man was cheerful and contented; he was working at the loom, and had already become skilful. All whom I had seen up to the present had employment of some sort or other, and I should have passed over this man, as I had done some others, if it had not been for the contrast between him and his companion.

No. 7—this companion or accomplice. In consequence of the little demand for the Penitentiary manufactures this man had no employment. The first thing he told me was that he had nothing to do, and was very miserable.

He earnestly requested me to ask for employment for him. He cried bitterly while he spoke, was quite unmannered and depressed, and complained that he had not been permitted to hear from his wife and children. The want of employment appeared to have completely prostrated this man; although confined but six weeks, he had already lost the time, and enquired of me the day of the week and the month.

No. 8—was at large. He had been appointed apothecary to the prison; of course he was not strictly confined, and was in a comfortable room. He was a shrewd man, and evidently well educated; he had been reduced to beggary by his excesses, and being too proud to work, he had not been too proud to commit forgery. I had a long conversation with him, and he made some sensible remarks upon the treatment of prisoners, and the importance of delegating the charge of prisoners to competent persons. His remarks also upon American juries were very severe, and, as I subsequently ascertained, but too true.

No. 9—a young woman, about nineteen; confined for larceny; in other respects a good character. She was very quiet and subdued, and said that she infinitely preferred the solitude of the Penitentiary to the company with which she must have associated had she been confined in a common gaol. She did not appear at all anxious for the expiration of her term. Her cell was very neat, and ornamented with her own hands in a variety of ways. I observed that she had a lock of hair on her forehead which, from the care taken of it, appeared to be a favourite, and as I left the cell, I said—“You appear to have taken great pains with that lock of hair, considering that you have no one to look at you?”—“Yes, sir,” replied she; “and if you think that vanity will desert a woman, even in the solitude of a Penitentiary, you are mistaken.”

When I visited this girl a second time, her term was nearly expired; she told me that she had not the least wish to leave her cell, and that if they confined her for two years more, she was content to stay. “I am quite peaceful and happy here,” said she, and I believe she really spoke the truth.

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No. 10—a free mulatto girl, about eighteen years of age, one of the most forbidding of her race, and with a physiognomy perfectly brutal; but she evidently had no mean opinion of her own charms: her woolly hair was twisted into at least fifty short plaits, and she grinned from ear to ear as she advanced to meet me. “Pray may I inquire what you are imprisoned for?” said I.—“Why, replied she, smirking, smiling and coquetting, as she tossed her head right and left—“If you please, sir, I was put in here for poisoning a *whole family*.” She really appeared to think that she had done a very praiseworthy act. I inquired of her if she was aware of the heinousness of her offence. “Yes, she knew it was wrong, but if her mistress beat her again as she had done, she thought she would do it again. She had been in prison three years, and had four more to remain.” I asked her if the fear of punishment—if another incarceration for seven years would not prevent her from committing such a crime a second time. “She didn’t know; she didn’t like being shut up—found it very tedious, but still she thought—was not right sure—but she thought that, if ill-treated, she should certainly do it again.”

I paid a second visit to this amiable young lady, and asked her what her opinion was then.—“Why, she had been thinking, but had not exactly made up her mind—but she still thought—indeed she was convinced—that she *should do it again*.”

I entered many other cells, and had conversation with the prisoners; but I did not elicit from them any thing worth narrating. There is, however, a great deal to be gained from the conversation which I have recorded. It must be remembered that observations made by one prisoner, which struck me as important, if not made by others, were put as questions by me; and I found that the opinions of the most intelligent, although differently expressed, led to the same result—that the present system of the Philadelphia Penitentiary was the best that had been invented. As the schoolmaster said, if it did no good, it could do no harm. There is one decided advantage in this system, which is, that they all learn a trade,

if they had not one before ; and, when they leave the prison, have the means of obtaining an honest livelihood, if they wish so to do themselves, *and are permitted so to do by others*. Here is the stumbling-block, which neutralizes almost all the good effects which might be produced by the Penitentiary system. 'The severity and harshness of the world ; the unchristianlike feeling pervading society, which denies to the penitent what individually they will have to plead for themselves at the great tribunal, and which will not permit that punishment, awarded and suffered, can expiate the crime ; on this point, there is no hope of a better feeling being engendered. Mankind have been and will be the same ; and it is only to be hoped that we may receive more mercy in the next world than we are inclined to extend towards our fellow-creatures in this.

As I have before observed, I care little for the observations or assertions of directors or of officers entrusted with the charge of the Penitentiaries and houses of correction ; they are unintentionally biassed, and things that appear to them to be mere trifles are very often extreme hardships to the prisoners. It is not only what the body suffers, but what the mind suffers, which must be considered ; and it is from the want of this consideration that arise most of the defects in those establishments, not only in America, but every where else.

During my residence in the United States, a little work made its appearance, which I immediately procured ; it was the production of an American, a scholar, once in the best society, but who, by intemperance, had forfeited his claim to it. He wrote the very best satirical poem I ever read by an American, full of force, and remarkable for energetic versification ; but intemperance, the prevalent vice of America, had reduced him to beggary and wretchedness. He was (by his own request I understand) shut up in the House of Correction at South Boston, that he might, if possible, be reclaimed from intemperance ; and, on his leaving it, he published a small work, called "The Rat-Trap, or Cogitations of a Convict in the House of Correction." This work bears the mark

of a reflective, although buoyant mind ; and as he speaks in the highest terms of Mr. Robbins the master, and bestows praise generally when deserved, his remarks, although occasionally jocose, are well worthy of attention ; and I shall, therefore, introduce a few of them to the reader.

His introduction commences thus :—

“ I take it for granted that one of every two individuals in this *most moral community in the world* has been, will be, or deserves or fears to be, in the House of Correction. Give every man his deserts, and who shall escape whipping? This book must, therefore, be interesting, and will have a good circulation—not, perhaps, in this State alone. The State spends its money for the above institution, and, therefore, has a right to know what it is ; a knowledge which can never be obtained from the reports of the authorities, the cursory observations of visitors, or the statements of ignorant and exasperated convicts.

‘ What thief e'er felt the halter draw,
With good opinion of the law ?’

It has been my aim to furnish such knowledge, and it cannot be denied that I have had the best opportunities to obtain it.”

To show the prevalence of intemperance in this country among the better classes, read the following :—

“ On entering the wool-shop, a man nodded to me, whom I immediately recognized as a lawyer of no mean talent, who had, at no very distant period, been an ornament of society, and a man well esteemed for many excellent qualities, all of which are now forgotten, while his only fault, intemperance, remains engraven on steel. This was not his first term, or his second, or his third. At this time of writing he is discharged, a sober man, anxious for employment, which he cannot get. His having been in the House of Correction shuts every door against him, and he must have more than ordinary firmness if he does not relapse again. From my inmost soul I pity him.

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Another aged man I recognized as a doctor of medicine : his gray hairs would have been venerable in any other place."

The labour in this House of Correction which he describes is chiefly confined to wool-picking, stone-cutting, and blacksmiths' work. The fare he states to be plentiful, but not of the very best quality. Speaking of ill-treatment, he says :—

"The convicts all have the privilege of complaint against officers ; but while I was there no one used it but myself. I believe they dared not. The officer would probably deny or gloss over the cause of complaint, and his word would be believed rather than that of the convict ; and his power of retaliation is so tremendous, that few would care to brave it. The chance is ten to one that a complaint to the directors would be falsified and prove fruitless ; and the visit of the governor, council, and magistrates, for the purpose of inquiry, is mere matter of form. When they asked me if I had reason to complain of my treatment, I answered in the negative, because I really had none ; but had they asked me if there was any defect in the institution, I would have pointed out a good many."

The monotony of their existence is well described :—

"Few incidents chequered the monotony of our existence. 'Who has a got a piece of steel in his eye?'—'Who has gone to the hospital?'—'How many came to day in the carryall?' were almost the only questions we could ask. A man falling from the new prison, and breaking his bones in a fashion not to be approved, was a conversational godsend. One day the retiring tide left a small box on the sands at the bottom of the House of Correction wharf, which was picked up by a convict, and found to contain the bequest of some woman who had 'loved not wisely, but too well;' namely, a pair of new-born infants. In my mind, their fate was happy. If they never knew woman's tenderness, neither did they ever know woman's falsehood. There is less pleasure than pain in this bad world, and the earlier we take leave of it the better."

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He complains of due regard not being paid to the cleanliness of the prisoners :—

“A great defect in the police of the house was the want of baths. We were shaved, or rather scraped, but once a week. Washing one’s face and hands in ice-cold water of a winter morning, is little better than no ablution at all. The harbour water is interdicted, lest the convicts should swim away, and in the stone-shop there are no conveniences for bathing whatever : they would cost something ! In the wool-shop, forty men have one tubful of warm water once a week. When I say that shirts are worn a week in summer, and (as well as drawers) two or three weeks in winter, it will at once be conceded that some further provision for personal cleanliness is imperatively demanded. I hope neither this nor any other remark I may think fit to make will be taken as emanating from a fault-finding spirit, since, while I pronounce upon the disease, I suggest the remedy.”

Speaking of his companions, he says :—

“I had expected to find myself linked with a band of most outrageous ruffians, but such did not prove to be the case. Few of them were decidedly of a vicious temperament. The great fault with them seemed to be a want of moral knowledge and principle. Were I to commit a theft I should think myself unworthy to live an instant ; but some of them spoke of the felonies for which they were adjudged to suffer with as much *nonchalance* as if they were the every-day business of life, without scruple and without shame. Few of them denied the justice of their sentences ; and if they expressed any regret, it was not that they had sinned, but that they had been detected. The duration of the sentence, the time or money lost, the physical suffering, was what filled their estimate of their condition. Many had groans and oaths for a lost dinner, a night in the cells, or a tough piece of work, but none had a tear for the branding infamy of their conviction. Yet some, even of the most hardened, faltered, and spoke with quivering lip and glistening eye, when they thought of their parents, wives, and children. The flinty Horeb of their souls sometimes yielded gushing streams to the

force of that appeal. But there were very few who felt any shame on their own account. Their apathy on the point of honour was amazing. A young man, not twenty-five years old, in particular, made his felonies his glory, and boasted that he had been a tenant of half the prisons in the United States. He was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for stealing a great number of pieces of broad-cloth, which he unblushingly told me he had lodged in the hands of a receiver of stolen goods, and expected to receive the value at the expiration of his sentence. He relied on the proverbial 'honour among thieves.' 'That fellow ought to be kept in safe custody the remainder of his natural life.'

Certainly those remarks do not argue much for the reformation of the culprit.

By his account, a parsimony in every point appears to be the great desideratum aimed at. Speaking of the chaplain to the institution, he says :—

"Small blame to him ; I honour and respect the man, though I laugh at the preacher. And I say, that seven hundred and thirty sermons *per annum*, for three hundred dollars and a weekly dinner, are quite pork enough for a shilling. No man goeth a warfare on his own charges, and the labourer is worthy of his hire. I do not see how he can justify such wear and tear of his pulmonary leather, for so small a sum, to his conscience. What is a sixpenny razor or a nine-shilling sermon? Neither can be expected to cut—not but his sermons would be very good for the use of glorified saints—but, alas! there are none such in the House of Correction. What is the inspiration of a penny-a-liner? I will suppose that one of the hearers is a sailor, who would relish and appreciate a sausage or a lobscooce. Mr. — sets *blanc mange* before him. Messrs. of the City Government, give your chaplain two thousand dollars a year, so that he may reside in the House of Correction, without leaving his family to starvation ; let him visit each individual, learn his circumstances and character, and sympathise with him in all his sorrows, and, my word for it, Mr. — will have the love and confidence of all. He

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will be an instrument of great good by his counsel and exhortations. But as for his public preaching, this truly good, pious, and learned man might as well sing psalms to a mad horse. Fishes will not throng to St. Anthony, or swine listen to the exorcism of an apostle, in these godless days. If you think he will be overpaid for his services, you may braze the duty of a school-master, who is very much needed, to that of a ghostly adviser.

“ Mr. — never fails to pray strenuously that the master and officers may be supported and sustained, which has given rise to the following tin-pot epigram :—

“ Support the master and the overseers,
O Lord! so runs our chaplain’s weekly ditty;
Unreasonable prayers God never hears,
He knows that they’re supported by the city.”

He complains bitterly of the convicts not being permitted the use of any books but the Bible and Temperance Almanac.*

“ Is it pleasant to look back on follies, vices, crimes; presently on blasted hopes, iron bars, and unrequited labour; and forward upon misery, starvation, and a world’s scorn? In some degree the malice of this regulation which ought only to be inscribed on the statute-book of hell, is impotent. The small glimpse of earth, sea, and sky a convict can command, a spider crawling upon the wall, the very corners of his cell, will serve, by a strong effort, for occupation for his thoughts. Read the following tea-pot-graven monologue, written by some mentally suffering-convict, and reflect upon it :—

“ Stone walls and iron bars my frame confine,
But the full liberty of thought is mine.
Sad privilege! the mental glance to cast
O’er crimes, o’er follies and misconduct past.
Oh wretched tenant of a guarded cell,
Thy very freedom makes thy mind a hell.

* It is rather strange, but he says that he supposes that a full half of the inmates of this House of Correction can neither read nor write.

Come, blessed death; thy grinded dart to me,
 Shall the bless'd signal of deliverance be;
 With thy worst agonies were cheaply bought,
 A last release, a final rest from thought."

"If the pains of a prison be not enough for you, I will teach you a lesson in the art of torture which I learned from our chaplain, or one of his substitutes. 'Make your cells round and smooth; let there be no prominent point for the eye to rest upon, so that it must necessarily turn inward, and I will warrant that you will soon have the pleasure of seeing your victim frantic.' Look well to the temperance trash you physic us with, and you will find, in the Almanac for 1837, a serious attempt to make Napoleon Bonaparte out a drunkard, and to prove that a rum-bottle lost him the battle of Waterloo. The author must himself have been drunk when he wrote it. Are you not ashamed, to set such pitiful cant, I will not say such wilful falsehood and slander, before any rational creature! Did you not know that an overcharged gun would knock the musketeer over by its recoil? I do not tell you to give the convicts all and any books they may desire; but pray what harm would an arithmetic do, unless it taught them to refute the statistics of your lying almanac, which gravely advises farmers to feed their hogs with apples, to prevent folks from getting drunk on cider? Why not tell them to feed their cattle with barley and wheat for the same reason? What mind was ever corrupted by Murray's Grammar, or Washington Irving's Columbus? When was ever falsehood the successful pioneer of truth?"

His remarks upon visitors being permitted to see the convicts are good.

"Among the annoyances, which others as well as myself felt most galling, was the frequent intrusion of visitors, who had no object but the gratification of a morbid curiosity. Know all persons, that the most debased convict has human feelings, and does not like to be seen in a parti-coloured jacket. If ye want to see any convict for any good reason, ask the master to let you meet him in his office; and even there, you may rely upon it, your visit

will be painful enough ; to be stared at by the ignorant and the mean with feelings of pity, as if one were some monster of Ind, was intolerable. I hope a certain connection of mine, who came to see me unasked and unwelcome, and brought a stranger with him to witness my disgrace, may never feel the pain he inflicted on me. To a kind-hearted ' Mac,' who came in a proper and delicate way to comfort when I thought all the world had forsaken me, I tender my most grateful thanks. His kindness shall be remembered by me while memory holds her seat. Let the throng of uninvited fools who swarmed about us, accept the following sally of the House of Correction muse, from the pen, or rather the fork, of a fellow convict. It may operate to edification.

' TO OUR VISITORS.

' By gazing at us, sirs, pray what do you mean ?
Are we the first rascals that ever were seen ?
Look into your mirrors—perhaps you may find
All villains are not in South Boston confined.

' I'm not a wild beast, to be seen for a penny ;
But a man, as well made and as proper as any ;
And what we most differ in is, well I wot,
That I have my merits, and you have them not.

' I own I'm a drunkard ; but much I incline
To think that your elbow crooks as often as mine ;
Aye, breathe in my face, sir, as much as you will—
One blast of your breath is as good as a gill.

' How kind was our country, to find us a home
Where duns cannot plague us, or enemies come !
And you from the cup of her kindness may strain
A *drop* so sufficing, you'll not drink again.

' And now that by staring with mouth and eyes open,
Ye have bruised the reeds that already were broken ;
Go home and, by dint of strict mental inspection,
Let each make his own house a House of Correction.'

“ This *morceau* was signed ' INDIGNANS.' ”

The following muster-roll of crime, as he terms it, which he obtained from the master of the prison, is curious, as it exemplifies the excess of intemperance in the United States—bearing in mind that this is the *moral* state of Massachusetts.

“The whole number of males committed to this House of Correction from the time it was opened—July 1st, 1833, to Sept. 1st, 1837,—was 1477. Of this number there were common drunkards, 783, or more than one-half.

“The whole amount of females committed to this institution from the time it was opened to Sept. 1837, was 869. Of this number there were common drunkards 430, very nearly one-half.

“And of the whole number committed there were—

Natives of Massachusetts..	720	England.....	104
New Hampshire.....	175	Scotland.....	38
Maine.....	130	Ireland.....	839
Vermont.....	17	Provinces.....	69
Rhode Island.....	35	France.....	10
Connecticut.....	28	Spain.....	2
New York.....	50	Germany.....	2
New Jersey.....	3	Holland.....	2
Pennsylvania.....	28	Poland.....	2
Delaware.....	6	Denmark.....	2
Maryland.....	10	Prussia.....	1
Virginia.....	20	Sweden.....	8
North Carolina.....	10	West Indies.....	12
South Carolina.....	1	Cape de Vcrds.....	1
Georgia.....	5	Island of Malta.....	1
District Columbia.....	3	At Sea.....	7
		Foreigners.....	1100
United States.....	1241	Unknown.....	5
<i>Moral</i> States.....	1005		
Other States.....	236	Total.....	2346

He sums up as follows:—

“I have nearly finished, but I should not do justice to my subject did I admit to avert to the beggarly catch-penny system on which the whole concern is conducted. The convicts raise pork and vegetables in plenty, but they must not eat thereof; these things must be sent to market to

balance the debit side of the prison ledger. The prisoners must catch cold and suffer in the hospital, and the wool and stone shops, because it would cost something to erect comfortable buildings. They must not learn to read and write, lest a cent's worth of their precious time should be lost to the city. They may die and go to hell, and be damned, for a resident physician and chaplain are expensive articles. They may be dirty; baths would cost money, and so would books. I believe the very Bibles and Almanacs are the donation of the Bible and Temperance Societies. Every thing is managed with an eye to money making—the comfort or reformation, or salvation, of the prisoners are minor considerations. Whose fault is this?

“The fault, most frugal public, is your own. You like justice, but you do not like to pay for it. You like to see a clean, orderly, well-conducted prison, and, as far as your parsimony will permit, such is the House of Correction. With all its faults, it is still a valuable institution. It holds all, it harms few, and reforms some. It looks well, for the most has been made of matters. If you would have it perfect you must untie your purse-strings, and you will lose nothing by it in the end.”

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ARMY.

A STANDING army is so adverse to the institutions, and so offensive to the people of a democracy, that, were it possible, there would be no such thing as American regular troops; but, finding it impossible to do without a portion, they have a force as follows:—

General Staff	13	Four Regiments of Ar-	
Medical Department	76	tillery	1,606
Pay ditto	18	Seven Regiments of In-	
Purchasing ditto	3	fantry	3,118
Corps of Engineers	28	Recruits and Unattached	1,418
Topographical	10		
Ordnance Department ...	209		
Two Regiments of Dra-			
goons	1,335		
		Total	7,834

Of which military force the *privates* amount to only 5,652 men.

This is very insufficient, even to distribute among the frontier forts as a check to the Indians, but now that the Florida war has so long occupied the troops, these outposts have been left in a very unprotected state. Isolated as the officers are from the world, (for these forts are far removed from towns or cities,) they contrive to form a society within themselves, having most of them recourse to matrimony, which always gives a man something to do, and acts as a fillip upon his faculties, which might stagnate from such quiet monotony. The society, therefore, at these outposts is small, but very pleasant. All the officers being now educated at West Point, they are mostly very intelligent and well-informed, and soldiers' wives are always agreeable women all over the world. The barracks turn out also a very fair shew of children upon the green sward. The accommodations

are, generally speaking, very good, and when supplies can be received, the living is equally so; when they cannot, it can't be helped, and there is so much money saved. A suttler's store is attached to each outpost, and the prices of the articles are regulated by a committee of officers, and a tax is also levied upon the suttler in proportion to the number of men in the garrison, the proceeds of which are appropriated to the education of the children of the soldiers and the provision of a library and news-room. If the Government were to permit officers to remain at any one station for a certain period, much more would be done; but the Government is continually shifting them from post to post, and no one will take the trouble to sow when he has no chance of reaping the harvest. Indeed, many of the officers complained that they had hardly had time to furnish their apartments in one fort when they were ordered off to another—not only a great inconvenience to them, but a great expense also.

The American army is not a favourite service, and this is not to be wondered at. It is illtreated in every way; the people have a great dislike to them, which is natural enough in a Democracy; but what is worse, to curry favour with the people, the Government very often do not support the officers in the execution of their duty. Their furloughs are very limited, and they have their choice of the outposts, where they live out of the world, or the Florida war, when they go out of it. But the greatest injustice is, that they have no half-pay: if not wishing to be employed, they must resign their commissions and live as they can. In this point there is a great partiality shewn to the navy, who have such excellent half-pay, although, to prevent remarks at such glaring injustice to the other service, another term is given to the naval half-pay, and the naval officers are supposed to be always on service.

The officers of the army are paid a certain sum, and allowed a certain number of rations per month; for instance, a major-general has two hundred dollars per

month, and fifteen rations. According to the estimated value of the rations, as given to me by one of the officers, the annual pay of the different grades will be, in our money, nearly as follows:—

<i>Army.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>Navy.</i>	<i>£.</i>
Major-General.....	850	Same rank.....	960
Brigadier-General.....	570	Do.....	830
Colonel.....	340	Do.....	525
Lieutenant-Colonel.....	280	Do.....	380
Major.....	225	Do.....	156
Captain.....	200		
First Lieutenant.....	150		
Second Lieutenant.....	140		
Cadet.....	90		

The cavalry officers have a slight increase of pay.

The privates of the American regular army are not the most creditable soldiers in the world; they are chiefly composed of Irish emigrants, Germans, and deserters from the English regiments in Canada. Americans are very rare; only those who can find nothing else to do, and have to choose between enlistment and starvation, will enter into the American army. They do not, however, enlist for longer than three years. There is not much discipline, and occasionally a great deal of insolence, as might be expected from such a collection. Corporal punishment has been abolished in the American army except for desertion; and if ever there was a proof of the necessity of punishment to enforce discipline, it is the many substitutes in lieu of it, to which the officers are compelled to resort—all of them more severe than flogging. The most common is that of loading a man with thirty-six pounds of shot in his knapsack, and making him walk three hours out of four, day and night without intermission, with this weight on his shoulders, for six days and six nights; that is, he is compelled to walk three hours with the weight, and then is suffered to sit down *one*. Towards the close this punishment becomes very severe; the feet of the men are so sore and swelled, that they cannot move for some days afterwards.

I enquired what would be the consequence if a man were to throw down his knapsack and refuse to walk. The commanding-officer of one of the forts replied, that he would be hung up by his thumbs till he fainted—a variety of piquetting. Surely these punishments savour quite as much of severity, and are quite as degrading as flogging.

The pay of an American private is good—fourteen dollars a month, out of which his rations and regimentals take eight dollars, leaving him six dollars a month for pleasure. Deserters are punished by being made to drag a heavy ball and chain after them, which is never removed day or night. If discharged, they are flogged, their heads shaved, and they are drummed out at the point of the bayonet.

From the conversations I have had with many deserters from our army, who were residing in the United States or were in the American service, I am convinced that it would be a very well judged measure to offer a free pardon to all those who would return to Canada and re-enter the English service. I think that a good effective regiment would soon be collected, and one that you might trust on the frontiers without any fear of their deserting again; and it would have another good effect, which is, that their statements would prevent the desertion of others.

America, and its supposed freedom, is, to the British soldiers, an Utopia in every sense of the word. They revel in the idea; they seek it, and it is not to be found. The greatest desertion from the English regiments is among the musicians composing the bands. There are so many theatres in America, and so few musicians, except coloured people, that instrumental performers of all kinds are in great demand. People are sent over to Canada, and the other British provinces, to persuade these poor fellows to desert, promising them very large salaries, and pointing out to them the difference between being a gentleman in America and a slave in the English service. The temptation is too strong; they desert;

and when they arrive, they soon learn the value of the promises made to them, and find how cruelly they have been deceived.

The Florida war has been a source of dreadful vexation and expense to the United States, having already cost them between 20,000,000 and 30,000,000 of dollars, without any apparent prospect of its coming to a satisfactory conclusion. The American government has also very much injured its character, by the treachery and disregard of honour shown by it to the Indians, who have been, most of them, captured under a flag of truce. I have heard so much indignation expressed by the Americans themselves at this conduct that I shall not comment further upon it. It is the Federal Government, and not the officers employed, who must bear the *onus*. But this war has been mortifying, and even dangerous to the Americans in another point. It has now lasted three years and more. General after general has been superseded, because they have not been able to bring it to a conclusion; and the Indians have proved, to themselves and to the Americans, that they can defy them when they once get them among the swamps and morasses. There has not been one hundred Indians killed, although many of them have been treacherously kidnapped, by a violation of honour; and it is supposed that the United States have already lost one thousand men, if not more, in this protracted conflict.

The aggregate force under General Jessop, in Florida, in November 1837, was stated to be as follows:—

Regulars	4,637
Volunteers	4,078
Seamen	100
Indians	178
	8,893

It is supposed that the number of Indians, remaining in Florida do not amount, men, women, and children, to

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more than 1,500; and General Jessop has declared to the government that the war is *impracticable*.

MILITIA.—The return of the militia of the United States, for the year 1837, is as follows:—

The number of MILITIA in the several States and Territories, according to the statement of George Bomford, Colonel of Ordnance, dated 20th November, 1837.

States and Territories.	Date of Return.	Number of Militia.
Maine	1836	42,468
New Hampshire	1836	27,473
Massachusetts	1836	44,911
Louisiana	1830	14,808
Mississippi	1830	13,724
Tennessee	1830	60,982
Vermont	1824	25,581
Rhode Island	1832	1,377
Connecticut	1836	23,826
New York	1836	184,728
New Jersey	1829	39,171
Pennsylvania	1834	202,281
Delaware	1827	9,229
Maryland	1836	46,854
Virginia	1836	101,838
North Carolina	1835	64,415
South Carolina	1833	51,112
Georgia	1834	48,461
Alabama	1829	14,892
Kentucky	1836	71,483
Ohio	1836	146,428
Indiana	1833	53,913
Illinois	1831	27,386
Missouri	1835	6,170
Arkansas	1825	2,028
Michigan	1831	5,478
Florida Territory	1831	827
Wisconsin Territory	none	
District of Columbia	1832	1,249
		1,333,091

This is an enormous force, but at the commencement of a war not a very effective one. In fact, there is no country in the world so defenceless and so unprepared for war as the United States, but, once roused up, no country more formidable if any attempt is made to invade its territories. At the outbreak of a war, the States have almost everything to provide; and although the Americans are well adapted as materials for soldiers, still they have to be levied and disciplined. At the commencement of hostilities, it is not improbable that a well-organized force of 30,000 men might walk through the whole of the Union, from Maine to Georgia; but it is almost certain that not one man would ever get back again, as by that time the people would have been roused and excited, armed and sufficiently disciplined; and their numbers, independent of their bravery, would overwhelm three or four times the number I have mentioned.

Another point must not pass unnoticed, which is that in America, the major part of which is still an uncleared country, the system of warfare naturally partakes much of the Indian practices of surprise and ambuscade; and the invaders will always have to labour under great disadvantage of the Americans having that perfect knowledge of the country which the former have not.

Most of the defeats of the British troops have been occasioned by this advantage on the part of the Americans, added to the impracticability of the country rendering the superior discipline of the British of no avail. Indeed the great advantage of knowing the country were proved by the American attempts to invade Canada during the last war, and which ended in the capitulation of General Hull. In an uncleared country, even where large forces meet, each man, to a certain degree, acts independently, taking his position, perhaps, behind a tree (treeing it, as they term it in America), or any other defence which may offer. Now, it is evident that, skilled as all the Americans are in fire-arms, and generally using rifles, a disciplined English soldier, with his clumsy musket, fights at a disadvantage; and, therefore, with due submission to his Grace, the Duke of Wellington was very wrong when he

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stated, the other day in the House of Lords, that the militia of Canada should be disbanded, and their place supplied by regular troops from England. The militia of Upper Canada are quite as good men as the Americans, and can meet them after their own fashion. A certain proportion of regulars are advantageous, as they are more steady, and in case of a check can be more depended upon; but it is not once in five times that they will, either in America or Canada, be able to bring their concentrated discipline into play. But if the Americans have not the discipline of our troops, their courage is undoubted, and even upon a clear plain the palm of victory will always be severely disputed. A Vermonter, surprised for a moment at finding himself in a charge of bayonets with the English troops, eyed his opponents, and said, "Well, I calculate my piece of iron is as good as *yourn*, anyhow," and then rushed to the attack. People who "calculate" in that way are not to be trifled with, as the annals of history fully demonstrate.

A war between America and England is always to be deprecated. Notwithstanding that the countries are severed, still the Americans are our descendants; they speak the same language; and (although they do not readily admit it) still look up to us as their mother country. It is true that this feeling is fast wearing away, but still it is not yet effaced. It is true also that, in their ambition and their covetousness, they would destroy the mutual advantages derived by both countries from our commercial relations, that they might, by manufacturing as well as producing, secure the whole profits to themselves. But they are wrong; for, great as America is becoming, the time is not yet arrived when she can compete with English capital, or work for herself without it. But there is another reason why a war between the two countries is so much to be deprecated, which is, that it must ever be a cruel and an irritating war. To attack the Americans by invasion will always be hazardous, and must ultimately prove disastrous. In what manner, then, is England to avenge any aggression that may be committed by the Americans? All she can do is to ravage, burn, and des-

troy ; to carry the horrors of war along their whole extended line of coast, distressing the non-combatants, and wreaking vengeance upon the defenceless.

Dreadful to contemplate as this is, and even more dreadful the system of stimulating the Indian tribes to join us, adding scalping, and murdering of women and children, to other horrors, still it is the only method to which England could resort, and, indeed, a method to which she would be warranted to resort, in her own behoof. Moreover, in case of a future war, England must not allow it to be of such short duration as was the last ; the Americans must be made to feel it, by its being protracted until their commerce is totally annihilated, and their expenses are increased in proportion with the decrease of their means.

Let it not be supposed that England would harass the coasts of America, or raise the Indian tribes against her, from any feeling of malevolence, or any pleasure in the sufferings which must ensue. It would be from the knowledge of the fact that money is the sinews of war and consequently that, by obliging the Americans to call out so large a force as she must do to defend her coast and to repel the Indians, she would be put to such an enormous expense, as would be severely felt throughout the Union, and soon incline all parties to a cessation of hostilities. It is to touch their pockets that this plan must and *will* be resorted to ; and a war carried on upon that plan alone, would prove a salutary lesson to a young and too ambitious a people. Let the Americans recollect the madness of joy with which the hats and caps were thrown up in the air at New York, when, even after so short a war with England, they heard that the treaty of peace had been concluded ; and that too at a time when England was so occupied in a contest, it may be said, with the whole world, that she could hardly divert a portion of her strength to act against America : then let them reflect how sanguinary, how injurious, a protracted war with England would be, when she could direct her whole force against them. It is, however, useless to ask a people to reflect who are governed and ruled by the portion who

will *not* reflect. The forbearance must be on our part; and, for the sake of humanity, it is to be hoped that we shall be magnanimous enough to forbear, for so long as may be consistent with the maintenance of our national honour.

AMERICAN MARINE.

It may be inferred that I naturally directed my attention to every thing connected with the American marine, and circumstances eventually induced me to search much more minutely into particulars than at first I had intended to do.

The present force of the American navy is rated as follows :—

Ships of the Line.

Of 120 guns	1
80 guns	7
74 guns	3
	—
Total	11

Frigates, 1st Class.

Of 54 guns	1
44 guns	14
	—
Total	15

Frigates, 2d Class.

Of 36 guns	2
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Sloops.

Of 20 guns	12
18 guns	3
	—
Total	15

Schooners.

Of 10 guns	6
Others	7
	—
Total	13

Grand Total 56

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NAVY LIST.

Vessels of War of the United States Navy, September, 1837.

Name and Rate.	Where and when built	Where employed.
<i>Ships of the Line.</i>		
	GUNS.	
Franklin	74 Philadelphia .. 1815	In ordinary at New York.
Washington	74 Portsmouth, N. H. 1816	Ditto ditto.
Columbus	74 Washington .. 1819	At Boston (repaired.)
Ohio	80 New York 1820	Ditto ditto.
North Carolina ..	80 Philadelphia ... 1820	In commission (Pacific).
Delaware	80 Gosport 1820	At Norfolk (repaired.)
Alabama	80	On stocks at Portsmouth, N. H.
Vermont	80	Ditto at Boston.
Virginia	80	Ditto ditto.
New York	80	On stocks, at Norfolk.
Pennsylvania ...	120 Philadelphia ... 1837	At Philadelphia.
<i>Frigates, 1st Class.</i>		
Independence . . .	54 Boston 1814	On the coast of Brazil.
United States . . .	44 Philadelphia ... 1797	In commission (Mediterranean.)
Constitution . . .	44 Boston 1787	Ditto ditto.
Guerricre	44 Philadelphia ... 1814	In ordinary, Norfolk.
Java	44 Baltimore 1814	Receiving ship, ditto.
Potomac	44 Washington .. 1821	In ordinary at ditto.
Brandywine	44 Washington ... 1825	Ditto ditto.
Hudson	44 Purchased 1826	Receiving vessel at New York.
Columbia	44 Washington ... 1836	In ordinary, Norfolk.
Santee	44	On stocks, at Portsmouth, N. H.
Cumberland	44	Ditto at Boston.
Sabine	44	Ditto at New York.
Savannah	44	Ditto ditto.
Raritan	44	Ditto at Philadelphia.
St. Lawrence, . . .	44	Ditto at Norfolk.
<i>Frigates, 2d Class.</i>		
Constellation . . .	36 Baltimore 1797	In commission (W. I.)

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Navy List—(continued.)

Name and Rate.	When and where built	Where employed.
<i>GUNS.</i> Macedonian 36	Norfolk (rebuilt) 1836	Ready for sea at Nor.
<i>Sloops of War.</i>		
John Adams 20	Norfolk (rebuilt) 1820	Ready for sea at N. Y.
Cyane 20	Boston (rebuilding) . .	
Boston 20	Boston 1825	At sea.
Lexington 20	New York 1825	At sea.
Vincennes 20	New York 1826	In ordinary, Norfolk.
Warren 20	Boston 1826	Ditto ditto.
Natchez 20	Norfolk 1827	In commission (W. I.)
Falmouth 20	Boston 1827	At sea.
Fairfield 20	New York 1828	On the coast of Brazil.
Vandalia 20	Philadelphia . . 1828	In commission (West Indies.)
St. Louis 20	Washington . . 1828	Ditto ditto.
Concord 20	Portsmouth . . 1828	Ditto ditto.
Eric 18	N. York (rebuilt) 1820	At Boston.
Ontario 18	Baltimore 1813	At sea.
Peacock 18	New York 1813	In ordinary, Norfolk.
<i>Schooners, &c.</i>		
Dolphin 10	Philadelphia . . 1821	On the coast of Brazil.
Grampus 10	Washington . . 1821	In commission (West Indies.)
Shark 10	Washington . . 1821	In the Mediterranean.
Enterprise 10	New York 1831	In commission (East Indies.)
Boxer 10	Boston 1831	In the Pacific.
Porpoise 10	Boston 1836	Atlantic coast.
Experiment 4	Washington . . 1831	Employed near N. Y.
Fox (hulk) 3	Purchased 1823	At Baltimore (condemned.)
Sea Gull (galliot)	Purchased 1823	Receiving vessel at Philadelphia.
<i>Exploring Vessels.</i>		
Relief	Philadelphia . . 1836	} New York (nearly ready for sea.)
Barque Pioneer	Boston 1836	
Barque Consort	Boston 1836	
Schooner Active	Purchased 1837	

The rating of these vessels will, however, very much mislead people as to the real strength of the armament. The 74's and 80's are in weight of broadside equal to most three-decked ships; the first-classed frigates are double-banked of the scantling, and carrying the complement of men of our 74's. The sloops are equally powerful in proportion to their ratings, most of them carrying long guns. Although flush vessels, they are little inferior to a 36-gun frigate in scantling, and are much too powerful for any that we have in our service, under the same denomination of rating. All the line-of-battle ships are named after the several States, the frigates after the principal rivers, and the sloops of war after the towns, or *cities*, and the names are decided by lot.

It is impossible not to be struck with the beautiful architecture in most of these vessels. The Pennsylvania, rated 120 guns, on four decks, carrying 140, is not by any means so perfect as some of the line-of battle ships.* The Ohio is as far as I am a judge, the perfection of a ship of

* The following are the dimensions given me of the ship of the line Pennsylvania:—

	feet. inches.
In extreme length over all.....	237
Between the perpendiculars on the lower gun deck	220
Length of keel for tonnage... ..	190
Moulded breadth of beam.....	56 9
do. do. from tonnage.....	57 6
Extreme breadth of beam outside the wales....	59
Depth of lower hold.....	23
Extreme depth amidships.....	51
Burthen 3366 tons, and has ports for 140 guns, all long thirty-two pounders, throwing 2240 pounds of ball at each broadside, or 4480 pounds from the whole.	
Her mainmast from the step to the truck.....	278
Main-yard.....	110
Main-topsail yard.....	82
Main-top-gallant yard.....	52
Main-royal yard.....	36
Size of lower shrouds.....	0 11
Do. of Mainstay.....	0 19
Do. of sheet-cable.....	0 25
The sheet anchor, made at Washington, weighs 11,660 pounds.	

the line. But in every class you cannot but admire the superiority of the models and workmanship. The dock-yards in America are small, and not equal at present to what may eventually be required, but they have land to add to them if necessary. There certainly is no necessity for such establishments or such storehouses as we have, as their timber and hemp are at hand when required; but they are very deficient both in dry and wet docks. Properly speaking, they have no great naval depôt. This arises from the jealous feeling existing between the several States. A bill brought into Congress to expend so many thousand dollars upon the dock-yard at Boston, in Massachusetts, would be immediately opposed by the State of New York, and an amendment proposed to transfer the works intended to their dock-yard at Brooklyn. The other States which possess dock-yards would also assert their right, and thus they will all fight for their respective esta-

Main-topsail contains 1,531 yards.

The number of yards of canvass for one suit of sails is 18,341, and for bags, hammocks, boat-sails, awnings, &c., 14,624;—total 32,965 yards.

The Americans considered that in the Pennsylvania they possessed the largest vessel in the world, but this is a great mistake; one of the Sultan's three-deckers is larger. Below are the dimensions of the Queen, lately launched at Portsmouth;—

	feet.	inches.
Length on the gun-deck.....	204	0
Do. of Keel for tonnage.....	166	5
Breadth extreme	60	0
Do. for tonnage.....	59	2
Depth in hold.....	23	8
Burden in tons (No. 3,099).....		
Extreme length aloft	247	6
Extreme height forward.....	56	4
Do. midships.....	50	8
Do. abaft.....	62	6
Launching draught of water, forward.....	14	1
Do. abaft.....	19	0
Height from deck to deck, gun-deck.....	7	3
Do. middle-deck.....	7	0
Do. main-deck.....	7	0

ishments until the bill is lost, and the bone of contention falls to the ground.*

It is remarkable that along the whole of the eastern coast of America, from Halifax in Nova Scotia down to Pensacola in the Gulf of Mexico, there is not one good open harbour. The majority of the American harbours are barred at the entrance, so as to preclude a fleet running out and in to manœuvre at pleasure; indeed, if the tide does not serve, there are few of them in which a line-of-battle ship, hard pressed, could take refuge. A good spacious harbour, easy of access, like that of Halifax in Nova Scotia, is one of the few advantages, perhaps the only natural advantage, wanting in the United States.

The American navy list is as follows:—

Captains or Commodores...	50	Passed Midshipmen.....	181
Masters Cammandant.....	50	Midshipmen.....	227
Lieutenants.....	279	Sailing-Masters.....	27
Surgeons.....	50	Sail-makers.....	25
Passed Assistant-Surgeons..	24	Boatswains.....	22
Assistant-Surgeons.....	33	Gunners.....	27
Pursers.....	45	Carpenters.....	26
Chaplains.....	9		

* There are seven navy yards belonging to, and occupied for the use of, the United States, viz.—

The navy yard at Portsmouth, N. H., is situated on an island, contains fifty eight acres, cost 5,500 dollars.

The navy yard at Charleston, near Boston, is situated on the north side of Charles river, contains thirty-four acres, and cost 32,214 dolls.

The navy yard at New York is situated on Long Island, opposite New York, contains forty acres, and cost 40,000 dollars.

The navy yard at Philadelphia is situated on the Delaware river, in the district of Southwark, contains eleven acres to low-water mark, and cost 37,000 dollars.

The navy yard at Washington, in the district of Columbia, is situated on the eastern branch of the river Potomac, contains thirty-seven acres, and cost 4,000 dallars. In this yard are made all the anchors, cables, blocks, and almost all things requisite for the use of the navy of the United States.

The navy yard at Portsmouth, near Norfolk in Virginia, is situated on the south branch of Elizabeth river, contains sixteen acres, and cost 13,000 dollars.

There is also a navy yard at Pensacola, in Florida, which is merely used for repairing ships on the West-India station.

The pay of these officers is on the following scale. It must be observed, that they do not use the term "half-pay;" but when unemployed the officers are either attached to the various dockyards or on leave. I have reduced the sums paid into English money, that they may be better understood by the reader :—

Senior captain, on service	£960
On leave (<i>i. e.</i> half-pay)	730
Captains, squadron service	830
Navy-yard and other duty (half-pay)	730
Off duty (<i>ditto</i>)	525
Commanders on service	525
Navy-yard and other duty (half-pay)	440
On leave (<i>ditto</i>)	380
Lieutenants commanding	380
Navy-yard and other duty (half-pay)	315
Waiting orders (<i>ditto</i>)	250
Surgeons, according to their length of servitude, from	210
To	500
And half-pay in proportion	
Assistant surgeons from	200
To	250
Chaplains; sea service	250
On leave (half-pay)	170
Passed midshipmen, duty	156
Waiting orders (half-pay)	125
Midshipmen; sea service	33
Navy-yard and other duty (half-pay)!!!	72
Leave (<i>ditto</i>)!!	63
Sailing masters; ships of the line	228
Other duty (half-pay)	209
Leave (<i>ditto</i>)	156
Boatswains, carpenters, sailmakers, & gunners; ships of the line	156
Frigate	125
Other duty (half-pay)	105
On leave (<i>ditto</i>)	75

It will be perceived by the above list how very much better all classes in the American service are paid in comparison with those in our service. But let it not be supposed that this liberality is a matter of choice on the part of the American Government; on the contrary, it is one of necessity. There never was, nor never will be, any thing like liberality under a democratic form of govern-

ment. The navy is a favourite service, it is true, but the officers of the American navy have not one cent more than they are entitled to, or than they absolutely require. In a country like America, where any one may by industry, in a few years, become an independent, if not a wealthy man, it would be impossible for the Government to procure officers if they were not tolerably paid; no parents would permit their children to enter the service unless they were enabled by their allowances to keep up a respectable appearance; and in America every thing, to the annuitant or person not making money, but living upon his income, is much dearer than with us. The Government, therefore, are obliged to pay them, or young men would not embark in the profession; for it is not in America as it is with us, where every department is filled up, and no room is left for those who would crowd in; so that in the eagerness to obtain respectable employment, emolument becomes a secondary consideration. It may, however, be worth while to put in juxtaposition the half-pay paid to officers of corresponding ranks in the two navies of England and America:—

Officers.	America.	England.
Half-pay post-captains, senior, on leave; corresponding to commodore or rear-admiral in England	£. 730	£. 456
Post captains off duty (that is, duty on shore)	730	
On leave	2 5	191
Commanders off sea duty	440	
In yards and on leave	380	155
Lieutenants; shore duty	315	
Waiting orders or on leave	250	90
Passed midshipmen, full pay	156	25
Half-pay	125	0
Midshipmen, full pay	83	25
Half-pay	63	0

My object in making the comparison between the two services is not to gratify an invidious feeling. More expensive as living in America certainly is, still the dispro-

portion is such as must create surprise ; and if it requires such a sum for an American officer to support himself in a creditable and gentlemanlike manner, what can be expected from the English officer with his miserable pittance, which is totally inadequate to his rank and station ? Notwithstanding which, our officers do keep up their appearance as gentlemen, and those who have no half-pay are obliged to support themselves. And I point this out, that when Mr. Hume and other gentlemen clamour against the expense of our naval force, they may not be ignorant of one fact, which is, that not only on half-pay, but when on active service, a moiety at least of the expenses necessarily incurred by our officers to support themselves according to their rank, to entertain, and to keep their ships in proper order, is, three times out of four, paid out of their own pockets, or those of their relatives ; and that is always done without complaint, as long as they are not checked in their legitimate claims to promotion.

In the course of his employment in the Mediterranean, one of our captains was at Palermo. The American commodore was there at the time, and the latter gave most sumptuous balls and entertainments. Being very intimate with each other, our English captain said to him one day, "I cannot imagine how you can afford to give such parties ; I only know that I cannot ; my year's pay would be all exhausted in a fortnight." "My dear fellow," replied the American commodore, "do you suppose that I am so foolish as to go to such an expense, or to spend my pay in this manner ; I have nothing to do with them except to give them. My purser provides every thing, and keeps a regular account, which I sign as correct, and send home to government, which defrays the whole expenses, under the head of *Conciliation Money*," I do not mean to say that this is requisite in our service ; but still it is not fair to refuse to provide us with paint and other articles, such as leather, &c., necessary to fit out our ships ; thus, either compelling us to pay for them out of our own pockets, or allowing the vessels under our command to look like any thing but men-of-war, and to be styled, very truly, a disgrace to the service. Yet such is the well-known fact. And I am informed that the reason why our

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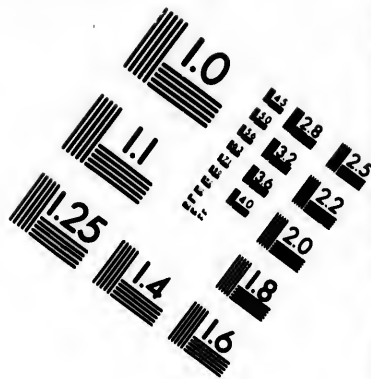
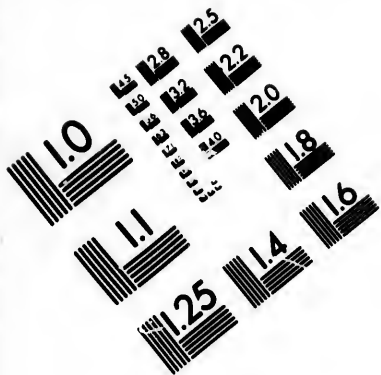
Admiralty will not permit these necessary stores to be supplied is that, as one of the Lords of the Admiralty was known to say, "if we *do not* provide them, the captains *most assuredly will*, therefore let us save the Government the expense."

During my sojourn in the United States I became acquainted with a large portion of the senior officers of the American navy, and I found them gifted, gentleman-like, and liberal. With them I could converse freely upon all points relative to the last war, and always found them ready to admit all that could be expected. The American naval officers certainly form a strong contrast to the majority of their countrymen, and prove, by their enlightened and liberal ideas, how much the Americans, in general, would be improved if they enjoyed the same means of comparison with other countries which the naval officers, by their profession, have obtained. Their partial successes during the late war were often the theme of discourse, which was conducted with candour and frankness on both sides. No unpleasant feeling was ever excited by any argument with them on the subject, whilst the question, raised amongst their "free and enlightened" brother citizens, who knew nothing of the matter, was certain to bring down upon me such a torrent of bombast, falsehood, and ignorance, as required all my philosophy to submit to with apparent indifference. But I must now take my leave of the American navy, and notice their merchant marine.

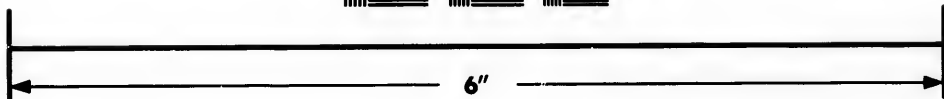
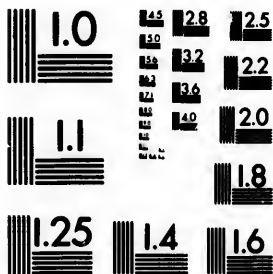
Before I went to the United States I was aware that a large proportion of our seamen were in their employ. I knew that the whole line of packets, which is very extensive, was manned by British seamen; but it was not until I arrived in the States that I discovered the real state of the case.

During my occasional residence at New York, I was surprised to find myself so constantly called upon by English seamen, who had served under me in the different ships I had commanded since the Peace. Every day seven or eight would come, touch their hats, and remind





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me in what ships, and in what capacity, they had done their duty. I had frequent conversations with them, and soon discovered that their own expression, "We are all here, sir," was strictly true. To the why and the wherefore, the answer was invariably the same—"Eighteen dollars a month, sir." Some of them, I recollect, told me that they were going down to New Orleans, because the sickly season was coming on; and that during the time the yellow fever raged they always had a great advance of wages, receiving sometimes as much as thirty dollars per month. I did not attempt to dissuade them from their purpose; they were just as right to risk their lives from contagion at thirty dollars a month, as to stand and be fired at at a shilling a day. The circumstance of so many of my own men being in American ships, and their assertion that there were no other sailors than English at New York, induced me to enter very minutely into my investigation, of which the following are the results:—

The United States, correctly speaking, have no common seamen, or seamen bred up as apprentices before the mast. Indeed a little reflection will show how unlikely it is that they ever should have; for who would submit to such a dog's life (as at the best it is), or what parent would consent that his children should wear out an existence of hardship and dependence at sea, when he could so easily render them independent on shore? The same period of time requisite for a man to learn his duty as an able seaman, and be qualified for the pittance of eighteen dollars per month, would be sufficient to establish a young man as an independent, or even wealthy, landowner, factor, or merchant. That there are classes in America who do go to sea is certain, and who and what these are I shall hereafter point out; but it may be positively asserted that, unless by escaping from their parents at an early age, and before their education is complete, they become, as it were, lost, there is in the United States of America hardly an instance of a white boy being sent to sea, to be brought up as a foremast man.

It may be here observed that there is a wide difference in the appearance of an English seaman and a portion of those styling themselves American seamen, who are to be seen at Liverpool and other seaports; tall, weedy, narrow-shouldered, slovenly, yet still athletic men, with their knives worn in a sheath outside of their clothes, and not with a lanyard round them, as is the usual custom of English seamen. There is, I grant, a great difference in their appearance, and it arises from the circumstance of those men having been continually in the trade to New Orleans and the South, where they have picked up the buccaneer airs and customs which are still in existence there; but the fact is, that, though altered also by climate, the majority of them were Englishmen born, who served their first apprenticeship in the coasting trade, but left it at an early age for America. They may be considered as a portion of the emigrants to America, having become in feeling, as well as in other respects, *bonâ fide* Americans.

The whole amount of tonnage of the American mercantile marine may be taken, in round numbers, at 2,000,000 tons, which may be subdivided as follows:

REGISTERED.	
	Tons.
Foreign trade	700,000
Whale fishery	130,000
ENROLLED.	
Coasting trade	920,000
Steam	150,000
Coast fisheries	100,000
Total	2,000,000

The American merchant vessels are generally sailed with fewer men than the British. We calculate five men to one hundred tons, which I believe to be about the just proportion. Mr. Carey, in his work, estimates the proportion of seamen in American vessels to be $4\frac{1}{2}$ to every one hundred tons, and I shall assume his calcula-

tion as correct. The number of men employed in the American mercantile navy will be as follows :—

	Men.
Foreign trade	30,333
Whale fishery	5,000
Coasting trade	39,000
Steam	6,500
Coast fisheries	4,333
	<hr/>
Total	85,799

And now I will submit, from the examinations I have made, the proportions of American and British seamen which are contained in this aggregate of 85,799 men.

In the foreign trade we have to deduct the masters of the ships, the mates, and the boys who are apprenticed to learn their duty, and rise to mates and masters (not to serve before the mast). These I estimate at—

Masters	1,500
Mates	3,000
Apprentices	1,500
Ditto, coloured men, as cooks, stewards, &c.	2,000
	<hr/>
Total	8,000

which, deducted from 30,333, will leave 22,333 seamen in the foreign trade, who, with a slight intermixture of Swedes, Danes, and, more rarely, Americans, may be asserted to be all British seamen.

The next item is that of the men employed in the whale fishery ; and, as near as I can ascertain the fact, the proportions are two-thirds Americans to one-third British. The total is 5,633 ; out of which 3,756 are Americans, and 1,877 British seamen.

The coasting trade employs 39,000 men ; but only a small proportion of them can be considered as seamen, as it embraces all the internal river navigation.

The steam navigation employs 6,500 men, of whom of course not one in ten is a seaman.

The fisheries for cod and herring employ about 4,333

men ; they are a mixture of Americans, Nova Scotians, and British, but the proportions cannot be ascertained ; it is supposed that about one-half are British subjects, *i. e.* 2,166.

When, therefore, I estimate that the Americans employ at least *thirty thousand of our seamen* in their service, I do not think, as my subsequent remarks will prove, that I am at all overrating the case.

The questions which are now to be considered are, the nature of the various branches in which the seamen employed in the American marine are engaged, and how far they will be available to America in case of a war.

The coasting trade is chiefly composed of sloops, manned by two or three men and boys. The captain is invariably part, if not whole, owner of the vessel, and those employed are generally his sons, who work for their father, or some emigrant Irishmen, who, after a few months' practice, are fully equal to this sort of fresh-water sailing. From the coasting trade, therefore, America would gain no assistance. Indeed, the majority of the coasting trade is so confined to the interior, that it would not receive much check from a war with a foreign country.

The coast fisheries might afford a few seamen, but very few ; certainly not the number of men required to man her ships of war. As in the coasting trade, they are mostly owners or partners. In the whale fishery much the same system prevails ; it is a common speculation ; and the men embarking stipulate for such a proportion of the fish caught as their share of the profits. They are generally well to do, are connected together, and are the least likely of all men to volunteer on board of the American navy. They would speculate in privateers, if they did anything.

From steam navigation, of course, no seaman could be obtained.

Now, as all service is voluntary, it is evident that the only chance America has of manning her navy is from the thirty thousand British seamen in her employ, the other

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branches of navigation either not producing seamen, or those employed in them being too independent in situation to serve as fore-mast men. When I was at the different sea-ports, I made repeated enquiries as to the fact, if ever a lad was sent to sea as a fore-mast man, and I never could ascertain that it ever was the case. Those who are sent as apprentices, are learning their duty to receive the rating of mates, and ultimately fulfil the office of captains; and it may here be remarked, that many Americans, after serving as captains for a few years, return on shore and become opulent merchants; the knowledge which they have gained during their maritime career proving of the greatest advantage to them. There are a number of free black and coloured lads who are sent to sea, and who, eventually, serve as stewards and cooks; but it must be observed, that the masters and mates are not people who will enter before the mast and submit to the rigorous discipline of a government vessel, and the cooks and stewards are not seamen; so that the whole dependence of the American navy, in case of war, is upon the British seamen who are employed in her foreign trade and whale fisheries, and in her men-of-war in commission during the peace.

If America brings up none of her people to a seafaring life before the mast, now that her population is upwards of 13,000,000, still less likely was she to have done it when her population was less, and the openings to wealth by other channels were greater: from whence it may be fairly inferred, that, during our continued struggle with France, when America had the carrying trade in her hands, her vessels were chiefly manned by British seamen; and that when the war broke out between the two countries, the same British seamen who were in her employ manned her ships of war and privateers. It may be surmised that British scamen would refuse to be employed against their country. Some might; but their is no character so devoid of principle as the British sailor and soldier. In Dibdin's songs, we certainly have another version, "True to his country and king," &c., but I am afraid they do not deserve it: soldiers and sailors are mercenaries; they risk their lives for money; it is their trade to do so; and

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if they can get higher wages they never consider the justice of the cause, or whom they fight for. Now, America is a country peculiarly favourable for those who have little conscience or reflection; the same language is spoken there; the wages are much higher, spirits are much cheaper, and the fear of detection or punishment is trifling; nay, there is none; for in five minutes a British seaman may be made a *bonâ-fide* American citizen, and of course an American seaman. It is not surprising, therefore, that after sailing for years out of the American ports in American vessels, the men, in case of war, should take the oath and serve. It is necessary for any one wanting to become an American citizen, that he should give notice of his intention; his notice gives him, as soon as he has signed his declaration, all the rights of an American citizen, excepting that of voting at elections, which requires a longer time, as specified in each State. The declaration is as follows:—

“That it is his *bonâ-fide* intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce for ever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign power, potentate, state, or sovereignty whatever, and particularly to Victoria, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to whom he is now a subject.” Having signed this document, and it being publicly registered, he becomes a citizen, and may be sworn to as such by any captain of merchant vessel or man-of-war, if it be required that he should do so.

During the last war with America, the Americans hit upon a very good plan as regarded the English seamen whom they had captured in our vessels. In the day-time the prison doors were shut and the prisoners were harshly treated; but at night, the doors were left open: the consequence was, that the prisoners whom they had taken added to their strength, for the men walked out, and entered on board of their men-of-war and privateers.

This fact alone proves that I have not been too severe in my remarks upon the character of the English seamen; and since our seamen prove to be such “Dugald Dalgettys,” it is to be hoped that, should we be so unfortunate as again to come in collision with America, the same plan may be adopted in this country.

Now, from the above remarks, three points are clearly deducible :—

1. That America always has obtained, and for a long period to come will obtain, her seamen altogether from Great Britain ;

2. That those seamen can be naturalized immediately, and become American seamen by law ;

3. That, under present circumstances, England is under the necessity of raising seamen, not only for her own navy, but also for the Americans ; and that, in proportion as the commerce and shipping of America shall increase, so will the demand upon us become more onerous ; and that should we fail in producing the number of seamen necessary for both services, the Americans will always be full manned, whilst any defalcation must fall upon ourselves.

And it may be added, that, in all cases, the Americans have the choice and refusal of our men ; and, therefore, they have invariably all the prime and best seamen which we have raised.

The cause of this is as simple as it is notorious ; it is the difference between the wages paid in the navies and merchant vessels of the two nations :—

	£. s.	£. s.
American ships per month	3	10
British ships ditto	2	2 to 2 10
American men-of-war ditto	2	0
British men-of-war ditto	1	14

It will be observed, that in the American men-of-war the able-seaman's pay is only £2 ; the consequence is, that they remain for months in port without being able to obtain men.

But we must now pass by this cause and look to the origin of it ; or, in other words, how it is that the Americans are able to give such high wages to our seamen as to secure the choice of any number of our best men for their service ; and how it is that they can compete with, and even under-bid, our merchant vessels in freight, at the same time that they sail at a greater expense ?

This has arisen partly from circumstances, partly from

a series of mismanagement on our part, and partly from the fear of impressment. But it is principally to be ascribed to the former peculiarly unscientific mode of calculating the tonnage of our vessels; the error of which system induced the merchants to build their ships so as to evade the heavy channel and river duties; disregarding all the first principles of naval architecture, and considering the sailing properties of vessels as of no consequence.

The fact is, that we over-taxed our shipping.

In order to carry as much freight as possible, and, at the same time, to pay as few of the onerous duties, our mercantile shipping generally assumed more the form of floating boxes of merchandize than sailing vessels; and by the false method of measuring the tonnage, they were enabled to carry 600 tons, when, by measurement, they were only taxed as being of the burden of 400 tons: but every increase of tonnage thus surreptitiously obtained, was accompanied with a decrease in the sailing properties of the vessels. Circumstances, however, rendered this of less importance during the war, as few vessels ran without the protection of a convoy; and it must be also observed, that vessels being employed in one trade only, such as the West India, Canada, Mediterranean, &c., their voyages during the year were limited, and they were for a certain portion of the year unemployed.

During the war, the fear of impressment was certainly a strong inducement to our seamen to enter into the American vessels, and naturalize themselves as American subjects; but they were also stimulated, even at that period, by the higher wages, as they still are now that the dread of impressment no longer operates upon them.

It appears, then, that from various causes, our merchant vessels have lost their sailing properties, whilst the Americans are the fastest sailers in the world; and it is for that reason, and no other, that, although sailing at a much greater expense, the Americans can afford to outbid us, and take all our best seamen.

An American vessel is in no particular trade, but ready and willing to take freight any where when offered. She sails so fast, that she can make three voyages whilst one

of our vessels can make but two: consequently she has the preference, as being the better manned, and giving the quickest return to the merchant; and as she receives three freights whilst the English vessel receives only two, it is clear that the extra freight will more than compensate for the extra expense the vessel sails at in consequence of paying extra wages to the seamen. Add to this, that the captains, generally speaking, being better paid, are better informed and more active men; that, from having all the picked seamen, they get through their work with fewer hands; that the activity on board is followed up and supported by an equal activity, on the part of the agents and factors on shore—and you have the true cause why America can afford to pay and secure for herself all our best seamen.

One thing is evident, that it is a mere question of pounds, shillings, and pence, between us and America, and that the same men who are now in the American service would, if our wages were higher than those offered by America, immediately return to us and leave her destitute.

That it would be worth the while of this country, in case of a war with the United States, to offer £4 a-head to able seamen is most certain. It would swell the naval estimates, but it would shorten the duration of the war, and in the end would probably be the saving of many millions. But the question is, cannot and ought not something to be done, now in time of peace, to relieve our mercantile shipping interest, and hold out a bounty for a return to those true principles of naval architecture, the deviation from which has proved to be attended with such serious consequences.

Fast-sailing vessels will always be able to pay higher wages than others, as what they lose in increase of daily expense, they will gain by the short time in which the voyage is accomplished; but it is by encouragement alone that we can expect that the change will take place. Surely some of the onerous duties imposed by the Trinity House might be removed, not from the present class of vessels, but from those built hereafter with first-rate sailing pro-

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perties. These, however, are points which call for a much fuller investigation than I can here afford them; but they are of vital importance to our maritime superiority, and as such should be immediately considered by the Government of Great Britain.

 SLAVERY.

It had always appeared to me as singular that the Americans, at the time of their Declaration of Independence, took no measures for the gradual, if not immediate, extinction of slavery; that at the very time they were offering up thanks for having successfully struggled for their own emancipation from what they considered foreign bondage, their gratitude for their liberation did not induce them to break the chains of those whom they themselves held in captivity. It is useless for them to exclaim, as they now do, that it was England who left them slavery as a curse, and reproach us as having originally introduced the system amongst them. Admitting, as is the fact, that slavery did commence when the colonies were subject to the mother country; admitting that the petitions for its discontinuance were disregarded, still there was nothing to prevent immediate manumission at the time of the acknowledgment of their independence by Great Britain. They had then every thing to recommence; they had to select a new form of government, and to decide upon new laws; they pronounced, in their Declaration, that "all men were equal;" and yet, in the face of this Declaration, and their solemn invocation to the Deity, the negroes, in *their fetters*, pleaded to them in vain.

I had always thought that this sad omission, which has left such an anomaly in the Declaration of Independence

as to have made it the taunt and reproach of the Americans by the whole civilized world, did really arise from forgetfulness ; that, as is but too often the case, when we are ourselves made happy, the Americans in their joy at their own deliverance from a foreign yoke, and the repossessing themselves of their own rights, had been too much engrossed to occupy themselves with the undeniable claims of others. But I was mistaken ; such was not the case, as I shall presently shew.

In the course of one of my sojourns in Philadelphia, Mr. Vaughan, of the Athenæum of that city, stated to me that he had found the *original draft* of the Declaration of Independence, in the hand-writing of Mr. Jefferson, and that it was curious to remark the alterations which had been made previous to the adoption of the manifesto which was afterwards promulgated. It was to Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin, that was entrusted the primary drawing up of this important document, which was then submitted to others, and ultimately to the Convention, for approval ; and it appears that the question of slavery had not been overlooked when the document was first framed, as the following clause, inserted in the original draft by Mr. Jefferson, but *expunged* when it was laid before the Convention, will sufficiently prove. After enumerating the grounds upon which they threw off their allegiance to the King of England, the Declaration continued, in Jefferson's nervous style :

“He [the king] has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of *life and liberty*, in the person of a distant people who never offended him ; captivating and carrying them into slavery, in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transporting thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain, determined to keep open a 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 distin-

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guished dye, he is now exciting these 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 obtruded 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."

Such was the paragraph which had been inserted by Jefferson, in the virulence of his democracy, and his desire to hold up to detestation the King of Great Britain. Such was at that time, unfortunately, the truth; and had the paragraph remained, and at the same time emancipation been given to the slaves, it would have been a lasting stigma upon George the Third. But the paragraph was expunged; and why? because they could not hold up to public indignation the sovereign whom they had abjured, without reminding the world that slavery still existed in a community which had declared that "all men were equal;" and that if, in a monarch, they had stigmatised it as "violating the most sacred rights of life and liberty," and "waging cruel war against human nature," they could not have afterwards been so barefaced and unblushing as to continue a system which was at variance with every principle which they professed.*

It does, however, satisfactorily prove that the question of slavery was not *overlooked*; on the contrary, their determination to take advantage of the system was deliberate, and, there can be no doubt, well considered:—the very omission of the paragraph proves it. I mention these facts to show that the Americans have no right to revile us on being the cause of slavery in America. They had the means, and were bound, as honourable men, to act up to

* Miss Martineau, in her admiration of democracy, says that, in the formation of the government, "The rule by which they worked was no less than the golden one, which seems to have been, by some unlucky chance, omitted in the Bibles of other statesmen, "*Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you.*" I am afraid the American Bible, by some *unlucky chance*, has also omitted that precept.

their Declaration ; but they entered into the question, they decided otherwise, and decided that they would retain their ill-acquired property at the expense of their principles.

The degrees of slavery in America are as various in their intensity as are the communities composing the Union. They may, however, be divided with great propriety under two general heads—eastern and western slavery. By eastern slavery I refer to that in the Slave States bordering on the Atlantic, and those Slave States on the other side of the Alleghany Mountains, which may be more directly considered as their colonies, *viz.* in the first instance, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, North and South Carolina ; and, secondly, Kentucky and Tennessee. We have been accustomed lately to class the slaves as non-predial and predial,—that is, those who are domestic and those who work on the plantations. This classification is not correct, if it is intended to distinguish between those who are well, and those who are badly treated. The true line to be drawn is between those who work separately, and those who are worked in a gang and superintended by an overseer. This is fully exemplified in the United States, where it will be found that in all States where they are worked in gangs the slaves are harshly treated, while in the others their labour is light.

Now, with the exception of the rice grounds in South Carolina, the Eastern States are growers of corn, hemp, and tobacco ; but their chief staple is the breeding of horses, mules, horned cattle, and other stock : the largest portion of these States remain in wild luxuriant pasture, more especially in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, either of which States is larger than the other four mentioned.

The proportion of slaves required for the cultivation of the purely agricultural and chiefly grazing farms or plantations in these States is small, fifteen or twenty being sufficient for a farm of two hundred or three hundred acres ; and their labour, which is mostly confined to tending stock, is not only very light, but of the quality most

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agreeable to the negro. Half the day you will see him on horseback with his legs idly swinging as he goes along, or seated on a shaft-horse driving his waggons. He is quite in his glory; nothing delights a negro as much as riding or driving, particularly when he has a whole team under his control. He takes his waggon for a load of corn to feed the hogs, sits on the edge of the shaft as he tosses the cobs to the grunting multitude, whom he addresses in the most intimate terms; in short, every thing is done leisurely, after his own fashion.

In these grazing States, as they may very properly be called, the negroes are well fed; they refuse beef and mutton, and will have nothing but pork; and are, without exception, the fattest and most saucy fellows I ever met with in a state of bondage; and such may be said generally to be the case with all the negroes in the Eastern States which I have mentioned. The rice grounds in South Carolina are unhealthy, but the slaves are very kindly treated. But the facts speak for themselves. When the negro works in a gang with the whip over him, he may be overworked and ill-treated; but when he is not regularly watched, he will take very good care that the work he performs shall not injure his constitution.

It has been asserted, and generally credited, that in the Eastern States negroes are regularly bred up like the cattle for the Western market. That the Virginians and the inhabitants of the other Eastern slave States do sell negroes which are taken to the West, there is no doubt; but that the negroes are bred expressly for that purpose, is, as regards the majority of the proprietors, far from the fact: it is the effect of circumstances over which they have had no control. Virginia, when first settled, was one of the richest States, but by continually cropping the land without manuring it, and that for nearly two hundred years, the major portion of many valuable estates has become barren, and the land is no longer under cultivation; in consequence of this, the negroes (increasing so rapidly as they do in that country) so far from being profitable, have become a serious tax upon their masters, who have to rear

and maintain, without having any employment to give them. The small portion of the estates under cultivation will subsist only a certain portion of the negroes : the remainder must, therefore, be disposed of, or they would eat their master out of his home.* That the slaves are not willingly disposed of by any of the proprietors I am certain, particularly when it is known that they are purchased for the West. I know of many instances of this, and was informed by others ; and by wills, especially, slaves have been directed to be sold for *two-thirds* of the price which they would fetch for the Western market, on condition that they were not to leave the State. These facts establish two points, *viz:* that the slave in the Eastern States is well treated, and that in the Western States slavery still exists with all its horrors. The common threat to, and ultimate punishment of, a refractory and disobedient slave in the East, is to sell him for the Western market. Many slave proprietors, whose estates have been worn out in the East, have preferred migrating to the West with their slaves rather than sell them, and thus is the severity of the Western treatment occasionally and partially mitigated.†

But doing justice, as I always will, to those who have

* " Many fine looking districts were pointed out to me in Virginia, formerly rich in tobacco and Indian corn, which had been completely exhausted by the production of crops for the maintenance of the slaves. In thickly-peopled countries where the great towns are at hand, the fertility of such soils may be recovered and even improved by manuring, but over the tracts of country I now speak of, no such advantages are within the farmer's reach."—*Captain Hall*.

† " Many, very many, with whom I met would willingly have released their slaves, but the law requires that in such cases they should leave the State; and this would mostly be not to improve their condition, but to banish them from their home, and make them miserable outcasts. What they cannot for the present remove they are anxious to mitigate, and I have never seen kinder attention paid to any domestics than by such persons to their slaves. In defiance of the infamous laws, making it criminal for the slave to be taught to read, and difficult to assemble for an act of worship, they are instructed, and they are assisted to worship God."—*Rev. Mr. Reid*.

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been unjustly calumniated, at the same time I must admit that there is a point connected with slavery in America which renders it more odious than in other countries; I refer to the system of amalgamation which has, from promiscuous intercourse, been carried on to such an extent, that you very often meet with slaves whose skins are whiter than their master's.

At Louisville, Kentucky, I saw a girl, about twelve years old, carrying a child; and, aware that in a slave State the circumstance of white people hiring themselves out to service is almost unknown, I inquired of her if she were a slave. To my astonishment, she replied in the affirmative. She was as fair as snow, and it was impossible to detect any admixture of blood from her appearance, which was that of a pretty English cottager's child.

I afterwards spoke to the master, who stated when he had purchased her and the sum which he had paid.

I took down the following advertisement for a runaway slave, which was posted up in every tavern I stopped at in Virginia on my way to the Springs. The expression of, "*in a manner white*," would imply that there was some shame felt in holding a white man in bondage:—

" Fifty Dollars Reward.

" Ran away from the subscriber, on Saturday, the 21st instant, a slave named—

GEORGE,

between twenty and twenty-four years of age, five feet five or six inches high, slender made, stoops when standing, a little bow legged; generally wears right and left boots and shoes; had on him when he left a fur cap, a checked stock and linen round about; had with him other clothing, a jean coat with black horn buttons, a pair of jean pantaloons, both coat and pantaloons of handsome grey mixed; no doubt other clothing not recollected. He had with him a common silver watch; he wears his pantaloons generally very tight in the legs. *Said boy* is in a manner *white*, would be passed by *and taken for a white man*. His hair is long and straight, like that of a *white* person; looks very steady when spoken to, speaks slowly, and would not be likely to look a person full in the face when speaking to him. It is believed he is making his way to Canada by way of Ohio. 1

will give twenty dollars for the apprehension of said slave if taken in the county, or fifty dollars if taken out of the county, and secured so that I recover him again.

ANDREW BEIRNE, Jun.,

Union Monroe City,
Virginia."

July 31st, 1838.

The above is a curious document, independently of its proving the manner in which man preys upon his fellow-man in this land of liberty and equality. It is a well-known fact, that a considerable portion of Mr. Jefferson's slaves were his own children.* If any of them absconded, he would smile, thereby implying that he should not be very particular in looking after them; and yet this man, this great and good man, as Miss Martineau calls him, this man who penned the paragraph I have quoted, as having been erased from the Declaration of Independence, who asserted that the slavery of the negro was a violation of the most sacred rights of life and liberty, permitted these his slaves and his children, the issue of his own loins, to be sold at auction after his demise, not even emancipating them, as he might have done, before his death. And, but lately, a member of Congress for Georgia, whose name I shall not mention, brought up a fine family of children, his own issue by a female slave; for many years acknowledged them as his own children; permitted them to call him by the endearing title of *papa*, and eventually the whole of them were sold by public auction, and that, too, during his own life-time!

But there is, I am sorry to say, a more horrible instance on record and one well authenticated. A planter of good family (I shall not mention his name or the State in which it occurred, as he was not so much to blame as were the laws,) connected himself with one of his own

* "The law declares the children of slaves are to follow the fortunes of the mother. Hence the practice of planters selling and bequeathing their own children."—*Miss Martineau*.

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female slaves, who was nearly white; the fruits of this connection were two daughters, very beautiful girls, who were sent to England to be educated. They were both grown up when their father died. At his death his affairs were found in a state of great disorder; in fact, there was not sufficient left to pay his creditors. Having brought up and educated these two girls and introduced them as his daughters, it quite slipped his memory that, having been born of a slave and not manumitted, they were in reality slaves themselves. This fact was established after his decease; they were torn away from the affluence and refinement to which they had been accustomed, sold and purchased as slaves, and with the avowed intention of the purchaser to reap his profits from their prostitution!!!

It must not, however, be supposed that the planters of Virginia and the other Eastern States, encourage this intercourse; on the contrary, the young men who visit at the plantations cannot affront them more than to take notice of their slaves, particularly the lighter coloured, who are retained in the house and attend upon their wives and daughters. Independently of the moral feeling which really guides them (as they naturally do not wish that the attendants of their daughters should be degraded) it is against their interest in case they should wish to sell; as a mulatto or light male will not fetch so high a price as a full-blooded negro; the cross between the European and negro, especially the first cross, *i. e.* the mulatto, is of a sickly constitution, and quite unable to bear up against the fatigue of field labour in the West. As the race becomes whiter, the stamina is said to improve.

Examining into the question of emancipation in America, the first enquiry will be, how far this consummation is likely to be effected by means of the abolitionists. Miss Martineau, in her book, says, "The good work has begun, and will proceed." She is so far right; it has begun, and has been progressing very fast, as may be proved by the single fact of the abolitionists

having decided the election in the State of Ohio in October last. But let not Miss Martineau exult; for the stronger the abolition party may become, the more danger there is to be apprehended of a disastrous conflict between the States.

The fact is that, by the constitution of the United States, the federal government have not only no power to *interfere* or to *abolish* slavery, but they are bound to *maintain* it: the abolition of slavery is expressly *withheld*. The citizens of any State may abolish slavery in their own State; but the federal government cannot do so without an express violation of the federal compact. Should all the States in the Union abolish slavery, with the exception of one, and that one be Maryland, (the smallest of the whole of the States,) neither the federal government, or the other States, could interfere with her. The federal compact binds the general government, "first, not to *meddle* with the slavery of the States where it exists, and next to *protect* it in the case of runaway slaves, and to *defend* it in case of *invasion* or *domestic violence* on account of it."

It appears, therefore, that slavery can only be abolished by the slave State itself in which it exists; and it is not very probable that any class of people will voluntarily make themselves beggars by surrendering up their whole property to satisfy the clamour of a party. That this party is strong, and is daily becoming stronger, is very true: the stronger it becomes the worse will be the prospects of the United States. In England the case was very different; the government had a right to make the sacrifice to public opinion by indemnification to the slave-holders; but in America the government have not that power; and the efforts of the abolitionists will only have the effect of plunging the country into difficulties and disunion. As an American author truly observes, "The American abolitionists must trample on the constitution, and wade through the carnage of a civil war, before they can triumph."

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Already the abolition party have done much mischief. The same author observes, "The South has been compelled, in self-defence, to rivet the chains of slavery afresh, and to hold on to their political rights with a stronger hand. The conduct of the abolitionists has arrested the improvements which were in progress in the slave States for the amelioration of the condition of the slave ; it has broken up the system of intellectual and moral culture that was extensively in operation for the slave's benefit, lest the increase of his knowledge should lend him a dangerous power, in connexion with these crusading efforts ; it has riveted the chains of slavery with a greatly increased power, and enforced a more rigorous discipline ; it has excluded for the time being the happy moral influence which was previously operating on the South from the North, and from the rest of the world, by the lights of comparison, by the interchange of a friendly intercourse, and by a friendly discussion of the great subject, all tending to the bettering of the slave's condition, and, as was supposed, to his ultimate emancipation. Before this agitation commenced, this subject, in all its aspects and bearings, might be discussed as freely at the South as any where ; but now, not a word can be said. It has kindled a sleepless jealousy in the South towards the North, and made the slaveholders feel as if all the rest of the world were their enemies, and that they must depend upon themselves for the maintenance of their political rights. We say rights, because they regard them as such ; and so long as they do so, it is all the same in their feelings, whether the rest of the world acknowledge them or not. And they are, in fact, *political* rights, guaranteed to them by the constitution of the United States."

It is not, however, impossible that the abolition party in the Eastern and Northern States may be gradually checked by the citizens of those very States. Their zeal may be as warm as ever ; but public opinion will compel them, at the risk of their lives, to hold their tongues. This possibility can, however, only arise from the Northern and Eastern States becoming manu-

facturing States, as they are most anxious to be. Should this happen, the raw cotton grown by slave-labour will employ the looms of Massachusetts; and then, as the Quarterly Review very correctly observes, "by a cycle of commercial benefits, the Northern and Eastern States will feel that there is some material compensation for the moral turpitude of the system of slavery."

The slave proprietors in these States are as well aware as any political economist can be, that slavery is a loss instead of a gain, and that no State can arrive at that degree of prosperity under a state of slavery which it would under free labour. The case is simple. In free labour, where there is competition, you exact the greatest possible returns for the least possible expenditure; a man is worked as a machine; he is paid for what he produces, and nothing more. By slave labour, you receive the least possible return for the greatest possible expense, for the slave is better fed and clothed than the freeman, and does as little work as he can. The slave-holders in the Eastern States are well aware of this, and are as anxious to be rid of slavery as are the abolitionists; but the time is not yet come, nor will it come until the country shall have so filled up as to render white labour attainable. Such, indeed, are not the expectations expressed in the language of the representatives of their States when in Congress; but, it must be remembered, that this is a question which has convulsed the Union, and that, not only from a feeling of pride, added to indignation at the interference, but from a feeling of the necessity of not yielding up one tittle upon this question, the language of determined resistance is in Congress invariably resorted to. But these gentlemen have one opinion for Congress, and another for their private table; in the first, they stand up unflinchingly for their slave rights; in the other they reason calmly, and admit what they could not admit in public. There is no labour in the Eastern States, excepting that of the rice plantations in South Carolina, which cannot be performed by white men; indeed, a large proportion of the cotton in the Carolinas is now raised by a *free*

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white population. In the grazing portion of these States, white labour would be substituted advantageously, could white labour be procured at any reasonable price.

The time will come, and I do not think it very distant, say perhaps twenty or thirty years, when, provided America receives no check, and these States are not injudiciously interfered with, that Virginia, Kentucky, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, (and, eventually, but probably somewhat later, Tennessee and South Carolina) will, of their own accord, enrol themselves among the free States. As a proof that in the Eastern slave States the negro is not held in such contempt, or justice towards him so much disregarded, I extract the following from an American work :

“An instance of the force of law in the Southern States for the protection of the slave has just occurred, in the failure of a petition to his excellency, P. M. Butler, Governor of South Carolina, for the pardon of Nazareth Allen, a white person, convicted of the murder of a slave, and sentenced to be hung. The following is part of the answer of the governor to the petitioners :

“The laws of South Carolina make no distinction in cases of deliberate murder, whether committed on a black man or a white man ; neither can I. I am not a law-maker, but the executive officer of the laws already made ; and I must not act on a distinction which the legislature might have made, but has not thought fit to make.’

“That the crime of which the prisoner stands convicted was committed against one of an inferior grade in society, is a reason for being especially cautious in intercepting the just severity of the law. This class of our population are subjected to us as well for their protection as our advantage. Our rights, in regard to them, are not more imperative than their duties ; and the institutions, which for wise and necessary ends have rendered them peculiarly dependent, at least pledge the law to be to them peculiarly a friend and protector.

“The prayer of the petition is not granted.

“ ‘PIERCE M. BUTLER.’ ”

In the Western States, comprehending Missouri, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama, the negroes are, with the exception perhaps of the two latter States, in a worse condition than they ever were in the West-India Islands. This may be easily imagined, when the character of the white people who inhabit the larger portion of these States is considered—a class of people, the majority of whom are without feelings of honour, reckless in their habits, intemperate, unprincipled, and lawless, many of them having fled from the Eastern States, as fraudulent bankrupts, swindlers, or committers of other crimes, which have subjected them to the penitentiaries—miscreants defying the climate, so that they can defy the laws. Still this representation of the character of the people inhabiting these States must, from the chaotic state of society in America, be received with many exceptions. In the city of New Orleans, for instance, and in Natchez, and its vicinity, and also among the planters, there are many most honourable exceptions. I have said the majority: for we must look to the *mass*—the exceptions do but prove the rule. It is evident that slaves under such masters can have but little chance of good treatment, and stories are told of them at which humanity shudders.

It appears, then, that the slaves, with the rest of the population of America, are *working their way west*, and the question may now be asked—Allowing that slavery will soon be abolished in the Eastern States, what prospect is there of its ultimate abolition and total extinction in America?

I can see no prospect of exchanging slave labour for free in the Western States, as, with the exception of Missouri, I do not think it possible that white labour could be substituted, the extreme heat and unhealthiness of the climate being a bar to any such attempt.

The cultivation of the land must be carried on by a negro population, if it is to be carried on at all. The question, therefore, to be considered is, whether these States are to be inhabited and cultivated by a free or a

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slave negro population. It must be remembered, that not one-twentieth part of the land in the Southern States is under cultivation; every year, as the slaves are brought in from the East, the number of acres taken into cultivation increases. Not double or triple the number of the slaves at present in America would be sufficient for the cultivation of the whole of these vast territories. Every year the cotton crops increase, and at the same time the price of cotton has not materially lowered: as an every where increasing population takes off the whole supply, this will probably continue to be the case for many years, since it must be remembered that, independently of the increasing population increasing the demand, cotton, from its comparative cheapness, continually usurps the place of some other raw material; this, of course, adds to the consumption. In various manufactures, cotton has already taken the place of linen and fur; but there must eventually be a limit to consumption: and this is certain, that as soon as the supply is so great as to exceed the demand, the price will be lowered by the competition; and, as soon as the price is by competition so lowered as to render the cost and keeping of the slave greater than the income returned by his labour, then, and not till then, is there any chance of slavery being abolished in the Western States of America.*

The probability of this consummation being brought about sooner is in the expectation that the Brazils, Mexico, and particularly the independent State of Texas, will in a few years produce a crop of cotton which may considerably lower its price. At present, the United States grow nearly, if not more, than half of the cotton produced in the whole world, as the return down to 1831 will substantiate.

* The return at present is very great in these Western States; the labour of a slave, after all his expenses are paid, producing on an average 300 dollars (£65) per annum to his master.

Cotton grown all over the world in the years 1821 and 1831 ; showing the increase in each country in ten years.

	1821.	1831.
United States, - - -	180,000,000 lbs.	385,000,000 lbs.
Brazil, - - - - -	32,000,000	38,000,000
West Indies, - - -	10,000,000	9,000,000
Egypt, - - - - -	6,000,000	18,000,000
Rest of Africa, - -	40,000,000	36,000,000
India, - - - - -	175,000,000	180,000,000
Rest of Asia, - - -	135,000,000	115,000,000
Mexico and South America, except Brazil, } 44,000,000		35,000,000
Elsewhere, - - -	8,000,000	4,000,000
In the World, - - -	630,000,000	820,000,000

The increase of cotton grown all over the world in ten years is therefore 190,000,000 lbs. Brazil has only increased 6,000,000 ; Egypt has increased 12,000,000 ; India, 5,000,000. Africa, West Indies, South America, Asia, have all fallen off ; but the defalcation has been made good by the United States, which have increased their growth by 205,000,000 of lbs.*

* Increase of cotton grown in the United States, from the year 1802 to 1831 :—

Years.	lbs.	Years.	lbs.
1802 . . .	55,000,000	1817 . . .	130,000,000
1803 . . .	60,000,000	1818 . . .	125,000,000
1804 . . .	65,000,000	1819 . . .	167,000,000
1805 . . .	70,000,000	1820 . . .	160,000,000
1806 . . .	80,000,000	1821 . . .	180,000,000
1807 . . .	80,000,000	1822 . . .	210,000,000
1808 . . .	75,000,000	1823 . . .	185,000,000
1809 . . .	82,000,000	1824 . . .	215,000,000
1810 . . .	85,000,000	1825 . . .	255,000,000
1811 . . .	82,000,000	1826 . . .	300,000,000
1812 . . .	75,000,000	1827 . . .	270,000,000
1813 . . .	75,000,000	1828 . . .	325,000,000
1814 . . .	70,000,000	1829 . . .	365,000,000
1815 . . .	100,000,000	1830 . . .	350,000,000
1815 . . .	100,000,000	1831 . . .	385,000,000

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In the Southern portion of America there are millions of acres on which cotton can be successfully cultivated, particularly Texas, the soil of which is so congenial that they can produce 1,000 lb. to the 400 lb. raised by the Americans; and the quality of the Texian cotton is said to be equal to the finest Sea Island produce. It is to Texas particularly that we must look for this produce, as it can there be raised by white labour;* and, being so produced, will, as soon as its population increases to a certain extent, be able to undersell that which is grown in America by the labour of the slave.

From circumstances, therefore, Texas, which but a few years since was hardly known as a country, becomes a State of the greatest importance to the civilised and moral world.

I am not in this chapter about to raise the question how Texas has been ravished from Mexico. Miss Martineau, with all her admiration of democracy, admits it to have been "the most *high-handed* theft of modern times;" and the letter of the celebrated Dr. Channing to Mr. Clay has laid bare to the world the whole nefarious transaction. In this letter Dr. Channing points out the cause of the seizure of Texas, and the wish to enrol it among the Federal States.

"Mexico, at the moment of throwing off the Spanish yoke, gave a noble testimony of her loyalty to free principles, by decreeing, 'That no person thereafter should be born a slave, or introduced as such into the Mexican States; that all slaves then held should receive stipulated wages, and be subject to no punishment but on trial and judgment by the magistrate.' The subsequent acts of the government fully carried out these constitutional provisions. It is matter of deep

* It may be asked: How is it, as Texas is so far south, that a white population can labour there? It is because Texas is a prairie country, and situated at the bottom of the Gulf of Mexico. A sea-breeze always blows across the whole of the country, rendering it cool, and refreshing it notwithstanding the power of the sun's rays. This breeze is apparently a continuation of the trade-winds following the course of the sun.

grief and humiliation, that the emigrants from this country, whilst boasting of superior civilisation, refused to second this honourable policy, intended to set limits to one of the greatest of social evils. Slaves come into Texas with their masters from the neighbouring States of this country. One mode of evading the laws was, to introduce slaves under formal indentures for long periods, in some cases, it is said, for ninety-nine years; but by a decree of the State Legislature of Coahuila and Texas, all indentures for a longer period than ten years were annulled, and provision was made for the freedom of children during this apprenticeship. This settled, invincible purpose of Mexico to exclude slavery from her limits, created as strong a purpose to annihilate her authority in Texas. By this prohibition, Texas was virtually shut against emigration from the Southern and Western portions of this country; and it is well known that the eyes of the South and West had for some time been turned to this province as a new market for slaves, as a new field for slave labour, and as a vast accession of political power to the slave-holding States. That such views are prevalent we know; for, nefarious as they are, they found their way into the public prints. The project of dismembering a neighbouring republic, that slaveholders and slaves might overspread a region which had been consecrated to a free population, was discussed in newspapers as coolly as if it were a matter of obvious right and unquestionable humanity. A powerful interest was thus created for severing from Mexico her distant province."

The fact is this:—America, (for the government looked on and offered no interruption,) has seized upon Texas, with a view of extending the curse of slavery, and of finding a mart for the excess of her negro population: if Texas is admitted into the Union, all chance of the abolition of slavery must be thrown forward to such an indefinite period, as to be lost in the mist of futurity; if, on the contrary, Texas remains an independent province, or is restored to her legitimate owners, and in either case slavery is abolished, she then be-

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comes, from the very circumstance of her fertility and aptitude for white labour, not only the great *check to slavery*, but eventually the means of its *abolition*. Never, therefore, was there a portion of the globe upon which the moral world must look with such interest.

England may, if she acts promptly and wisely, make such terms with this young State as to raise it up as a barrier against the profligate ambition of America. Texas was a portion of Mexico, and Mexico abolished slavery; the Texians are bound (if they are *Texians* and not Americans) to adhere to what might be considered a treaty with the whole Christian world; if not, they can make no demand upon its sympathy or protection, and *it should be a sine qua non with England and all other European powers, previous to acknowledging or entering into commercial relations with Texas, that she should adhere to the law which was passed at the time that she was an integral portion of Mexico, and declare herself to be a Free State*—if she does not, unless the chains are broken by the negro himself, the cause and hopes of *Emancipation* are lost.

There certainly is one outlet for the slaves, which, as they are removed farther and farther to the west, will eventually be offered:—that of escaping to the Indian tribes which are spread over the western frontier, and amalgamating with them; such indeed, I think, will some future day be the result, whether they gain their liberty by desertion, insurrection, or manumission.

Of insurrection there is at present but little fear. In the Eastern slave States, the negroes do not think of it, and if they did, the difficulty of combination and of procuring arms is so great, that it would be attended with very partial success. The intervention of a foreign power might indeed bring it to pass, but it is to be hoped that England, at all events, will never be the party to foment a servile war. Let us not forget that for more than two centuries we have been *particeps criminis*, and should have been in as great a difficulty as the Americans now are, had we had the negro popu-

lation on our own soil, and not on distant islands which could be legislated for without affecting the condition of the mother country. Nay, at this very moment, by taking nearly the whole of the American cotton off their hands in exchange for our manufactures, we are ourselves virtually encouraging slavery by affording the Americans such a profitable mart for their slave labour.

There is one point to which I have not yet adverted, which is, Whether the question of emancipation is likely to produce a separation between the northern and southern States? The only reply that can be given is, that it entirely depends upon whether the abolition party can be held in check by the Federal Government. That the Federal Government will do its utmost there can be no doubt, but the Federal Government is not so powerful as many of the Societies formed in America, and especially the Abolition Society, which every day adds to its members. The interests of the North are certainly at variance with the measures of this society, yet still it gains strength. The last proceedings in Congress show that the Federal Government is aware of its rapid extension, and are determined to do all in its power to suppress it. The following are a portion of the resolutions which were passed last year by an overwhelming majority.

The first resolution was, "That the government is of limited powers, and that by the constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the institution of slavery in the several States of the confederacy;" the last was as follows: "Resolved, therefore, that all attempts on the part of Congress to *abolish slavery* in the District of Columbia, or the territories, or to prohibit the removal of the slaves from State to State; or to discriminate between the constitution of one portion of the confederacy and another, with the views aforesaid, are in *violation* of the constitutional principles on which the *union* of these States rests, and beyond the jurisdiction of Congress; and that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper touching or relating in any way or to any extent

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whatever to slavery as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, shall, without any further action thereon, be laid on the table, without *printing, reading, debate, or reference.*" Question put, "Shall the resolutions pass?" Yeas, 198; Noes, 6.—*Examiner.*

These resolutions are very firm and decided, but in England people have no idea of the fanaticism displayed and excitement created in these societies, which are a peculiar feature in the States, and arising from the nature of their institutions. Their strength and perseverance are such that they bear down all before them, and, regardless of all consequences, they may eventually control the government.

As to the question which portion of the States will be the losers by a separation, I myself think that it will be the Northern States which will suffer. But as I always refer to American authority when I can, I had better give the reader a portion of a letter written by one of the Southern gentlemen on this subject. In a letter to the editor of the *National Gazette*, Mr. Cooper, after referring to a point at issue with the abolitionists, not necessary to introduce here, says—"I shall therefore briefly touch upon the subject once more; and if further provocation is given, I may possibly enter into more details hereafter; for the present I desire to hint at some items of calculation of the value of the Union to *the North.*

"1. Mr. Rhett, in his bold and honest address, has stated that the expenditures of the Government for twenty years, ending 1836, have been four hundred and twenty millions of dollars; of which one hundred and thirty were dedicated to the payment of the national debt. Of the remainder, two hundred and ten millions were expended in the Northern, and eighty millions in the Southern States. Suppose this Union to be severed, I rather guess the Government expenditure of what is now about fifteen millions a-year to the North, would be an item reluctantly spared. No people know better what to do with the 'cheese-parings and the candle-ends' than our good friends to the North.

"2. I beg permission to address New York especially. In the year 1836 our exports were one hundred and sixteen millions of dollars, and our imports one hundred and forty millions. It is not too much to assign seventy-five millions of these imports to the State of New York. The South furnishes on an average two-thirds of the whole value of the *exports*. It is fair, therefore, to say, that two-thirds of the *imports* are consumed in the South, that is, fifty millions. The mercantile profit on fifty millions of merchandise, added to the agency and factorage of the Southern products transmitted to pay for them, will be at least twenty per cent. That is, New York is gainer by the South, of at least ten millions of dollars annually; for the traffic is not likely to decrease after the present year. No wonder 'her merchants are like princes!' Sever the Union, and what becomes of them?

"3. The army, the navy, the departments of Government, are supported by a revenue obtained from the indirect taxation of Custom-house entries, the most fraudulent and extravagant mode of taxation known. Of this the south pays two-thirds. What will become of the system if the South be driven away?

"4. The banking system of the Northern States is founded mainly on the traffic and custom of the South. Withdraw that for one twelvemonth, and the whole banking system of the North

Tumbles all precipitate,
Down dash'd.

Suppose even one State withdrawn from the Union, would not the pecuniary intercourse with Europe be paralysed at once?

"5. The South even now are the great consumers of New England manufactures. We take her cotton, her woollen goods, her boots and shoes. These last form an item of upwards of fourteen millions annually, manufactured at the North. Much also of her iron ware comes to the South; many other 'notions' are sent

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among us, greatly to the advantage of that wise people, who know better the value of small gains and small savings than we do.

"6. What supports the shipping of the North but her commerce; and of her commerce two-thirds is Southern commerce. Nor is her *commerce* in any manner or degree *necessary* to the South; *Europe* manufactures what the *South wants*, and the *South* raises what *Europe wants*. Between *Europe* and the *South* there is not and cannot be any competition, for there is no commercial or manufacturing, or territorial interference to excite jealousies between them. We want not the North. *We can do without the North*, if we separate to-morrow. We can find carriers and purchasers of *all we have to sell* and of *all we wish to buy*, without casting one glance to the North.

"7. The North seems to have a strange inclination to quarrel with England. The late war of 1812 to 1814 was a war for Northern claims and Northern interests, now we are in jeopardy from the unjust interference in favour of the patriots of Canada; and a dispute is threatened on account of the Northeastern boundary. The manufacturing and commercial interferences of the North with *Europe* will always remain a possible, if not a probable, source of disputes. The *North* raises what *Europe* raises; commercially they need not each other—they are two of a trade, they raise not what each other wants—they are *rivals* and *competitors* when they go to war. Does not the *South*, who is not interested in it, pay most part of the expense? and is not the war expenditure applied to the benefit of the North? Sever, if you please, the Union, and the North will have to pay the whole expense of her own quarrels.

"8. Our system of domestic servitude is a great eyesore to the fanatics of the North. But there are very many wise and honest men in the North; ay, even in Massachusetts. I ask of these gentlemen does not at least one-third of the labour produce of every Southern slave ultimately lodge in the purse of the North? If the South

works for itself it works also for the Northern merchant, and views his prosperity without grudging.

" 9. Nor is it a trifling article of gain that arises from the expenditure of Southern visitors and Southern travellers, who spend their summers and their money in the North. The quarrelsome rudeness of Northern society is fast diminishing this source of expenditure among us. Sever the Union and we relinquish it altogether. We can go to London, Paris, or Rome, as cheaply and as pleasantly as to Saratoga or Niagara.

" Such are some of the advantages which the North derives from a continuance of that Union which her fanatic population is so desirous to sever. A population with whom peace, humanity, mercy, oaths, contracts, and compacts, pass for nothing—whose promises and engagements are as chaff before the wind—to whom bloodshed, robbery, assassination, and murder are objects of placid contemplation—whose narrow creed of bigotry supersedes all the obligations of morality, and all the commands of positive law. With such men what valid compact can be made? The appeal must be to those who think that a deliberate compact is mutually binding on parties of any and every religious creed. To such men I appeal, and ask ought you not resolutely to restore peace, and give the South confidence and repose?

" I have now lived twenty years in South Carolina, and have had much intercourse with her prominent and leading men; not a man among them is ignorant how decidedly, in most respects, the South would gain by a severance from the North, and how much more advantageous is this union to the North than to the South. But I am deeply, firmly persuaded that there is not one man in South Carolina that would move one step toward a separation, on account of the superior advantages the North derives from the Union. No Southern is actuated by these pecuniary feelings; no Southern begrudges the North her prosperity. Enjoy your advantages, gentlemen of the North, and much good may they

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do ye, as they have hitherto. But if these unconstitutional abolition attacks upon us, in utter defiance of the national compact, are to be continued, God forbid this Union should last another year.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

" THOMAS COOPER."

RELIGION IN AMERICA.

IN theory nothing appears more rational than that every one should worship the Deity according to his own ideas—form his own opinion as to his attributes, and draw his own conclusions as to hereafter. An established church *appears* to be a species of coercion, not that you are obliged to believe in, or follow that form of worship, but that, if you do not, you lose your portion of certain advantages attending that form of religion which has been accepted by the majority and adopted by the government. In religion, to think for yourself wears the semblance of a luxury, and, like other luxuries, it is proportionably taxed.

And yet it would appear as if it never were intended that the mass should think for themselves, as every thing goes on so quietly when other people think for them, and every thing goes so wrong when they do think for themselves: in the first instance, where a portion of the people think for the mass, all are of one opinion; whereas in the second, they divide and split into so many molecules, that they resemble the globules of water when expanded by heat, and like them are in a state of restlessness and excitement.

That the partiality shown to an established church creates some bitterness of feeling is most true, but, being established by law, is it not the partiality shown for the legitimate over the illegitimate? All who choose may enter into its portals, and if people will remain out of doors of their own accord, ought they to complain that they have no house over their heads? They certainly have a right to remain out of doors if they please, but whether they are justified in complaining afterwards is another question. Perhaps the unreasonableness of the demands of the Dissenters in our own country will be

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better brought home to them by my pointing out the effects of the Voluntary System in the United States.

In America every one worships the Deity after his own fashion; not only the mode of worship, but even the Deity itself, varies. Some worship God, some Mammon; some admit, some deny, Christ; some deny both God and Christ; some are saved by living prophets only; some go to heaven by water, while some dance their way upwards. Numerous as are the sects, still are the sects much subdivided. Unitarians are not in unity as to the portion of divinity they shall admit to our Saviour; Baptists, as to the precise quantity of water necessary to salvation; even the Quakers have split into controversy, and the men of peace are at open war in Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love.

The following is the table of the religious denominations of the United States, from the American Almanac of 1838:—

Table of the Religious Denominations of the United States.

	Congrega- tions.	Minis- ters.	Communi- cants.	Population
Baptists - - -	6,319	4,239	452,000	} 4,300,000
Freewillers - - -	753	612	38,876	
Seventh Day - - -	42	46	4,503	
Six Principle - - -	16	10	2,117	
Roman Catholics - - -	433	389		800,000
Christians - - -	1,000	800	150,000	300,000
Congregationalists - - -	1,300	1,150	160,000	1,400,000
Dutch Reformed - - -	197	192	22,215	450,000
Episcopalians - - -	850	899		600,000
Friends - - -	500			100,000
German Reformed - - -	600	180	30,000	
Jews - - -				15,000
Lutherans - - -	750	267	62,266	540,000
Mennonites - - -	200		30,000	
Wesleyans - - -		2,764	650,103	} 3,000,000
Protestants - - -		400	50,000	
Moravians, - - -	24	33	5,745	
Mormonites - - -			12,000	12,000
New Jerusalem Church	27	33		5,000

	Congrega- tions.	Minis- ters.	Communi- cants.	Population
Presbyterians . .	2,807	2,225	274,084	} 2,175,000
Cumberland . .	500	450	50,000	
Associate . .	183	87	16,000	
Reformed . .	40	20	3,000	
Associate Reformed	214	116	12,000	
Shakers . .	15	45	6,000	
Tunkers . .	40	40	3,000	30,000
Unitarians . .	200	174		180,000
Universalists . .	653	317		600,000
			1,983,905	

In this list many varieties of sects are blended into one. For instance, the Baptists who are divided; also the Friends, who have been separated into Orthodox and Hicksite, the Camelites, &c. &c. But it is not worth while to enter into a detail of the numerous minor sects, or we might add Deists, Atheists, &c.—for even *no* religion is a species of *creed*. It must be observed, that, according to this table, out of the whole population of the United States, there are only 1,983,905, (with the exception of the Catholics, who are communicants,) that is, who have openly professed any creed; the numbers put down as the population of the different creeds are wholly supposititious. How can it be otherwise, when people have not professed? It is computed, that in the census of 1840 the population of the States will have increased to 18,000,000, so that it may be said that only one-ninth portion have professed and openly avowed themselves Christians.

Religion may, as to its consequences, be considered under two heads; as it affects the future welfare of the individual when he is summoned to the presence of the Deity, and as it affects society in general, by acting upon the moral character of the community. Now, admitting the right of every individual to decide whether he will follow the usual beaten track, or select for himself a by-path for his journey upward, it must be acknowledged that the results of this free-will are, in a

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moral point of view, as far as society is concerned, any thing but satisfactory.

It would appear as if the majority were much too frail and weak to go alone upon their heavenly journey; as if they required the support, the assistance, the encouragement, the leaning upon others who are journeying with them, to enable them successfully to gain the goal. The effects of an established church are to cement the mass, cement society and communities, and increase the force of those natural ties by which families and relations are bound together. There is an attraction of cohesion in an uniform religious worship, acting favourably upon the morals of the mass, and binding still more closely those already united.

Now, the voluntary system in America has produced the very opposite effects: it has broken one of the strongest links between man and man, for each goeth his own way: as a nation, there is no national feeling to be acted upon; in society, there is something wanting, and you ask yourself what it is? and in families it often creates disunion: I know one among many others, who, instead of going together to the same house of prayer, disperse as soon as they are out of the door: one daughter to a Unitarian chapel, another to a Baptist; the parents to the Episcopal; the sons, any where, or no where. But worse effects are produced than even these: where any one is allowed to have his own peculiar way of thinking, his own peculiar creed, there neither is a watch, nor a right to watch over each other; there is no mutual communication, no encouragement, no parental control; and the consequence is, that by the majority, especially the young, religion becomes wholly and utterly disregarded.

Another great evil, arising from the peculiarity of the voluntary system, is, that in many of the principal sects the power has been wrested from the clergy and assumed by the laity, who exercise an inquisition most injurious to the cause of religion; and to such an excess of tyranny is this power exercised, that it depends upon the *laity*, and not upon the *clergy*, whether any indivi-

dual shall or shall not be admitted as a *communicant* at the table of our Lord.*.

Referring to religious instruction, Mr. Carey in his work attempts to prove the great superiority of religious instruction and church accommodation in America, as compared with those matters in this country. He draws his conclusions from the number of churches built and provided for the population in each. Like most others of his conclusions, they are drawn from false premises: he might just as well argue upon the number of horses in each country, from the number of horse-ponds he might happen to count in each. In the first place, the size of the churches must be considered, and their ability to accommodate the population; and on this point the question is greatly in favour of England; for with the exception of the cities and large towns, the churches scattered about the hamlets and rising towns are small even to ridicule, built of clap-boards, and so light that, if on wheels, two pair of English post-horses would trot them away to meet the minister.

Mr. Carey also finds fault with the sites of our churches, as being unfortunate in consequence of the change of population. There is some truth in this remark; but our churches being built of brick and stone, cannot be so easily removed; and it happens that the sites of the majority of the American churches are equally unfortunate, not as in our case, from the population having *left* them, but from the population not having *come* to them. You may pass in one day a dozen towns having not above twenty or thirty private houses, although you will invariably find in each a hotel, a bank, and churches of two or three denominations, built as a speculation, either by those who hold the ground lots, or by those who have settled there, and as an inducement to others to come and settle. The

* Miss Martineau may well inquire, "How does the existing state of religion accord with the promise of its birth? In a country which professes to every man the pursuit of happiness in his own way, what is the state of his liberty in the most private and individual of all concerns?"

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churches, as Mr. Carey states, exist, but the congregations have not arrived; while you may, at other times, pass over many miles without finding a place of worship for the spare population. I have no hesitation in asserting, not only that our 12,000 churches and cathedrals will hold a larger number of people than the 20,000 stated by Mr. Carey to be erected in America, but that as many people, (taking into consideration the difference of the population,) go to our 12,000, as to the 20,000 in the United States.

Neither is Mr. Carey correct when he would insinuate that the attention given by the people in America to religious accommodation is greater than with us. It is true, that more churches, such as they are, are built in America; but paying an average of £12,000 for a church built of brick or stone in England, is a very different thing from paying 12,000 dollars for a clap-board and shingle affair in America, and which compared with those of brick and mortar, are there in the proportion of ten to one. And further, the comparative value of church building in America is very much lowered by the circumstance that they are compelled to multiply them, to provide for the immense variety of creeds which exist under the *voluntary* system. When people in a community are all of one creed, one church is sufficient; but if they are of different persuasions, they must, as they do in America, divide the one large church into four little ones. It is not fair, therefore, for Mr. Carey to count *churches*.*

But, although I will not admit the conclusions drawn from Mr. Carey's premises, nor that, as he would attempt to prove, the Americans are a more religious people than the English, I am not only ready, but anxious to do justice to the really religious portion of its inhabitants. I believe that in no other country is

* "We know also that large sums are expended annually for the building of churches or places of worship, which in cities cost from 10,000 to 100,000 dollars each; and in the country from 500 to 5,000 dollars."—*Voice from America by an American Gentleman*. [What must be the size of a church which costs 500 dollars?]

there more zeal shown by its various ministers, zeal even to the sacrifice of life; that no country sends out more zealous missionaries; that no country has more societies for the diffusion of the gospel; and that in no other country in the world are larger sums subscribed for the furtherance of those praiseworthy objects as in the Eastern States of America. I admit all this, and admit it with pleasure, for I know it to be a fact: I only regret to add, that in no other country are such strenuous exertions so incessantly required to stem the torrent of atheism and infidelity which so universally exists in this. Indeed this very zeal, so ardent on the part of the ministers, and so aided by the well-disposed of the laity, proves that what I have just now asserted is, unfortunately, but too true.

It is not my intention to comment upon the numerous sects, and the varieties of worship practised in the United States. The Episcopal church is small in proportion to the others, and as far as I can ascertain, although it may increase its members with the increase of population, it is not likely to make any vigorous or successful stand against the other sects. The two churches most congenial to the American feelings and institutions are the Presbyterian and Congregationalists.* They may, indeed, in opposition to the hierarchy of the Episcopal, be considered as Republican churches; and admitting that many errors have crept into the Established church from its too intimate union with the State, I think it will be proved that, in rejecting its errors and the domination of the mitre, the seceders have fallen into still greater evils; and have for the latter, substituted a despotism to which every thing, even religion itself, must in America succumb.

In a republic, or democracy, the people will rule in every thing: in the Congregational church they rule as deacons; in the Presbyterian as elders. Affairs are litigated and decided in committees and councils, and

* "The Congregationalists answer to the Independents of England, and are sympathetically, and to a great extent, lineally descendants of the Puritans."—*Voice from America*, p. 62.

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thus is the pastoral office deprived of its primitive and legitimate influence, and the ministers are tyrannised over by the laity, in the most absurd and most unjustifiable manner. If the minister does not submit to their decisions, if he asserts his right as a minister to preach the word according to his reading of it, he is arraigned and dismissed. In short, although sent for to instruct the people, he must consent to be instructed by them or surrender up his trust. Thus do the ministers lose all their dignity and become the slaves of the congregation, who give them their choice, either to read the Scriptures according to *their* reading, or to go and starve. I was once canvassing this question with an American, who pronounced that the laity were quite right, and that it was the duty of the minister to preach as his congregation wished. His argument was this:—"If I send to Manchester for any article to be manufactured, I expect it to be made exactly after the pattern given, if not I will not take it: so it is with the minister: he must find goods exactly suited to his customers, or expect them to be left on his hands!"

And it really would appear as if such were the general opinion in the United States. Mr. Colton, an American minister, who turned from the Presbyterian to the Episcopal church, in his "Reasons for Episcopacy," makes the following remarks;* speaking of the deacons and elders of their churches, he says—

"They may be honest and good men, and very pious; but in most churches they are men of little intellectual culture; and the less they have, the more confident and unbending are they in their opinions. If a minister travels an inch beyond the circle of their vision in theology, or startle them with a new idea in his interpretation of Scripture, it is not unlikely that their suspicion of his orthodoxy will be awakened. If he does any thing out

* I must request the reader's forbearance at the extreme length of the quotations, but I cannot well avoid making them. Whatever weight my opinion, as the opinion of an observant traveller may have, it must naturally be much increased if supported, as it always is when opportunity offers, by *American* authority.

of the common course, he is an innovator. If, from the multiplicity of his cares and engagements, he is now and then obliged to preach an old sermon, or does not visit so much as might be expected, he is lazy. For these and for other delinquencies, as adjudged by these associates, it becomes their conscientious duty to admonish him. He who is appointed to supervise the flock, is himself supervised. 'I have a charge to give you,' said a deacon to me once, the first time and the moment I was introduced to him, after I had preached one or two Sabbaths in the place, and, as it happened, it was the first word he said after we shook hands, adding, 'I often give charges to ministers.' I knew him to be an important man, and the first in the church; but as I had nothing at stake there that depended on his favour, I could not resist the temptation of replying to him in view of his consequential airs,* 'You may use your discretion, sir, in this particular instance; but I can tell you that ministers are sometimes overcharged.' However, I did not escape.

"It seems to be a principle in Presbyterian and Congregational churches, that the minister must be overlooked by the elders and deacons; and if he does not quietly submit to their rule, his condition will be uncomfortable. He may also expect visitations from *women* to instruct him in his duty; at least they will contrive to convey to him their opinions. It is said of Dr. Bellamy, of Bethlehem, Connecticut, who was eminently a peace-maker, and was always sent for by all the churches in the country around, at a great distance,

"The American clergy are the most backward and timid class in the society of which they live; self-exiled from the great moral question of the time; the least informed with true knowledge—the least efficient in virtuous action—the least conscious of that Christian and republican freedom which, as a native atmosphere of piety and holiness, it is their prime duty to cherish and diffuse,"—*Miss Martineau*.—I quote this paragraph to *contradict it*. The American clergy are, in the mass, equal, if not superior to any in the world: they have to struggle with difficulties almost insurmountable, (as I shall substantiate,) and worthily do they perform their tasks.

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to settle their difficulties, that having just returned from one of these errands, and put up his horse, another message of the same kind came from another quarter—'And what is the matter?' said the Doctor to the messenger. 'Why,' said he, 'Deacon —— has—' 'Has—that's enough. There never is a difficulty in a church, but some old deacon is at the bottom of it.'

"Unquestionably, it is proper, wise, and prudent for every minister to watch and consult the popular opinion around him, in relation to himself, his preaching, and his conduct. But, if a minister is worthy to be the pastor of a people, he is also worthy of some confidence, and ought to receive deference. In his own proper work he may be helped, he may be sustained, but he cannot be instructed by his people; he cannot in general be instructed by the wisest of them. Respectful and kind hints from competent persons he may receive, and should court—he may profit by them. But, if he is a man fit for his place, he should retain that honour that will leave him scope, and inspire him with courage to act a manly part. A Christian pastor can never fulfil his office, and attain its highest ends, without being free to act among his people according to the light of his conscience and his best discretion. To have elders and deacons to rule over him, is to be a slave—is not to be a man. The responsibilities, cares, burdens, and labours of the pastoral office are enough, without being impeded and oppressed by such anxieties as these. In the early history of New England, a non-conformist minister, from the old country, is represented to have said, after a little experience on this side of the water, 'I left England to get rid of my lords the bishops; but here I find in their place my lords, the brethren and sisters; save me from the latter, and let me have the former.'

"It has actually happened within a few years in New England, and I believe in other parts of the country, that there has been a system of lay visitation of the clergy for the purpose of counselling, admonishing, and urging them up to their duty; and that these self-commissioned apostles, two and two, have gone from town

to town, and from district to district of the country, making inquisition at the mouth of common rumour, and by such methods as might be convenient, into the conduct and fidelity of clergymen whom they never saw; and, having exhausted their means of information, have made their way into the closets of their adopted protégés; to advise, admonish, pray with, and for them, according as they might need. Having fulfilled their office, they have renewed their march, 'staff and scrip,' in a straightforward way, to the next parish in the assigned round of their visitations, to enact the same scene, and so on till their work was done.

"Of course, they were variously received; though, for the most part, I believe they have been treated civilly, and their title to this enterprise not openly disputed. There has been an unaccountable submission to things of this kind, proving indeed that the ministers thus visited were not quite manly enough; or that a public opinion, authorising these transactions, had obtained too extensive a sway in their own connexion, and among their people, to be resisted. By many, doubtless, it was regarded as one of the hopeful symptoms of this age of religious experiment.

"I have heard of one reception of these lay apostles, which may not be unworthy of record. One pair of them—for they went forth 'two and two,' and thus far were conformed to Scripture—both of them mechanics, and one a shoemaker, having abandoned their calling to engage in this enterprise, came upon a subject who was not well disposed to recognise their commission. They began to talk with him: 'We have come to stir you up.'—'How is the shoe business in your city?' said the clergyman to the shoemaker, who was the speaker; for it was a city from which they came. The shoemaker looked vacant, and stared at the question, as if he thought it not very pertinent to his errand; and, after a little pause, proceeded in the discharge of his office: 'We have come to give your church a shaking.'—'Is the market for shoes good?' said the clergyman. Abashed at this apparent obliquity, the

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shoemaker paused again; and again went on in like manner. To which the clergyman: 'Your business is at a stand, sir, I p̄sume; I suppose you have nothing to do?' And so the dialogue went on; the shoemaker confining himself to his duty, and the clergyman talking only of shoes, in varied and constantly-shifting colloquy, till the perverse and wicked pertinacity of the latter discouraged the former; and the shoemaker and his brother took up their hats, 'to shake off the dust of their feet,' and turn away to a more hopeful subject. The clergyman bowed them very civilly out of doors, expressing his wish, as they departed, that the shoe business might soon revive. Of course, these lay apostles, in this instance, were horror-struck; and it cannot be supposed they were much inclined to leave their blessing behind them.

"I believe I do not mistake in expressing the conviction that there are hundreds, not to say thousands, of the Presbyterian and Congregational clergy, who will sympathise with me thoroughly in these strictures on the encroachments of the laity upon pastoral prerogative; who groan under it; who feel that it ought to be rebuked and corrected, but despair of it; and who know that their usefulness is abridged by it to an amount that cannot be estimated.* It can hardly be

* "The Rev. Mr. Reid mentions a very whimsical instance of the interference of the laity in every possible way. He says, that being at church one Sabbath, there was one reverend old man, certainly a leader among them, who literally, as the preacher went on with his sermon, kept up a sort of recitation with him; as, for instance, the preacher continuing his sermon—

The duty here inferred is, to deny ourselves—

Elder. God enable us to do it.

Preacher. It supposes that the carnal mind is enmity against God—

Elder. Ah, indeed, Lord, it is.

Preacher. The very reverse of what God would have us to be—

Elder. God Almighty knows it's true.

Preacher. How necessary, then, that God should call upon us to renounce every thing—

Elder. God help us!

Preacher. Is it necessary for me to say more?

denied, I think, that the prevalence of this spirit has greatly increased within a few years, and become a great and alarming evil. This increase is owing, no doubt, to the influence and new practices introduced into the religious world by a certain class of ministers, who have lately risen and taken upon themselves to rebuke and set down as unfaithful all other ministers who do not conform to their new ways, or sustain them in their extravagant career."

The interference, I may say the tyranny, of the laity over the ministers of these democratic churches is, however, of still more serious consequences to those who accept such arduous and repulsive duty. It is a well-known fact that there is a species of *bronchitis*, or affection of the lungs, peculiar to the ministers in the United States, arising from their excessive labours in their vocation. I have already observed, that the zeal of the minister is even unto death: the observations of Mr. Colton fully bear me out in my assertion.

"There is another serious evil in the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations, which has attained

Elder. No—oh—no!

Preacher. Have I not said enough?

Elder. Oh, yes, quite enough.

Preacher. I rejoice that God calls me to give up every thing—

Elder. Yes, Lord, I would let it all go.

Preacher. You must give up all—

Elder. Yes—all.

Preacher. Your pride—

Elder. My pride—

Preacher. Your envy—

Elder. My envy.

Preacher. Your covetousness—

Elder. My covetousness.

Preacher. Your anger—

Elder. Yes—my anger.

Preacher. Sinner, then, how awful is your condition!

Elder. How awful!

Preacher. What reason for all to examine themselves.

Elder. Lord, help us to search our hearts!

Preacher. Could you have more motives? I have done.

Elder. Thank God.——— Thank God for his holy word. Amen."

to the consequence of an active and highly influential element in these communities. I refer to the excessive amount of labour that is demanded of the clergy, which is undermining their health, and sending scores to their graves every year, long before they ought to go there. It is a new state of things, it must be acknowledged, and might seem hopeful of good, that great labours and high devotion to the duties of the Christian ministry in our country will not only be tolerated, but are actually demanded and imperatively exacted. At first glance it is a most grateful feature. But, when the particulars come to be inquired into, it will be found that the mind and health-destroying exactions now so extensively made on the energies of the American clergy, particularly on these two classes I am now considering, are attributable, almost entirely, to an appetite for certain novelties, which have been introduced within a few years, adding greatly to the amount of ministerial labour, without augmenting its efficiency, but rather detracting from it. Sermons and meetings without end, and in almost endless variety, are expected and demanded; and a proportionate demand is made on the intellect, resources, and physical energies of the preacher. He must be as much more interesting in his exercises and exhibitions as the increased multiplicity of public religious occasions tend to pall on the appetite of hearers. Protracted meetings from day to day, and often from week to week, are making demands upon ministers, which no human power can sustain; and, where these are dispensed with, it is often necessary to introduce something tantamount, in other forms, to satisfy the suggestions and wishes of persons so influential as to render it imprudent not to attempt to gratify them. In the soberest congregations, throughout nearly all parts of the land, these importunate and (without unkindness, I am disposed to add) morbid minds are to be found,—often in considerable numbers. Almost every where, in order to maintain their ground and satisfy the taste of the times, labours are demanded of ministers in these two denominations enough to kill

any man in a short period. It is as if Satan had come into the world in the form of an angel of light, seeming to be urging on a good work, but pushing it so hard as to destroy the labourers by over-exaction.

“The wasting energies—the enfeebled, ruined health—the frequent premature deaths—the failing of ministers in the Presbyterian and Congregational connexions from these causes all over the country, almost as soon as they have begun to work—all which is too manifest not to be seen, which every body feels that takes any interest in this subject—are principally, and with few exceptions, owing to the unnecessary exorbitant demands on their intellectual powers, their moral and physical energies. And the worst of it is, we not only have no indemnification for this amazing, immense sacrifice, by a real improvement of the state of religion, but the public mind is vitiated: an unnatural appetite for spurious excitements, all tending to fanaticism, and not a little of it the essence of fanaticism, is created and nourished. The interests of religion in the land are actually thrown backward. It is a fever, a disease which nothing but time, pains, and a change of system can cure. A great body of the most talented, best educated, most zealous, most pious, and purest Christian ministers in the country—not to disparage any others—a body which in all respects will bear an advantageous comparison with any of their class in the world, is threatened to be enervated, to become sickly, to have their minds wasted, and their lives sacrificed out of season, and with real loss to the public, by the very means which prostrates them, even though we should leave out of the reckoning the premature end to which they are brought. This spectacle, at this moment before the eyes of the wide community, is enough to fill the mind of an enlightened Christian with dismay. I have myself been thrown ten years out of the stated use of the ministry by this very course, and may, therefore, be entitled to feel and to speak on the subject. And when I see my brethren fallen and falling around me, like the slain in battle, the plains of our land literally covered with these

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unfortunate victims, I am constrained to express a most earnest desire, that some adequate remedy may be applied."

It is no matter of surprise, then, that I heard the ministers at the camp meeting complain of the excess of their labours, and the difficulty of obtaining young men to enter the church :* who, indeed, unless actuated by a holy zeal, would submit to such a life of degradation ? what man of intellect and education could submit to be schooled by shoemakers and mechanics, to live poor, and at the mercy of tyrants, and drop down dead like the jaded and over-laden beast from excess of fatigue and exertion ? Let me again quote the same author :—

"It is these excessive, multitudinous, and often long *protracted* religious occasions, together with the spirit that is in them, which have been for some years breaking up and breaking down the clergy of this land. It has been breaking them *up*. It is commonly observed, that a new era has lately come over the Christian congregations of our country in regard to the permanence of the pastoral relation. Time was in the memory of those now living when the settlement of a minister was considered of course a settlement for life. But now, as everybody knows, this state of things is utterly broken up ; and it is, perhaps, true that, on an average, the clergy of this country do not remain more than five years in the same place.† And it is impossible they should, in the present state of things. They could not stand it. So numerous are their engagements ; so full

* The Rev. Mr. Reid observes, speaking of the Congregationalists, "When I rose to support his resolution, as requested, all were generously attentive. At the close I alluded emphatically to one fact in the report, which was, that out of 4,500 churches there were 2,000 not only void of educated pastors, but void of pastors ; and I insisted that, literally, they ought not to sleep on such a state of things."—*Reid and Matheson's Tour*.

† "I was sorry to find that, in this part of the state, the ministers are so frequently changing the scene of their pastoral labours. The fault may sometimes be in themselves ; but, from conversations I have heard on the subject, I am inclined to believe that the *people* are fond of change."—*Rev. Mr. Reid*.

of anxiety is their condition in a fevered state of the public mind acting upon them from all directions; so consuming are their labours in the study and in public, pressed and urged upon them by the demands of the time; and, withal, so fickle has the popular mind become under a system that it is for ever demanding some new and still more exciting measure—some new society—some new monthly or weekly meeting, which perhaps soon grows into a religious holiday—some special effort running through many days, sometimes lasting for weeks, calling for public labours of ministers, of the most exciting kind throughout each day from the earliest hour of the morning to a late hour of night;—for reasons and facts of this kind, so abundant, and now so obvious to the public that they need only to be referred to to be seen and appreciated, it is impossible that ministers should remain long in the same place. Their mental and physical energies become exhausted, and they are compelled to change; first, because it is not in the power of man to satisfy the appetite for novelties which is continually and from all quarters making its insatiate demands upon them; and next, that, if possible, they may purchase a breathing time and a transient relief from the overwhelming pressure of their cares and labours.

“But, alas! there is no relief: they are not only broken up, but they find themselves fast breaking down. Wherever they go, there is the same demand for the same scene to be acted over. There is—there can be—no stability in the pastoral relation, in such a state of the public mind; and, what is still more melancholy and affecting, the pastors themselves cannot endure it—they cannot live. They are not only constantly fluctuating—literally afloat on the wide surface of the community—but their health is undermined—their spirits are sinking—and they are fast treading upon each other's heels to the grave, their only land of rest.

“Never, since the days of the apostles, was a country blessed with so enlightened, pious, orthodox, faithful, willing clergy, as the United States of America at

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this moment; and never did a ministry, so worthy of trust, have so little independence to act according to their conscience and best discretion. They are literally the victims of a spiritual tyranny that has started up and burst upon the world in a new form—at least, with an extent of sway that has never been known. It is an influence which comes up from the lowest conditions of life, which is vested in the most ignorant minds, and therefore, the more unbending and uncontrollable. It is an influence which has been fostered and blown into a wide-spread flame by a class of itinerating ministers, who have suddenly started up and overrun the land, decrying and denouncing all that have not yielded at once to their sway; by direct and open efforts shaking and destroying public confidence in the settled and more permanent ministry, leaving old paths and striking out new ones, demolishing old systems and substituting others, and disturbing and deranging the whole order of society as it had existed before. And it is to this new state of things, so harassing, so destructive to health and life, that the regular ministry of this country (the best qualified, most pious, most faithful, and in all respects the most worthy Christian ministry that the Church has ever enjoyed in any age) are made the victims. They cannot resist it, they are overwhelmed by it."

The fact is, that there is little or no healthy religion in their most numerous and influential churches; it is all excitement. Twenty or thirty years back the Methodists were considered as extravagantly frantic; but the Congregationalists and Presbyterians in the United States have gone far a-head of them, and the Methodist church in America has become to a degree Episcopal, and softened down into, perhaps, the most pure, most mild, and most simple of all the creeds professed.

I have said that in these two churches the religious feeling was that of excitement: I believe it to be more or less the case in *all* religion in America; for the Americans are a people who are prone to excitement, not only from their climate but constitutionally, and it is

the *caviare* of their existence. If it were not so, why is it necessary that revivals should be so continually called forth—a species of stimulus, common, I believe, to almost every sect and creed, promoted and practised in all their colleges, and considered as most important and salutary in their results. Let it not be supposed that I am depreciating that which is to be understood by a revival in the true sense of the word; not those revivals which were formerly held for the benefit of all and for the salvation of many: I am raising my voice against the modern system, which has been so universally substituted for the reality; such as has been so fully exposed by Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, and by Mr. Colton, who says—

“Religious excitements, called revivals of religion, have been a prominent feature in the history of this country from its earliest periods, more particularly within a hundred years; and the agency of man has always had more or less to do in their management, or in their origination, or in both. Formerly in theory (for man is naturally a philosopher, and will always have his theory for every event and every fact), they were regarded as Pentecostal seasons, as showers from heaven, with which this world below had nothing to do but to receive and be refreshed by them as they came. A whole community, or the great majority of them, absorbed in serious thoughts about eternal things, inquiring the way to heaven, and seeming intent on the attainment of that high and glorious condition, presents a spectacle as solemn as it is interesting to contemplate. Such, doubtless, has been the condition of many communities in the early and later history of American revivals; and it is no less true that the fruits have been the turning of many to God and his ways.

“The revivals of the present day are of a very different nature.* There are but two ways by which the mind

* The American clergymen are supported in their opinion on the present revivals and their consequences by Doctors Reid and

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of man can be brought to a proper sense of religion— one is by love, and the other by fear; and it is by the latter only that modern revivals become at all effective. Bishop Hopkins says, very truly,—“ Have we any example in the preaching of Christ and his apostles of the use of strong individual denunciation? Is there one sentence in the word of inspiration to justify the attempt to excite the feelings of a public assembly, until every restraint of order is forgotten, and confusion becomes identified with the word of God.”* Yet such are the revivals of the present day as practised in America. Mr. Colton calls them—“ Those startling and astounding shocks which are constantly invented, artfully and habitually applied, under all the power of sympathy, and of a studied and enthusiastic elocution, by a large class of preachers among us. To startle and to shock is their great secret—their power.”

The same author proceeds:—

“ Religion is a dread and awful theme in itself. That is, as all must concede, there are revealed truths belonging to the category. To invest these truths with terrors that do not belong to them, by bringing them out in distorted shapes and unnatural forms; to surprise a tender and unfortified mind by one of awful import, without exhibiting the corresponding relief which Christianity has provided; to frighten, shock, and paralyse the mind with alternations and scenes of horror, carefully concealing the ground of encouragement and hope, till reason is shaken and hurled from its throne, for the sake of gaining a

Matheson, who, otherwise favourable to them, observe, “ These revival preachers have denounced pastors with whom they could not compare, as ‘ dumb dogs, hypocrites, and formalists, leading their people to hell.’ The consequences have been most disastrous. Churches have become the sport of derision, distraction, and disorder. Pastors have been made unhappy in their dearest connexions. So extensive has been this evil that, in one presbytery of nineteen churches, there were only three who had settled pastors; and in one synod, of 1832, of a hundred and three churches, only fifty-two had pastors.”

* “ The Primitive Church Compared, &c.,” by the Bishop of Vermont.

convert, and in making a convert to make a maniac (as doubtless sometimes occurs under this mode of preaching, for we have the proof of it), involves a fearful responsibility. I have just heard of an interesting girl thus driven to distraction, in the city of New York, at the tender age of fourteen, by being approached by the preacher after a sermon of this kind, with a secretary by his side with a book and pen in his hand to take down the names and answers of those who, by invitation, remained to be conversed with. Having taken her name, the preacher asked, 'Are you for God or the devil?' Being overcome, her head depressed, and in tears, she made no reply. 'Put her down, then, in the devil's book!' said the preacher to his secretary. From that time the poor girl became insane; and, in her simplicity and innocence, has been accustomed to tell the story of her misfortunes."

And yet these revivals are looked up to and supported as the strong arm of religion. It is not only the ignorant or the foolish, but the enlightened and the educated also, who support and encourage them, either from a consideration of their utility, or from that fear, so universal in the United States, of expressing an opinion contrary to the majority. How otherwise could they be introduced once or twice a year into all the colleges—the professors of which are surely most of them men of education and strong mind? Yet such is the fact. It is announced that some minister, peculiarly gifted to work in revivals, is to come on a certain day. Books are thrown on one side, study is abandoned, and ten days perhaps are spent in religious exercises of the most violent and exciting character. It is a scene of strange confusion, some praying, some pretending to pray, some scoffing. Day after day it is carried on, until the excitement is at its height, as the exhortations and the denunciations of the preacher are poured into their ears. A young American who was at one of the colleges, and gave me a full detail of what had occurred, told me that on one occasion a poor lad, frightened out of his senses, and anxious to pray, as the vengeance and wrath of the

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Almighty was poured out by the minister, sunk down upon his knees and commenced his prayer with "Almighty and *diabolical* God!" No misnomer, if what the preacher had thundered out was the *truth*.

As an example of the interference of the laity, and of the description of people who may be so authorised, the same gentleman told me that at one revival a deacon said to him previous to the meeting, "Now, Mr. —, if you don't take advantage of this here revival and lay up a little salvation for your soul, all I can say is, that you ought to have your (something) confoundedly well kicked."

What I have already said on this subject will, I think, establish two points, first, that the voluntary system does not work well for society; and secondly, that the ministers of the churches are treated with such tyranny and contumely, as to warrant the assertion, that in a country like the United States, where a man may, in any other profession, become independent in a few years, the number of those who enter into the ministry must decrease at the very time that the population and demand for them will increase.

We have now another question to be examined, and a very important one, which is—Are those who worship under the voluntary system supplied at a cheaper rate than those of the established churches in this kingdom?

I say this is an important question, as there is no doubt that one of the principal causes of dissenting has been the taxes upon religion in this country, and the wish, if it were attainable of worshipping at free cost. In entering into this question, there is no occasion to refer to any particular sect, as the system is much the same with them all, and is nearly as follows:

Some pious and well-disposed people of a certain persuasion, we will say, imagine that another church might, if it were built, be well filled with those of their own sect; and that, if it is not built, the consequences will be that many of their own persuasion will, from the habit of attending other churches, depart from those tenets

which they are anxious should not only be retained by those who have embraced them, but as much as possible promulgated, so as to gather strength and make converts—for it should be borne in mind that the sectarian spirit is one great cause of the rapid church-building in America.* One is of Paul, another of Apollos. They meet, and become the future deacons and elders, in all probability, to whom the minister has to bow; they agree to build a church at their own risk: they are not speculators, but religious people, who have not the least wish to make money, but who are prepared, if necessary, to lose it.

Say then that a handsome church (I am referring to the cities) of brick or stone, is raised in a certain quarter of the city, and that it costs 75,000 dollars. When the interior is complete, and the pews are all built, they divide the whole cost of the church upon the pews, more or less value being put upon them according to their situations. Allowing that there are two hundred pews, the one hundred most eligible being valued at five hundred dollars each, and the other one hundred inferior at two hundred and fifty dollars; these prices would pay the 75,000 dollars, the whole expense of the church building.

The pews are then put up to auction; some of the most eligible will fetch higher prices than the valuation, while some are sold below the valuation. If all are not sold, the residue remains upon the hands of the parties who built the church, and who may for a time be out of pocket. They have however, to aid them, the extra price paid for the best pews, and the sale of the vaults for burial in the church-yard.

Most of the pews being sold, the church is partly paid for. The next point is to select a minister, and, after due trial, one is chosen. If he be a man of eloquence and talent, and his doctrines acceptable to the many, the church fills, the remainder of the pews are sold, and so

* Churches are also built upon speculation, as they sometimes are in England.

far the expenses of building the church are defrayed ; but they have still to pay the salary of the minister, the heating and lighting of the church, the organist, and the vocalists : this is done by an assessment upon the pews, each pew being assessed according to the sum which it fetched when sold by auction.

I will now give the exact expenses of an American gentleman in Boston, who has his pew in one of the largest churches.

He purchased his pew at auction for seven hundred and fifty dollars, it being one of the best in the church. The salaries of the most popular ministers vary from fifteen hundred to three or four thousand dollars. The organist receives about five hundred ; the vocalists from two or three hundred dollars each. To meet his share of these and the other expenses, the assessment of this gentleman is sixty-three dollars per annum. Now, the interest of seven hundred and fifty dollars in America is forty-five dollars, and the assessment being sixty-three—one hundred and eight dollars per annum, or twenty-two pounds ten shillings, adding for his yearly expenses under the voluntary system. This, of course, does not include the offerings of the plate, charity sermons, &c., all of which are to be added, and which will swell the sum, according to my friend's statement, to about thirty pounds per annum.*

It does not appear by the above calculations that the voluntary system has cheapness to recommend it, when people worship in a respectable manner, as you might hire a house and farm of fifty acres in that State for the same rent which this gentleman pays for going to church ; but it must also be recollected that it is quite

* "A great evil of our American churches is, their great respectability or exclusiveness. Here, being of a large size and paid by Government, the church is open to all the citizens, with an equal right and equal chance of accommodation. In ours, the dearness of pew-rent, especially in Episcopal and Presbyterian, turns poverty out of doors. Poor people have a sense of shame, and I know many a one, who, because he cannot go to Heaven decently, will not go at all."—*Sketches of Paris by an American Gentleman.*

optional, and that those who do not go to church need not pay at all.

It was not, however, until late years that such was the case. In Massachusetts, and in most of the Eastern States, the system was not voluntary, and it is to this cause that may be ascribed the superior morality and reverence for religion still existing, although decaying, in these States. By former enactments in Massachusetts, landowners in the country were compelled to contribute to the support of the church.

Pews in cities or towns are mentioned in all deeds and wills as *personal* property; but in the country, before the late Act, they were considered as *real* estate.

A pew was allotted to each farm, and whether the proprietor occupied it or not, he was obliged to pay for it; but by an Act of the Massachusetts' State regulation, passed within these few years, it was decided that no man should be compelled to pay for religion. The consequence has been, that the farmers now refuse to pay for their pews, the churches are empty, and a portion of the clergy have been reduced to the greatest distress. An itinerant ranter, who will preach in the open air, and send his hat round for cents, suits the farmers much better, as it is much cheaper. Certainly this does not argue much for the progressive advancement of religion, even in the moral State of Massachusetts.

In other points the cause of morality has, till lately, been upheld in these Eastern States. It was but the other day that a man was discharged from prison, who had been confined for disseminating atheistical doctrines. It was, however, said at the time, that that was the last attempt that would ever be made by the authorities to imprison a man for liberty of conscience; and I believe that such will be the case.

The *Boston Advocate* says—"Abner Kneeland came out of prison yesterday, where he has been for sixty days, under the barbarous and bigoted law of Massachusetts, which imprisons men for freedom of opinions. As was to have been expected, Kneeland's liberation

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was made a sort of triumph. About three hundred persons assembled, and were addressed by him at the jail, and he was conveyed home in a barouche. During his persecution in prison, liberal sums of money have been sent to him. How much has Christianity gained by this foul blot upon the escutcheon of Massachusetts?"

It is, however, worthy of remark, that those States that have *enforced* religion and morality, and have punished infidelity,* are now the most virtuous, the most refined, and the most intellectual, and are quoted as such by American authors, like Mr. Carey, who by the help of Massachusetts alone can bring out his statistics to any thing near the mark requisite to support his theories.

It is my opinion that the voluntary system will never work well under any form of government, and still less so under a democracy.

Those who live under a democracy have but one pursuit, but one object to gain, which is wealth. No one can serve God and Mammon. To suppose that a man who has been in such ardent pursuit of wealth, as is the American for six days in the week, can recall his attention and thoughts to serious points on the seventh, is absurd; you might as well expect him to forget his tobacco on Sunday.

Under a democracy, therefore, you must look for religion among the women, not among the men, and such is found to be the case in the United States. As Sam Slick very truly says, "It's only women who attend meeting; the men folks have their politics and trade to talk over, and hav'n't *time*." Even an established church would not make people as religious under a de-

* Miss Martineau complains of this as contrary to the unalienable rights of man:—"Instead of this, we find laws framed against speculative atheists; opprobrium directed against such as embrace natural religion otherwise than through Christianity, and a yet more bitter oppression exercised by those who view Christianity in one way over those who regard it in another."

mocratic form of government as it would under any other.*

I have yet to point out how slander and defamation flourish under a democracy. Now, this voluntary system, from the interference of the laity, who judge not only the minister, but the congregation, gives what appears to be a legitimate sanction to this tyrannical surveillance over the conduct and behaviour of others. I really believe that the majority of men who go to church in America do so not from zeal towards God, but from fear of their neighbours; and this very tyranny in the more established persuasions, is the cause of thousands turning away to other sects which are not subjected to scrutiny. The Unitarian is in this point the most convenient, and is therefore fast gaining ground. Mr. Colton observes, "Nothing can be more clear, than that Scripture authority against meddling, tattling, slander, scandal, or in any way interfering with the private concerns, conduct, and character of our neighbours, except as civil or ecclesiastical authority has clothed us with legitimate powers, is specific, abundant, decided, emphatic. It is founded in human nature; it is essential to the peace of society; a departure from it would be ruinous to social comfort. If therefore it is proper to introduce any rule on this point into a mutual church covenant, it seems to me that the converse of that which is usually found in that place ought to be substituted. Even the apostles, as we have seen, found it necessary to rebuke the disposition prevalent in their time to meddle with the affairs, and to make inquisition into the conduct of others. But it should be recollected, that the condition of Christians and the state of society then

* Mrs. Trollope observes, "A stranger taking up his residence in any city in America must think the natives the most religious people upon earth." This is very true; the *outward* observances are very strict; why so will be better comprehended when the reader has finished my remarks upon the country. The author of *Mammon* very truly observes, that the only vice which we can practise without being arraigned for it in this world, and at the same time go through the *forms* of religion, is *coquetousness*.

were widely different from the same things with us. Christianity was a new religion, and its disciples were generally obnoxious. They were compelled by their circumstances to associate most intimately; they were bound together by those sympathies and ties, which a persecuted and suffering class always feel, independent of Christian affection. Hence in part we account for the holy and exemplary ardour of their attachments to their religion and to each other. But even in these circumstances, and under these especial intimacies, or rather, perhaps, on account of them, the apostles found it necessary to admonish them against the abuse of that confidence so generally felt and reciprocated by those who confessed Christ in those unhappy times; an abuse so naturally developed in the form of meddling and private inquisition."

I quote the above passage, as, in the United States, the variety of sects, the continual splitting and breaking up of those sects, and their occasional violent altercations, have all proved most injurious to society, and to the cause of religion itself. Indeed religion in the States may be said to have been a source of continual discord and the unhinging of society, instead of that peace and good-will inculcated by our divine Legislator. It is the division of the Protestant church which has occasioned its weakness in this country, and will probably eventually occasion, if not its total subversion, at all events its subversion in the western hemisphere of America.

The subjugation of the ministry to the tyranny of their congregations is another most serious evil; for either they must surrender up their consciences or their bread. In too many instances it is the same here in religion as in politics: before the people will permit any one to serve them in any office, he must first prove his unfitness by submitting to what no man of honesty or conscientious rectitude would subscribe to. This must of course in both cases be taken with exceptions, but it is but too often the fact. And hence has arisen another evil, which is that there are hundreds of self-constituted ministers, who wander over the western country, using the word of God as a

cloak, working upon the feelings of the women to obtain money, and render religion a by-word among the men, who will in all probability some day rise up and lynch some dozen of them, as a hint for the rest to *clear out*.

It would appear as if Locofocoism and infidelity had formed a union, and were fighting under the same banner. They have recently celebrated the birth-day of Tom Paine, in Cincinnati, New York, and Boston. In Cincinnati, Frances Wright Darusmont, better known as Fanny Wright, was present, and made a violent politico-atheistical speech on the occasion, in which she denounced banking, and almost every other established institution of the country. The nature of the celebration in Boston will be understood from the following toast given on the occasion.

By George Chapman :—“ *Christianity and the banks tottering on their last legs. May their downfall be speedy,*” &c. &c.

Miss Martineau informs us that “ The churches of Boston, and even the other public buildings, being guarded by the dragon of bigotry, so that even Faith, Hope, and Charity are turned back from the doors, a large building is about to be erected for the use of all, Deists not excepted, who may desire to meet for free discussion. She adds, “ *This at least is an advance!*” And in a few pages further :—“ The eagerness in pursuit of speculative truth is shown by the *rapid sale of every heretical work*. The clergy complain of the enormous spread of bold books, from the infidel tract to the latest handling of the miracle question, as sorrowfully as the most liberal members of society lament the unlimited circulation of the false morals issued by certain Religious Tract Societies. Both testify to the interest taken by the public in religion. The love of truth is also shown by the outbreak of heresy in all directions !”

Having stated the most obvious objections to the voluntary system, I shall now proceed to show how far my opinions are corroborated by American authorities. The author of “ *A Voice from America,*” observes very truly, that the voluntary system of supporting religion in Ame-

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rica is inadequate to the purpose, and he closes his argument with the following observation:—

“How far that part of the system of supporting religion in America, which appeals to the pride and public spirit of the citizens, in erecting and maintaining religious institutions on a respectable footing, in towns, cities, and villages, and among rival sects—and in this manner operating as a species of constraint—is worthy to be called voluntary, we pretend not to say. But this comprehends by far the greatest sum that is raised and appropriated to these objects. All the rest is a mere fraction in comparison. And yet it is allowed, and made a topic of grievous lamentation, that the religious wants of the country are most inadequately supplied; and such, indeed, we believe to be the fact.”

The next point referred to by this author is, “that the American system of supporting religion has brought about great instability in the religious world, and induced a ruinous habit of change.”

This arises from the caprice of the congregation, for Americans are naturally capricious and fond of change: whether it be concerning a singer, or an actor, or a clergyman, it is the same thing. This American author observes, “There are few clergymen that can support their early popularity for a considerable time; and as soon as it declines, they must begin to think of providing elsewhere for themselves. They go—migrate—and for the same reason, in an equal term of time, they are liable to be forced to migrate again. And thus there is no stability, but everlasting change, in the condition of the American clergy. *They* change, the *people* change—all is a round of change—because all depends on the voluntary principle. The clerical profession in America is, indeed, like that of a soldier; always under arms, frequently fighting, and always ready for a new campaign—a truly militant state. A *Clergyman's Guide* would be of little use, so far as the object might be to direct where to find him: he is not this year where he was last.” And, as must be the consequence, he justly observes, “Such a system makes the clergy servile, and

the people tyrannical." "When the enmity of a single individual is sufficient to destroy a resident pastor's peace, and to break him up, how can he be otherwise than servile, if he has a family about him, to whom perpetual change is inconvenient and disastrous? There is not a man in his flock, however mean and unworthy of influence, whom he does not fear; and if he happens to displease a man of importance, or a busy woman, there is an end to his peace; and he may begin to pack up. This perpetual bondage breaks down his mind, subdues his courage, and makes a timid nervous woman of one who is entitled, and who ought to be, a man. He drags out a miserable existence, and dies a miserable slave. There are exceptions to this rule, it is true; because there are clergymen with talent enough to rise above these disadvantages, enforce respect, and maintain their standing, in spite of enemies."

But there is another very strong objection, and most important one, to the voluntary system, which I have delayed to bring forward; which is, that there is *no provision for the poor* in the American voluntary church system. Thus only those who are rich and able to afford religion can obtain it. At present, it is true that the majority of the people in America have means sufficient to pay for seats in churches, if they choose to expend the money; but as America increases her population, so will she increase the number of her poor; and what will be the consequence hereafter, if this evil is to continue? The author I am now quoting from observes, "At best the *poor are unprovided for*, and the talents of the clergy are always in the market to the highest bidder.* There have been many attempts to remedy this evil, in the dense population of cities, by setting up a still more voluntary system, called 'free churches,' in which the

* This is true. When I was in the States one of the most popular preachers quitted his church at Boston to go to New York, where he was offered an increase of salary; telling his parishioners "that he found *he would be more useful elsewhere*"—the very language used by the laity to the clergyman when *they* dismiss him.

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pews are not rented, but free to all. But they are uniformly failures."

Two other remarks made by this author are equally correct; first, that the voluntary system tends to the multiplication of sects without end; and next, that the voluntary system is a mendicant system, and involves one of the worst features of the Church of Rome, which is, that it tends to the production of pious frauds. But I have already, in support of my arguments, quoted so much from this book that I must refer the reader to the work itself.

At present, Massachusetts, and the smaller Eastern States, are the strong-hold of religion and morality; as you proceed from them farther south or west, so does the influence of the clergy decrease, until it is totally lost in the wild States of Missouri and Arkansas. With the exception of certain cases to be found in Western Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio, the whole of the States to the westward of the Alleghany Mountains, comprising more than two-thirds of America, may be said to be either in a state of neglect and darkness, or professing the Catholic religion.

Although Virginia is a slave State, I think there is more religion there than in some of the more northern free States; but it must be recollected, that Virginia has been long settled, and the non-*predial* state of the slaves is not attended with demoralising effects; and I may here observe that the *black* population of America is decidedly the most religious, and sets an example to the white, particularly in the free States.*

* Mr. Reid, in his Tour, describes a visit which he paid to a black church in Kentucky:—

"By the law of the State, no coloured persons are permitted to assemble for worship, unless a white person be present and preside.

"One of the black preachers, addressing me as their 'strange master,' begged that I would take charge of the service. I declined doing so. He gave out Dr. Watt's beautiful psalm, 'Show pity, Lord, oh! Lord forgive.' They all rose immediately. They had no books, for they could not read; but it was printed on their memory, and they sung it off with freedom and feeling.

"The senior black, who was a preacher among them, then of-

It may be fairly inquired, can this be true? Not fifty years back, at the time of the Declaration of Independence, was not the American community one of the most virtuous in existence? Such was indeed the case, as it is now equally certain that they are one of the most demoralised. The question is, then, what can have created such a change in the short period of fifty years?

The only reply that can be given, is, that as the Americans, in their eagerness to possess new lands, pushed away into the west, so did they leave civilisation behind, and return to ignorance and barbarism; they scattered their population, and the word of God was not to be heard in the wilderness.

That as she increased her slave States, so did she give employment, land, and power to those who were indifferent to all law, human or divine. And as, since the formation of the Union, the people have yearly gained advantages over the *Government* until they now control it, so have they controlled and fettered *Religion* until it produces no good fruits.

Add to this the demoralising effects of a democracy which turns the thoughts of all to Mammon, and it will be acknowledged that this rapid fall is not so very surprising.

But, if the Protestant cause is growing weaker every day from disunion and indifference, there is one creed which is rapidly gaining strength; I refer to the Catholic church, which is silently, but surely advancing.* Its

ferred prayer and preached; his prayer was humble and devotional. In one portion, he made an affecting allusion to their wrongs. 'Thou knowest,' said the good man, with a broken voice, 'our state—that it is the meanest—that we are as mean and low as man can be. But we have sinned—we have forfeited all our rights to THEE, and we would submit before *Thee*, to these marks of thy displeasure.' "

Mr. Reid subsequently asserts, that the sermon delivered by the black was an "earnest and efficient appeal;" and, afterwards, hearing a sermon on the same day from a white preacher, he observes that it was a "*very sorry affair*," in contrast with what he had before witnessed.

* Although it is not forty years since the first Roman Catholic

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great field is in the west, where in some States, almost all are Catholics, or from neglect and ignorance altogether indifferent as to religion. The Catholic priests are diligent, and make a large number of converts every year, and the Catholic population is added to by the number of Irish and German emigrants to the West, who are almost all of them of the Catholic persuasion.

Mr. Tocqueville says—

“I think that the Catholic religion has erroneously been looked upon as the natural enemy of democracy. Among the various sects of Christians, Catholicism seems to me, on the contrary, to be one of those which are most favourable to equality of conditions. In the Catholic church, the religious community is composed of only two elements—the priest and the people. The priest alone rises above the rank of his flock, and all below him are equal. On doctrinal points, the Catholic faith places all human capacities upon the same level. It subjects the wise and the ignorant, the man of genius and the vulgar crowd, to the details of the same creed; it imposes the same observances upon the rich and the needy; it inflicts the same austerities upon the strong and the weak; it listens to no compromise with mortal man; but, reducing all the human race to the same standard, it confounds all the distinctions of society at the foot of the same altar, even as they are confounded in the sight of God. If Catholicism predisposes the faithful to obedience, it certainly does not prepare them for inequality; but the contrary may be said of Protestantism, which generally tends to make men independent, more than to render them equal.”

sec was created, there is now in the United States a Catholic population of 800,000 souls under the government of the Pope, an Archbishop, 12 Bishops, and 433 priests. The number of churches is 401; mass-houses, about 300; colleges, 10; seminaries for young men, 9; theological seminaries, 5; noviciates for Jesuits, monasteries, and convents, with academies attached, 31; seminaries for young ladies, 30; schools of the Sisters of Charity, 29; an academy for coloured girls at Baltimore; a female infant school, and 7 Catholic newspapers.

And the author of *A Voice from America* observes—
 “The Roman Catholic church bids fair to rise to importance in America. Thoroughly democratic as her members are, being composed, for the most part, of the lowest orders of European population, transplanted to the United States with a fixed and implacable aversion to every thing bearing the name and in the shape of monarchy, the priesthood are accustomed *studiously to adapt themselves to this state of feeling*, being content with that authority that is awarded to their office by their own communicants and members.”*

Now, I venture to disagree with both these gentlemen. It is true, as Mr. Tocqueville observes, that the Catholic church reduces all the human race to the same standard, and confounds all distinctions—not, however, upon the principle of equality or democracy, but because it will ever equally exert its power over the high and the low, assuming its right to compel princes and kings to obedience, and their dominions to its subjection. The equality professed by the Catholic church, is like the equality of death, all must fall before its power; whether it be to excommunicate an individual or an empire is to it indifferent; it assumes the power

* The Rev. Dr. Reid observes:—

“I found the people at this time under some uneasiness in relation to the spread of Romanism. The partisans of that system are greatly assisted from Europe by supplies of money and teachers. The teachers have usually more acquired competency than the native instructors: and this is a temptation to parents who are seeking accomplishments for their children, and who have a high idea of European refinements. It appeared, that out of four schools, provided for the wants of the town (Lexington, Kentucky) three were in the hands of the Catholics.”

To which we may add Miss Martineau's observations:—

“The Catholics of the country, thinking themselves now sufficiently numerous to be an American Catholic church, a great stimulus has been given to proselytism. This has awakened fear and persecution; which last has again been favourable to the increase of the sect. While the Presbyterians preach a harsh, ascetic, persecuting religion, the Catholics dispense a mild and indulgent one; and the prodigious increase of their numbers is a necessary consequence. It has been so impossible to supply the demand for priests, that the term of education has been shortened by two years.”

of the Godhead, giving and taking away, and its members stand trembling before it, as they shall hereafter do in the presence of the Deity.

The remark of the author of the *Voice from America*, "that aware of the implacable aversion of the people to monarchy, the priesthood are accustomed *studiously to adapt themselves to this state of feeling*," proves rather to me the universal subtlety shown by the Catholic clergy, which, added to their zeal and perseverance, so increases the power of the church. At present Catholicism is, comparatively speaking, weak in America, and the object of that church is, to become strong; they do not, therefore, frighten or alarm their converts by any present show of the invariable results; but are content to bide their time, until they shall find themselves strong enough to exert their power with triumphant success. The Protestant cause in America is weak, from the evil effects of the voluntary system, particularly from its division into so many sects. A house divided against itself cannot long stand; and every year it will be found that the Catholic church will increase its power: and it is a question whether a hierarchy may not eventually be raised, which, so far from *advocating the principles of equality*, may serve as a *check* to the spirit of democracy becoming more powerful than the Government, curbing public opinion, and reducing to better order the present chaotic state of society.

Judge Haliburton asserts, that all America will be a Catholic country. That all America west of the Alleghanies will eventually be a Catholic country, I have no doubt, as the Catholics are already in the majority, and there is nothing, as Mr. Cooper observes, to prevent any State from establishing that, or any other religion, as the *Religion of the State*;* and this is one of the dark clouds which hang over the destiny of the western hemisphere.

* "There is nothing in the constitution of the United States to prevent all the States, or any particular State, from possessing an established religion."—*Cooper's Democrat*.

The Reverend Mr. Reid says:—"It should really seem that the Pope, in the fear of expulsion from Europe, is anxious to find a reversion in this new world. The crowned heads of the continent, having the same enmity to free political institutions which his holiness has to free religious institutions, willingly unite in the attempt to enthral this people. They have heard of the necessities of the West; they have the foresight to see that the West will become the heart of the country, and ultimately determine the character of the whole; and they have resolved to establish themselves there. Large, yea *princely*, grants have been made from the Leopold society, and other sources, chiefly, though by no means exclusively, in favour of this portion of the empire that is to be. These sums are expended in erecting showy churches and colleges, and in sustaining priests and emissaries. Every thing is done to captivate, and to liberalise in appearance, a system essentially despotic. The sagacity of the effort is discovered, in avoiding to attack and shock the prejudices of the adult, that they may direct the education of the young. They look to the future; and they really have great advantages in doing so. They send out teachers excellently qualified; superior, certainly, to the run of native teachers.* Some value the European modes of education as the more excellent, others value them as the mark of fashion; the demand for instruction, too, is always beyond the supply, so that they find little difficulty in obtaining the charge of Protestant children. This, in my judgment, is the point of policy which should be especially regarded with jealousy; but the actual alarm has arisen from the disclosure of a correspondence which avows designs on the West, beyond what I have here set down. It is a curious affair, and is one other evidence, if evidence were needed, that popery and jesuitism are one."

* The Catholic priests who instruct are to my knowledge the best educated men in the States. It was a pleasure to be in their company.

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I think that the author of Sam Slick may not be wrong in his assertion, that *all* America will be a Catholic country. I myself never prophesy ; but I cannot help remarking, that even in the most anti-Catholic persuasions in America there is a strong Papistical *feeling* ; that is, there is a vying with each other, not only to obtain the best preachers, but to have the best organs and the best singers. It is the system of excitement which, without their being aware of it, they carry into their devotion. It proves that, to them there is a weariness in the church service, a tedium in prayer, which requires to be relieved by the stimulus of good music and sweet voices. Indeed, what with their *anxious seats*, their *revivals*, their *music*, and their *singing*, every class and sect in the States have even now so far fallen into Catholicism, that religion has become more of an appeal to the *senses* than to the calm and *sober judgment*.

SOCIETIES AND ASSOCIATIONS.

ALTHOUGH in a democracy the highest stations and preferments are open to all, more directly than they may be under any other form of government, still these prizes are but few and insufficient, compared with the number of total blanks which must be drawn by the ambitious multitude. It is, indeed, a stimulus to ambition (and a matter of justice, when all men are pronounced equal), that they all should have an equal chance of raising themselves by their talents and perseverance; but, when so many competitors are permitted to enter the field, few can arrive at the goal, and the mass are doomed to disappointment. However fair, therefore, it may be to admit all to the competition, certain it is that the competition cannot add to the happiness of a people, when we consider the feelings of bitterness and ill-will naturally engendered among the disappointed multitude.

In monarchical and aristocratical institutions, the middling and lower classes, whose chances of advancement are so small that they seldom lift their eyes or thoughts above their own sphere, are therefore much happier, and it may be added, much more virtuous than those who struggle continually for preferment in the tumultuous sea of democracy. Wealth can give some importance, but wealth in a democracy gives an importance which is so common to many that it loses much of its value; and when it has been acquired, it is not sufficient for the restless ambition of the American temperament, which will always spurn wealth for power. The effects therefore of a democracy are, first to raise an inordinate ambition among the people, and then to cramp the very ambition which it has raised; and, as I may comment upon hereafter, it appears as if this ambition of the people, *individually* checked by the nature of their institutions,

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becomes, as it were, concentrated and collected into a focus in upholding and contemplating the success and increase of power in the Federal Government. Thus has been produced a species of demoralising reaction; the disappointed *units* to a certain degree satisfying themselves with any advance in the power and importance of the whole Union wholly regardless of the means by which such increase may have been obtained.

But this unsatisfied ambition has found another vent in the formation of many powerful religious and other associations. In a country where there will ever be an attempt of the people to tyrannise over every body and every thing, power they will have; and if they cannot obtain it in the various departments of the States' Governments, they will have it in opposition to the Government; for all these societies and associations connect themselves directly with politics.* It is of little consequence by what description of tie these "sticks in the fable" are bound up together; once bound together they are not to be broken. In America religion severs the community, but these societies are the bonds which to a certain degree reunite it.

To enumerate the whole of these societies actually existing, or which have been in existence, would be difficult. The following are the most prominent.

List of Benevolent Societies, with their Receipts in the year 1834.

	Dolls.	Cents.
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions	155,002	24

* "Not long afterwards, a prominent Presbyterian clergyman of Philadelphia thought fit to preach and publish a sermon, wherein it was set forth and conclusively proved, that on such and such contingencies of united religious effort of the religious public, the majority of the American people could be made *religious*; consequently they might carry their *religious influence* to the *polls*, consequently the religious would be able to turn all the profane *out of office*; and consequently, the American people would become a *Christian nation!*"... *Voice from America, by an American Gentleman.*

	Dolls.	Cents.
American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions	63,000	00
Western Foreign Mission Society at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	16,296	46
Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society	35,700	15
Protestant Episcopal Foreign and Domestic Missionary Society	26,007	97
American Home Missionary Society	78,911	24
Baptist Home Missionary Society	11,448	28
Board of Missions of the Reformed Dutch Church (Domestic)	5,572	97
Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (Domestic) estimated	40,000	00
American Education Society	57,122	20
Board of Education of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Churches	38,000	00
Northern Baptist Education Society	4,681	11
Board of Education of the Reformed Dutch Church	1,270	20
American Bible Society	88,600	82
American Sunday School Union	136,855	58
General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union	6,641	00
Baptist General Tract Society	6,126	97
American Tract Society	66,485	83
American Colonization Society	48,939	17
Prison Discipline Society	2,364	00
American Seaman's Friend Society	16,064	00
American Temperance Society	5,871	12
Total	8,910,961	31

Many of these societies had not been established more than ten years at the date given; they must have increased very much since that period. Of course, many of them are very useful, and very well conducted. There are many others: New England Non-resistance Society, Sabbath Observance Society, &c.; in fact, the

Americans are Society mad. I do not intend to speak with the least disrespect of the societies, but the zeal or fanaticism (if I may use the term) with which many, if not all, of them are carried on, is too remarkable a feature in the American character to be passed over without comment. Many of these societies have done much good, particularly the religious societies; but many others, from being pushed too far, have done great mischief, and have very much assisted to *demoralise* the community. I remember once hearing a story of an ostler who confessed to a Catholic priest; he enumerated a long catalogue of enormities peculiar to his profession, and when he had finished, the priest inquired of him "whether he had ever greased horses' teeth to prevent their eating their corn?" this peculiar offence not having been mentioned in his confession. The ostler declared that he never had; absolution was given, and he departed. About six months afterwards, the ostler went again to unload his conscience; the former crimes and peccadilloes were enumerated, but added to them were several acknowledgments of having at various times "*greased horses' teeth*" to prevent their eating their corn. "Ho—ho!" cried the priest, "why, if I recollect right, according to your former confession you had never been guilty of this practice. How comes it that you have added this crime to your many others?" "May it please you, father," replied the ostler, "I had never *heard of it*, until you told me."

Now this story is very *apropos* to the conduct pursued by many of these societies in America: they must display to the public their statistics of immorality and vice; they must prove their usefulness by informing those who were quite ignorant, and therefore innocent, that there are crimes of which they had no idea; and thus, in their fanatic wish to improve, they demoralise. Such have been the consequences among this excitable yet well-meaning people. The author of "A Voice from America" observes:—

"It has been thought suitable to call the attention of mothers and daughters over the wide country to the condition and evils of brothels and of common prostitu-

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tion, in towns and cities; to send out agents (young men) to preach on the subject; and to organise subsidiary societies, after the fashion of all reforms. The annual report of 'The New York Female Moral Reform Society,' for 1838 (a very decent name certainly for the object), announces 361 auxiliaries, and 20,000 members, with 16,500 subscribers (all females!) to the '*Advocate of Moral Reform*,' a semi-monthly paper, published by the parent society, devoted to the text of the seventh commandment, and to the facts and results growing out of its violation. This same class of reformers have heretofore been accustomed to strike off prints of the most unmentionable scenes of these houses of pollution in their naked forms, and in the very acts of crime, for public display, that the public might know what they are: in other words, as may be imagined, to make sport for the initiated, to tempt the appetites and passions of the young, who otherwise would have known little or nothing about it, into the same vortex of ruin, and to cause the decent and virtuous to turn away with emotions of ineffable regret."

I cannot here help inquiring, how is it, if the Americans are, as they assert, both orally and in their printed public documents, a *very moral nation*, that they find it necessary to resort to all these societies for the improvement of their brother citizens; and how is it that their reports are full of such unexampled atrocities, as are printed and circulated in evidence of the necessity of their stemming the current of vice? The Americans were constantly twitting me about the occasional cases of adultery and divorce which appear in our newspapers, assuring me, at the same time, that there was hardly ever such a thing heard of in their own moral community. Now, it appears that this subject has not only been taken up by the clergy, (for Dr. Dwight, late president of Yale College, preached a sermon on the seventh commandment, which an American author asserts "was heard with pain and confusion of face, and which never can be read in a promiscuous circle without exciting the same feelings;") but by one of their societies also; and, although they have not assumed the

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name of the *Patent Anti-Adultery Society*, they are positively doing the work of such a one, and the details are entered into in promiscuous assemblies without the least reservation.

The author before mentioned says :—

“ The common feeling on the subject has been declared false delicacy ; and, in order to break ground against its sway, females have been forced into the van of this enterprise ; and persuaded to act as agents, not only among their own sex, but in circumstances where they must necessarily agitate the subject with men,—not wives with husbands, which would be bad enough, but *young and single women with young and single men!* And we have been credibly informed, that attempts have been made to form associations among *wives* to regulate the privileges, and to attain the end of temperance, in the *conjugal relation*. The next step, of course, will be tee-totalism in this particular ; and, as a consequence, the extinction of the human race, unless peradventure the failure of the main enterprise of the *Moral Reform Society* should keep it up by a progeny not to be honoured.”*

Let it be remembered, that this is not a statement of my own ; but it is an *American* who makes the assertion, which I could prove to be true, might I publish what I must not.

From the infirmity of our natures, and our proneness to evil, there is nothing so corrupting as the statistics of vice. Can young females remain pure in their ideas, who read with indifference details of the grossest nature ? Can the youth of a nation remain uncontaminated who are continually poring over pages describing sensuality, and will they not, in their desire of “ something new,” as the prophet says, run into the very vices of the existence of which they were before unconscious ? It is this dangerous running into extremes which has occasioned so many of these societies to have been productive of much evil. A Boston editor remarks—
“ The tendency of the leaders of the moral and bene-

* “ A Voice from America.”

volent reforms of the day to run into fanaticisms, threatens to destroy the really beneficial effects of all associations for these objects. The spirit of propagandism, when it becomes over zealous, is next of kin to the spirit of persecution. The benevolent associations of the day are on the brink of a danger that will be fatal to their further usefulness if not checked."

Of the Abolition Society and its tendency, I have already spoken in the chapter on slavery. I must not, however, pass over another which at present is rapidly extending its sway over the whole Union, and it is difficult to say whether it does most harm or most good—I refer to the Temperance Society.

The Rev. Mr. Reid says—

"In the short space of its existence upwards of seven thousand Temperance Societies have been formed, embracing more than one million two hundred and fifty thousand members. More than three thousand distilleries have been stopped, and more than seven thousand persons who dealt in spirits have declined the trade. Upwards of one thousand vessels have abandoned their use. And, most marvellous of all! it is said that above ten thousand drunkards have been reclaimed from intoxication;" and he adds, "I really know of no one circumstance in the history of this people, or of any people, so exhilarating as this. It discovers that power of self-government, which is the leading element of all national greatness, in an unexampled degree." Now here is a remarkable instance of a traveller taking for granted that what is reported to him is the truth. The worthy clergyman, himself evidently without guile, fully believed a statement which was absurd, from the simple fact that only one side of the balance sheet had been presented.

That 7,000 Temperance Societies have been formed is true. That 3,000 distilleries have stopped from principle may also be true; but the Temperance Society Reports take no notice of the many which have been *set up in their stead* by those who felt no compunction at selling spirits. Equally true it may be that 7,000 dealers in spirits have ceased to sell them; but if they

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have declined the trade, *others have taken it up*. That the crews of many vessels have abandoned the use of spirituous liquors is also the fact, and that is the greatest benefit which has resulted from the efforts of the Temperance Society ; but I believe the number to be greatly magnified. That 10,000 drunkards have been reclaimed—that is, that they have signed papers and taken the oath—may be true ; but how many have fallen away from their good resolutions, and become more intemperate than before, is not recorded ; nor how many who, previously careless of liquor, have, out of pure opposition, and in defiance of the Society, actually become drunkards, is also unknown. In this Society, as in the Abolition Society, they have canvassed for legislative enactments, and have succeeded in obtaining them. The legislature of Massachusetts, which State is the strong-hold of the Society, passed an act last year, by which it prohibited the selling of spirits in a smaller quantity than fifteen gallons, intending thereby to do away with the means of dram-drinking at the groceries, as they are termed ; a clause, however, permitted apothecaries to retail smaller quantities, and the consequence was that all the grog-shops commenced taking out apothecaries' licences. That being stopped, the *striped pig* was resorted to : that is to say, a man charged people the value of a glass of liquor to see a *striped pig*, which peculiarity was exhibited as a sight, and, when in the house, the visitors were offered a glass of spirits for nothing. But this act of the legislature has given great offence, and the State of Massachusetts is now divided into two very strange political parties, to wit, the *topers* and the *tee-totallers*. It is asserted that, in the political contest which is to take place, the topers will be victorious ; and if so, it will be satisfactorily proved that, in the very enlightened moral State of Massachusetts, the pattern of the Union, there are more intemperate than sober men.

In this dispute between sobriety and inebriety the clergy have not been idle: some denouncing alcohol from the pulpit ; some, on the other hand, denouncing

the Temperance Societies as not being Christians. Among the latter the Bishop of Vermont has led the van. In one of his works, "The Primitive Church," he asserts that—

"The Temperance Society is not based upon religious, but worldly principles.

"That it opposes vice and attempts to establish virtue in a manner which is not in accordance with the word of God," &c. &c.

His argument is briefly this:—The Scriptures forbid drunkenness. If the people will not do right in obedience to the word of God, but only from the fear of public opinion, they show more respect to man than God.

The counter argument is:—The Bible prohibits many other crimes, such as murder, theft, &c.; but if there were not punishments for these offences agreed upon by society, the fear of God would not prevent these crimes from being committed.

That in the United States public opinion has more influence than religion I believe to be the case; and that in all countries present punishment is more considered than future is, I fear, equally true. But I do not pretend to decide the question, which has occasioned great animosities, and on some occasions, I am informed, the dismissal of clergymen from their churches.

The tee-totallers have carried their tenets to a length which threatens to invade the rights of the church, for a portion of them, calling themselves the Total Abstinence Society, will not use any wine which has alcohol in it in taking the sacrament, and as there is no wine without a portion of alcohol, they have invented a harmless mixture, which they call wine. Unfortunately, many of these temperance societies, in their zeal, will admit of no medium party—you must either abstain altogether, or be put down as a toper.

It is astonishing how obstinate some people are, and how great is the diversity of opinion. I have heard many anecdotes relative to this question. A man, who indulged freely, was recommended to join the society—"Now," said the minister, "you must allow that there is

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nothing so good, so valuable to man as water. What is the first thing you call for in sickness but water? What else can cool your parched tongue like water? What did the rich man ask for when in fiery torments? What does the wretch ask for on the rack! You cannot always drink spirits, but water you can. Water costs nothing, and you save your money. Water never intoxicates, or prevents you from going to your work. There is nothing like water. Come now, Peter, let me hear your opinion.

"Well then, sir, I think water is very good, very excellent for navigation."

An old Dutchman, who kept an inn at Hoboken, had long resisted the attacks of the temperance societies, until one night he happened to get so very drunk, that he actually signed the paper and took the oath. The next morning he was made acquainted with what he had unconsciously done, and, much to the surprise of his friends, he replied, "Well, if I have signed and sworn, as you tell me I have, I must keep to my word," and from that hour the old fellow abstained altogether from his favourite schnaps. But the leaving off a habit which had become necessary had the usual result. The old man took to his bed, and at last became seriously ill. A medical man was called in, and, when he was informed of what had occurred, perceived the necessity of some stimulus, and ordered that his patient should take one ounce of French brandy every day.

"An ounce of French brandy," said the old Dutchman, looking at the prescription. "Well, dat is goot; but how much is an ounce?" Nobody who was present could inform him. "I know what a quart, a pint, or a gill of brandy is," said the Dutchman; "but I never yet had a customer call for an ounce. Well, my son, go to the schoolmaster; he is a learned man, and tell him I wish to know how much is one ounce."

The message was carried. The schoolmaster, occupied with his pupils, and not liking the interruption, hastily, and without further inquiries of the messenger, turned over his Bonnycastle, and arriving at the table of avoirdupois weight, replied, "Tell your father that *sixteen drams* make an ounce."

The boy took back the message correctly, and when the old Dutchman heard it, his countenance brightened up—"A goot physician, a clever man—I only have drink twelve drams a day, and he tells me to take sixteen. I have taken one oath when I was drunk, and I keep it; now dat I am sober I take anoder, which is, I will be very sick for de remainder of my days, and never throw my physic out of the window."

There was a *cold-water* celebration at Boston, on which occasion the hilarity of the evening was increased by the singing of the following ode. Nobody will venture to assert that there is any *spirit* in the composition, and judging from what I have seen of American manners and customs, I am afraid that the sentiments of the four last lines will not be responded to throughout the Union.

"ODE.

In Eden's green retreats
A water-brook that played
Between soft, mossy seats
Beneath a plane-tree's shade,
Whose rustling leaves
Danced o'er its brink,
Was Adam's drink,
And a' so Eve's.

Beside the parent spring
Of that young brook, the pair
Their morning chaunt would sing;
And Eve, to dress her hair,
Kneel on the grass
That fringed its side,
And made its tide
Her looking-glass.

And when the man of God
From Egypt led his flock,
They thirsted, and his rod
Smote the Arabian rock,
And forth a rill
Of water gushed,
And on they rushed,
And drank their fill.

Would Eden thus have smiled
Had *wine* to Eden come?
Would Horeb's parching wild
Have been refreshed with *rum*?

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And had Eve's hair
 Been dressed in *gin*,
 Would she have been
 Reflected fair ?

Had Moses built a still
 And dealt out to that host,
 To every man his gill,
 And pledged him in a toast,
 How large a band
 Of Israel's sons
 Had laid their bones
 In Canaan's land ?

'Sweet fields, beyond Death's flood,
 Stand dressed in living green,'
 For, from the throne of God,
 To freshen all the scene,
 A river rolls,
 Where all who will
 May come and fill
 Their crystal bowls.

If Eden's strength and bloom
 Cold *water* thus hath given—
 If, e'en beyond the tomb,
 It is the drink of heaven—
 Are not *good wells*,
 And *crystal springs*,
 The *very things*
 For our *hotels* ?"

As I shall return to the subject of intemperance in my examination of society, I shall conclude this chapter with an extract from Miss Martineau, whose work is a strange compound of the false and the true :—" My own convictions are, that associations, excellent as they are for mechanical objects, are not fit instruments for the achievement of moral aims ; that there has been no proof that the principle of self-restraint has been exalted and strengthened in the United States by the Temperance movement, while the already too great regard to *opinion*, and subservience to spiritual encroachment, have been much increased ; and, therefore, great as may be the visible benefit of the institution, it may at length appear that they have been dearly purchased."

LAW.

THE lawyers are the real aristocracy of America ; they comprehend nearly the whole of the gentility, talent, and liberal information of the Union. Any one who has had the pleasure of being at one of their meetings, such as the Kent Club at New York, would be satisfied that there is no want of gentlemen with enlightened, liberal ideas in the United States ; but it is to the law, the navy, and the army, that you must chiefly look for this class of people. Such must ever be the case in a democracy, where the mass are to be led ; the knowledge of the laws of the country, and the habit of public speaking, being essential to those who would preside at the helm or assist in the evolutions : the consequence has been, that in every era of the Union, the lawyers have always been the most prominent actors ; and it may be added that they ever will play the most distinguished parts. Clay and Webster of the present day are, and all the leading men of the former generation were, lawyers. Their presidents have all been lawyers, and any deviation from this custom has been attended with evil results ; witness the elevation of General Jackson to the presidency, and the heavy price which the Americans have paid for their phantom glory. The names of Judge Marshall and of Chancellor Kent are well known in this country, and most deservedly so : indeed, I am informed it has latterly been the custom in our own law courts, to cite as cases the decisions of many of the superior American judges—a just tribute to their discrimination and their worth.

The general arrangement of that part of the American constitution relating to the judicature is extremely good, perhaps the best of all their legislative arrangements, yet it contains some great errors ; one of which is, that of district and inferior judges being *elect*ed, as

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it leaves the judge at the mercy of an excitable and overbearing people, who will attempt to dictate to him as they do to their spiritual teacher. Occasionally he must choose whether he will decide as they wish, or lose his situation on the ensuing election. Justice as well as religion will be interfered with by the despotism of the democracy.

The Americans are fond of law in one respect, that is, they are fond of going to law. It is excitement to them, and not so expensive as in this country. It is a pleasure which they can afford, and for which they cheerfully pay.

But, on the other hand, the very first object of the Americans, after a law has been passed, is to find out how they can evade it: this exercises their ingenuity, and it is very amusing to observe how cleverly they sometimes manage it. Every state enactment to uphold the morals, or for the better regulation of society, is immediately opposed by the sovereign people.

An act was passed to prohibit the playing at *nine pins*, (a very foolish act, as the Americans have so few amusements): as soon as the law was put in force, it was notified every where, "*Ten pins played here,*" and they have been played every where, ever since.

Another act was passed to put down billiard tables, and in this instance every precaution was taken by an accurate description of the billiard table, that the law might be enforced. Whereupon an extra *pocket* was added to the billiard table, and thus the law was evaded.

When I was at Louisville, a bill which had been brought in by Congress, to prevent the numerous accidents which occurred in steam navigation, came into force. Inspectors were appointed to see that the steam-boats complied with the regulations; and those boats which were not provided according to law, did not receive the certificate from the inspectors, and were liable to a fine of five hundred dollars if they navigated without it. A steam-boat was ready to start; the passengers clubbed together and subscribed half the sum, (two

hundred and fifty dollars), and as the informer was to have half the penalty, the captain of the boat went and informed against himself and received the other half; and thus was the fine paid.

At Baltimore, in consequence of the prevalence of hydrophobia, the civic authorities passed a law, that all dogs should be muzzled, or, rather, the terms were, "that all dogs should wear a muzzle," or the owner of a dog not wearing a muzzle, should be brought up and fined; and the regulation further stated that any body convicted of having "removed the muzzle from off a dog should also be severely fined." A man, therefore, tied a muzzle to his dog's tail (the act not stating where the muzzle was to be placed). One of the city officers, perceiving this dog with his muzzle at the wrong end, took possession of the dog and brought it to the Town-hall; its master, being well known, was summoned, and appeared. He proved that he had complied with the act, in having fixed a muzzle on the dog; and, further, the city officer having taken the *muzzle off* the dog's tail, he insisted that he should be fined five dollars for so doing.

The *striped* pig, I have already mentioned; but were I to relate all I have been told upon this head, it would occupy too much of the reader's time and patience.

The mass of the citizens of the United States have certainly a very great dislike to all law except their own, *i. e.* the decision of the majority; and it must be acknowledged that it is not only the principle of equality, but the parties who are elected as district judges, that, by their own conduct, contribute much to that want of respect with which they are treated in their courts. When a judge on his bench sits half asleep, with his hat on, and his coat and shoes off; his heels kicking upon the railing or table which is as high or higher than his head; his toes peeping through a pair of old worsted stockings, and with a huge quid of tobacco in his cheek, you cannot expect that much respect will be paid to him. Yet such is even now the practice in the interior of the Western States. I was much amused

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at reading an English critique upon a work by Judge Hall (a district judge), in which the writer says, "We can imagine his honour in all the solemnity of his flowing wig," &c. &c. The last time I saw his *honour* he was cashier to a bank at Cincinnati, thumbing American bank-notes—dirtier work than is ever practised in the lowest grade of the law, as any one would say if he had ever had many American bank-notes in his possession.

As may be supposed, in a new country like America, many odd scenes take place. In the towns in the interior, a lawyer's office is generally a small wooden house, of one room, twelve feet square, built of clap-board, and with the door wide open; and the little domicile with its tenant used to remind me of a spider in its web waiting for flies.

Not forty years back, on the other side of the Alleghany Mountains, deer skins at forty cents per pound, and the furs of other animals at a settled price, were *legal tenders*, and received both by judges and lawyers as fees. The lawyers in the towns on the banks of the Susquehanna, where it appears the people (notwithstanding Campbell's beautiful description) were extremely litigious, used to receive all their fees in kind, such as skins, corn, whisky, &c. &c., and, as soon as they had sufficient to load a raft, were to be seen gliding down the river to dispose of their cargo at the first favourable mart for produce. Had they worn the wigs and gown of our own legal profession, the effect would have been much more picturesque.

There is a record of a very curious trial which occurred in the State of New York. A man had lent a large iron kettle, or boiler, to another, and it being returned *cracked*, an action was brought against the borrower for the value of the kettle. After the plaintiff's case had been heard, the counsel for the defendant rose and said—"Mister Judge, we defend this action upon three counts, all of which we shall most satisfactorily prove to you.

"In the first place, we will prove, by undoubted evi-

dence, that the kettle was cracked when we borrowed it ;

“ In the second, that the kettle, when we returned it, was whole and sound ;

“ And in the third, we will prove that we never borrowed the kettle at all.”

There is such a thing as proving too much, but one thing is pretty fairly proved in this case, which is, that the defendant's counsel must have originally descended from the Milesian stock.

I have heard many amusing stories of the peculiar eloquence of the lawyers in the newly settled Western States, where metaphor is so abundant. One lawyer was so extremely metaphorical upon an occasion, when the stealing of a pig was the case in point, that at last he got to “ corruscating rays.” The judge (who appeared equally metaphorical himself) thought proper to pull him up by saying—“ Mr. —, I wish you would take the feathers from the wings of your imagination, and put them into the tail of your judgment.”

Extract from an American paper :

“ Scene.—A Court-house not fifty miles from the city of Louisville—Judge presiding with great dignity—A noise is heard before the door—He looks up, fired with indignation.—‘ Mr. Sheriff, sir, bring them men in here ; this is the temple of liberty—this is the sanctuary of justice, and it shall not be profaned by the cracking of nuts and the eating of gingerbread.’”—*Marblehead Register*.

I have already observed that there is a great error in the office of the inferior and district judges being elective, but there are others equally serious. In the first place the judges are not sufficiently paid. Captain Hamilton remarks—

“ The low salaries of the judges constitute matter of general complaint among the members of the bar, both at Philadelphia and New York. These are so inadequate, when compared with the income of a well-employed barrister, that the State is deprived of the advantage of having the highest legal talent on the bench. Men from the lower walks of the profession, therefore,

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are generally promoted to the office; and for the sake of a wretched saving of a few thousand dollars, the public are content to submit their lives and properties to the decision of men of inferior intelligence and learning.

"In one respect, I am told, the very excess of democracy defeats itself. In some States the judges are so inordinately under-paid, that no lawyer who does not possess a considerable private fortune can afford to accept the office. From this circumstance, something of aristocratic distinction has become connected with it, and a seat on the bench is now more greedily coveted than it would be were the salary more commensurate with the duties of the situation."

The next error is, that political questions are permitted to interfere with the ends of justice. It is a well-known fact that, not long ago, an Irishman, who had murdered his wife, was brought to trial upon the eve of an election; and although his guilt was undoubted, he was acquitted, because the Irish party, which were so influential as to be able to turn the election, had declared that, if their countryman was convicted, they would vote on the other side.

But worst of all is the difficulty of finding an *honest* jury—a fact generally acknowledged. Politics, private animosities, bribery, all have their influence to defeat the ends of justice, and it argues strongly against the moral standard of a nation that such should be the case; but that it is so is undoubted.* The truth is that the juries have no respect for the judges, however respectable they may be, and as many of them really are. The feeling "I'm as good as he" operates every where. There is no shutting up a jury and starving them out as with us; no citizen, "free and enlightened, aged twenty-one, white," would submit to such an invasion of his rights. Captain Hamilton observes—

"It was not without astonishment, I confess, that I

* Miss Martineau, speaking of the jealousy between the American and the French creoles says—"No American expects to get a verdict, on *any evidence*, from a jury of French creoles."

remarked that three-fourths of the jurymen were engaged in eating bread and cheese, and that the foreman actually announced the verdict with his mouth full, ejecting the disjointed syllables during the intervals of mastication! In truth, an American seems to look on a judge exactly as he does on a carpenter or coppersmith; and it never occurs to him, that an administrator of justice is entitled to greater respect than a constructor of brass knockers, or a sheather of a ship's bottom. The judge and the brazier are paid equally for their work; and Jonathan firmly believes that, while he has money in his pocket, there is no risk of his suffering from the want either of law or warming pans."

One most notorious case of bribery, I can vouch for, as I am acquainted with the two parties, one of whom purchased the snuff-box in which the other enclosed the notes and presented to the jurymen. A gentleman at New York, of the name of Stoughton, had a quarrel with another of the name of Goodwin: the latter followed the former down the street, and murdered him in open day by passing a small sword through his body. The case was as clear as a case could be, but there is a great dislike to capital punishment in America, and particularly was there in this instance, as the criminal was of good family and extensive connexions. It was ascertained that all the jury except two intended to acquit the prisoner upon some pretended want of evidence, but that these two had determined that the law should take its course, and were quite inexorable. Before the jury had retired to consult upon the verdict, it was determined by the friends of the prisoner that an attempt should be made by bribery to soften down the resolution of these two men. As they were retiring, a snuff-box was put into the hands of one of them by a gentleman, with the observation that he and his friend would probably find a pinch of snuff agreeable after so long a trial. The snuff-box contained banknotes to the amount of 2,500 dollars (£500 sterling). The snuff-box and its contents were not returned, and the prisoner was acquitted.

The unwillingness to take away life is a very remark-

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able feature in America and were it not carried to such an extreme length, would be a very commendable one. An instance of this occurred just before my arrival at New York. A young man by the name of Robinson, who was a clerk in an importing house, had formed a connexion with a young woman on the town of the name of Ellen Jewitt. Not having the means to meet her demands upon his purse, he had for many months embezzled from the store goods to a very large amount, which she had sold to supply her wants or wishes. At last, Robinson, probably no longer caring for the girl, and aware that he was in her power, determined upon murdering her. Such accumulated crime can hardly be conceived! He went to sleep with her, made her drunk with champagne before they retired to bed, and then as she lay in bed murdered her with an axe, which he had brought with him from his master's store. The house of ill fame in which he visited her was at that time full of other people of both sexes, who had retired to rest—it is said nearly one hundred were there on that night, thoughtless of the danger to which they were exposed. Fearful that the murder of the young woman would be discovered and brought home to him, the miscreant resolved to set fire to the house, and by thus sending unprepared into the next world so many of his fellow-creatures, escape the punishment which he deserved. He set fire to the bed upon which his unfortunate victim laid, and having satisfied himself that his work was securely done, locked the door of the room, and quitted the premises. A merciful Providence, however, directed otherwise: the fire was discovered, and the flames extinguished, and his crime made manifest. The evidence in an English court would have been more than sufficient to convict him; but in America, such is the feeling against taking life, that, strange to say, Robinson was acquitted, and permitted to leave for Texas, where, it is said, he still lives under a false name. I have heard this subject canvassed over and over again in New York; and, although some, with a view of extenuating to a foreigner such a disgraceful disregard to security of life, have endeavoured to show that the evidence was

not quite satisfactory, there really was not a shadow of doubt in the whole case.*

But leniency towards crime is the grand characteristic of American legislation. Whether it proceeds, (as I much suspect it does,) from the national vanity being unwilling to admit that such things can take place among "a very moral people," or from a more praiseworthy feeling, I am not justified in asserting: the reader must form his own opinion, when he has read all I have to say upon other points connected with the subject.

I have been very much amused with the reports of the sentences given by my excellent friend the recorder of New York. He is said to be one of the soundest lawyers in the Union, and a very worthy man: but I must say, that as recorder, he does not add to the dignity of the bench by his facetious remarks, and the peculiar lenity he occasionally shows to culprits.†

I will give an extract from the newspapers of some of the proceedings in this court, as they will, I am convinced, be as amusing to the reader as they have been to me.

The Recorder then called out—"Mr. Crier, make the usual proclamation;" "Mr. Clerk, call out the prisoners, and let us proceed to sentencing them!"

Clerk. Put Stephen Schofield to the bar.

It was done.

Clerk. Prisoner, you may remember you have heretofore been indicted for a certain crime by you committed; upon your indictment you were arraigned; upon your arraignment you pleaded guilty, and threw yourself upon the mercy of the court. What have you now to say, why judgment should not be passed upon you according to law.

The prisoner, who was a bad-looking mulatto, was silent.

* America though little more than sixty years old as a nation, has already published an United States' Criminal Calendar (Boston, 1835). I have this book in my possession, and, although in number of criminals it is not quite equal to our Newgate Calendar, it far exceeds it in atrocity of crime.

† Some allowance must be made for the license of the reporters, but in the main it is a very fair specimen of the recorder's style and language.

Recorder. Schofield, you have been convicted of a very bad crime; you attempted to take liberties with a young white girl—a most serious offence. This is getting to be a very bad crime, and practised, I am sorry to say, to a great extent in this community: it must be put a stop to. Had you been convicted of the whole crime, we should have sent you to the State-prison for life. As it is, we sentence you to hard labour in the State-prison at Sing Sing for five years; and that's the judgment of the court; and when you come out, take no more liberties with white girls.

Prisoner. Thank your honour it ain't no worse.

Clerk. Bring out Mary Burns.

It was done.

Clerk. Prisoner, you may remember, &c. &c. upon your arraignment you pleaded not guilty, and put yourself on your country for trial; which country hath found you guilty. What have you now to say why judgment should not be pronounced upon you according to law?

(Silent.)

Recorder. Mary Burns, Mrs. Forgay gave you her chemise to wash.

Prisoner. No, she didn't give it to me.

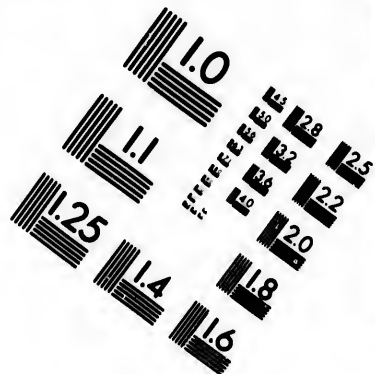
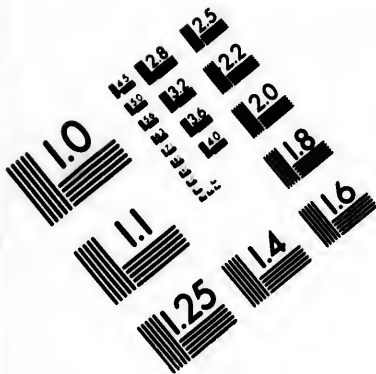
Recorder. But you got it somehow, and you stole the money. Now, you see, our respectable fellow-citizens, the ladies, must have their chemises washed, and, to do so, they must put confidence in their servants; and they have a right to sew their money up in their chemise if they think proper, and servants must not steal it from them. As you're a young woman, and not married, it would not be right to deprive you of the opportunity to get a husband for five years; so we shall only send you to Sing Sing for two years and six months; the keeper will work you in whatever way he may think proper.—Go to the next.

Charles Liston was brought out and arraigned, *pro forma*. He was a dark negro.

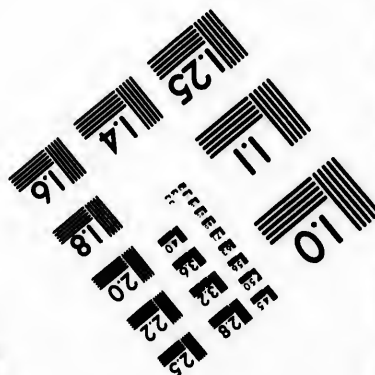
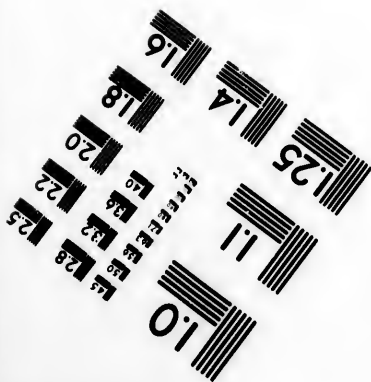
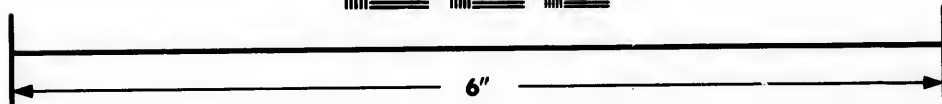
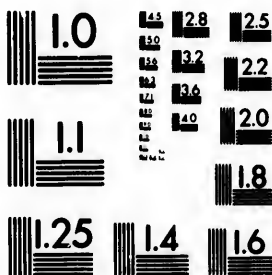
Clerk. Liston, what have you to say why judgment, &c.?

Prisoner. All I got to say to his honour de honourable court is, dat I see de error of my ways, and I hope





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dey may soon see de error of deirs. I broke de law of my free country, and I must lose my liberty, and go to Sing Sing. But I trow myself on de mercy of de Recorder; and all I got to say to his honour, de honourable Richard Riker, is, dat I hope he'll live to be de next mayor of New York till I come out of Sing Sing.

Recorder (laughing). A very good speech! But, Liston, whether I'm mayor or not, you must suffer some. This stealing from entries is a most pernicious crime, and one against which our respectable fellow-citizens can scarcely guard. Two-thirds of our citizens hang their hats and coats in entries, and we must protect their hats and coats. We, therefore, sentence you to Sing Sing for five years.—Go to the next.

John M'Donald and Godfrey Crawluck were put to the bar.

Recorder. M'Donald and Crawluck, you stole two beeves. Now, however much I like beef, I'd be very hungry before I'd steal any beef. You are on the high road to ruin. You went up the road to Harlem, and down the road to Yorkville, and you'll soon go to destruction. We shall send you to Sing Sing for two years each; and when you come out, take your mother's maiden name, and lead a good life, and don't eat any more beef—I mean don't steal any more beeves.—Go to the next.

Luke Staken was arraigned.

Recorder. Staken, you slept in a room with Lahay, and stole all his gold (1000 dollars). This sleeping in rooms with other people, and stealing their things, is a serious offence, and practised to a great extent in this city; and what makes the matter worse, you stole one thousand dollars in specie, when specie is so scarce. We send you to Sing Sing for five years.

Jacob Williams was arraigned. He looked as if he had not many days to live, though a young man.

Recorder. Williams, you stole a lot of kerseymere from a store, and ran off with it—a most pernicious crime! But, as your health is not good, we shall only send you to Sing Sing for three years and six months.

John H. Murray was arraigned.

Recorder. Murray, you're a deep fellow. You got a

Green Mountain boy into an alley, and played at "shuffle and burn," and you burned him out of a hundred dollars. You must go to Sing Sing for five years; and we hope the reputable reporters attending for the respectable public press, will warn our respectable country friends, when they come into New York, not to go into Orange Street, and play at "shuffle and burn" among bad girls and bad men, or they'll very likely get burnt, like this Green Mountain boy.—Go to the next.

William Shay, charged with shying glasses at the head of a tavern-keeper. Guilty.

Recorder. This rioting is a very bad crime, Shay, and deserves heavy punishment; but as we understand you have a wife and sundry little Shays, we'll let you off, provided you give your solemn promise never to do so any more.

Shay. I gives it—wery solemnly.

Recorder. Then we discharge you.

Shay. Thank your honour—your honour's a capital judge.

John Bowen, charged with stealing a basket. Guilty.

Recorder. Now, John, we've convicted you: and you'll have to get out stone for three months on Blackwell's Island—that's the judgment of the Court.

William Buckley and Charles Rogers, charged with loafing—sleeping in the park, and leaving the gate open—were discharged, with a caution to take care how they interfered with corporation rights in future, or they would get their corporation into trouble.

Ann Boyle, charged with being too *lively* in the street. Let off on condition of being quiet for the time to come.

Thomas Dixon, charged with petty larceny. Guilty.

Dixon. I wish to have judgment suspended.

Recorder. It's a bad time to talk about suspension; why do you request this?

Dixon. I've an uncle I want to see, and other relations.

Recorder. In that case we'll send you to Blackwell's Island for six months, you'll be sure to find them all there. Sentence accordingly.

Charles Enroff, charged with petty larceny—coming

Paddy over an Irish shoemaker, and thereby cheating him out of a pair of shoes. Guilty.

Sentenced to the Penitentiary, Blackwell's Island, for six months, and to get out stone.

Charles Thorn, charged with assaulting Miss Rachael Prigmore.

Recorder. Miss Prigmore, how came this man to strike you ?

Rachael. Because I wouldn't have him. (A laugh.) He was always a teasing me, and spouting poetry about roses and thorns ; so when I told him to be off he struck me.

Prisoner (theatrically). Me strike you ! Oh, Rachael—

“ Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love,
But why did you kick me down stairs ? ”

Prisoner's Counsel. That's it, your honour. Why did she kick him down stairs ?

This the fair Rachael indignantly denied, and the prisoner was found guilty.

Recorder. This striking of women is a very bad crime, you must get out stone for two months.

Prisoner. She'll repent, your honour. She loves me—I know she does.

“ On the cold flinty rock, when I'm busy at work,
Oh, Rachael, I'll think of thee.”

Thomas Ward, charged with petty larceny. Guilty. —Ward had nothing to offer to *ward* off his sentence, therefore he was sent to the Island for six months.

Maria Brandon, charged with petty larceny. Guilty. Sentenced to pick oakum for six months.

Maria. Well, I've friends, that's comfort, they'll sing—

“ Oh come to this bower, my own stricken deer.”

Recorder. You're right, Maria, it's an *oakum* bower you're going to.

The Court then adjourned.*

* There is, as will appear by the quotations, as much fun in the police reports in New York as in the best of ours : the *style* of the Recorder is admirably taken off.

But all these are nothing compared with the following, which at first I did not credit. I made the strictest inquiry, and was informed by a legal gentleman present that it was correct. I give the extract as it stood in the newspapers.

"Influence of a Pretty Girl.—'Catherine Manly,' said the Recorder yesterday, in the sessions, 'you have been convicted of a very bad crime. This stealing is a very serious offence; but, *as you are a pretty girl!* we'll suspend judgment, in hopes you will do better for the future.'" We have often heard that justice was blind. What a fib to say so!

Mr. Carey, in his publication on Wealth, asserts that security of property and of person are greater in the United States than in England. How far he is correct I shall now proceed to examine. Mr. Carey says, in his observations on security of person—"Comparing Massachusetts with England and Wales, we find in the former 1 in 86,871 sentenced to one year's imprisonment or more: whereas, in the latter 1 in 70,000 is sentenced to more than one year. The number sentenced to one year or more in England is greater than in Pennsylvania. It is obvious, therefore, that security is much greater in Massachusetts than in England, and consequently greater than in any other part of the world."

Relative to crimes against security of property, he asserts—

"Of crimes against property, involving punishments of one year's imprisonment, or more, we find—

In Pennsylvania - - - - - 1 in 4,400

In New York - - - - - 1 in 5,900

In Massachusetts - - - - - 1 in 5,932

While in England, in the year 1834,
their convictions for offences against
property, involving punishments ex-
ceeding over one year's imprisonment,
was - - - - - 1 in 3,120

Now, that these numbers are fairly given, as far as they go, I have no doubt; but the comparison is not just, because, first, in America crime is not so easily detected; and, secondly, when detected, conviction does not always follow.

Mr. Carey must be well aware that, in the American newspapers you *continually* meet with a paragraph like this:—"A body of a white man, or of a negro, was found floating near such and such a wharf on Saturday last with evident marks of violence upon it, &c. &c., and the coroner's inquest is returned either found drowned, or violence by person or persons unknown." Now, let Mr. Carey take a list from the coroner's books of the number of bodies found in this manner at New York, and the number of instances in which the perpetrators have been discovered; let him compare this list with a similar one made for England and Wales, and he will then ascertain the difference between the *crimes committed* in proportion to the *convictions* which take place through the activity of the police in our country, and, it may be said, the total want of police in the United States.

As to the second point, namely, that when crimes are detected, conviction does not follow,* I have only to refer back to the cases of Robinson and Goodwin, two instances out of the many in which criminals in the United States are allowed to escape, who, if they had committed the same offence in England, would most certainly have been hanged. But there is another point which renders Mr. Carey's statement unfair, which is, that he has no right to select one, two, or even three States out of twenty-six, and compare them all with England and Wales.

The question is, the comparative security of person

* Miss Martineau, speaking of a trial for murder in the United States, says, "I observed that no one seemed to have a doubt of his guilt. She replied that there never was a clearer case; but that he would be acquitted; the examination and trial were a mere form, of which every one knew the conclusion beforehand. The people did not choose to see any more hanging, and till the law was so altered as to allow an alternative of punishment, no conviction for a capital offence would be obtainable. I asked on what pretence the young man would be got off, if the evidence against him was as clear as it was represented. She said some one would be found to swear an *alibi*. . . .

"A tradesman swore an *alibi*; the young man was acquitted, and the next morning he was on his way to the West."

and property in Great Britain and the United States. I acknowledge that, if Ireland were taken into the account, it would very much reduce our proportional numbers; but, then, there crime is *fomented* by traitors and demagogues—a circumstance which must not be overlooked.

Still, the whole of Ireland would offer nothing equal in atrocity to what I can prove relative to one small town in America: that of Augusta, in Georgia, containing only a population of 3,000, in which, in one year, there were *fifty-nine assassinations* committed in open day, without any notice being taken of them by the authorities.

This, alone, will exceed all Ireland, and I therefore do not hesitate to assert, that if every crime committed in the United States were followed up by conviction, as it would be in Great Britain, the result would fully substantiate the fact that, in security of person and property, the advantage is considerably in favour of my own country.

LYNCH LAW.

ENGLISHMEN express their surprise that in a moral community such a monstrosity as Lynch law should exist; but although the present system, which has been derived from the original Lynch law, cannot be too severely condemned, it must, in justice to the Americans, be considered that the original custom of Lynch law was forced upon them by circumstances. Why the term Lynch law has been made use of, I do not know; but in its origin the practice was no more blamable than were the laws established by the Pilgrim fathers on their first landing at Plymouth, or any law enacted amongst a community left to themselves, their own resources, and their own guidance and government. Lynch law, as at first constituted, was nothing more than punishment awarded to offenders by a community who had been injured, and who had no law to refer to, and could have no redress if they did not take the law into their own hands;

the *present* system of Lynch law is, on the contrary, an illegal exercise of the power of the majority in opposition to and defiance of the laws of the country, and the measure of justice administered and awarded by those laws.

It must be remembered that fifty years ago, there were but few white men to the westward of the Alleghany Mountains; that the States of Kentucky and Tennessee were at that time as scanty in population as even now are the districts of Iowa and Columbia; that by the institutions of the Union a district required a certain number of inhabitants before it could be acknowledged as even a district; and that previous to such acknowledgment, the people who had *squatted* on the land had no claim to protection or law. It must also be borne in mind, that these distant territories offered an asylum to many who fled from the vengeance of the laws, men without principle, thieves, rogues, and vagabonds, who escaping there, would often interfere with the happiness and peace of some small yet well-conducted community, which had migrated and settled on these fertile regions. These communities had no appeal against personal violence, no protection from rapacity and injustice. They were not yet within the pale of the Union; indeed there are many even now in this precise situation (that of the Mississippi, for instance), who have been necessitated to make laws of government for themselves, and who acting upon their own responsibilities, do very often condemn to death, and execute.* It was, therefore, to remedy the defect of there being no established law, that Lynch law, as it is termed, was ap-

* "A similar case is to be found at the present day, west of the Mississippi. Upon lands belonging to the United States, not yet surveyed or offered for sale, are numerous bodies of people who have occupied them, with the intention of purchasing them when they shall be brought into the market. These persons are called *squatters*, and it is not to be supposed that they consist of the *élite* of the emigrants to the West; yet we are informed that they have organised a government for themselves, and regularly elect magistrates to attend to the execution of the laws. They appear, in this respect, to be worthy descendants of the pilgrims."—*Carey on Wealth*.

plied to; without it, all security, all social happiness would have been in a state of abeyance. By degrees, all disturbers of the public peace, all offenders against justice met with their deserts; and it is a query, whether on its first institution, any law from the bench was more honestly and impartially administered than this very Lynch law, which has now had its name prostituted by the most barbarous excesses and contemptuous violation of all law whatever. The examples I am able to bring forward of Lynch law, in its primitive state, will all be found to have been based upon necessity, and a due regard to morals and to justice. For instance, the harmony of a well-conducted community would be interfered with by some worthless scoundrel, who would entice the young men to gaming, or the young women to deviate from virtue. He becomes a nuisance to the community, and in consequence the heads or elders would meet and vote his expulsion. Their method was very simple and straight-forward; he was informed that his absence would be agreeable, and that if he did not "clear out" before a certain day, he would receive forty lashes with a cow-hide. If the party thought proper to defy this notice, as soon as the day arrived he received the punishment, with a due notification that, if found there again after a certain time, the dose would be repeated. By these means they rid the community of a bad subject, and the morals of the junior branches were not contaminated. Such was in its origin the practice of Lynch law.

A circumstance occurred within these few years in which Lynch law was duly administered. At Dubuque, in the Ioway district, a murder was committed. The people of Dubuque first applied to the authorities of the State of Michigan, but they discovered that the district of Ioway was not within the jurisdiction of that State; and, in fact, although on the opposite side of the river there was law and justice, they had neither to appeal to. They would not allow the murderer to escape; they consequently met, selected among themselves a judge and a jury, tried the man, and, upon their own responsibility, hanged him.

There was another instance which occurred a short time since at Snakes' Hollow, on the western side of the Mississippi, not far from the town of Dubuque. A band of miscreants, with a view of obtaining possession of some valuable diggings (lead mines) which were in the possession of a grocer who lived in that place, murdered him in the open day. The parties were well known, but they held together and would none of them give evidence. As there were no hopes of their conviction, the people of Snakes' Hollow armed themselves, seized the parties engaged in the transaction, and ordered them to quit the territory on pain of having a rifle-bullet through their heads immediately. The scoundrels crossed the river in a canoe, and were never after heard of.

I have collected these facts to show that Lynch law has been forced upon the American settlers in the Western States by *circumstances*; that it has been acted upon in support of morality and virtue, and that its awards have been regulated by strict justice. But I must now notice this practice with a view to show how dangerous it is that any law should be meted out by the majority, and that what was commenced from a sense of justice and necessity, has now changed into a defiance of law, where law and justice can be readily obtained. The Lynch law of the present day, as practised in the States of the West and South, may be divided into two different heads: the first is, the administration of it in cases in which the laws of the States are considered by the majority as not having awarded a punishment adequate, in their opinion, to the offence committed; and the other, when from excitement the majority will not wait for the law to act, but inflict the punishment with their own hands.

The following are instances under the first head.

Every crime increases in magnitude in proportion as it affects the welfare and interest of the community. Forgery and bigamy are certainly crimes, but they are not such heavy crimes as many others to which the same penalty is decreed in this country. But in a commercial nation forgery, from its effects, becomes most

injurious, as it destroys confidence and security of property, affecting the whole mass of society. A man may have his pocket *picked* of £1000 or more, but this is not a capital offence, as it is only the individual who suffers; but if a man *forges* a bill for £5 he is (or rather was) sentenced by our laws to be hanged. Bigamy may be adduced as another instance: the heinousness of the offence is not in having more than one wife, but in the prospect of the children of the first marriage being left to be supported by the community. Formerly, that was also pronounced a capital offence. Of punishments, it will be observed that society has awarded the most severe for crimes committed against itself, rather than against those which most offend God. Upon this principle, in the Southern and Western States, you may murder *ten* white men and no one will arraign you or trouble himself about the matter; but *steal one nigger*, and the whole community are in arms, and express the most virtuous indignation against the sin of theft, although that of murder will be disregarded.

One or two instances in which Lynch law was called in to *assist* justice on the bench, came to my knowledge. A Yankee had stolen a slave, but as the indictment was not properly worded, he knew that he would be acquitted, and he boasted so, previous to the trial coming on. He was correct in his supposition; the flaw in the indictment was fatal, and he was acquitted. "I told you so," said he, triumphantly smiling as he left the court, to the people who had been waiting the issue of the trial.

"Yes," replied they, "it is true that you have been acquitted by Judge Smith, but you have not yet been tried by *Judge Lynch*." The latter Judge was very summary. The Yankee was tied up, and cow-hided till he was nearly dead; they then put him into a *dug-out* and sent him floating down the river. Another instance occurred which is rather amusing, and, at the same time, throws some light upon the peculiar state of society in the West.

There was a bar-keeper at some tavern in the State of Louisiana (if I recollect right) who was a great fa-

vourite ; whether from his judicious mixture of the proportions in mint-juleps, and gin-cocktails, or from other causes, I do not know ; but what may appear strange to the English, he was elected to an office in the law courts of the State, similar to our *Attorney-General*, and I believe was very successful, for an American can turn his hand or his head to almost any thing. It so happened that a young man who was in prison for stealing a negro, applied to this Attorney-General to defend him in the court. This he did so successfully that the man was acquitted ; but Judge Lynch was as usual waiting outside, and when the attorney came out with his client, the latter was demanded to be given up. This the attorney refused, saying that the man was under his protection. A tumult ensued, but the attorney was firm ; he drew his bowie-knife, and addressing the crowd, said, "My men, you all know me : no one takes this man, unless he passes over my body." The populace were still dissatisfied, and the attorney, not wishing to lose his popularity, and at the same time wanting to defend a man who had paid him well, requested the people to be quiet a moment until he could arrange the affair. He took his client aside, and said to him, "These men will have you, and will Lynch you, in spite of all my efforts ; only one chance remains for you, and you must accept it : you know that it is but a mile to the confines of the next State, which if you gain you will be secure. You have been in prison for two months, you have lived on bread and water, and you must be in good wind, moreover, you are young and active. These men who wish to get hold of you are half drunk, and they never can run as you can. Now, I'll propose that you shall have one hundred and fifty yards law, and then if you exert yourself, you can easily escape." The man consented, as he could not help himself : the populace also consented, as the attorney pointed out to them that any other arrangement would be injurious to his honour. The man, however, did not succeed ; he was so frightened that he could not run, and in a short time he was taken, and had the usual allowance of cow-hide awarded by Judge

Lynch. Fortunately he regained his prison before he was quite exhausted, and was sent away during the night in a steamer.

At Natchez, a young man married a young lady of fortune, and, in his passion, actually flogged her to death. He was tried, but as there were no witnesses but negroes, and their evidence was not admissible against a white man, he was acquitted: but he did not escape; he was seized, tarred and feathered, *scalped*, and turned adrift in a canoe without paddles.

Such are the instances of Lynch law being superadded, when it has been considered by the majority that the law has not been sufficiently severe. The other variety of Lynch law is, when they will not wait for law, but, in a state of excitement, proceed to summary punishment.

The case more than once referred to by Miss Martineau, of the burning alive of a coloured man at St. Louis, is one of the gravest under this head. I do not wish to defend it in any way, but I do, for the honour of humanity, wish to offer all that can be said in extenuation of this atrocity: and I think Miss Martineau, when she held up to public indignation the monstrous punishment, was bound to acquaint the public with the cause of an excitable people being led into such an error. This unfortunate victim of popular fury was a free coloured man, of a very quarrelsome and malignant disposition; he had already been engaged in a variety of disputes, and was a nuisance in the city. For an attempt to murder another coloured man, he had been seized, and was being conducted to prison in the custody of Mr. Hammond, the sheriff, and another white person who assisted him in the execution of his duty. As he arrived at the door of the prison, he watched his opportunity, stabbed the person who was assisting the sheriff, and, then passing his knife across the throat of Mr. Hammond, the carotid artery was divided, and the latter fell dead upon the spot. Now, here was a wretch who, in one day, had three times attempted murder, and had been successful in the instance of Mr. Hammond, the sheriff, a person universally esteemed. Moreover,

when it is considered that the culprit was of a race who are looked upon as inferior; that this successful attempt on the part of a black man was considered most dangerous as a precedent to the negro population; that, owing to the unwillingness to take life away in America, he might probably have escaped justice; and that this occurred just at the moment when the abolitionists were creating such mischief and irritation:—although it must be lamented that they should have so disgraced themselves, the summary and cruel punishment which was awarded by an incensed populace is not very surprising. Miss Martineau has, however, thought proper to pass over the peculiar atrocity of the individual who was thus sacrificed: to read her account of the transaction, it would appear as if he were an unoffending party, sacrificed on account of his *colour* alone.

Another remarkable instance was the execution of five gamblers at the town of Vicksburgh, on the Mississippi. It may appear strange that people should be lynched for the mere vice of gambling: but this will be better understood when, in my second portion of this work, I enter into a general view of society in the United States. At present it will be sufficient to say, that as towns rise in the South and West, they gradually become peopled with a better class; and that, as soon as this better class is sufficiently strong to accomplish their ends, a purification takes place much to the advantage of society. I hardly need observe, that these better classes come from the Eastward. New Orleans, Natches, and Vicksburgh are evidences of the truth of observations I have made. In the present instance, it was resolved by the people of Vicksburgh that they would no longer permit their city to be the resort of a set of unprincipled characters, and that all gamblers by profession should be compelled to quit it. But, as I have the American account of what occurred, I think it will be better to give it in detail, the rather as I was informed by a gentleman residing there that it was perfectly correct:—

“ Our city has for some days past been the theatre of

the most novel and startling scenes that we have ever witnessed. While we regret that the necessity for such scenes should have existed, we are proud of the public spirit and indignation against offenders displayed by the citizens, and congratulate them on having at length banished a class of individuals, whose shameless vices and daring outrages have long poisoned the springs of morality, and interrupted the relations of society. For years past, professional gamblers, destitute of all sense of moral obligation—unconnected with society by any of its ordinary ties, and intent only on the gratification of their avarice—have made Vicksburgh their place of rendezvous—and, in the very bosom of our society, boldly plotted their vile and lawless machinations. Here, as every where else, the laws of the country were found wholly ineffectual for the punishment of these individuals; and, emboldened by impunity, their numbers and their crimes have daily continued to multiply. Every species of transgression followed in their train. They supported a large number of tippling-houses, to which they would decoy the youthful and unsuspecting, and, after stripping them of their possessions, send them forth into the world the ready and desperate instruments of vice. Our streets were ever resounding with the echoes of their drunken and obscene mirth, and no citizen was secure from their villany. Frequently, in armed bodies, they have disturbed the good order of public assemblages, insulted our citizens, and defied our civil authorities. Thus had they continued to grow bolder in their wickedness, and more formidable in their numbers, until Saturday, the 4th of July (inst.), when our citizens had assembled together, with the corps of Vicksburgh volunteers, at a barbecue, to celebrate the day by the usual festivities. After dinner, and during the delivery of the toasts, one of the officers attempted to enforce order and silence at the table, when one of these gamblers, whose name is Cabler, who had impudently thrust himself into the company, insulted the officer, and struck one of the citizens. Indignation immediately rose high, and it was only by the interference of the commandant that he was saved from instant punishment. He was,

however, permitted to retire, and the company dispersed. The military corps proceeded to the public square of the city, and were there engaged in their exercises, when information was received that Cabler was coming up, armed, and resolved to kill one of the volunteers, who had been most active in expelling him from the table. Knowing his desperate character, two of the corps instantly stepped forward and arrested him. A loaded pistol and a large knife and dagger were found upon his person, all of which he had procured since he separated from the company. To liberate him would have been to devote several of the most respectable members of the company to his vengeance, and to proceed against him at law would have been mere mockery, inasmuch as, not having had the opportunity of consummating his design, no adequate punishment could be inflicted on him. Consequently, it was determined to take him into the woods and *lynch* him—which is a mode of punishment provided for such as become obnoxious in a manner which the law cannot reach. He was immediately carried out under a guard, attended by a crowd of respectable citizens—tied to a tree—punished with stripes—tarred and feathered, and ordered to leave the city in forty-eight hours. In the mean time, one of his comrades, the Lucifer of his gang, had been endeavouring to rally and arm his confederates for the purpose of rescuing him—which, however, he failed to accomplish.

“Having thus aggravated the whole band of these desperadoes, and feeling no security against their vengeance, the citizens met at night in the Court-house, in a large number, and there passed the following resolutions:—

“*Resolved*, That a notice be given to all professional gamblers, that the citizens of Vicksburgh are *resolved* to exclude them from this place and its vicinity; and that twenty-four hours’ notice be given them to leave the place.

“*Resolved*, That all persons permitting faro-dealing in their houses, be also notified that they will be prosecuted therefor.

“*Resolved*, That one hundred copies of the foregoing

resolutions be printed and stuck up at the corners of the streets—and that this publication be deemed a notice.

“ On Sunday morning, one of these notices was posted at the corners of each square of the city. During that day (the 5th) a majority of the gang, terrified by the threats of the citizens, dispersed in different directions, without making any opposition. It was sincerely hoped that the remainder would follow their example, and thus prevent a bloody termination of the strife which had commenced. On the morning of the 6th, the military corps, followed by a file of several hundred citizens, marched to each suspected house, and sending in an examining committee, dragged out every faro-table and other gambling apparatus that could be found.

“ At length they approached a house which was occupied by one of the most profligate of the gang, whose name was North, and in which it was understood that a garrison of armed men had been stationed. All hoped that these wretches would be intimidated by the superior numbers of their assailants, and surrender themselves at discretion rather than attempt a desperate defence. The house being surrounded, the back door was burst open, when four or five shots were fired from the interior, one of which instantly killed Dr. Hugh S. Bodley, a citizen universally beloved and respected. The interior was so dark that the villains could not be seen; but several of the citizens, guided by the flash of their guns, returned there fire. A yell from one of the party announced that one of the shots had been effectual, and by this time a crowd of citizens, their indignation overcoming all other feelings, burst open every door of the building, and dragged into the light those who had not been wounded.

“ North, the ringleader, who had contrived this desperate plot, could not be found in the building, but was apprehended by a citizen, while attempting, in company with another, to make his escape at a place not far distant. Himself, with the rest of the prisoners, was then conducted *in silence* to the scaffold. One of them, not having been in the building before it was attacked, nor appearing to be concerned with the rest, except that he was the brother of one of them, was liberated. The remaining

number of five, among whom was the individual who had been shot, but who still lived, were *immediately executed* in the presence of the assembled multitude. All sympathy for the wretches was completely merged in detestation and horror of their crime. The whole procession then returned to the city, collected all the faro-tables into a pile, and burnt them. This being done, a troop of horsemen set out for a neighbouring house, the residence of J. Hord, the individual who had attempted to organise a force on the first day of this disturbance for the rescue of Cabler, who had since been threatening to fire the city. He had, however, made his escape on that day, and the next morning crossed the Big Black, at Baldwin's Ferry, in a state of indescribable consternation. We lament his escape, as his whole course of life for the last three years has exhibited the most shameless profligacy, and been a series of continual transgressions against the laws of God and man.

“The names of the individuals who perished were as follow:—North, Hullams, Dutch Bill, Smith, and McCall.

“Their bodies were cut down on the morning after the execution, and buried in a ditch.

“It is not expected that this act will pass without censure from those who had not an opportunity of knowing and feeling the dire necessity out of which it originated. The laws, however severe in their provision, have never been sufficient to correct a vice which must be established by positive proof, and cannot, like others, be shown from circumstantial testimony. It is practised, too, by individuals whose whole study is to violate the law in such a manner as to evade its punishment, and who never are in want of secret confederates to swear them out of their difficulties, whose oaths cannot be impeached for any specific cause. We had borne with their enormities until to suffer them any longer would not only have proved us to be destitute of every manly sentiment, but would also have implicated us in the guilt of accessaries to their crimes. Society may be compared to the elements which, although ‘order is their first law,’ can sometimes be purified only by a storm. Whatever,

therefore, sickly sensibility or mawkish philanthropy may say against the course pursued by us, we hope that our citizens will not relax the code of punishment which they have enacted against this infamous and baleful class of society; and we invite Natchez, Jackson, Columbus, Warrenton, and all our sister towns throughout the State, in the name of our insulted laws, of offended virtue, and of slaughtered innocence, to aid us in exterminating this deep-rooted vice from our land. The revolution has been conducted here by the most respectable citizens, heads of families, members of all classes, professions, and pursuits. None have been heard to utter a syllable of censure against either the act or the manner in which it was performed.

"An Anti-Gambling Society has been formed, the members of which have pledged their lives, fortunes, and sacred honours for the suppression of gambling, and the punishment and expulsion of gamblers.

"Startling as the above may seem to foreigners, it will ever reflect honour on the insulted citizens of Vicksburg, among those who best know how to appreciate the motives by which they were actuated. Their city now stands redeemed and ventilated from all the vices and influence of gambling and assignation houses; two of the greatest curses that ever corrupted the morals of any community."

That the society in the towns on the banks of the Mississippi can only, like the atmosphere, "be purified by storm," is, I am afraid, but too true.

I have now entered fully, and I trust impartially, into the rise and progress of the Lynch Law, and I must leave my readers to form their own conclusions. That it has occasionally been beneficial, in the peculiar state of the communities in which it has been practised, must be admitted; but it is equally certain that it is in itself indefensible, and that but too often, not only much too severe for the offence, but what is still more to be deprecated, the innocent do occasionally suffer with the guilty.

CLIMATE.

I wish the remarks in this chapter to receive peculiar attention, as in commenting upon the character of the Americans, it is but justice to them to point out that many of what may be considered as their errors, arise from *circumstances* over which they have no control; and one which has no small weight in this scale is the peculiar climate of the country; for various as is the climate, in such an extensive region, certain it is, that in one point, that of *excitement*, it has, in every portion of it, a very pernicious effect.

When I first arrived at New York, the effect of the climate upon me was immediate. On the 5th of May, the heat and closeness was oppressive. There was a sultriness in the air, even at that early period of the year, which to me seemed equal to that of Madras. Almost every day there were, instead of our mild refreshing showers, sharp storms of thunder and lightning; but the air did not appear to me to be cooled by them. And yet, strange to say, there were no incipient signs of vegetation: the trees waved their bare arms, and while I was throwing off every garment which I well could, the females were walking up and down Broadway wrapped up in warm shawls. It appeared as if it required twice the heat we have in our own country, either to create a free circulation in the blood of the people, or to stimulate nature to rouse after the torpor of a protracted and severe winter. In a week from the period I have mentioned, the trees were in full foliage, the *belles* of Broadway walking about in summer dresses and thin satin shoes, the men calling for ice, and rejoicing in the beauty of the weather, the heat of which to me was most oppressive. In one respect there appears to be very little difference throughout all the States of the Union; which is, in the extreme heat of the summer months, and the rapid changes of temperature which take place in the twenty-four hours.

When I was on Lake Superior the thermometer stood between 90° and 100° during the day, and at night was nearly down to the freezing point. When at St. Peter's, which is nearly as far north, and farther west, the thermometer stood generally at 100° to 106° during the day, and I found it to be the case in all the northern States when the winter is most severe, as well as in the more southern. When on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, where the heat was most insufferable during the day, our navigation was almost every night suspended by the thick dank fogs, which covered not only the waters but the inland country, and which must be any thing but healthy. In fact, in every portion of the States which I visited, and in those portions also which I did not visit, the extreme heat and rapid changes in the weather were (according to the information received from other persons) the same.

But I must proceed to particulars. I consider the climate on the sea-coasts of the eastern States, from Maine to Baltimore, as the most unhealthy of all parts of America; as, added to the sudden changes, they have cold and damp easterly winds, which occasion a great deal of consumption. The inhabitants, more especially the women, show this in their appearance, and it is by the inhabitants that the climate must be tested. The women are very delicate, and very pretty; but they remind you of roses which have budded fairly, but which a check in the season have not permitted to blow. Up to sixteen or seventeen, they promise perfection; at that age their advance appears to be checked. Mr. Saunderson, in a very clever and amusing work, which I recommend every one to read, called "Sketches of Paris," says: "Our climate is noted for three eminent qualities—extreme heat and cold, and extreme suddenness of change. If a lady has bad teeth, or a bad complexion, she lays them conveniently to the climate; if her beauty, like a tender flower, fades before noon, it is the climate; if she has a bad temper, or a snub nose, still it is the climate. But our climate is active and intellectual, especially in winter, and in all seasons more pure and transparent than the inky skies of Europe. It sustains the infancy

of beauty—why not its maturity? It spares the bud—why not the opened blossom, or the ripened fruit. Our negroes are perfect in their teeth—why not the whites? The chief preservation of beauty in any country is health, and there is no place in which this great interest is so little attended to as in America. To be sensible of this, you must visit Europe—you must see the deep-bosomed maids of England upon the Place Vendome and the Rue Castiglione."

I have quoted this passage, because I think Mr. Saunderson is not just in these slurs upon his fair countrywomen. I acknowledge that a bad temper does not directly proceed from climate, although sickness and suffering, occasioned by climate, may indirectly produce it. As for the snub nose, I agree with him, that climate has not so much to do with that. Mr. Saunderson is right in saying, that the chief preservative of beauty is health; but may I ask him, upon what does health depend but upon *exercise*? and if so, how many days are there in the American summer in which the heat will admit of exercise, or in the American winter in which it is possible for women to *walk* out?—for carriage driving is not exercise, and if it were, from the changes in the weather in America, it will always be dangerous. The fact is, that the climate will not admit of the exercise necessary for health, unless by running great risks, and very often contracting cold and chills, which end in consumption and death. To accuse his countrywomen of natural indolence, is unfair; it is an indolence forced upon them.

As for the complexions of the females, I consider they are much injured by the universal use of close stoves, so necessary in the extremity of the winters. Mr. S.'s implication, that because negroes have perfect teeth, therefore so should the whites, is another error. The negroes were born for, and in, a torrid clime, and there is some difference between their strong ivory masticators and the transparent pearly teeth which so rapidly decay in the eastern States, from no other cause than the variability of the climate. Besides, do the teeth of the women in the western States decay so fast? Take a healthy situation, with an intermediate climate, such as Cincinnati, and you

will there find not only good teeth, but as deep-bosomed maids as you will in England ; so you will in Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Wisconsin, which, with a portion of Ohio, are the most healthy States in the Union. There is another proof, and a positive one, that the women are affected by the *climate* and not through any fault of their own, which is, that if we transplant a delicate American girl to England, she will in a year or two become so robust and healthy as not to be recognised upon her return home ; showing that the even temperature of our damp climate is, from the capability of constant exercise, more conducive to health, than the sunny, yet variable atmosphere of America.

The Americans are fond of their climate, and consider it, as they do every thing in America, as the very best in the world. They are, as I have said before, most happy in their delusions. But if the climate be not a healthy one, it is certainly a beautiful climate to the eye ; the sky is so clear, the air so dry, the tints of the foliage so inexpressibly beautiful in the autumn and early winter months : and at night, the stars are so brilliant, hundreds being visible with the naked eye which are not to be seen by us, that I am not surprised at the Americans praising the *beauty* of their climate. The sun is terrific in his heat, it is true, but still one cannot help feeling the want of it, when in England, he will disdain to shine for weeks. Since my return to this country, the English reader can hardly form an idea of how much I have longed for the sun. After having sojourned for nearly two years in America, the sight of it has to me almost amounted to a necessity, and I am not therefore astonished at an American finding fault with the climate of England ; but nevertheless, our climate, although unprepossessing to the eye, and depressive to the animal spirits, is much more healthy than the exciting and changeable atmosphere, although beautiful in appearance, which they breathe in the United States.

One of the first points to which I directed my attention on my arrival in America, was to the diseases most prevalent. In the eastern States, as may be supposed, they have a great deal of consumption ; in the western, the

complaint is hardly known : but the general nature of the American diseases are *neuralgic*, or those which affect the nerves, and which are common to almost all the Union. Ophthalmia, particularly the disease of the ophthalmic nerve, is very common in the eastern States. The medical men told me that there were annually more diseases of the eye in New York city alone, than perhaps all over Europe. How far this may be correct I cannot say ; but this I can assert, that I never had any complaint in my eyes until I arrived in America, and during a stay of eighteen months, I was three times very severely afflicted. The oculist who attended me, asserted that he had *seven hundred* patients.

The *tic doloureux* is another common complaint throughout America,—indeed so common is it, that I should say that one out of ten suffers from it more or less ; the majority, however, are women.

I saw more cases of *delirium tremens* in America, than I ever heard of before. In fact, the climate is one of *extreme excitement*. I had not been a week in the country before I discovered how impossible it was for a foreigner to drink as much wine or spirits as he could in England, and I believe that thousands of emigrants have been carried off by making no alteration in their habits upon their arrival.*

The winters in Wisconsin, Ioway, Missouri, and Upper Canada, are dry and healthy, enabling the inhabitants to take any quantity of exercise, and I found that the people looked forward to their winters with pleasure, longing for the heat of the summer to abate.

Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and a portion of Ohio, are very unhealthy in the autumns from the want of drainage ; the bilious congestive fever, ague, and dysentery, carrying off large numbers. Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, and the eastern portions of Tennessee, are comparatively healthy. South Carolina, and all the

* Vermont, New Hampshire, the interior portion of the State of New York, and all the portions of the other States which abut on the great lakes, are healthy, owing to the dryness of the atmosphere being softened down by the proximity of such large bodies of water.

other southern States, are, as it is well known, visited by the yellow fever, and the people migrate every fall to the northward, not only to avoid the contagion, but to renovate their general health, which suffers from the continual demand upon their energies, the western and southern country being even more exciting than the east. There is a fiery disposition in the Southerners which is very remarkable; they are much more easily excited than even the Spaniard or Italian, and their feelings are more violent and unrestrainable, as I shall hereafter show. That this is the effect of climate I shall now attempt to prove by one or two circumstances, out of the many which fell under my observation. It is impossible to imagine a greater difference in character than exists between the hot-blooded Southerner, and the cold calculating Yankee of the eastern States. I have already said that there is a continual stream of emigration from the eastern States to the southward and westward, the farmers of the eastern States leaving their comparatively barren lands to settle down upon the more grateful soils of the interior. Now, it is a singular, yet a well known fact, in a very few years the character of the Eastern farmer is completely changed. He arrives there a hard-working, careful, and sober man; for the first two or three years his ground is well tilled, and his crops are abundant; but by degrees he becomes a different character: he neglects his farm, so that from rich soil he obtains no better crops than he formerly did upon his poor land in Massachusetts; he becomes indolent, reckless, and often intemperate. Before he has settled five years in the Western country, the climate has changed him into a Western man, with all the peculiar virtues and vices of the country.

A Boston friend of mine told me that he was once on board of a steam-boat on the Mississippi, and found that an old schoolfellow was first mate of the vessel. They ran upon a snag, and were obliged to lay the vessel on shore until they could put the cargo on board of another steam-boat, and repair the damage. The passengers, as usual on such occasions, instead of

grumbling at what could not be helped, as people do in England, made themselves merry; and because they could not proceed on their voyage, they very wisely resolved to drink champagne. They did so: a further supply being required, this first mate was sent down into the hold to procure it. My Boston friend happened to be at the hatchway when he went down with a flaring candle in his hand, and he observed the mate to creep over several small barrels until he found the champagne cases, and ordered them up.

"What is in those barrels?" inquired he of the mate when he came up again.

"Oh, *gunpowder!*" replied the mate.

"Good Heavens!" exclaimed the Bostonian, "is it possible that you could be so careless? why I should have thought better of you; you used to be a prudent man."

"Yes, and so I was, until I came into this part of the country;" replied the mate, "but somehow or another, I don't care for things now, which, when I was in my own State, would have frightened me out of my wits." Here was a good proof of the Southern recklessness having been imbibed by a cautious Yankee.

I have adduced the above instances, because I consider that the excitement so general throughout the Union, and forming so remarkable a feature in the American character, is occasioned much more by climate than by any other cause: that the peculiarity of their institutions affords constant aliment for this excitement to feed upon is true, and it is therefore seldom allowed to repose. I think, moreover, that their climate is the occasion of two bad habits to which the Americans are prone, namely, the use of tobacco and of spirituous liquors. An Englishman could not drink as the Americans do; it would destroy him here in a very short time, by the irritation it would produce upon his nerves. But the effect of tobacco is narcotic and anti-nervous; it allays that irritation, and enables the American to indulge in stimulating habits without their being attended with such immediate ill consequences.

To the rapid changes of the climate, and to the ex-

treme heat, must be also to a great degree ascribed the excessive use of spirituous liquors; the system being depressed by the sudden changes, demanding stimulus to equalise the pulse. The extraordinary heat during the summer is also another cause of it. The Rev. Mr. Reid says, in his Tour through the States, "the disposition to drink now became intense; we had only to consider how we might safely gratify it; the thermometer rose to 100°, and the heat and perspiration were intolerable." Now, if a Christian divine acknowledged this feeling, it is not to be supposed but that others must be equally affected. To drink pure water during this extreme heat is very dangerous: it must be qualified with some wine or spirit; and thus is an American led into a habit of drinking, from which it is not very easy, indeed hardly possible, for him to abstain, except during the winter, and the winters in America are too cold for a man to leave off *any* of his *habits*. Let it not be supposed that I wish to excuse intemperance: far from it; but I wish to be just in my remarks upon the Americans, and show, that if they are intemperate (which they certainly are), there is more excuse for them than there is for other nations, from their temptation arising out of circumstances.

There is but one other point to be considered in examining into the climate of America. It will be admitted that the American stock is the very best in the world, being originally English, with a favourable admixture of German, Irish, French, and other northern countries. It moreover has the great advantage of a continual importation of the same varieties of stock to cross and improve the breed. The question then is, have the American race improved or degenerated since the first settlement? If they have degenerated, the climate cannot be healthy.

I was very particular in examining into this point, and I have no hesitation in saying, that the American people are not equal in strength or in form to the English. I may displease the Americans by this assertion, and they may bring forward their Backwoodsmen and their Kentuckians, who live at the spurs of the Alle-

ghany Mountains, as evidence to the contrary; but although they are powerful and tall men, they are not well made, nor so well made as the Virginians, who are the finest race in the Union. There is one peculiar defect in the American figure common to both sexes, which is, *narrowness of the shoulders*, and it is a very great defect; there seems to be a check to the expansion of the chest in their climate, the physiological causes of which I leave to others. On the whole, they certainly are a taller race than the natives of Europe, but not with proportionate muscular strength. Their climate, therefore, I unhesitatingly pronounce to be bad, being injurious to them in two important points, of healthy vigour in the body, and healthy action of the mind; enervating the one, and tending to demoralise the other.

EDUCATION.

MR. CAREY, in his statistical work, falls into the great error of most American writers—that of lauding his own country and countrymen, and inducing them to believe that they are superior to all nations under heaven. This is very injudicious, and highly injurious to the national character: it upholds that self-conceit to which the Americans are already so prone, and checks that improvement so necessary to place them on a level with the English nation. The Americans have gained more by their faults having been pointed out by travellers than they will choose to allow; and, from his moral courage in fearlessly pointing out the truth, the best friend to America, among their own countrymen, has been Dr. Channing. I certainly was under the impression, previous to my visit to the United States, that education was much more universal there than in England; but every step I took, and every mile I travelled, lowered my estimate on that point. To substantiate my opinion by statistical tables would be difficult; as, after much diligent search, I find that I can only obtain

a correct return of a portion of our own establishments; but, even were I able to obtain a general return, it would not avail me much, as Mr. Carey has no general return to oppose to it. He gives us, as usual, Massachusetts and one or two other States, but no more; and, as I have before observed, Massachusetts is not America. His remarks and quotations from English authors are not fair; they are loose and partial observations, made by those who have a case to substantiate. Not that I blame Mr. Carey for making use of those authorities, such as they are; but I wish to show that they have misled him.

I must first observe that Mr. Carey's estimate of education in England is much lower than it ought to be; and I may afterwards prove that his estimate of education in the United States is equally erroneous on the other side.

To estimate the amount of education in England by the number of *national schools* must ever be wrong. In America, by so doing, a fair approximation may be arrived at, as the education of all classes is chiefly confined to them; but in England the case is different; not only the rich and those in the middling classes of life, but a large proportion of the poor, sending their children to private schools. Could I have obtained a return of the private seminaries in the United Kingdom, it would have astonished Mr. Carey. The small parish of Kensington and its vicinity has only two national schools, but it contains 292* private establishments for education; and I might produce fifty others, in which the proportion would be almost as remarkable. I have said that a large portion of the poorer classes in England send their children to private teachers. This arises from a feeling of pride; they prefer paying for the tuition of their children rather than having their children educated by the *parish*, as they term the national schools. The consequence is, that in every town, or village, or hamlet, you will find that there are "dame schools," as they are termed, at which about one-half of the children are educated.

* I believe this estimate is below the mark.

The subject of national education has not been warmly taken up in England until within these last twenty-five years, and has made great progress during that period. The Church of England Society for National Education was established in 1813. Two years after its formation there were only 230 schools, containing 40,484 children. By the Twenty-seventh Report of this Society, ending the year 1838, these schools had increased to 17,341, and the number of scholars to 1,003,087. But this, it must be recollected, is but a small proportion of the public education in England; the Dissenters having been equally diligent, and their schools being quite as numerous in proportion to their numbers. We have, moreover, the work-house schools, and the dame schools before mentioned, for the poorer classes; and for the rich and middling classes, establishments for private tuition, which, could the returns of them and of the scholars be made, would, I am convinced, amount to more than five times the number of the national and public establishments. But as Mr. Carey does not bring forward his statistical proofs, and I cannot produce mine, all that I can do is to venture my opinion from what I learnt and saw during my sojourn in the United States, or have obtained from American and other authorities.

The State of Massachusetts is a *school*; it may be said that all there are educated. Mr. Reid states in his work:—

“It was lately ascertained by returns from 131 towns in Massachusetts, that the number of scholars was 12,393; that the number of persons in the towns between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one who are unable to write was fifty-eight; and in one town there were only three persons who could not read or write, and those three were dumb.”

I readily assent to this, and I consider Connecticut equal to Massachusetts; but as you leave these two States, you find that education gradually diminishes.*

* A church-yard with its mementoes of mortality is sometimes a fair criterion by which to judge of the degree of the education of those who live near it. In one of the church-yards in Vermont,

New York is the next in rank, and thus the scale descends until you arrive at absolute ignorance.

I will now give what I consider as a fair and impartial tabular analysis of the degrees of education in the different States in the Union. It may be cavilled at, but it will nevertheless be a fair approximation. It must be remembered that it is not intended to imply that there are not a certain portion of well-educated people in those States put down in Class 4, as ignorant States, but they are included in the Northern States, where they principally receive their education.

Degrees of Education in the different States in the Union.

1st Class.	Population.
Massachusetts	700,000
Connecticut	298,000
	<hr/>
	998,000
2d Class.	
New York	2,400,000*
Maine	555,000
New Hampshire	300,000
Vermont	330,000
Rhode Island	110,000
New Jersey	360,000
Ohio	1,300,000
	<hr/>
	5,355,000
3d Class.	
Virginia	1,360,000
North Carolina	800,000
South Carolina	650,000
Pennsylvania	1,600,000†

there is a tomb-stone with an inscription which commences as follows :—" PAWS, reader, PAWS."

* New York is superior to the other States in this list ; but Ohio is not quite equal. I can draw the line no closer.

† Notwithstanding that Philadelphia is the capital, the State of Philadelphia is a great *dunce*.

	Population.
Maryland	500,000
Delaware	80,000
Columbia (district)	50,000
Kentucky	800,000
	<hr/>
	5,840,000

4th Class.

Tennessee	900,000
Georgia	620,000
Indiana	550,000
Illinois	320,000
Alabama	500,000
Lousiana	350,000
Missouri	350,000
Mississippi	150,000
Michigan	120,000
Arkansas	70,000
Wisconsin	20,000
Florida (territory)	50,000
	<hr/>
	5,000,000

If I am correct, it appears then that we have,—

Highly educated	998,000
Equal with Scotland	5,355,000
Not equal with England	5,840,000
Uneducated	5,000,000

This census is an estimate of 1836, sufficiently near for the purpose. It is supposed that the population of the United States has since increased about two millions, and of that increase the great majority is in the Western States, where the people are wholly uneducated. Taking, therefore, the first three classes, in which there is education in various degrees, we find that they amount to 12,193,000; against which we may fairly put the 5,000,000 uneducated, adding to it, the 2,000,000 increased population, and 3,000,000 of slaves.

I believe the above to be a fair estimate, although nothing positive can be collected from it. In making a comparison of the degree of education in the United

States and in England, one point should not be overlooked. In England, children may be sent to school, but they are taken away as soon as they are useful, and have little time to follow up their education afterwards. Worked like machines, every hour is devoted to labour, and a large portion forget, from disuse, what they have learnt when young. In America, they have the advantage not only of being educated, but of having plenty of time, if they choose, to profit by their education in after life. The mass in America ought, therefore, to be better educated than the mass in England, where *circumstances* are against it. I must now examine the nature of education given in the United States.

It is admitted as an axiom in the United States, that the only chance they have of upholding their present institutions is by the education of the mass; that is to say, a people who would govern themselves must be enlightened. Convinced of this necessity, every pains has been taken by the Federal and State governments to provide the necessary means of *education*.* This is granted; but now we have to inquire into the nature of the education, and the advantages derived from such education as is received in the United States.

In the first place, what is education? Is teaching a boy to read and write education? If so, a large proportion of the American community may be said to be educated; but, if you supply a man with a chest of tools, does he therefore become a carpenter? You certainly give him the means of working at the trade, but instead of learning it, he may only cut his fingers. Reading and writing without the further assistance necessary to guide people aright, is nothing more than the chest of tools.

Then, what is education? I consider that education commences before a child can walk: the first principle of education, the most important, and without which all

* Miss Martineau says: "Though, as a whole, the nation is probably better informed than any other entire nation, it cannot be denied, that their knowledge is far inferior to what their safety and their virtue require."

subsequent attempts at it are but as leather and prunella, is the lesson of *obedience*—of submitting to parental control—“*Honour thy father and thy mother!*”

Now, any one who has been in the United States must have perceived that there is little or no parental control. This has been remarked by most of the writers who have visited the country; indeed, to an Englishman it is a most remarkable feature. How is it possible for a child to be brought up in the way that it should go when he is not obedient to the will of his parents? I have often fallen into a melancholy sort of musing after witnessing such remarkable specimens of uncontrolled will in children; and as the father and mother both smiled at it, I have thought that they little knew what sorrow and vexation were probably in store for them, in consequence of their own injudicious treatment of their offspring. Imagine a child of three years old in England behaving thus:—

“Johnny, my dear, come here,” says his mamma.

“I won’t,” cries Johnny.

“You must, my love, you are all wet, and you’ll catch cold.”

“I won’t,” replies Johnny.

“Come, my sweet, and I’ve something for you.”

“I won’t.”

“Oh! Mr. —, do, pray make Johnny come in.”

“Come in, Johnny,” says the father.

“I won’t.”

“I tell you, come in directly, sir—do you hear?”

“I won’t,” replies the urchin, taking to his heels.

“A sturdy republican, sir,” says his father to me, smiling at the boy’s resolute disobedience.

Be it recollected that I give this as one instance of a thousand which I witnessed during my sojourn in the country.

It may be inquired, how is it that such is the case at present, when the obedience to parents was so rigorously inculcated by the Puritan fathers, that by the Blue Laws, the punishment of disobedience was *death*? Captain Hall ascribes it to the democracy, and the rights of equality therein acknowledged; but I think, allowing the

spirit of their institutions to have some effect in producing this evil, that the principal cause of it is the total neglect of the children by the father, and his absence in his professional pursuits, and the natural weakness of most mothers, when their children are left altogether to their care and guidance.

Mr. Saunderson, in his *Sketches of Paris*, observes—“The motherly virtues of our women, so eulogised by foreigners, is not entitled to unqualified praise. There is no country in which maternal care is so assiduous; but also there is none in which examples of injudicious tenderness are so frequent.” This I believe to be true; not that the American women are really more injudicious than those of England, but because they are not supported as they should be by the authority of the father, of whom the child should always entertain a certain portion of fear mixed with affection, to counterbalance the natural yearnings of a mother’s heart.

The self-will arising from this fundamental error manifests itself throughout the whole career of the American’s existence, and, consequently, it is a self-willed nation *par excellence*.

At the age of six or seven you will hear both boys and girls contradicting their fathers and mothers, and advancing their own opinions with a firmness which is very striking.

At fourteen or fifteen the boys will seldom remain longer at school. At college, it is the same thing;* and

* Mrs. Trollope says: “At sixteen, often much earlier, education ends and money making begins; the idea that more learning is necessary than can be acquired by that time, is generally ridiculed as absolute monkish bigotry: added to which, if the seniors willed a more prolonged discipline, the juniors would refuse submission. When the money getting begins, leisure ceases, and all the lore which can be acquired afterwards is picked up from novels, magazines, and newspapers.”

Captain Hall also remarks upon this point:—“I speak now from the authority of the Americans themselves. There is the greatest possible difficulty in fixing young men long enough at college. Innumerable devices have been tried with considerable ingenuity to remedy this evil, and the best possible intentions by

they learn precisely what they please, and no more. Corporal punishment is not permitted; indeed, if we are to judge from an extract I took from an American paper, the case is reversed.

The following "Rules" are posted up in a New Jersey school-house:—

"No kissing girls in school time; no *licking* the *master* during holydays."

At fifteen or sixteen, if not at college, the boy assumes the man; he enters into business, as a clerk to some merchant, or in some store. His father's home is abandoned, except when it may suit his convenience, his salary being sufficient for most of his wants. He frequents the bar, calls for gin cocktails, chews tobacco, and talks politics. His theoretical education, whether he has profited much by it or not, is now superseded by a more practical one, in which he obtains a most rapid proficiency. I have no hesitation in asserting that there is more practical knowledge among the Americans than among any other people under the sun.*

It is singular that, in America, every thing, whether it be of good or evil, appears to assist the country in *going a-head*. This very want of parental control, however it may affect the morals of the community, is certainly advantageous to America, as far as her rapid advancement is concerned. Boys are working like men for years before they would be in England; time is money, and they assist to bring in the harvest.

the professors and other public-spirited persons who are sincerely grieved to see so many incompetent, half-qualified men in almost every corner of the country.

* Captain Hamilton very truly observes—"Though I have unquestionably met in New York with many most intelligent and accomplished gentlemen, still I think the fact cannot be denied, that the average of acquirement resulting from education is a good deal lower in this country than in the better circles in England. In all the knowledge which must be taught, and which requires laborious study for its attainment, I should say the Americans are considerably inferior to my countrymen. In that knowledge, on the other hand, which the individual acquires for himself by actual observation, which bears an immediate marketable value and is directly available in the ordinary avocations of life, I do not imagine that the Americans are excelled by any people in the world."

But does this independence on the part of the youth of America end here? On the contrary, what at first was *independence*, assumes next the form of *opposition*, and eventually that of *control*.

The young men, before they are qualified by age to claim their rights as citizens, have their societies, their book-clubs, their political meetings, their resolutions, all of which are promulgated in the newspapers; and very often the young men's societies are called upon by the newspapers to come forward with their opinions. Here is *opposition*. Mr. Cooper says, in his "Democrat" (p. 152)—

"The defects in American deportment are, notwithstanding, numerous and palpable. Among the first may be ranked, *insubordination in children*, and a great want of respect for age. The former vice may be ascribed to the business habits of the country, which leave so little time for parental instruction, and, perhaps, in some degree to the acts of political agents, who, with their own advantages in view, among the other expedients of their cunning, have resorted to the artifice of separating children from their natural advisers by calling meetings of the young to decide on the fortunes and policy of the country."

But what is more remarkable, is the fact that society has been usurped by the young people, and the married and old people have been, to a certain degree, excluded from it. A young lady will give a ball, and ask none but young men and young women of her acquaintance; not a *chaperon* is permitted to enter, and her father and mother are requested to stay up stairs, that they may not interfere with the amusement. This is constantly the case in Philadelphia and Baltimore, and I have heard bitter complaints made by the married people concerning it. Here is *control*. Mr. Saunderson, in his "Sketches of Paris," observes—

"They who give a tone to society should have maturity of mind; they should have refinement of taste, which is a quality of age. As long as *college beaux and boarding-school misses* take the lead, it must be an insipid society, in whatever community it may exist. Is

it not villainous, in your Quakerships of Philadelphia, to lay us before we have lived half our time out, upon the shelf? Some of the native tribes, more merciful, eat the old folks out of the way."

However, retribution follows : in their turn they marry, and are ejected ; they have children, and are disobeyed. The pangs which they have occasioned to their own parents are now suffered by them in return, through the conduct of their own children ; and thus it goes on, and will go on, until the system is changed.

All this is undeniable ; and thus it appears that the youth of America, being under no control, acquire just as much as they please, and no more, of what may be termed theoretical knowledge. This is the first great error in American education, for how many boys are there who will learn without coercion, in proportion to the number who will not ? Certainly not one in ten, and, therefore, it may be assumed that not one in ten is properly instructed.*

Now, that the education of the youth of America is much injured by this want of control on the part of the parents, is easily established by the fact that in those States where the parental control is the greatest, as in Massachusetts, the education is proportionably superior. But this great error is followed by consequences even more lamentable : it is the first dissolving power of the kindred attraction, so manifest throughout all American society. Beyond the period of infancy there is no endearment between parents and children ; none of that sweet spirit of affection between brothers and sisters ; none of those links which unite one family ; of that mutual confidence ; that rejoicing at each other's success ; that refuge, when we are depressed or afflicted, in the bosom of those who love us—the sweetest portion of human existence, which supports us under, and encourages us firmly to brave, the ills of life—nothing of this exists.

* The master of a school could not manage the *gals*, they being exceedingly contumacious. Beat them, he dared not ; so he hit upon an expedient. He made a very strong decoction of worm-wood, and, for a slight offence, poured one spoonful down their throats ; for a more serious one, he made them take *two*.

In short, there is hardly such a thing in America as "Home, sweet home." That there are exceptions to this, I grant; but I speak of the great majority of cases, and the results upon the character of the nation. Mr. Cooper, speaking of the weakness of the family tie in America, says—

"Let the reason be what it will, the effect is to cut us off from a large portion of the happiness that is dependent on the affections."

The next error of American education is, that, in their anxiety to instil into the minds of youth a proper and ardent love of their own institutions, feelings and sentiments are fostered which ought to be most carefully checked. It matters little whether these feelings (in themselves vices) are directed against the institutions of other countries; the vice more engendered remains, and *hatred* once implanted in the breast of youth, will not be confined in its action. Neither will national conceit remain only *national* conceit or *vanity* be confined to admiration of a form of government; in the present mode of educating the youth of America, all sight is lost of humility, good-will, and the other Christian virtues, which are necessary to constitute a good man, whether he be an American, or of any other country.

Let us examine the manner in which a child is taught. Democracy, equality, the vastness of his own country, the glorious independence, the superiority of the American in all conflicts by sea or land, are impressed upon his mind before he can well read. All their elementary books contain garbled and false accounts of naval and land engagements, in which every credit is given to the Americans, and equal vituperation and disgrace thrown upon their opponents. Monarchy is derided, the equal rights of man declared; all is invective, uncharitableness and falsehood.

That I may not in this be supposed to have asserted too much, I will quote a reading lesson from a child's book, which I purchased in America as a curiosity, and is now in my possession; it is called the "Primary Reader for Young Children;" and contains many stories besides this, relative to the history of the country.

" LESSON 62.

" Story about the 4th of July.

6. " I must tell you what the people of New York did. In a certain spot in that city there stood a large statue, or representation, of King George III.—it was made of lead. In one hand he held a sceptre, or kind of sword ; and on his head he wore a crown.

7. " When the news of the Declaration of Independence reached the city, a great multitude were seen running to the statue.

8. " The cry was heard, ' Down with it—down with it!' and soon a rope was placed about its neck, and the leaden King George came tumbling down.

9. " This might fairly be interpreted, as a striking prediction of the downfall of the monarchical form of government in these United States.

10. " If we look into history, we shall frequently find great events proceeding from as trifling causes as the fall of the *leaden* statue, which not unaptly represents the character of a despotic prince.

11. " I shall only add, that when the statue was fairly down, it was cut to pieces, and converted into musketballs, to kill the soldiers whom his majesty had sent over to fight the Americans."

This is quite sufficient for a specimen. I have no doubt it will be argued by the Americans—" We are justified in bringing up our youth to *love* our institutions." I admit it ; but you bring them up to *hate* other people, before they have sufficient intellect to understand the merits of the case.

The author of " A Voice from America" observes—

" Such, to a great extent, is the unavoidable effect of that political education which is *indispensable* to all classes of a self-governed people. They must be trained to it from their cradle ; it must go into all schools ; it must thoroughly leaven the national literature ; it must be ' line upon line, precept upon precept,' here a little and there a little ; it must be sung, discoursed, and thought upon every where, and by every body.

And so it is ; and as if this scholastic drilling were not sufficient, every year brings round the 4th of July, on which is read in every portion of the States the Act of

Independence, in itself sufficiently vituperative, but invariably followed up by one speech (if not more) from some great personage of the village, hamlet, town, or city, as it may be, in which the more violent he is against monarchy and the English, and the more he flatters his own countrymen, the more is his speech applauded.

Every year is this drilled into the ears of the American boy, until he leaves school, when he takes a political part himself, connecting himself with some young men's society, where he spouts about tyrants, crowned heads, shades of his forefathers, blood flowing like water, independence, and glory.

The Rev. Mr. Reid very truly observes, of the reading of the Declaration of Independence—

"There is one thing, however, that may justly claim the calm consideration of a great and generous people. Now that half a century has passed away, is it necessary to the pleasures of this day to revive feelings in the children which, if they were found in the parent, were to be excused only by the extremities to which they were pressed? Is it generous, now that they have achieved the victory, not to forgive the adversary? Is it manly, now that they have nothing to fear from Britain, to indulge in expressions of hate and vindictiveness, which are the proper language of fear? Would there be less patriotism because there was more charity? America should feel that her destinies are high and peculiar. She should scorn the patriotism which cherishes the love of one's own country, by the hatred of all others."

I think after what I have brought forward, the reader will agree with me, that the education of the youth in the United States is immoral, and the evidence that it is so, is in the demoralisation which has taken place in the United States since the era of the Declaration of Independence, and which fact is freely admitted by so many American writers—

"Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiorẽ."

Horace, lib. iii. ode 6.

I shall by and by show some of the effects produced by this injudicious system of education; of which, if it

is necessary to uphold their democratical institutions, I can only say, with Dr. Franklin, that the Americans "pay much too dear for their *whistle*."

It is, however, a fact, that education (such as I have shown it to be) is in the United States more equally diffused. They have very few citizens of the States (except a portion of those in the West) who may be considered as "hewers of wood and drawers of water,"—those duties being performed by the emigrant Irish and German, and the slave population. The education of the higher classes is not by any means equal to that of the old countries of Europe. You meet very rarely with a good classical scholar, or a very highly educated man, although some there certainly are, especially in the legal profession. The Americans have not the leisure for such attainments; hereafter they may have; but at present they do right to look principally to Europe for literature, as they can obtain it thence cheaper and better. In every liberal profession you will find that the ordeal necessary to be gone through is not such as it is with us; if it were, the difficulty of retaining the young men at college would be much increased. To show that such is the case, I will now just give the difference of the acquirements demanded in the new and old country to qualify a young man as an M. D.

English Physician.

1. A regular classical education at a college.
2. Apprenticeship of not less than five years.
3. Preliminary examination in the classics, &c.
4. Sixteen months' attendance at lectures in 2½ years.
5. Twelve months' hospital practice.
6. Lectures on botany, natural philosophy, &c.

American Physician.

1. Not required.
2. One year's apprenticeship.
3. Not required.
4. Eight months in two years.
5. Not required.
6. Not required.

If the men in America enter so early into life that they have not time to obtain the acquirements supposed to be requisite with us, it is much the same thing with the females of the upper classes, who, from the precocious ripening by the climate and consequent early mar-

riages, may be said to throw down their dolls that they may nurse their children.

The Americans are very justly proud of their women, and appear tacitly to acknowledge the want of theoretical education in their own sex by the care and attention which they pay to the instruction of the other. Their exertions are, however, to a certain degree, checked by the circumstance, that there is not sufficient time allowed previous to the marriage of the females to give that solidity to their knowledge which would insure its permanency. They attempt too much for so short a space of time. Two or three years are usually the period during which the young women remain at the establishments, or colleges I may call them (for in reality they are female colleges). In the prospectus of the Albany Female Academy, I find that the classes run through the following branches:—French, book-keeping, ancient history, ecclesiastical history, history of literature, composition, political economy, American constitution, law, natural theology, mental philosophy, geometry, trigonometry, algebra, natural philosophy, astronomy, chemistry, botany, mineralogy, geology, natural history, and technology, besides drawing, penmanship, &c. &c.

It is almost impossible for the mind to retain, for any length of time, such a variety of knowledge, forced into it before a female has arrived to the age of sixteen or seventeen, at which age, the study of these sciences, as is the case in England, should *commence*, not *finish*. I have already mentioned, that the examinations which I attended were highly creditable both to preceptors and pupils; but the duties of an American woman, as I shall hereafter explain, soon find her other occupation, and the *ologies* are lost in the realities of life. Diplomas are given at most of these establishments on the young ladies completing their course of studies. Indeed, it appears to be almost necessary that a young lady should produce this diploma as a certificate of being qualified to bring up young republicans. I observed to an American gentleman how youthful his wife appeared to be—"Yes," replied he, "I married her a month after she had *graduated*." The following are the terms of a diploma, which was given to a young

lady at Cincinnati, and which she permitted me to copy:—

“In testimony of the zeal and industry with which Miss M—— T—— has prosecuted the prescribed course of studies in the Cincinnati Female Institution, and the honourable proficiency which she has attained in penmanship, arithmetic, English grammar, rhetoric, belles-lettres, composition, ancient and modern geography, ancient and modern history, chemistry, natural philosophy, astronomy, &c. &c. &c., of which she has given proofs by examination,

“And also as a mark of her amiable deportment, intellectual acquirements, and our affectionate regard, we have granted her this letter—the *highest honour* bestowed in this institution.

“Given under our hands at

(Seal.)

“Cincinnati,

“this 19th day of July, Anno Domini, 1837.”

The ambition of the Americans to be a-head of other nations in every thing, produces, however, injurious effects, so far as the education of the women is concerned. The Americans will not “*leave well alone,*” they must “*gild refined gold,*” rather than not consider themselves in advance of other countries, particularly of England. They *alter* our language, and think that they have *improved* upon it; as in the same way they would raise the standard of morals higher than with us, and consequently fall much below us, appearances supplying the place of the reality. In these endeavours they sink into a sickly sentimentality, and, as I have observed before, attempts at refinement in language, really excite improper ideas. As a proof of the ridiculous excess to which this is occasionally carried, I shall insert an address which I observed in print; had such a document appeared in the English newspapers, it would have been considered as a hoax.

“MRS. MANDELLE’S ADDRESS

“*To the Young Ladies of the Lancaster Female Academy, at an Examination, March 3d, 1838.*”

“Affectionate Pupils:—With many of you this is our final meeting in the relative position of teacher and

pupil, and we must part perhaps to meet no more. That this reflection *filtrates from my mind to my heart* with saddening influence, I need scarce assure you. But *Hope*, in a voice sweet as 'the wild strains of the Eolian harp,' whispers in dulcet accents, '*we may again meet.*' In youth the impressions of sorrow are fleeting and evanescent as '*the vapery sail,*' that momentarily o'er-shadows the *luciferous orb of even*, vanishes and leaves her disc untarnished in its lustre: so may it be with you—may the gloom of this moment, like the elemental prototype, be but the precursor of reappearing radiance undimmed by the transitory shadow.

"Happy and bright indeed has been this small portion of your time occupied, not only in the interesting pursuit of science, but in a reciprocation of attentions and sympathies, endeared by that holiest *ligament* of earthly sensibilities, *religion*, which so oft has united us in soul and sentiment, as the aspirations of our hearts simultaneously ascended to the mercy-seat of the great Jehovah! The remembrance of emotions like these are ineffaceable by care or sorrow, and only blotted out by the immutable hand of death. These *halcyon hours of budding existence* are to memory as the *oasis* of the desert, where we may recline beneath the soothing *influence* of their umbrage, and quaff in *the goblet of retrospection* the lucid draught that refreshes for the moment, and is again forgotten. Permit me to solicit, that the immaculate principles of *virtue*, I have so often and so carefully inculcated, may not be forgotten, but perseveringly cherished and practised. May the divine dictates of reason *murmur in harmonious cadence*, bewitching as the fabled melody of the musical bells on the trees of the Mahomedan Paradise. She dwells not alone beneath the glittering star, nor is always encircled by the diamond cestus and the jewel'd tiara! indeed not! and the brilliancy *emulged* from the spangling gems, but make more hideous the dark, black spot enshrined in the effulgence. The traces of her peaceful footsteps are found alike in the dilapidated hovel of the beggared peasant, and the velveted saloon of the coroneted noble; who may then apportion her a home or assign her a clime? In making my acknowledgments for the attentive interest with which you

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received my instructions ; and the respectful regard you manifested in appreciating my advice, it is not as a compliment to your vanity, but a debt due to your politeness and good sense. Long, my beloved pupils, may my precepts and admonitions live in your hearts ; and hasten you, (in the language of Addison,) to commit yourselves to the care of Omnipotence, and when the morning calls again to toil cast all your cares upon him the Author of your being, who has conducted you through one stage of existence, and who will always be present to guide and attend your progress through eternity."

An advertisement of Mr. Bonfil's Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies, after enumerating the various branches of literature to be taught, winds up with the following paragraph :—

"And finally, it will be constantly inculcated, that their education will be completed when they have the power to extend unaided, a spirit of investigation, searching and appreciating truth, *without passing the bounds assigned to the human understanding.*"

I have now completed two volumes, and although I omitted the major portion of my Diary, that I might not trespass too long upon the reader, my task is still far from its termination. The most important parts of it— an examination into the American Society and their Government, and the conclusions to be drawn from the observations already made upon several subjects ; in short, the working out of the problem, as it were, is still to be executed. I have not written one line of this work without deliberation and examination. What I have already done has cost me much labour—what I have to do will cost me more. I must therefore, claim for myself the indulgence of the public, and request that, in justice to the Americans, they will not decide until they have perused the second portion, with which I shall as speedily as I can wind up my observations upon the United States, and their Institutions.

F. M.

THE END.

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